

—21—/C. *Shilling*

A Breefe Discourse,
Concerning the force
and effect of all manuell weapons of fire,
and the disability of the Long Bowe or Ar-
chery, in respect of others of greater
force now in use.

With sundrye probable reasons for the
verrifying therof: the which I haue doone of
duty towards my Soueraigne and Country,
and for the better satisfaction of all such
as are doubtfull of the
same.

Written by *Humfrey Barwick, Gentle-*
man, Souldier, Captaine,
Et Encor plus oultre.

*R*obert



Gordone.

AT LONDON.
Printed for *Richard Oliffe*, and are to be solde in
Paules Churchyard at the signe of the
Crane.



To the right Honourable my
very good Lord, Henry Carey,
 Baron of Hunsdon, Knight of the most no-
 ble order of the Garter, Lord Chamberlaine of
 her Maiesties housholde, Lord gouernour of Bar-
 wick, Lord warden of the marches for and anenst
 Scotland, Lord Leifetenant of Suffolke and Norfolke,
Captaine of her Maiesties Gentlemen Pencioners, and
 one of her highnes most honourable priue
 Counsell, *Humfrey Barwick* wilheth
 long continuance in health
 and honor.

Right Honourable,
 hauing read ouer two lit-
 tle Bookes, set foorth by
 two feuerall Knights, the
 one dedicated to the ma-
 iestrates of England by
 Syr Iohn Smith Knight, the other by Syr
 Roger Williams Knight also, dedicated to
 the right honourable the Earle of Essex: the
 which two Bookes either dooth or ought

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to tende both to one purpose, and yet neuerthelesse in some speciall pointes therein, are such great diuersitie of opinions, that it would make men not perceiuing the intent and what things are: euen to wauer and doubt of the trueth of those causes, and considering that they are men both of good account and quality, loyall and faithfull to one Soueraigne, and also well trauelled, whereby they ought to haue the better knowledge in warlike weapons and Marshall Discipline: the varietie whereof seemeth to many verie strange. Where-vpon I haue at sundry times had conference with diuers persons of sundrye callings, touching some parte of the seuerall discourses of the said two Knights, wherein I haue found so very many addicted to the opinion of Syr *John Smith*, as touching the commending of the Archerye of England with so many reasons and arguments by him alleadged in that behalfe, that many are thereby perswaded, that the long Bowe is the onely weapon of the Worlde for the obtaining of
Battailes

Battailes and victories in these daies, with so manye allegations against Muskets, Harquebuzies and other weapons of fire, as in the same Booke appeereth.

Syr *Roger Williams* vpon the contrary dooth seeme to except of the Muskets speciallye, with the rest of the weapons of fire, and partely seeming to proue the long Bowe to be the woorst shot that are vsed in these dayes, as by diuers argumets are set down in the 46. and 47. leafe of his discourse.

Wherefore may it please your good Lordship to accept of my intent, being one of the meanest of a great number that are and hath beene vnder your Lordships gouernement: to explaine the matter according to my simple knowledge and experience in this cause, and that it maye vnder your Lordships protection be published in the behalfe of your Honors duetifull and obedient Souldiour, so shall I thinke my trauell in dooing but

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my

my duetye towards her Maiesties Coun-
trye and your Lordship, most happilye
harboured, and in the mean time remain
ready to serue and obey at your
good Lordships com-
maundement.

*

H. Barwick.



To

To all skilfull Captaines and
Souldiours, who hath had the vse and doo
know the force and effect of weapons of war,
and to all such as are willing to know or vnderstand
the true effect thereof. Of whome
H. B. crauerth equall
Iudgement.

¶ There are three principall causes that dooth
giue vnto Conquestes great and happye
successe. viz.

{ Loyaltie in Subiects.
Exercises in Armes.
And perfect intelligence }

Doo not a litle maruaile what
the cause should be that men are
so slowe in thinges to so good ef-
fect: is there any in doubt to do
good in causes most requisite?
dooth not euery Captaine repine
and thinke much that dooth
knowe the force and effect of all
weapons of warre, to heare such
arguments and so many reasons and deuices to fortifie a
matter against all true knowledge and experience? What,
shall we refuse the Cannon and fall to the Ram againe, or
to knowne weapons more meeter for Sauadge people then
for puissaunt Princes, that are able to maintaine those of
the greatest force: or shall we be carried away with affec-
tion, threatnings, or eloquent and sweete words? it is not
our partes, we must abide the greatest blowes, or els what
wilbe the issue of the matter? shall the blinde leade him-
selfe? or shall we runne into a mischeefe headlong that wee
both see and know? considering how farre the same dooth
differ from the matter alleadged, euen so farre that euery
private

private Souldiour that knoweth him selfe, may iudge it were more then beastly: and so stands the case with vs, if we doo wilfully or ignorantly forsake that which wee haue so long time made iust triall to be of the greatest force, and doo returne to that againe the which we haue so often forsaken, for the disabilitie that by triall we haue found therein: then are we well woorthy to abide the smart thereof to our own reproche. And yet were it but the losse of the thing it selfe, the matter were the lesse. There are none that in person hath made iust triall of the Archers that euer will if he may choose be partaker with them againe: it is but the loue that manye doo beare vnto the same weapons, for that in times past they were the best shotte that were: and yet were they the cause of more bloodshed then in these daies is used: and my reason is this, that when battailes and great encounters chaunced to fall out, by reason that the shot were no more offensive, then by the use of the long Bowes and Crossebowes: the enemies did then commonlye ioyne both with long and short weapons, as by the dint of two handed Swoordes, Battell Axes and Billes, with Leade mallets, whereby the fight continued vnto the last end of the one party, but in these daies where the weapons of fire hath bene rightlye used, it hath bene scarcelye seene that either Pike or Halberd hath come to ioyne at any time before the one partie did turne their faces, by reason of the terrible force of the great and small shot the which by skilfull conductors of the same, haue been placed vpon their enemies by vantage of grounds or otherwise, as time and place hath serued.

And for that I haue heard so many seuerall opinions as is aforesaide: I thought it my parte and duety to set downe my opinion and knowledge the which I haue learned by using of diuers seuerall weapons, in times of seruice as well on horseback as on foot, and the rather for the better satisfaction of those not understanding how requisite it is to bee resolu'd in those pointes, not thinking in all my life to

haue

haue doone any such matter, but vpon this occasion the which I am druen vnto for diuers causes, not altogether for want of experience in the thing it selfe, but for want of knowledge how to perfect the same in the setting down, being vnlearned, saue only to write a very simple stile: it may be thought in me a presumption, yet for that the thing is laudable and tendeth to no other end then for the triall of so good a cause as this is, the which all good Subiects are bound to fauour: wherein I doo with a cleere conscience protest not willingly to offend any partie or parties vnder the Sunne, of what qualitie or calling soeuer he or they be. I am not to treat of any matter of auncient times, but as some occasion may cause me for prooffe, but only within my owne knowledge or at the least recorded, or to be prooued: And for that I entred to be a Souldier at the age of 18. yeeres, which was the second yeere of that good and godly King Edward the 6. at which time our English Archers were in force and greatly used, and Harquebuziers not as then common. For the first that euer had any whole band in England, was Syr Peeter Mewtas Knight, who had as I doo remember the charge of 500. halfe Flakes, the which were but mean stuffe in comparison of those that are now in use, and at that time there were not in most bands of 100. men, aboue 10. or 15. and in many none at all: sauing Captain Hugh Smith, who had in Gaymes 100. Harquebuziers, sauing 10. or 12. of other weapons, inso much that the perfection of them were not as then in England knowne to any purpose, nor yet vnto this daye but with few, in respect that the same is in other countries neere vnto vs, which I would wish might be as well in England as elsewhere, for those weapons of fire are not to be used without exercising of the same to any good purpose for seruice vpon the suddaine: but being once throughlye practised, it is an excellent weapon and next vnto the Musket, as in place heerafter shalbe showne.

It may be thought by some Captaines of late experience, for that I haue not entred into these troublesome toyles in

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the

the Low Countries, or the ciuill warres in Fraunce, that I cannot haue that experience & knowledge as others haue: wherunto I answered that when I was young I did seeke to serue, both in England, Fraunce, and Scotland, to that end I might the better doo my Prince and Countrye seruice, and also to sustaine my selfe, who otherwaies was not able to liue as I did desire to doo: wheras I learned to knowe the use of most weapons of warre both for Horsemen and footmen, that are or haue beene used in this age, with as good Schoolemasters as any Italian, Spaniard or Wallon whatsoever, hath been or now is.

And further I hope I maye without offence set downe the seuerall payes that in my own Princes seruice I haue receiued for my own person. The first pay that I had was 6. pence per diem, for 3 months: after that 8. pence per diem, 16. pence per diem, 20. pence per diem, 2. shillings per diem, 4. shillings per diem, charge after 4. shillings per diem, charge after 6. shillings per diem, charge after 8. shillings per diem, charge after 14. shillings per diem. In all which aduancement of payes & credit I did neuer make sute nor require any of the same payes: saving my first paye of 6. pence per diem: but they were all bestowed vpon mee either by the Prince, or by those who had the next place: without sute either of my selfe or of any other in my behalf: my entertainment in the French Kings seruice was such, as none of our nation for a footman euer had, only captain Lampton excepted: who after hee was discharged from his band of footmen, became a priuat Souldier in the foote bands of Fraunce, and had great allowance for his owne person and seruants. I haue been offered in Fraunce better pay and greater aduancement then euor I had or desired.

