

**A sermon preach'd before His Grace the D. of Marlborough : in the camp at Ulierberg-Abby, near Louvain, in Brabant, July 15. 1705. Just after the passing the French lines / By James Smalwood.**

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# S E R M O N

Preach'd before His

Grace the D. of *Marlborough*,

I N T H E

Camp at *Ulierberg-Abby*, near *Louvain*,  
in *Brabant*, July 15. 1705.

Just after the

Passing the *French* Lines.

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By *JAMES SMALWOOD*,  
Chaplain to Her MAJESTY'S Foot-Guards.

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Publish'd at the Request of the *General Officers*.

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L O N D O N :

Printed by *T. Mead*, for *ANDREW BELL*, at the *Cross-Keys*, in *Cornhill*. MDCCV.



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Preach'd before His

Grace the D. of Marlborough,

IN THE

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Camp at Ulsterberg - Abby, near Lonsdale  
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Kee, in Cornhill, MDCCV.



TO HIS

Grace the D. of Marlborough,  
Captain-General of Her Majesty's  
Forces, &c.

*May it please your Grace,*

**T**HIS Discourse I had the Honour  
to Preach before your Grace, and  
I am told You were not displeas'd at it:  
What You were not displeas'd to hear,  
I hope You will not be offended to read.  
It is not my Ambition, my Lord, but  
my Obedience that makes it publick:  
For a Request from a Superior Officer  
shall always stand in the Room of a Com-  
mand with me. I venture it abroad,  
my Lord, under the Protection of Your  
Grace's Name, hoping your Grace will  
not be angry with me, for taking the  
A 2 best



1<sup>st</sup>, That War is of Divine Institution, and therefore lawful.

2<sup>dly</sup>, That War is not to be rashly undertaken, but solemnly and advisedly, and with all the Deliberation requisite to so important a Concern.

3<sup>dly</sup>, That in all Battles we ought chiefly to rely upon, and put our greatest Confidence in the Aid and Assistance of God Almighty. And,

4<sup>thly</sup>, Which is a natural Consequence from the Third, that for any signal Success in Battle we ought to return God Thanks and Praise for it.

1<sup>st</sup>, That War is of Divine Institution, and therefore lawful. And that Proposition is virtually included in the Text: For if War had not been lawful, the Manner and Method of it had not been here prescribed by God; *When you come nigh unto the Battle, says God, the Priest shall approach and speak unto the People.* Here War seems to have been look'd upon by God to be at some Seasons, and upon proper Occasions so necessary, that the Manner of undertaking and proceeding in it is made a Part of Religion: War is judg'd of so sacred a Nature, that the Sacerdotal Function is call'd in to bear a Part, and to share in it: Nay, this whole Chapter consists of nothing else but Rules and Directions of War; thus, *ver.* the 8<sup>th</sup>, it is said; *And the Officers shall speak further unto the People; And they shall say, What Man is there that is fearful*



fearful and faint-hearted? Let him go and return unto his own House, lest his Brethrens Heart faint as well as his Heart. And it shall be when the Officers have made an end of speaking, that they shall make Captains of the Armies to lead the People. Again, v. 10. When thou comest nigh unto a City to fight against it, then proclaim Peace unto it; And it shall be if it make thee answer of Peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the People that are found therein, shall be made Tributaries to thee; And if it will make no Peace, but will make War, then thou shalt besiege it. I can scarce forbear repeating the whole Chapter to you, there are so many plain Proofs and good Directions of War contain'd in it.

And that War was accordingly practised in the ancient Seasons of the World, and not only permitted, but countenanced, nay, directed, and in a Manner proclaim'd by God himself, is a Thing plainly to be shewn not only from this single Chapter, but from many other Places of the Old Testament. *Abram*, we read, who was God's faithful Servant and special Favourite, raised a War for the Rescue of his Nephew *Lot*, who had been taken Prisoner by the Enemy; which he was so far from being blamed for by God, that, as we read, *Gen. 14.* *Melchizedech* the Priest of the most high God, as he is there stiled, blessed him for it; and God himself appearing unto him upon this Occasion in a Vision, said unto him, *Fear not, Abram, I am thy Shield and thy exceeding great Reward.* And afterwards *Moses*, who was a renown'd Servant of God, was commanded to raise Forces, and to form an Army against the *Midianites* upon God's own special Command; all the Circumstances of which are  
very



## 4 *A Sermon before the Duke*

very well worth reading in the 31st Chap. of Numb. It is superfluous to give any more Instances out of the Old Testament, unless I had Time to rehearse all the Historical Part of it to you.