I was promised by the King of Spaine to haue a pension of 200. Crownes by yeere to be paid vnto me in England for my seruice doone vnto him at St. Quintins, but before I could come from whence I was prisoner, his Queen was dead, and hee againe married to the French Kings Daughter, and at my returne from my troubles in Fraunce,

I was

I was answered that the King was gone who did promise the said pension, and the Queene was dead, wherefore the promise was not to be performed, I required letters into Spaine to the King, I was answered that it was no time as then, but when time serued I should haue letters of Sertificate, and so the cause grue worse then before, and so as yet I had nothing. Thus haue I set downe to the end, that those who doo not knowe me may the better vnderstand, that I doo not write or speake by reading or heare-say but by experience only.

Wherefore I doo hartely wish that we may growe all to one perfect knowledge without contending in any point, so far differing from all true knowledge and experience: and let the times past, rest, with such weapons and engines, as in those daies were the best, and yet but trifles in respect of things now in use: As for example, was not our olde Castles and Towers, sufficient to defend against all Rams and engins in those daies used: wheras in these times there is hardly any deuise of fortification will serue against the force of the Cannons? Was not that famous King, Edward the third, constrained to lye before Callice 13. or 14. monthes, for that he wanted the use of the Cannon, the which in foure or fve daies was lost with the force of the same, and other fiery weapons? Some may say it was lost by treason, but those that doo know any thing, doo perceiue how that was doon. And again, was not Jack and Sallet within our remembrance thought to be sufficient for arming of Souldiours? and further, concerning our simple arming in times past, notwithstanding that Syr Iohn Smith dooth affirme that men were as well armed in times past, as now present: which for example, looke into the Histories the 11. yeere of Edward the fourth: where it appeareth, that Robert Bassett Alderman of London, and the Recorder there, was thought to be well armed, being both armed with Jacks to defend the Citie, against that Rebell Bastard Neuell: a man would thinke, that being an Alderman, if Armours had beene as then in such store as now

they are, that the Alderman would haue had one for himselfe, and another for the Recorder. Again, did not the Duke of Bedford arme the most parte of his Souldiours with tanned leather for the cheefe partes of their bodies at such time as he was commaunded by that prudent Prince Henry the 7. the 2. yeere of his raigne, to encounter with that Rebelle the L. Louell: whereas now by reason of the force of weapons, neither horse nor man is able to beare armours sufficient to defend their bodies from death, whereas in the former times afore mentioned, woundes was the worst to haue been doubted, touching the force of all their Archers, as by that manner of arming it seemeth most certaine.

I wish without offence, that all the Spanish shot were archers, as good as euer were in England, to that end, our nation might once ioyne with them, for any harme that the arrowes could do, they would soon returne to gather grapes in Spaine.

Why should not Spaniards being owners of that pleasant wood the Yewe, become Bowmen and Archers? they are artificiallye sufficient, and they haue and doo seeke by all meanes possible, that their ambition may be made complete. There is no doubt, but mighty Princes would haue them, either of their own Subiects or of hierlings: if they were but halfe so good as in the opinion of sir Iohn Smith they are thought to be.

And thus by these simple reasons, the which cannot iustlye be denyed, it maye appeare how thinges in times past, and now in these our times doo differ, which may and will I hope in time be better considered off.

My intent is to no other effect, but only to explaine the matter so far differing, by the discourses of the saide two Knights, in declaring my opinion touching the same: I might therather be blamed heerin, as no doubt I shall be, of some halfe Latinists, for want of congruities in my dooings: but neuerthelesse, I will not let for all those to proceed with this, seeing that in all this time none doth frame

to

to set downe something touching the matter before rehearsed. I hope I may as a labourer, take upon me to dig forth the stones from the Rockes, and to leaue the same in more readines for the woorkmen to hewe and pullish to a greater perfection.

It dooth cause me to remember one Cornelius a Gentleman and a Souldiour in the French Kings seruice, who could haue plaide of a Lute or a Gitterne excellent well: but his conditions was such, that if the best Lord or Lady in Fraunce had requested him to haue plaied, hee would not haue doon it, the reason was that he doubted, that he should haue been taken for some foolish Musition, and yet was he to be brought to haue plaied without intreatye, as thus: if any of his acquaintance had taken the Lute or Gittern in hand, the worse that he or they had played, the sooner would Cornelius haue taken the same foorth of his freends hands, and thereon would haue plaide right pleasantly. And so now I doubt not but euen at the firste blush we shall haue a Cornelius to set these instruements in better tune, in all their wants and imperfections by mee for want of learning and knowledge committed and left vnperfourmed: so shal I be glad to haue giuen an occasion to so good effect.

H. Barwick.





Certaine discourses written by
Humfry Barwicke Gentleman,
 with his opinion concerning the feuerall
 discourses, written by S. Iohn Smith and S.
 Roger Williams Knightes, and of their con-
 trarie opinions, touching Muskets and other ferie we-
 pons, and the long-bowe: With diuers other pointes
 of war by some others afore time
 mistaken.



First I will begin in this my
 sayd discourse, to remember
 one of the examples that S.
 Iohn Smith doth set downe
 in his discourse, for proofof
 Archers to bee weapons of
 force: And thus he saith at the
 time of King Henry the eight
 of famous memoirie, lying in
 Campe before Turwin, there was a Conuoy to goe
 from Guynes to the saide Campe, of Punition
 and Aiguilles: and all the frenche Captaines of
 Picardie & Varmendois, hauing intelligence therof,
 did assemble all their men at Armes and Launces
 of those Prouinces, with some number of shot, also
 of Harquebuzers & Cros-bowers, and attended the
 English Conuoy in an ambush, moze then a league
 be,

beyond the town of Ard towards Turwin, where encountering with the english light horsemen, & vantage carreres then did ouerthrowe them: which beeing perceiued by the Captaines of the Conuoy, then presently induled their carriages into a conueniente fourme, and placing conuenient numbers of Archers vnto two open places befoze and behinde, and forcing all other places betwixt cariage and cariages where the frenche Launces might haue any entrance, after a long fight and many charges by the men at armes of ffrance, and their shot giuen: the terrible effecte of the volley of Arrowes was such, that a great number of their horses were wounded or slaine; and one of their chiefe Captaines called Monsieur de Plesse lifting by his sword to strike, was shot in at the arme-hole through his Cosset of Maille, and there slaine, with many other french gentlemen and others of good accounte, in suche sorte that the frenche did farre exceede the English in number, were that day repulsed and ouerthrowne by the excellencie of archers, &c.

If Sir Iohn Smith doe giue credite vnto olde maister Candwell, and thereupon set downe as a bouesaid: he may in that point be deceiued, as for example: doe but reade Hollinsheades Cronicle the fifth yere of H. 8. folio. 817. vpon B. how the same fell out contrarie. Againe at solemeie masse, where the power of Scotlande to the number of 15000. minding to iuade the West borders of England, and so being in the English ground in a mistie morning about twelue miles distance from the Scottishe power: there was vpon the warning of the Weaken comming from the Baronrie of Kendall, about two hundred Archers, and notwithstanding the Scots 400 Archers did not meete by tenne miles: yet was it

it reported and yet is saide, that the Archers was the cause that the Scots were that day ouerthrowne: whereas there was no such matter touching the said Archers: but true it is that the Scots was there ouerthrowne, their whole power in effect as I dede ouerthrow Gods enemies, & Scots were 44. to one English man, & could rehearse moze, but this may suffice, being down in H. 8. his daies.

And whereas Sir Iohn Smith doth rehearse many and sundry examples of victories and ouerthrowes, giuen by the force and effect of Archers, some about 2000. yeres since, and some 200 yeres since, and the most betwixt these times: but what hath bene done since the perfect knowledge of fire weapons hath ben in vse: and whereas Manuell the Emperour of Constantinople, had in his armour or Target the number of 30. arrowes sticking: one Harquebuz or Musket shot would haue dispatched the matter, wherby men may see that it is but our owne opinions and grounded affection, that our countrymen doe beare vnto the same weapon, in respect that the same was the best shotte in ancient time, when others of greater force were vnknewne: we haue the like estimation of the Long Bow, as the Irish haue of their Darts, the Danish of their Hatchets, and as the Scotch men haue had of their Spears: all which are moze matter for sauadge people or poore Potentates, who are not able to maintain others of greater force, then for puissant Princes. The Scots and Irish for the defence of their Countries doe vse their Bowes, and so doe the Burgonians and Mallons in the time of the warres, garde their Causs, Churches & small Pyles: the Countrymen for the safety of their goods, but the Souldiers in pay doe neuer vse them, neither

Certain discourses of warre

ther in hold no shield, who would not forbear to be
tpe, if they knew no better or other of greater force.

Notwithstanding, that Sir Iohn Smith doth
say that the arrowes of Archers wil kill th' enemies
farther distance off then any Harquebuzer can do. I
leauve that to the iudgement of all such Captaines
and Souldiers as haue scene the true triall of both
the weapons.

It is not possible that noble men should under-
stand or knowe the force and effect of weapons and
abilliments of warre, as other meaner persons do,
who are brought up with the vse therof: some with
one, and some with other, and selue with all: nei-
ther is it the place for a noble man or worthy perso-
nage, to become a Musketter, Harquebuzer, Can-
noner, miner, trench maister or fortifier, all which
are for meaner persons and yong men to begin their
seruice withall, and to proceed from one to another,
as the body and the minde is addicted, and without
these the warres cannot be conuaid to any good pur-
pose: and as for footemen, a Pike, a Halberd, or a
leading staffe: and for horsemen, a Lance, a pun-
ching staffe, Pistoll or mace, it is seemely for a per-
sonage of god account, either on foot or on horseback
to vse them as in their kindes they ought to be: all
which weapons are sone learned sauing the Pistoll
the which must come by exercise. And now to very-
fie my words, I will heere set down and name such
as by wrong instructions of them that haue infoz-
med some noble men in marshall causes not so nere
the matter as the cause required to haue been doon,
all things considered: and also of some that haue
been accounted wise and expert Souldiers in Eng-
land, and yet in their doings haue not so well per-
fourmed the same: I would be loath to offend anye
in

and vse of weapons.