But it may possibly be here objected, that these Instances out of the Old Testament do not so directly concern us Christians. God was pleased in the former Ages of the World to appear to those stubborn and head-strong People the *Jews* after a more terrifying Manner than he has been represented to us in these later Times under the milder Dispensation of the Gospel; and therefore in the Old Bible we generally have him stiled, *The Lord of Hosts, The God of War, The great, the mighty, and the terrible God*: In the New, which more immediately obliges us Christians, He is call'd, *A God of Love, A God of Patience, full of Compassion and Long-suffering*. To the *Jews* He might have prescribed War and Battle as a Means to subdue and humble a perverse Generation; but he proceeds with us Christians after a kindly Method, and sent us an Example to follow who delighted in the most affectionate Appellation of the *Prince of Peace*, whose whole Life and Conversation was so far from War, that it was almost one continued Act of Suffering; He was buffeted, and spit upon, and scourged, and crucified, but he never resisted himself, nor wou'd suffer any of his Retinue to do so; nay, he very severely reprimanded one of his Apostles *Peter* for drawing his Sword, tho' it was to rescue himself when he was arrested by the *Jews*: And therefore, say some, War is by no means to be justified among *Christians*.

To



To this may be answer'd, That our Saviour's wonderful Humility, and Patience, and Long-suffering, are no Argument at all why War may not be as lawful for *Christians* as it was for the *Jews*, to whom it was frequently by God commanded, or for any other Nations who are led only and govern'd by the Laws of Nature. *My Kingdom is not of this World*, says our Saviour; *If my Kingdom were of this World, then wou'd my Servants fight, that I shou'd not be deliver'd to the Jews.* That is, my Empire, my Sovereignty is not over the outward Persons of Men; I aim at no Worldly, no Earthly Dominion; *Give unto Cæsar the Things that are Cæsar's*: Mine is a Spiritual Government; it is the Souls of Men that I would reign over: There, in the inward Man, wou'd I set up my Throne, and fix my Standard; in the Conquest of them wou'd I gladly triumph and rejoyce, and the more I cou'd conquer the farther still wou'd I willingly enlarge my Dominion. But, *If my Kingdom were of this World*; if I did design actually to erect any Temporal Kingdom upon Earth. Then I must confess, I wou'd, as it is customary and lawful for all Earthly Princes in such Cases to do, rather than be thus used by the *Jews*, I wou'd raise an Army to defend my Person, and to assert my Rights, and to vindicate the Injuries I have so unjustly receiv'd at their Hands; *Then should my Servants fight.* This seems to me to be the plain Meaning of this Text, which is so far from discountenancing or disallowing of War, that it is a direct Argument for it.

It begins to account of, to begin their Battles with the solemn



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## 6 *A Sermon before the Duke*

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It was therefore a wrong Judgment of some of the Ancients, to infer from our Saviour's Words to St. Peter; *Put up thy Sword into his Place, for all they that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword*: That it is unlawful for Christians at any time to draw theirs, and that all Military Employments are consequently criminal. This is an Opinion, not only to be maintain'd by any Evangelical Writing, but also it is really in it self absurd. For what wou'd that be but to make Christianity a Prey and a Laughing-stock to its insolent Enemies? This were to prostitute the Lives and Properties of Christians to their profess'd Enemies *Turks and Pagans*: And this certainly would be but a very ungrateful Recompence to the Memory of all those noble Warriors, and couragious Martyrs that in the First Ages of our Christian Religion suffer'd in holy Wars for the Defence of the Cross of *Christ*, and lost their *own* Blood for the Honour of *His*.

What has been said, may, I think, at present suffice for the Proof of the First Proposition, which was, That War is of Divine Institution, and consequently lawful.