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in this point, for I do rather set it downe for exam-
ple of those that do liue, then in any sort to blemish
those departed:

I will begin with the noble Earle of Penbrooke, ^{The woorthy Earle of Penbrooke.}
whose valour and wisdom is not forgotten: and
yet was he not greatly trained in the knowledge of
Partiall Discipline, as by these reasons shall ap-
peare.

After that I had bene in the French Kings ser-
uice from the 6. yere of Edward the 6. vnto the siege
of *Saint-quintins* in *Fraunce*, at which time I did
come to the said Camp, where the said Earle was
Lieutenant of the English army vnto the King: it
pleased his Lordship to call mee to him and to talke
with me of diuers French matters: and after many
discourses what preparations were made in *Fraunce*,
it pleased his Lo. to aske me who was chiefe in the
Towne of *Saint-quintins*, I tolde his Lo. the Admi-
rall and his brother Andelot, he asked mine opinion
of the Admiralls courage and knowledge: I tolde his
Lo. that he was both wise and valiant, as any that
euer I had serued vnder. So, no, said the Earle, you
are deceined, he is wise but not valiant: I did not
replie any further in that point, thinking that the
Earle by his great wisdom, knewe more then my
selfe, being then but young, but the Admirall did
proue my opinion sufficiently: then the Earle did ask
me what I thought of that armie, and if that I had
euer sen the like: I said it was a goodly armie, and
that I had sene the like at diuers times. Yea saide
the Earle, but did you euer see any like expedition that
is made in battering the walles of the Towne: I de-
maunded of his Lo. how long the same had bene
placed, his Lo. answered 14. daies, I saide that I
had sene as much done in those daies the which was
of

Admirall
Satlyon.

Certain discourses of Warre.

of greater strength then that was off: he asked mee where, I tolde him, and after some other speeches, his L^o. departed for that time. Now his L^o. had neuer seen the like before: wherfore it seemed to him a new thing: this is not any reproche to that noble and worthy Earle, for how can any man whatsoeuer he be, know that he did neuer see?

The Castle
of Guynes
besieged.

And shortly after it happened that the Castle of Guynes was besieged by y^e French: and hauing drawn their trenches nere vnto the walles of the saide Castle, even at the point of the day, a volley of cannons went off at the Castle walles, and a gentleman of good account hearing the same, saide to his man, me thinks said he, I doe heare the battery goe off, goe see at what place the same is placed. The man went, and brought his R. word that the batterie was placed against the Parte Bulwarke that is well saide the Gentleman, God holde them there this moneth, supposing that the same would haue holden forth the like time, but the same was made assaultable, before two of the clock the same day. Thus in mistaking of things, men may see the want of experience: for that manye other fortifications was supposed to be of strength sufficient to defend the cannon, and thereby haue been deceived.

There was in those daies great difference betwixt the French and the Spaniards in battering, for I haue seen both, and haue considered of the strength of both, the offensive and the defensive: and in troth the Spaniards are or were, farre inferior vnto the French: for examples sake, firste at Turwin, where the Emperours campe laye at the least 3. moneths before it was wonne, being in effect dyed round about, without any water in y^e ditches, which is a great strength to any holde. *Saint-quintins* was the

and vse of weapons.

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the weakest Towne in all *Pickardy, Taresse*, or in *Varmendois*, and yet it cost y^e King 20. daies work, whereas the French King did winne in one season these townes, viz: the Towne of *Seme* in one day, the Town of *Marianbrugh* in one day, the town and castle of *Ieuoye* in one day, the Towne of *Bonaigne* in one day, the castle of *Denant* 3. daies, the town of *Binky* in one day, whereof the most parte were stronger then either *Turwin* or *Saint-quintins*.

Townes
won in one
summer by
the french.
K.H.2.

Now to returne where I left touching wronge informations or want of experience: It fell out within two yeeres that the Quenes Maiestie that nowe is, sent her army into Scotland for the expelling of the French Nation from thence, at which time the French did then retire themselves, with some fewe Scots, into the town of *Liech*, for they most safetie vpon the approaching of her Maiesties armie: the L. W. Gray of Wilton then Generall of the sayd armie, it pleased his L^{ty} to send the horsemen to the number of 500. to viewe the groundes, where the Campe might best be placed the next daie, and Sir William Pelham, being then Captaine of the Pioners, and trench master, went also to see, where he might best begin to intrench: I seeing him going about the same, and notwithstanding I had no acquaintance of him: and yet knowing that hee had neither serued in France, nor with the Emperour, of good will that I bare vnto the seruice, I wente vnto him in courteous manner and saide, master Pelham, it were verie good for you to beginne at the fote of this hill, and runne straight to ponder hillocke, whereat he seemed to be offended and saide that I shoud not charged with these matters. it was his charge and not mine: I was soe of that I had spoken, considering how uncourteouslie he did accept

The french
Nation
expelled
forth of
Scotland.

The L. W.
Gray.

M. Pelham
intr. nerth
and is of-
fended
without
cause.

Certaine discourses of warre

of my god will. But how did the matter fall out? he, for tenn daies, by leauinge his trench open: the French perceiuing that they might without any let come both on horsebacke and foote, and so did: where as it cost the liues of 200. souldiers, and Captaine Bartlet taken prisoner, with diuers others, and at the rescue wherof the L. Gray of Wilton that now is, hauing not time to arme him selfe, was shotte through the body with a Bullet, so that many thousandes haue dyed of lesser woundes then that was.

The L. Arthur Gray fore wounded.

Francis E. of Bedford.

Captaine Brode his answer vnderstandedly made.

40. Single Bullets to bee shotte forth of a Caluer in one houre.

And againe at the time, that the good Earle Francis of Bedford, was L. Gouernour of Barwicke, and L. Warden of y^e East Marches: it chanced amongst other warlike talke proceeding from his L. at dinner time, he demaunded of the Captaines there present, how many shot a harquebuzier might discharge in one hower: one Captaine Brode euen sodainely did answer and sayd tenn, the rest of the Captaines did not repute his answer, although that they did knowe, he was farre short of the matter: and I sitting at the table, though not to crosse the said Captaine Brode but rather to tell him thereof after dinner, the which I did and withall tolde him, that it was not so well done, as of right he ought to haue done, as all the Captaines there present did confesse. But the said Captaine Brode, to maintaine his said answer, sayd that he had said truely, and thereupon did offer to wager, whereto I did offer there, to shotte forth in the like time, single Bulletes forth of one peece, but the Captaine would abide no triall, the which I did offer to make.

And thus may we see, that Noble men by wrong information, of such as they do suppose should knowe, may be abused.

The

and vse of weapons.

5

The second discourse.

As for further example, the two Tresmains, they were very proper Gentlemen, and had bene in France foure or fife yeres, during the wars betwixt the Emperour Charles, and the French King: and it was supposed at their retorne into Englande that they had bene trayned in that seruice, during they abode there: but it was not so, they neuer did commaund in the feld, neither were they of any other commaunded, in any Particall cause: neuertheless at their home comminge, they were appointed to take charge, but what was the end of them bothe euen death, without doing they: Prince or country any good, to they: frendes or themselves any praise or reputation.

The two Tresmains.

Wherefore I wishe all young Gentlemen, and others mindinge to do they: Prince and country god seruice, to learne first to obaye, and the vse of warlike weapons, and not to thinke, by reading only to attaine to knowledge, without some further experience: and that done, they may the better proceed, according to their callinges, to commaund and leade others the better, with more commendation for their seruice and for the security of them selues, and followers.

To learne first to obaye, the better shall you knowe howe to command.

There is no greater græfe can be offered to a Captaine, that doth rightly, and truely vnderstand what seruice is: then to be commanded by his Chieftaine, to do and execute to the contrarye, wherein there may be no deniall. It is euen so with the skilful souldier, vnto his vnskilfull Captaine, these things I do perfectly knowe to be true of mine knowledge.

Knowledge and ignorance.

I will set downe a little further, touchinge a matter reported vnto me, by men of skill and knowledge.

A reported matter.

ledge

Certaine discourses of warre

ledge concerning a Gentleman, who was accounted to be one of the most skilfullest Souldiers in England: and in troth he was a marvelous honest Gentleman, and of faire conditions: but a souldier is neuer iustly tried, vnto such time as cause and action hath made due profe thereof. I did once here S. Richard Lee the fortifier, say vnto a counsellor in England, that it is better for a man to be counted a good souldier in the Court, then to be the best souldier in the feld, and not knowen in Courte.

It is better to haue the name in the court, then to performe in the feld.

And nowe to the repozted matter. It pleased her Maiestie and counsell, to sende M. Edward Randall Esquire, into Ireland about the tenth yeare of her Maiesties raigne, with diuers bandes of footemen, for the better garding of some parte of her highnesse countries and subiectes there, against such rebellious persons as then pretended to iniure the same, and so beinge placed in Ireland, it fell out that either vpon some false repozt, or the ignoraunt aduersisement of such as was put in trust, for the discourring of the enemies numbers: but howe so euer it was, the Collonell commaunded that Captaine Cornewall, Captaine Gorlay, Captaine Skreuen, and Captaine Ward, should be ready with their seuerall bandes, to march forthward as they should bee directed: and about two houres before day they did march forth towardes the enemies. At the point of the day before the saune was vp: the selue Englishe hoysmen did discouer of the enemies to the number of 3000. hoysmen and footemen, being very nere vnto our sote men, who were in number about 400. with 50. hoysmen, leade by Captaine Haruy, where vpon our Captaines, perceiuing that there was no hope to retire with any safetie, by reason the enemies

and vse of weapons.

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mies were so many hoysmen: toke their groundes for their best aduantage, and aranged their men in good order, and encouraging their souldiers, to trye their ballures, in that parcell of ground of some aduantage, and to shoue themselves to bee the men, that they pposessed to bee: wherupon they made readie their weapons to receiue the enemies violence. Now maister Randall the Collonell, hauing not perfect sight, demaunded how far the enemies were off, and what number they were: It was told him they were in hoysmen and footmen to y number of 3000. euen hard at hand, readie to charge the footmen: where withall, he without cyther taking time to incourage and accompanye his men, or to suffer the footmen to giue their volley of shot as reason did require, but euen presently put the spurs to his horse, and ran into the thickest of the enemies, euen at the instant that the Harquebuziers did giue their volley of shot at the enemies: insomuch, that he was slaine with his owne men and friends most wilfully: to the great discouragement of the rest, had there not ben men both of courage and knowledge in their doinges, who in that action did right well trye themselves to be souldiers, for the enemies were there by Gods help & their god seruice, ouerthrowen and put to slaughter and flight, to their great praise. Now if this be true as it is suppoled, I do think that it is against reason, that the same should be accompted a matter woorthy of the praise that by the Cronicles is set downe, and to leaue unreminbred the valiant Captaines that was the iust cause of the deed and victorie obtained.

Collonell Randall hauing not perfect sight.

Edward Randall wilfully slaine through his own ouersight.

The valiant Captaines not remembred in the Cronicles.

I do not set this downe for any mallice that euer I did beare vnto M. Randall, for I did euer for his curtesie, both loue him, and thought well of all his

D.

his

Certain discourses of warre

his god sp  ch and doings, vntill this fact was committed: and for that I haue heard some of god account say that his doings in the same was valourous: I am not of that minde, but it is for the most parte holden for valour with such as do not vnderstand what true valour is: when in troth it is but very foolish hardines, without any discretion at all.

And thus much haue I said as touching ignorance as well in the greatest who haue receiued their knowledge by wrong informations: as the meaner who doth not regarde what they do take in hand, though the like offence. A man might make a long role, but this is some parte to the w, that it is necessary to look vnto whom such great charges are committed: to be men well able to discharge the same, not in words but in action: so shall it the better fall out for our Princes seruice, and defence of the Realme.

The third Discourse.

As for the disorders in the Low Countries, it is sufficientely spoken off in the discourse of Sir John Smith, and as concerning the battell at Tilbury in Anno. 1588. I haue heard diuers reportes therof, the which if they be true, there was some cause to finde faulte. But as touching the Archers they were placed in my opinion, in the place most fit for them: for the best was to be placed in the front, and the worst in the rereward.

And as concerning great or small Bandes of footmen: my opinion is this, that it is necessary for fote bands or bands of horsemen, to be of diuers numbers, for sundry causes: first, for that there are Captaines, who are better able to gouerne five hundred, then some othoers are to guern two hundred.

and vse of weapons.

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dyed. Againe, if there happen some p  ce of seruice to be done, which one hundred maye do, it is moze then needeth to send two or thre hundreds to do the same, or peradventure there cannot be spared so manye: If therefore there should be sent one hundred from another hundred, if in both the places seruice should come in hand: the two hundred so parted, shall be the weaker in both the partes, by deuiding the Officers. As for example.

I haue the charge of 200. footmen, my commaunder commaunds me to set forth of my band of 200. one hundred, to keepe a straight or passage, or such like: it is reason that either my Lieftenaunt or my selfe do goe with them: if in the mean time occasion of seruice be offered, both my two hundreds are by this means weakened.

And so doth the matter fall out, if a parcell of seruice should be done, where 500. should be imployed therunto: it were better that one sufficient Captaine toke in hand to do the same with his onely band, then to send two Captaines: for two may be of diuers opinions, and so may differ, whereby the seruice is oftentimes hindred. So is it in my opinion, not amisse, that there be in a great Army, 100. 200. 300. 400. 500. or 600.

The Frenchmen do vse when a noble man hath 600. footmen in charge, to haue two Ensignes, and two Lieftenants, foure Sargeants, and 8. Corporalles, for commonlye, they do vse 300. to one Ensigne in Campe time: but the Countie of Creance had in the seruice againe Charles the 5. the charge of 600. footmen.

And for the numbers to be admitted vnder Colonels, it standeth in the same state, as dooth the

D 2

Captains

It is good that Bands of footmen and horse men be of diuers numbers for diuers causes.

Deuinding of bands dooth weaken the same.

True prowess, and foolish hardines.

Toucing ignorance.

To haue regard to whome great charges are giuen.

The Battaille at Tilbury.

Certain discourses of Warre.

Captains before mentioned: for a worthy personage that is able to gouern aright, would I wish to haue vnder his charge 3000. men, a mener 2000. and the least 1000. so should they the more properly serue vpon seuerall occasions, as the Captaines maye in their estates doe. But one thing I doe wish, that the Collonelles should take such order with their Captaines, that euery seuerall band be armed and weaponed alike, according to their proportion: so that it be a great furtheraunce at the time that the Armye shall be reduced into battaile, and put in order to fight, without any confusion or trouble to the Companies of the fildes, or to the Sargeants mates: but with great ease maye embattaile them vpon the sodaine, if they were in number 20000. footmen. Thus much after my mean sail and vnderstanding haue I set down, as concerning Collonels and Captaines, referring the same to my betters, and Captains of greater experience and knowledge, to allow or disallow at their pleasure.

And further concerning the proportion of weapons afoze mencioned: I wish to euery hundred 35. armed Pikes, 30. Muskets, 20. Calyuers, and 15. Billes, Halberds or Partesants: my reason is this, that I would haue so much to offend, as to defend: for as by common experience, that those Swissers and Almaines, whose hierlings soeuer they be, the chiefe cause wherefoze they are retained, are but to fortifie the bodies of their battailes as Defendants, and therfoze are most sure and strong. But as for the offensive, which be the shot next vnto the Horsemen: they must be of other nations, and men of more agillitie of bodye, then either Swisser or Launce-knight. And now to the declaration of our weapons.

The proper
showes of
weapons
for foot
bands.

It

and vse of weapons.

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It is supposed by many, that the weapon called commonly a Caliuier, is another thinge then a Harquebuzze, whereas in troath it is not, but onely a Harquebuzze, sauing that it is of a greater circuite or Bullet, then the other is of: wherefoze the French man doth cal it a pcece de Calibre, which is as much as to say, a pcece of bigger circuite.

The Duke
of Gui'e
was the first
that did in-
uent them

The fourth discourse.

And now for that the Harquebuzze, was the first weapon that I did vse, I will therfoze say some thing touching the same: it is a weapon most offensive, that as yet euer was inuented, for all manner of seruice, as well on horsebacke as on foot, and in the handes of a skilfull souldier, well practised and trained with the vse thereof, a most terrible and deadly weapon. But this I muste needs confesse, that in the handes of an ignoraunt person, neither apte nor willing to vse the same, as of right it ought to be, it is rather hurtfull then commodious: for whosoever shall take in hand to vse the same weapon, must take (as it were) a delighte in the well vsing thereof, first to keepe the same cleane and clere as well within as without, and to haue his molde, to cast his Bullets, as round as is possible, and the same well pared, to that ende it may fall close to the powder, without staying by the way, then his match well made and dry, his stele and flinte to strike fire, his scrues and woymes to serue all for his shouling strike, and for euery tenne souldiers to haue a casting panne. For flasks, it were better that the vse of them were leste, and in lieu thereof the Spanische vse, which is now had with vs for our muskets, for it is the best, the surest and the readiest, that yet hath

Harque-
buzze in the
hands of
ignoraunt
men are
rather hurt-
full then
comodious

D 3

bane

Certaine discourses of warre

bene used for diuers causes, which I omitte least I should bee tedious. This Harquebuzier muste yet haue a tuch bore, a purse for his Bullets, Steele and flint, and a priminge Iron for the clearing of the tuch hole, when neede shall require, a good Poxion, with not to high a creast, a good horte sworde of a yarde in blade, and dagger of twelue inches in blade, with a good girdle and Gronge. This souldier thus furnished, being apt & willing, and doth vnderstand what him selfe is in force: needeth not to care who he doth encounter withall being but one, although he were a man at armes: and in groundes of aduantage to be the death of many, the which aduantage of groundes, is the greatest helpe to all defendantes, the which I take to be our partes at this day in England, to thinke vpon.

For these Harquebuziers, is the onely weapon, that hath bene the greatest cause of the deatnes of such numbers, as haue bene of late dayes overthrowne, in great encounters, yea and in small skirmishes, & by the terrible shot of Pistoliers or Reifeters, and specially at *Saint-quintins*: and at *Graueling* the English ships, were a great cause of that overthrow.

But reade the booke of the Commentarie of the sciulle warres of *Fraunce*, and the encounters in the Lowe countries: and at the same time, that the Frenchinge Kinge Henrie the seconde encountered with the Emperour Charles at *Rentie*, what was the shot of Harquebuzers there: the very morning before the sunne was one hower highe, there was 400 Harquebuziers slaine of the French party, and halfe out of the bushes or bushes by the heels: the which the French and Spaniards did strue to obtaine, for the better aduantage of a greater matter

A Harquebuzer neede not being perfect to encounter a man at armes.

400. Harquebuzers slaine in one morning.

and vse of weapons.

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ter which was done there that same daye: And it was well knowne that of the Spanish partie, there was slaine in the same skirmish, almost double the number. And after the obtaining of the same bushes or shrubs, by the French, the Emperour came forward towards the Kings armie, being a fawcon shot the one off the other: at which time the Duke of *Sauoy* hauing the leading of the *Vlant-garde*, did descende towards the saide bushes possessed by the French footemen: and the encounter began with such terrible shot of the Spanish *Vlant-garde* and the French footemen, that who so euer did see the same may wel say, that the shot of the Harquebuziers, are moste deadly weapons, being in the hands of skilfull men: For what with the terrour of the French shot, and the brave charge of the French light horsemen, the *Vlantgarde* of the Emperour was there ouerthrowne, and chæfely by the terro of the French shot, laid in the bushes as afoze is said.