The Second Proposition was this: That War is not to be rashly undertaken, but solemnly and advisedly, and with all the Deliberation requisite to so weighty a Concern. *When you come unto Battle the Priest shall approach and speak unto the People*. It was customary among the *Jews*, and indeed among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and all Nations that History gives us any Account of, to begin their Battles with the Solemnity



ty of Sacrifices: This was their Manner of Devotion; and this was done to supplicate the Aid and Assistance of God, and by way of Expiation or Atonement for the Sins of the People, that God should not at that time take Vengeance of them, but that he would defend their Cause, and save them from their Enemies. This is a Duty that not only Religion but Reason requires; *Heathens* as well as *Christians*; *Ancients* as well as *Moderns* have practised. If we look into the Sacred History, we shall find all the Kings and great Captains of the *Israelites* beginning their Battles constantly with Acts of Devotion: And *Julius Cæsar*, to name no more, in *Prophane History*, as we may read in his own *Commentaries*, at the End of every Campaign used to appoint sometimes Three, sometimes Five, sometimes Ten or Fifteen Days for a solemn *Supplication* to the Gods, to return Thanks for his former Successes, and to supplicate and pray for good Success for the Future. Now, altho' this was a mistaken Devotion in the Heathens to their false Gods, and consequently it was Idolatry in them; however, they perform'd the Substance of the Duty, and did as much as blind Humane Nature directed them to do: And who knows but the true God Almighty, out of Compassion to their Weaknesses, the World then knowing no better before the Revelation of the Gospel: Who knows, I say, but that God might take those Duties as done to himself, tho' directed to other Objects. However, it were well if we were as ready to imitate them in One part of the Duty, as we are to blame them in the Other: It were well if we were as punctual in Praying to a true God, as they were to a mistaken One. St. *Augustine*, a Learned and Pious Father of the

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Church, imputes the wonderful and victorious Encrease of the *Roman* Empire to the great Vertue and strict Piety and Devotion that was then kept up and encouraged among them; and which was more particularly remarkable in the Time of War: Then, as it is a Time of more than ordinary Danger, and when Mens Lives are in continual Hazard, we ought to be more-especially vigilant and circumspect, to be continually upon our Guard, as well against our Spiritual Enemies as our Bodily. *St. Paul*, when he fits up his Spiritual Warrior, he puts him on the *Sword of the Spirit, the Sheild of Faith, and the Helmet of Salvation*: And, indeed, this Furniture wou'd very well become all Soldiers in general, the inward Armour of the Soul, and the outward Armour of the Body agree very well together. *Cornelius* the Centurion, who was no great Officer, having the Command of an Hundred Men, is recorded in the Holy Bible, and his Memory preserved, and will be to the End of the World, only because he was a good Man: *He was*, says the Text, *Acts 10. 2. a devout Man, and one that feared God, who gave much Alms to the People, and prayed to God daily*: And what a mighty Comfort and Joy must it have been to that poor Man, when God was pleased to send an Angel to him, to tell him, *Cornelius, Thy Prayers are heard, and thine Alms are had in Remembrance in the Sight of God*. There can be nothing more decent and becoming, more useful and profitable, more encouraging and heartning to an Army, than a *Decorum* of Life, and a regular Discipline and Exercise of Religion and Devotion: And mind it when you will, A Good Man seldom makes a Bad Soldier.

But



But to speak more directly to the Proposition I laid down; *That War is not to be rashly undertaken.* Some of the School-Men tell us, There are Four Conditions requisite to justify a War.

1<sup>st</sup>, The Cause must be Just.

2<sup>dly</sup>, The Authority must be Lawful.

3<sup>dly</sup>, The Manner of it must be Fair.

4<sup>thly</sup>, The End proposed must be for the Publick Good.

I have not time to enlarge upon each of these Conditions separately: But, to come to our own Case; The War now undertaken, and hitherto, blessed be God, successively carried on by the Confederate Christian Princes, was raised and concerted most certainly, in the First place, upon the justest Cause that ever War was; which was the Vindication of the just Rights from the unwarrantable Encroachments of a Powerful Invader. 2<sup>dly</sup>, The Authority is unquestionable, which is founded on the unanimous Consent of so many Princes and Potentates, who are God's Delegates here upon Earth. 3<sup>dly</sup>, The Manner of it is fair, which is defensive, against the unjust Usurpations of One great Disturber of the Christian World. And, 4<sup>thly</sup>, The End proposed is for the Publick Good; which, 'tis to be hoped, may be an honourable and an advantageous Peace.

This



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10. *A Sermon before the Duke*

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This is the Nature of our present War. The Occasion and Ground of which may be maintain'd by all the Laws of God and Man. The Authority of it is as great as any can be upon Earth. The Method and Manner it is carried on, is neither clandestine, nor mercenary, nor treacherous; but fair, and equitable, and open. And the Ends we aim at are every way conformable to our Holy Religion, which prescribes Peace and Quiet, Charity and Succour to our oppress'd Neighbours, and Good-will to all Men.

This is the best Cause for which Men ought to fight, The Defence of their Country and Church, and the Relief and Support of their Friends and Allies; which is the present Case we are now engaged in, wherein not only the Happiness of the Nations whereunto we belong our selves, but the Inheritances and Possessions, the Honour and Interest of most of the Christian Princes and States of *Europe* are intermix'd and woven: Nay, there is one Thing, which alone of it self might be a sufficient Motive to raise all the Arms of Christendom against one certain Man, and that is, the barbarous and cruel Persecution of his own Subjects. What Numbers of Men! How many lamentable Families has He not only most inhumanly slaughter'd at Home, but likewise forced many Thousands of them, rather than they wou'd *let go the Faith once deliver'd to them by the Saints*, to quit their own Dwellings and Possessions, and to fly for Refuge into other strange Countries! Of these poor Christians, may said what St. Paul speaks of some Ancient Sufferers



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## of Marlborough, in the Camp. II

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ferers for Religion; Through Faith they escaped the Edge of the Sword, out of Weakness were made Strong, waxed Valiant in Fight, turn'd to flight the Armies of the Aliens. Others were tortur'd, not accepting Deliverance that they might obtain a better Resurrection; Others had trial of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea, moreover of Bonds and Imprisonments; They were stoned, were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the Sword. They wander'd about in Desarts, and in Mountains, and in Dens, and in Caves of the Earth, being destitute, afflicted, tormented. This therefore is a War that was neither rashly nor unadvisedly commenced; but with all the Counsel and Deliberation, and the concurring Judgments of several distinct Governments. And that so mighty a Design shou'd all this while be so successfully carried on, that so many different Potentates and States shou'd joyn, and as firmly combine as the Heart of one Man: This, I say, must needs point out the Almighty Contriver of it; *This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes; This is the Lord mighty in Battle.*

The Success of King Cyrus, when he fought against Babylon, is very remarkable in Story; we meet with several Instances of an almighty and over-ruling Power throughout that whole Expedition: For what was it else, but the Hand of God that governs and commands the Hearts of Men that brought in so many Confederate Forces to his Assistance; some of which were not only Allies, but Subjects to the Babylonians, against whom he then fought, without whose concurring Help the whole Enterprize had miscarried? That great Victory is not to be imputed to the sole Conduct and Courage of King Cyrus, or indeed to the Strength of his Army;



my; but to him to whom, as the Prophet speaks; *All Nations are as the Drop of a Bucket*. He that told *Cyrus*, *I have girded thee though thou hast not known me*: He it was that provided the Means, and effected the Work; He set up the Standard, and *blew the Trumpet*, and *prepared the Nations*; which brings me to the Third Proposition I laid down, which was this.

3dly, That in all Battles we ought chiefly to rely upon, and put our chief Confidence in the Aid and Assistance of God Almighty. We read of several great Kings and Generals in the Old Testament, that fought very successfully against their Enemies; and we find them all imputing their Victories wholly to the Assistances of God; *Moses*, and *Abraham*, *Joshua*, and *Josiah*, are all famous Examples of this. And others we read of shamefully beaten and defeated, meerly because they arrogantly relied on their own Conduct and Strength, contemptuously rejecting the Help of God; *Sennacherib*, King of *Assyria*, was a notable Instance of this; This King was a haughty and a proud Man, and though God was pleas'd to make use of him as an Instrument of correcting National Sins; and therefore he did sometimes as a Torrent over-run several Countries; yet because he assumed the Glory of his Actions to himself, and boasted of his own Strength and Policy, as the sole Causes of all his Conquests; nay, we read that *he wrote Letters to rail on the Lord God of Israel*; Therefore did God Almighty, as the Prophet phrases it, *Clap a Hook into his Nose, and a Bridle into his Mouth*, and stopt the Exorbitances of the impetuous Man: You may read in the



the 2 Chron. 32. 21. 8. That the Lord sent an Angel which cut off all the mighty Men of Valour, and the Leaders and the Captains in the Camp of the King of Assyria, together with 185000 Men in one Night. And the Reason why God did thus humble him, the Prophet *Isaiah* tells us; For he said, *By the Strength of my own Hand I have done it, and by my Wisdom, for I am Prudent.* The whole Relation may be seen in the 36th, and 37th Chapters of *Isaiah*.