Againe before *Cambraye*, the armies aforesaide being nere together, where the King had staid foure dayes according to his promise for the Emperour: It fell out the laste daye, the Kinge remoued his Campe, at which instant there appoched nere vnto the French Campe 2000. horsemen of the best in the Emperours armie, accompanied or backed with two thousand Harquebuziers one foot: the French being 5000. men at armes, & archers, within pistol shot of their enemies for the space of foure houres, still beholding one another, who durst first breake: for if the French seeing the greater number, had charged the Spaniards, then would the two thousand shot, haue galled and destroyed the most parte of them, to their great detriment and losse: wherfore it may be thought that the French would not haue

The shot of Harquebuzers are most deadly weapons if they be in the hands of skilfull men.

our

Certaine discourses of warre

ouer shot themselves so farre, as to haue omitted such a daies worke: but only for the doubt that they had, of the same Harquebuzers so couched in a hollo way, behind the horsemen, as aforesayd.

Againe at the siege of *Bouaigne*, where the French King being in person, y^e Emperoz at *Namure*, with in eight miles, the Kings pleasure was to haue five hundred horse, to goe as nere to the Emperours Campe as they could, to discover the enemies: but it fell so forth, that there were 2000. horsemen enemies abode, at the same time: and making the one with the other, they both paused to charge: for the most part of the way lay, betwixt the riuer of *Moos* and a great banke: so that the French supposed, that the whole Campe of the Emperour had bene coming, they retired a soft trot: their enemies pursued, and made after with more speed, and the French hauing but onely forty shot, horsemen, they caused them to light and to defend the straighte at the best advantage: & by meanes of those forty shot, the 500 horse were saued, and came to their Campe without losse. Also the very first daye, that *Bouaigne* was besieged, the French shotte so freshly followed the Spaniards, that were sallied forth for the maintenance of their skirmishe: that in conclusion, they came close to the walles of the towne, and there stayed: and so without either trench, basket, or gabions, continued there, from eight of the clock in the morning, vnto sower in the after none: in which time, there was not any, either souldier, or townsman, that durst looke ouer the walles: in so much, that the Cannoniers and Hyoners, did place the ordinaunce, without anye more defences for the safety. then afoze is saide: so that befoze five of the clocke, the french foote-men entered, and

sewe

and vse of weapons.

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sewe man, woman and child, or thze we them into *Moos*, which doth runne close by the wall vpon the one side: so were these people all slaine or drowned sauing nine Spaniards, that fled into a little towre, the which they defended about two howers, to the losse of five or sixe french shot: But the next day they were all hanged vpon one paire of Gallies, that were set vp, right against the castle of *Denant*, being little more then halfe a mile, distant from *Bouaigne*: wherein was at that time, *Julian Romero* with 200. of his countrie men, who by his and their ballours, and force of their shot, withstode the Kings power thre dayes, to the death of a great number of the french, which were lost at two assaults, and then yielded by composition.

Man woman and child slaine or drowned.

The fifth discourse.

As touching the rest of our fierre weapons, I will set downe partlie my opinion, and when I do speake of Harquebuzes, it is meant by all Calliuers & Carriers: & although the musket be a weapon of greater force then the Harquebuz is of, yet generally both on horseback and on foote, a Harquebuz doth serue for both. But were the musket to be dealt withall on horsebacke, as one foote: I would then thinke it the best of all manuell weapons, that yet haue bene deuised and inuented: and not onely in defendinge of holdes and trenches, but also in the plaine felde for Battels and great encounters: yea and to backe the smaller shot in skirmishe, to great purpose. For within holdes or trenches, there may be vfed, as the maner is, peces of better force, and more to offend the enemies then muskets: as

Peces of more force to defende holdes then Muskets.

©

Fauconits.

A batterie
plated with
out trench
or gabyon.

Certain discourses of warre

Fauconits, Robinetts, and Organpipes, all these bee but light peeces, & are mounted vpon carriages, and the greatest may bee removed with two or thre men (which is the Fauconit) al along the rampiers: and euer new and new, small lowpes made, that the enemies shall not discerne the same, before the shooting thereof, which may not be done, but vpon good occasion: and also there be other peeces, to be set vpon Blockes, and to be removed in like manner: as Bases of diuers sorts, and Harquebuzes with crookes, otherwise called Hagbuts a crooke, the name come of the hooke of the same, which is to be holden fast to a stocke or stone, for recopling.

No armors
can defend
against the
Musket be-
ing neere
hand,

But to the musket againe: The musketes are weapons of great force, and at this day, bothe with leaders and followers, much feared: for selue or no Armours, will or can defend the force thereof, being neerehand, which is as well a terror to the best armed, as to the meanest: it will kill the armed of ppose at ten score yardes, the common armours at twenty score, and the vnarmed at thirty score, being well vsed in bullet and tried powder.

No impedi-
mentes
where as
skillful sol-
diers are.

And where as it is alledged in S. John Smithes booke, of many and sundry imperfections, incidente vnto the same weapons of muskets, and Harquebuzes, as in dankishnes of powder or matche, the smalnes of their bullets being not equal for the boze of the same peeces, with diuers other impediments, as there is to be seene, who so listes to looke: which are no impedimentes, where skillfull souldiers hath the vsing of the same peeces. And for the cause of raynie weather (by him aleadged) if it bee such a great wet, that all things are wet: then is it as bad for y one partie as for the other: Let the seruice rest, or fall to it with hand strokes. Another objection is made

and vse of weapons.

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made in the same booke, against all knowledge and experience, and that is touching the taking leuell at their marke or marks, whereat they shot, as being so far inferior vnto the Long-bow in that respect, as though there were no comparison to be made therein. To the which I answer, both of my owne knowledge and by common experience, for that I my selfe did vse my bowe, vnto my age of 17. yeres, and could haue shot therewith right wel, and so from my bow to my Harquebuz, and after that I had vsed the same, but 4. or 5. monthes, I would haue shot at any marke, at butts short or long, or banke: with the best bow-man in England, for all that I had, and so shall I as yet do, for a good wager, or at the leaste some scholler of mine.

And as it is there termed point and blanke, I neuer heard but that it is termed point blanche, but I will not stand vpon tearmes, for either haue I and many more such plaine fellows, misused our tearmes in that point, or else I am in the right. But as touching the certaintie of shooting at markes or enemies, let it be with Harquebuz or musket, considered but with the archer himselfe: Whether a Cros-bowe, or a Long-bowe in a Wyller, shot more certainly, either at marke or picke, then both the Long-bowe that from the hand of the bow-man is deliuered: and then I thinke it will be allowed, that when the Harquebuz or Musket, doe take the leuel from the button of his sight, vnto the pin in the fore ende of his pece, that he may shote with more and surer leuell, then can either lose Long-bowe, Wyller-bowe, or Cros-bowe: and specially the Musket, who hath his rest to stay his pece vpon, right stedfastly.

Point blake
and not
point and
blanke.

And whereas it is set down, also by S. John Smith that

Certain discourses of Warre.

Touching
a good and
skillfull Can-
noneer.

that it is not mete, that any Harquebuziers should discharge or shoot, but within 8, 10, or 12. yards at the most. I wonder what manner of souldier that should bee, that within pointe blanche of his weapon, be it musket or Harquebuz, that should misse the breadth of a trencher: and these are my reasons which consisteth in two pointes. First as touching a good and skillfull Cannonier, notwithstanding that his Cannon doth recoule, fire or eight fote: hee will not faile the compasse of a yarde of his marke, beeing within pointe blanche: Secondly the fowler, who doth shote without a rest many times, and hath his peece charged with small haile shot, if he be perfecte, wil not faile to kil a Mallard, (yea sometimes halfe a dozen if they sit nere together, or right vpon his leuell) within fiftie yardes. Then much lesse will the skillfull Harquebuzier or Musketier misse the hitting of a man: And againe, there is not so simple a souldier, that cannot make an estimation how farre his marke is without his leuell. that is without pointe blanche, and so giue his weapon that vantage, as the distaunce dothe require. And so I omitte to answer vnto the rest alleadged, for the slendernes of them: thinking this sufficient, to proue my argumentes manifest enough vnto all that doth knowe the vse of weapons of war: and so, such as are ignorant, let them learne of them that doth truely know them.

The sixth discourse, prouing the

Long-bowe to be farre inferiour vnto
the fire weapons.

And now to y Long-bow so highly commended
by John Smith, by so many & sundry recited argu-

and vse of weapons.

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arguments and proofes, by him alleadged in his saide booke, as therein is declared and set forth in so many seuerall places, that I think it is not needfull or requisite to answer vnto the most parte thereof. But as the olde prouerb is, that god things neede no praising: therefore as nere as God will giue me leaue, I shall set downe my opinion and knowledge, without either affection or hatred to y same.

It is not
needfull to
answere vn-
to so many
recited rea-
sons.