But I do not argue thus, as if I wou'd maintain there were no Truſt to be reposed in the Strength and Conduct of an Army, nor no Advantages to be made by the Number and Discipline of Soldiers. That wou'd be but a ridiculous Assertion; God has not given us Nerves and Sinews; He has not instill'd Reason into us for nothing; we are in all Lawful Cases to employ our own Humane Endeavours our selves, and God will, if our Cause be just, concur with us. We are to use all the Means that either Skill or Strength can afford us, and God will enable us to go through with the Work. 'Tis true, King *David* says, *There is no King that can be saved by the Multitude of an Host, neither is any mighty Man delivered by much Strength;* And in several Places, too tedious here to rehearse, we find that Godly Warrior ascribing unto God the Glory and Honour of all his Successes; *The Lord is my Defence, and my Might, and my Sheild; It is thy Right Hand that has done it; It is He that hath deliver'd me from my cruel Enemies, and setteth me up above my Adversaries:* And such like Language as this we meet with from the First to the Last of those Seraphick Psalms.



Psalms. However, if we consult the Chronicle of that holy King, we may thence see, that he used the same Care and Diligence in his Wars as other Earthly Princes did: He raised great Armies, and chose skilful Officers; in the 2d Chap. of the 2d Book of *Samuel* you may see a Catalogue of the Chiefest of them. So that we find tho' King *David* did ascribe the whole Glory of his Victories to God, yet he omitted not the Assistances of Humane Power and Policies.

And as King *David* is a very proper Example for any Prince or General to imitate, so is *Sennacherib* as true a Character of a certain great Enemy, that all Christendom ought to oppose. It is much to be lamented, but undoubtedly it is upon the Account of that Universal Deluge and Overflowing of Wickedness, that has overspread the Face of these Neighbouring Nations, that our latter Ages has produced so exact a Parallel of the Former. But it is some Encouragement at the same time, to recollect how God Almighty dealt with the Former. *I know thy Abode,* says God to him, *and thy going out and thy coming in, and thy Rage against me; Because thy Rage against me and thy Tumult is come up into my Ears, therefore will I put my Hook into thy Nose, and my Bridle into thy Lips, and I will turn thee back by the Way that thou camest.*

And here I cannot but reflect upon what Spirit it must be that does actuate this mighty Man, this modern *Sennacherib*? What sort of Soul, what kind of

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Conscience he can have? That no Laws either Humane or Divine can fasten any lasting Obligations on him? How many Treaties of Peace has he broke through and violated? What Nation round about him has he not been unfaithful to? Nay, how cruelly and unnaturally has he torn out the Heart and Bowels of his own Nation? Against this Man, if their Temporal Interests were not concern'd, the very Slight and Hardship that he puts upon the Christian Religion, wou'd justly arm all the Professors of it. But the Consideration of Worldly Peace and Quiet; The Enjoyment of each Prince's proper Possessions; The free Exercise of Trade; The Recovery of what has been forcibly usurped; The Requiring of Satisfaction for the Breach of Trust; As well as the Vindication of the Honour of the Christian Religion, and the Succour of those that are persecuted for it; And many other Considerations do concur to recommend and justify this present War of Ours.

And what is left now in the Fourth and Last Place, but seriously to return our due and humble Thanks to Almighty God for the wonderful Success we have hitherto had in this present War. Blessed be God this Great *Sennacherib*, this mighty Ravager of Kingdoms, that like a *Leviathan* has a long Time roll'd about the Seas, taking as it were his Pastime therein, and devouring all the lesser Fish about him: Blessed be God, I say, He seems now



to have the Hook struck into his Nostrils; *In the Net which he had privily laid, he is now at last catch'd, and the Pit which he had dug for another he is fallen into himself.* And here, I think, the Words of the Prophet *Isaiah* to the former King of *Assyria*, Chap. 14. Ver. 12. may be not improperly applied; *How art thou fallen from Heaven, O Lucifer, Son of the Morning; how art thou cut down to the Ground that didst weaken the Nations? For thou hadst said in thy Heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I will exalt my Throne above the Stars; yet thou shalt be brought down to Hell, to the Sides of the Pit; They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee and consider thee, saying, Is this the Man that made the Earth to tremble, that did shake Kingdoms? That made the World as a Wilderness, and destroyed the Cities thereof?*

God has hitherto wonderfully appear'd for us; He has fought our Battles, and asserted our Cause. And, indeed, Ours is a Cause for which nothing sure but our own Sins can hinder a just God more signally still to appear: This is a Cause that I am verily perswaded, and I dare presage, nay, almost promise, provided that God's Chastisements may have their due Effect upon us, will in a little Time be crown'd with Victory and Peace. Never were our Allies more happy, never were the *English* Arms more successful than they of late have been: One great Advantage by this War, besides the Honour it has got, has the *English* Nation gain'd; that it has now as gallant, as well disciplin'd, and as ex-  
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perienced an Army as any of our Chronicles can boast of: And had not the Unfaithfulness, or the Unreadiness, or the Indisposition, or, excuse it how you will, the unlucky Disappointment of an absent *Prince* hinder'd it, the Arms of our Great and Prosperous *Queen Anne* had in all Probability this Year made as great an Impression into the Bowels of *France* as any of Her glorious Predecessors, either *Edwards* or *Henrys* ever did: However, what through Disappointment cou'd not be effected in one Place, is by wise Conduct and never-failing Courage perform'd in another: What you were not permitted to do in Conjunction, you have as effectually executed by your selves: This late Action was of such a Nature, that without much Bloodshed and Slaughter, it has gain'd as much over the Enemy as if their whole Army had been slain: To conquer by killing, is the common Effect of Battles, but to conquer without killing is more glorious, more satisfactory to a Christian Victor, and more engaging to the Conquer'd themselves. Such was the Condition; such was the Happiness; such was the Glory of the late Victory: Our Arms seem to mend upon our Hands, and to grow every Day more and more successful; the Glories of the *Last Year*, if they are not out-done, yet they may be justly said to be equalized *This*; and if the great Action of *That* ought to be recorded for ever, so undoubtedly it does, wherein there were so many slain, that Action of *this* Year ought, I think, as well, wherein there were so few: I shall not under-

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# 18 *A Sermon before the Duke*

dertake to make any Comparifon between the Two Actions; they are both to be afcribed, under God, to the Counfel and Bravery of one and the fame Perfon, and they are both deferving of the fame great equal Praife and Glory: What has been by feveral faid of the Former, has been no more than what the Greatnefs of the Action juftly claimed, what might be faid of this Latter neither in prefent Time, I am fure, will fuffice, nor the Place perhaps he thought proper to offer at: But this one Thing may, I believe, modestly be faid of it, That never was any Enterprize more wifely concerted, more fecretly carried on, more dexteroufly perform'd, and I may add, more promifing of great Confequences than This was. By the Wifdom of our General, by the Skill and Courage of our Officers, and by the Alacrity and Vigour of our Soldiers, together with the Help of God, it is that this Great Thing is done.

First then to God Almighty, as the principal Cause, and Secondly to you, *Men of War*, as the fubordinate Instruments, is the Glory of this happy Event due. God enabled you with Strength, and inspired you with Courage, and instructed you with Skill, both at the fame, to outwit the Enemy in the Project, and to defeat them in the Conflict.

May God Almighty continue ftill thefe our Successes to us: May this only be a Prelude and a Fore-runner to fome further Glory: May what is fo happily



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*of Marlborough, in the Camp. 19*

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pily begun, be as victoriously perfected and finished: In a Word; May the Summer crown your Arms with Victory, and the Winter reward them with a Peace.

Now for these and all other his Favours continually bestowed upon us, may God's holy Name be blessed and praised from this time forth, and for ever more. *Amen.*

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*F I N I S.*



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of Marlborough, in the Camp. 19

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F I W I S