The time that I firste entred into the warres, was at *Bolaigne*, where there were a thousand five hundred, or thereabouts in the same Colone, and Fortes there nere adioyning: and although I serued there some five or six moneths, yet did I not at any time during my abode there, see them altogether at any one instant, vnto such time as the same was deliuered vnto the French king: al which numbers came from thence to *Callice* in good order of march: and I seruing in *Guynes* vnder sir Iohn Wallop Knight went to see them, and beholding them well in diuers respects, I thought that in all England, there were not so many in any one shire to be found, of the like comelines and shape of bodye: and notwithstanding that the most parte of them were archers, I did neuer see or heard, of any thing by them don with their Long bowes, to any great effect. But many haue I seene lye dead in diuers skirmishes and encounters, betwene the English in those Fortes, and the French in Garrison, in the Fort called *Mon pleasure* and *mon gardenet*, right ouer against our Fortes and holds there. And where as I serued in *Guynes* as afoze is said, in a band that were all Harquebuziers: saving fourteen persons, there was also another Band of Souldiers, vnder one Captain *Balle*, who had no Harquebuziers in his Band, hee was an Essex man toward the Carle

Nothing
doon by
the archers,
but many
haue been
seene lye
dead with
Harquebuzes
and Pistoll.

of Oxford, and the two bands serued oftentimes together, in diuers skirmishes and oerthowes, betwixt y^e Garrison of *Guines* and *Arde*, and amongst many other, both befoze y^e towne of *Arde* and at other times, nere vnto the Castle of *Guines*, where triall was to haue bene made, twice or thrice in a weeke of all manner of warlike weapons, and the sufficiencie therof to haue bene iustly proued, and amongst many other of greater force, in numbers I will heere set downe the manner of one encounter down by the Garrison of *Guynes*.

The 7. Discourse.

IT fell out that Sir Iohn Wallop Knight of th^e order of the Garter, who had gotten intelligence by his espialles that the Frenchmen would come into the English grounds vpon a night: whereupon as sone as the gates was shut, he sent forth his Gentleman Porter, to commaund the Captaines to put in readines their Bands, all sauing one that should continue within the towne, for watching and warding, vntill their returne back, which was done accordingly: and according to the time appointed, they did march forth of the Towne 400. footemen, and 25. horsemen: and being not halfe a myle from the Towne, there fell such a huge raine and tempest, that the Captaines consented together to returne home to the Towne againe, and so did. Sir Iohn Wallop was a lame man, and could neither ride nor go, but in a litter as he was carried, and yet in his directions most perfect.

The Frenchmen being abroad, and had laine in couert all the same morning: about ten of the clock

in the forenoon, the Cattle of the English inhabitants being all abroad, and suspecting no enemies, the French horsemen brake vpon the villages, from *Medyham* Bridge, close by the marriage stee, and brake away great numbers of Cattle and Sheepe. not coming nere vnto *Guines* by two miles: and when they had gotten that they could, they returned towarde *Hambletewe*, and so after that they were forth of the sight, of the day watche of *Hams* and *Guynes*, the Garrison of *Hambletewe* and them of *Arde*, there parted their bodie, and so returned to wards their Garrisons. In the meane time Sir Iohn Wallop had vnderstanding that the Captains w^old not forth according to his direction wherefore he sent to commaund them to come befoze him to answer their cause: but befoze the Captains did come, the Larum was throughtout the Countrey, and the day watch broke the Larum, and off went a Cannon, to giue the rest of the Countrey warning, and forthwith the Captains and Souldiers issued forth and with their weapons only without any armour at all, the Bell continued striking the Larum so hotly that euery man thought the enemy had ben at the Towne gates, insomuch that the gouernour him selfe came forth, and there meeting with some of the Captains, so he called them for not performing his directions, that he sware by Gods mother (which was his common oath) that they were all cowardly knaues, and durst not l^ok a Frenchman in the face, wherewith the Captains were soze grieved: but in this meane space there came a Horseman from *Sindercafe* Church, who had seene all the demeanour of the French, and declared that one part were going towarde *Hambletewe*, and the other to wards *Arde*: the Captains and the Souldiers hearing

ring this, neuer staide, but made towards a place called *Buckhole* or *Buckhold*, they ran by 20. and 10. and more and lesse, untill they came nere to the open where the French were newlye come thzough the woods, with the Cattle and botie, and took their grounds of aduantage, and put their footmen in their best order, and their hozsemen vpon their left hand: and by that time the French were wel set in their orders, the English were about 280. footmen that were come together, and 9. hozsemen: but before that the English could come into the ground, where those French had imbatled themselves, there was a hedge wherein was a gappe, that 3. in a rank could not passe thzough the same, whereof we stood in doubt that the hozsemen would haue charged vs, before we had past the said straight: but they suffered vs quietly to come thzough the same: there needed no Sargeant, for euery man as fast as hee could pace fell into his ranke, which was seauen, and then we had to ascend towards the enemy, who stood vpon a Linch of a banck 2. yards high: 5. hozsmen stood at y end of the same Linch, vpon whom we straight directed our shot: the French shot off their peeces, in effect vpon our flanke, and overshoot vs in manner, but we let flye amongst their hozsemen, so full in their faces, that they to goe, it was no nede to bid them spur, and so many as were not slain went clear away: the footmen stayed untill we came to ioyne Wyke to Wyke, and at the last they began to shrink, and thought to haue saued themselves, being so nêr the wood: but we pursued them so fast, that few did scape by flight, and so they thze away their pikes, and fled towarde the wood, but we kild 117. of the footmen, and five hozses, and took Mounsier de Outings Lieutenant to the Gouernoz of *Arde*, and one other

other Hozleman, and 69. Prisoners, with the armour and weapon of the rest that were slaine: the botie went clere away, for before we had done and put our selues in good order againe to march home, the bootie was nere *Arde* gates: and Sir John aduertised by some that were in the day watche, that the French and our men were together, for the smoke of the shot might well bee sene, he wished that we had bene at home, for all his land said hœ: But when newes was bzought him by one Musc, one of the nine hozsemen, that he shoulde cause his coke to prouide his supper, for Monsieur de Outings would sup with him & a great sorte more of his partakers: then the gouernoz was right glad, and was lozie that he had so be called the Captaines. This was done aboute Nouember in the 3. yere of Edward the first, by my Captain Hugh Smith and Captaine Thomas Sibell, Captaine Marston and Captaine Bassett with 268. footmen, and 9. hozsemen. The French were 87. hozsemen led by Captaine Pelowes, and 340. footmen led by the L. of Outings: in this incounter we lost but five men, yet diuers hurt but recouered all well againe, amongst these there was 35. Bowmen. whereof there was one slaine, but not one slaine by the archers, nor to my knowledge, I neuer sawe any slaine out right with an arrowe, and but with Quarels few, but with Harquebuzes and Pistol shot, I haue ben at senerall times, where 20000. hath bene slaine outright, besides manie wounded and maimed.

I haue made a long rehearsal of this ouerthrow at *Buckhole*, & the rather for that I finde it not set down in any other place, by any of these our late Chzoniclers, but many matters of smaller effect then that.

I haue bene at manye greater matters, but
ff
neuer

Certain discourses of warre

neuer at aile, done with more good will, or better courage either of Captaine or souldier. For albeit that we were clere ly vnarmed and the enemy well armed, yet we might haue chosen to haue set vpon them, or to haue left them where they were. And now where I left touching archers with their Long-bowes.

The 8. discourse.

Let vs consider in this of sir John Smithes words, although he dooth giue the Long-bowe, manie great and excellent commendations: yet when he commeth to account of the full force thereof, he saith, that it doth most wonderfully with the noyse thereof terrifie the enemy, and so forth: and also doth confesse that it doth but sometime kill. I refer that point to all good souldiers iudgement, there is none worthy to be a soldier, that doth not thinke to be a Captaine in time, by his valour, knowledge, and good behauiour: And what is he that is of that minde, or that doth feare any woundes, so that life may be in little or no daunger? I doe firmly beleue, that it is rather an encouragement to a resolute souldier, rather to appoche towards them, then aile way to shunne them: For in troth when I was in the french kings seruice amongst the olde bandes of footemen, I did greatly commend the force of the Long-bowe, but how was I answered: to be shortlyeuen thus, *Non non Anglois, vostre cause est bien falle car dieu nous a donne moyen de vous encontre apres, une autre sorte que en temps passe.* No, no, English man saith he, your case is become folwe, for God hath giuen vs meanes to encounter with you after an other

Archers are rather an encouragement, then hurtful vnto a resolute souldier.

and vse of weapons.

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ther shortlye then in times past, for nowe saith he the weakest of vs are able to giue greater woundes, then the greatest and strongest archer you haue: & when I replied, as sir John Smith often doth that the number of arrowes doth come so thicke, that it was lyke vnto haile: well saith he but it is not to be feared, as that weapon that doth kill where it lightes: for saith he, when I doe marche directely vpon them and seeing them comming, I doe stoupe a little with my head, to that ende my Burgonet shall saue my face, and seeing the same arrowes lighting vpon my heade pcece or vpon my breast, pouldrons, or bambazaces, and so seeing the same, to be of no more force nor hurtfull: then doo I with lesse feare then before, boldely aduance forwardes to encounter with them. But these are but arguments of small effect, and rather to sholue the opinion of the french souldiers then for any iust pprose of the matter. it is requested that by our owne knowledge, it be truly considered of, for as I haue saide before touching the English seruice at *Bolloigne* and *Guines*, with all the great Garrisons there of long time kept, which was to our Princes an infinite charge, and specially *Bolloigne* with the members and fortifications. And not withstanding there were, as many stronge and able archers, in the same Garrisons, as in all Christendome there were none better, for that number: Let it be considered; What was by them done, at any time of seruice, within those fine yeeres that it was English: or at *Guines* or *Callice* during the same time.

And nowe to a latter time, as in the seconde yeere of the Dukes Hatellies most happie raighe that nowe is, at the siege of *Laeth*, where there was verie manie archers, as of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*,

Certain discourses of Warre.

There was
many ar-
chers at
Leeth and
good place
to haue
tried them.

cashire, Cheshire, Nottingham-shire, and Darbshire: there was as good place to haue tried them, as was in anie place of late dayes, but I knowe that there was no good ppoofe made to the commendations of archerie or of the Long-bowe. And I may the more certainlie speake it for this cause.

It was my chaunce at the conclusion of the peace, and the yelding vp of the towne of *Lieth*, to méete with diuers of my acquaintaunce beeing French men: amongst the rest, I mette with a Gentleman and an olde souldier, who serued in the same company that I was off, amongst the foote men in *Fraunce*, whose name was Mounseur de Sentan, whose ballour and honest conditions, I did perfectlie knowe, so much the better, for that we were both vnder one Co:pozall, and lodged together, and frequented at meate and tablinge long togeather: in so much that in respect of the great curtesie, that I found at his handes in *Fraunce*: I partlie considered of at *Lieth*, & after diuers speeches past betwixt him and me, I demaunded two questions of him.

448. Slaine
at Lieth at
one assaulte

The first was to know how many of our souldiers were slaine, at the Skale or Saltie by vs giuen: he answered that there were slaine 448. I demaunded howe he did knowe the same, hee answered that the Gouernour of *Lieth* dyd commaunde, that all the vppermost garmentes of the slaine men of the English partie, shoulde be brought into the market place, and there to be counted, which was done as he affirmed, and there were found sayd he so many as aforesayd.

Secondly remembryng the wordes of the french men befoze rehearsed, at the time of my being in *Fraunce* touchinge archers, I demaunded of this Sentan, howe manye were slaine with Arrowes, from

and vse of weapons.

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from the beginning of the sledge vnto that daye, he answered not one, sauing said he, that one who was shot betwixt the shoulder and the bodie, and that with the heat of his body when the arrow was pulled forth, the head stuck behinde, and came not forth together, wherfoze the Surgeon was constrained to cut the man to recouer the head of the arrow, and so the man still lay vpon y amendeiment of his wound. Now by this and other befoze rehearsed, and hereafter to be rehearsed, it dooth and may appere, that by Harquebuzes great numbers haue come to their deaths, and either fewe or none with arrowes, or archery.

Not one
slaine at
Leeth with
archers, but
one hurt.

It dooth
appere
that fewe
or none
hath been
slaine with
arrowes,
but great
numbers
by the fiery
shot.

And now touching the seruice don at that time that *New-hauen* was kept, the 5. yere of her Maiestie, by the Earle of Marwick: let the Cronicle, or those y yet do liue, make account who were there slaine, with the force or dent of arrowes. And albeit that it was so, that in the skirmish befoze the towne of *New-hauen*, that Sir John Smith speaketh of in the 37. leafe of his discourse: it may be supposed, that the French hauing continued long in Skirmish, whereby their powder and bullets were spent: and besides being nere vnto the Towne, and in danger of the great Ordnance, were of themselves willing to retire, if the fourescore Archers had not come at all. I see no repozte in the histories made, touching the same, or any to any purpose of late time, and specially since y Harquebuz hath been rightly known, and the longer that the archers be continued, the woofe they will be esteemed.

It is to be
thought
that the
French
would haue
retired, if
the Archers
had not
come at al.

The longer
the archers
be continu-
ed, the
woofe.

The 9. Discourse.

To answer vnto Sir Io. S. his 3. questions.

And now to answer vnto the first parte of Sir John Smithes argumentes: which is in the 20. Page, the 15. line. I will now saith he procede, to the consideration and examination of thre most important things, in the which all the effectes of Muskettiers, Harquebuziers, and Archers and their weapons doe consist.

And that is whether Muskettiers and Harquebuziers be most readiest to giue volleys, &c.

The second is, whether the weapons of fire, or the bowe doe faile, in discharging and shooting, &c.

The third is, whether by reason and common experience, the Bullets or the arrowes doe annoy the enemies most, be they horsemen or footmen.

Sir I. S. his answer not followed but the true observation.

To the first I answer thus, I will not follow Sir John Smith, in his answer vnto the same. but rather the true obseruation, which by all good Souldiers is not forgotten to be performed vpon any occasion of seruice. The Harquebuzier doth first charge his peece in good order, as to a Souldier it needs no rehearse, and to other not knowing how to doe it, it is but folly without exercise: But thus, hauing charged his peece, he goeth towards his enemies, as doth the Archer with his Bowe bent, and one arrow in his hand: the Harquebuzier hath also for his first shot, all thinges in more readines then any Archer can haue: for whereas the Harquebuzier against the time that his officer shall commaund him to shote, his match of a yarde in length is fired at both the ends, & ready set in his serpentine: that down, he hath nothing to doe, but lay his peece close to his

his shoulder, and marke his enemy iust. The Bowman though he haue his arrowe readye nocked, yet must he drawe the same to the head, the which I haue seen oftentimes very slenderly perfourmed: and the drawing of that to the head, doth require more time then the fiery weapon doth, being in the readines as is aforesaid.

The archer dooth require more time then dooth the fiery weapon to shoot the first shoot.

But this is the effect of the matter. If it must be as Sir John Smith doth say, that a Harquebuzer may not discharge but within 8. 10. or 12. yardes: I thinke that if that be allowed, that the Harquebuzier may discharge the first, before the Archer, being ready as afoze is said. And if it be at horsemen and the horsemen be so near as within 10. or 12. yardes: then is it too late to charge again, or to shoot, for the horsemen being so near as afoz said, will either enter or els immediatly retire, with y they haue already received: for it is a thing most certain, that horsemen in their charge if they be Souldiers, when they are within danger of the shot, will either not charge at all, or else being near, will with all possible speed perfourme their charge: for otherwaies, they should be counted but simple Souldiers, for euen so was one of the Tresmaines (in honouering in the charging of footmen) slaine at Newbaurg: and as for shooting 4. for one, there is no Archer that can shote 2. for one, if the Harquebuzier be perfect and well trained.

One of the Tresmaines slaine in honouering in his charging of footmen.

The Harquebuzier that doth perfectly knowe how to vse himselfe and his weapon: will discharge more Bullets, then any Archer can doe Arrowes: and by this way and meane. If it be a Musket, so much the better for my purpose, and this is to be done in great encounters, whereas armies cannot marche but easlye, for that the numbers are great, and being a Musket, I would firste deliuer a single

Bullet,

A perfect Harquebuzere wil discharge more Bullets, be the time short or long, then any Bowman can doe arrowes.

Certaine discourses of warre

All this while the Bow dooth stand without dooing any hurt.

No man can tel how to fight before he see his ground and numbers.

A Musket shoots more Bullets then a Long bow doth arrows.

Bullet, at 24. scoze off or thereabouts, by that time they had marched fourescoze nearer, I would deliuer another Bullet, and at 12 scozes two, and at eight scoze thre, at fourescoze 6. Distoll Bullets, with lesse powder the at the first by the third part, for alwaies the moze lead the lesse powder, and yet shall the force be neuer the lesse.

Now consider, that betwixt eight scoze and the loyning of the battell, how many arrows can a bow well deliuer: for within that distance, both the battailes doth come on with great speed, or else not at all. But no man can tell how to fight, but as the time, the ground, and the number shall either giue leaue or suffer.

Now euen as I haue declared for the Musket, so doth it stand with the Harquebuz, but not to begin so farre off with the Harquebuz, as with the Musket: and take this for most certain, that a Musketeere or a good Harquebuzier, will deliuer moze bullets, & of greater force the any archer can do arrows, be it in short time or long time: for as before is declared, if the enemy be so nere that the Archer can shoot but one, then maye the Harquebuzier let fall another Bullet into his pace, and shot two for the archers one. And if th'enemy be far of, then may it be perfourmed as afoze is said.

And touching the second point, that is, whether the Archers with their weapons, or the other Souldiers with their weapons of fire, doo faile least, to shot, discharge and giue their volleys.

As touching this second point and question, I answer thus. that touching the certainty of nere shooting, or failing to hit th'emies, the Bow cannot be able to come nere the Harquebuz or the musket, for the fire weapons doth shoot with a certain level,

and vse of weapons.

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well, as it were by rule, and the Bowe but by gesse, as I haue layde befoze sufficiently touchinge that pointe. And for sayling, as in respect of bankynesse of powder or matche: with a good souldier it is neuer to be founde but that he wyll be as carefull thereof as of his lyfe, and for the rest that maye happen in sayling, it is nothing to bee compared to the faine drawing that the archer doth vse, in not drawinge his arrowe to the heade, when he is nere his enemies, as by many yet liuing, that can witnesse the same, as well as my selfe, and how lewdlie they will at the halfe Arrowe stirte them into the ayze and withall scope, as though euerye shot of Harquebuz that went off, were shot at them.

And where as it is set downe in the same place, that there can nothing hinder the archer, but y^e breaking of his Bowe or bowstring, yet I take it that there are diuers other lettes, the which I haue s^en dyuers archers complaine of.

If y^e archer, for that he coulde get no warme meate, nor his th^e meales euery daie, as his custome was to haue at home, neyther his body to lye warme at night, whereby his toyntes were not in temper, so that being sodainely called vpon, as the service doth often fal out: he is lyke a man that hath the Palsie, and so benommed, that befoze he get eyther to the fire, or to a warme bedde, he can drawe no bowe at all.

And it is further set downe in the saide booke, that neyther Raine, Hayle nor Snowe, can hinder the Archers from shootinge, but I am not of that minde, for that the archer lyinge in Campe, where as hee maye not lye forth of his appointed place, and hauing not to couer his Bowe nor scant-

The bowe can not come nere the fiery weaps in nere shooting for the fire weapon shootes by rule and the bowe but by gesse

Certain discourses of warre

Raine doth
him for the
bowe and
string.

lie his heade, then, I thinke his bowe to be in danger to dissolve the Gleeve in the hoznes of the bowe, and something hinder his stringe and cheffe of arrowes, whereof he dooth make his pillowe: but to conclude in this pointe, howe shall a man make a stronge argument or answer, unto a matter of no substance: except he have helpe by Logike the which for my part, these fewe lines may witnesse, that it is not my profession.

Howe to aunswere the thyrde question, which is whether the Bullets of weapons of fyre, or the arrowes of archers, do annoy the enemye most, which question is frivolous, for by the propounding of the question, and answered by the author him selfe, it doth carrie a shewe in wordes, to be taken as a thinge most certaine, with such especallye, as doth not understand to the contrarie.

A 100. for
one strike
with fiery
weapons.
So that if
death be a
ny annoi-
sance let
that suf-
fice.

But with all souldiers, Captaines and skillfull Conductors of the warres, it is evidently and manifestly knowne, that where as there hath bene one slaine with arrowes, there hath ben a hundred slaine with manual weapons of fyre, since the use of the same hath bene practised and rightlie knowne. Wherefore if death be annoyvance to eyther Horseman or footman, let this suffice: for it is not woundes or small hurtles, that daunteth the souldiers where as death is not greatly to be feared, as before is declared.

Bowes doe
but for
times ill,

And where as Sir John Smith doth saye him selfe, that the archers do hurte and wounde, as in the face and places unarmed: yet doth hee confesse, that the same doth but sometimes kill, whereby it may well be understode to be a thing of small force, in respect of the weapons of fyre.

Againe,

and use of weapons.

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Againe, whereas it is sette downe in the same place, that the arrowe heades beinge rustie, is the cause that woundes given by the same will not heale, whereby some will imagine, that it is for the best to have their arrow heades rustie.

But truelie I never did see any archer in the warres, that had any ether then such rustie arrowe heades: and besides I did not at any time see, any of those archers goe about to mend them, and to make them cleane and smoth, that thereby the same might the better enter throught the doublets, or garmentes of theyr enemies: for by common reason and daillie proofe, any thinge that is rustie, be it Bokkin or Dagger, or arrowe heade, it will not with great force enter throught any meane thing if it were but a meanelie bumballed doblet.

Rustie
things will
not enter in
to any mean
thing with
great force.

And I am of that opinion, that the doublets used in these dayes, are as good a defence against a rustie arrowe, as a Target of the best proofe: and as touching the heades of the archers arrowes beinge barbed, and broade before, by reason whereof, it can not enter as a smoth sharpe heade would do. therefore it must of necessitie bee that the same heades, was devised for galling of naked hozes. And doubtlesse the same being of so small force, and entering so little waie into the hozie, should immediatly fall forth againe, whereas by reason of the barbe it was supposed to stay & trouble the hozes the more. All which annoyvances are but meane stufte towards the defence or invading of a kingdom, as by some other argumentes hereafter shall by Gods helpe be shewed and proved.

All the
annoyvances
that arrows
can give us
but meane
stufte to
wardes the
defence of
a kingdom.

But first to conclude with these our archers and of their disability, in respect of the service of these dayes: true it is, that before the weapons of fyre,

G 2

were

Certain discourses of Warre.

were inuented, and vnknown, as also vntreyd, to be weapons of great force and effect, in all seruice on horse-backe as one sorte, as before is declared: and yet but of late dayes that the same haue bene made publicke in armes, and not as yet thoroughlie and generallie knowne vnto this our Nation, as vnto some of the greater calling, and to the most of the meaner sorte, as the Long-bowe or archer is, by reason that we are brought by therewith, euen as a parcell of our chiefe pleasure.

But yet there is good hope, that by reason of suche good prouisions as are made, within this realme, that in some conuenient time the same may be more vsed and practised then it is, and speciallye the Musket, the Harquebuzze and the Pistoll: the which without exercise can not bee commodious or profitable in any good sorte to be answerable against the vsurping enemies the Spaniards, who are wholly and fully practised therewith, and specially with the Musket and Harquebuzze: And would it pleased God our Prince and States, to haue our able men in England, to be vsed and trained in the same weapons of fire: it would not onely incourage them, but also be a great delight to theyr Captaines and leaders, the rather to incounter with those wicked enemies or any other.

And also it wold be a terror to al our enemies, that should chance to offer any iniurie to this realme of England or Ireland: for wee may assure our selues that it is our want of skill, that maketh these foreign enemies the more bolde to inuade vpon vs.

For if wee were practised in our weapons as they are, they would neuer take vs in England nor else where: for in respecte of this nation, the Spanyardes in deede are but penurys weeds.

For

This nation is brought vp with the long bowe as a parcell of our cheefest pastime

And yet good hope that the fiery weapons shalbe better practised in time, for without practise they are not commodious but hurtful.

The Spaniards are fully practised in the fiery weapons.

The Spaniards are but penurys weeds in

and vse of weapons.

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For by experience I doe know, that in al the time of the wars, continued betwixt the Emperour Charles and Henry the 2. french king: the Spaniards were the least accounted off in the field, of any other nation whatsoeuer: they will doe wel in skirmishes with their shot, or in defending of a hold, or assaulting of any breach: but for any other great encounters, you shall heare little of their doings to any great purpose. For the ourthrowes that were at *Sanit-quintins* and at *Graueling*, was not done by them (though King Phillip bare the name) but by the Duke of *Savoy* and the Countie *Egmond*, with his *Wallons*, and by the Duke of *Brunswick* and those *Almains*, all which was done with horsemen, insomuch that without exercise of our weapons, we shalbe a great deale worse able to encounter with them, but to our great græfe and losse.

respect of this nation, if we were trained as they be.

We are not able to incounter with them without exercising of our weapons, but to our losse.

The 10. Discourse.

Thus hauing spoken of the fierie weapons, and the Long bow, in which I haue partly shewed mine opinion: yet for the better proue of my allegations herein declared, for that the contrarie is so fixed and rooted in the mindes of many of these our friends in England, that vnlesse it be tried, and with action in their sight proued, they will in no wise yet be perswaded from their former opinions in this matter. Wherefore I haue thought it my part, in respect therof to set downe some course, whereby the same maye by action be made manifest vnto all that are doubtfull in that behalfe.

And thus, if it may please our Prince and State to allow some Gentleman who shall haue the best opi-

nion

Certaine discourses of warre

To make a
horse as Sir
Jo. S. allow
eth.

One horse
man will
charge 7.
archers, and
take no
harme, nor
doe none
to them but
run through
their ranks.

Harquebu-
ziers may
not give
any volley
of shot.
saith Sir I. S.
but within
8. 10. or 12.
yardes.

nion in archerie, as in the Long bow for the better
satisfying of all parties, to call by commission fourth
of any one hundred or weapon take in all England,
so many archers as shall suffice to make a hearse,
according as Sir John Smith hath said that archers
should be, let them be twenty ranks or more, and
every rank to containe in flanke seaven or eight, as
by him is set downe to be the best ordering of them,
and let them be placed in the plaine fildes to the best
aduantage, so that there be no impediment to let
horsemen to come close to them but themselves, their
bowes and sheafes of arrowes, and so being set in
their best order, I will be one if it may be permitted
that shall take in hand to charge them, and to run
through them, having no let but their bowes and
arrowes, and we will be but for every ranke one
horseman: for 20. ranks of 7. in a ranke, twenty
horsemen: and we shall arme our selves and our
Horses, with no armour of proofe, further then the
Pistol proofe.

And whereas it is further set downe in the same
Booke, that Harquebuziers may not give their vol-
leys of shot, but within 8. 10. or 12. yardes, and not
8. 10. or 12. skoyes: & that archers will hurt, wound,
gall and sometimes kill, at 9. 10. and 11. skoyes, as
well as the fiery weapons can doe.

To this I say, that for triall thereof, I will stand
at six score yardes distant from the best of these Ar-
chers aforesaid, and let him shoot 10. arrowes one af-
ter another at me, and if I do stir from the place, let
me be punished, and I will be armed as before is said
of the Pistol proofe, and if I be therewith wounded,
I am contented to take my mends in my own hands:
and againe, let me be set in the same place where
this lustie Archer stood to shoot his ten arrowes, and
let

and vse of weapons.

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let there be a whole complete armour set right by
where I did stand, and let me have but two shootes
with a Pistol or Harquebuz, and let it then ap-
peare, what the one and the other is in force or cun-
ning, this in my opinion were no harm: and it were
not amisse that triall were made, for it is supposed
by many that have read Sir John Smiths booke, that
there needeth no Pikes to garde the Archers, for
saith he, they are Wykes good enough of themselves.

And againe it seemeth, that Sir John Smith doth
commend the Long bowes and the Crosbowes, to
serue on horseback, to be better weapons then either
the Petronelliers or the Pistolliers, as in the same
booke is set downe. where also he affirmeth, that the
same weapons doo far exceed and excell, all weapons
of fire, on horsebacke. It doth appere in the same
place, the manner how that he would have them ar-
med for the fildes, the which arming and weaponing
in my slender opinion are very meane. For the Cros-
bowes he alloweth to be of 2. pounds and a halfe,
and the Longbowes all men know them: And for
armours, he wilbeth the Crosbower to have a mur-
rian of the Spanish fashion, collers, light and short
waisted cuirasses and backs, with sleeves of maile or
cheined sleeves, or with Brigandines and boade
Swords, &c. And the Archers on horseback saith he
would be armed with a dape Steele Skull, with a
narrow bymbe hat, well stuffed for the easines of
his head, and either Jacks of maile according to an-
tient manner, when they were called *Loricati Sagit-
tarii*, or else light and easie Brigandines, or at the
least I let holed doublets very easie, and so forth.

Trials to
be made
touching
Harquebu-
ziers and ar-
chers, with-
out harme
to any.

But meane
arming to
defend the
fiery shot.

The

Certaine discourses of warre

The II. Discourse.

NOW as concerning these Souldiers thus armed and weaponed as afoze is laide, I thinke with men of experience and iudgemēt, both are but meane. As foꝛ both the weapons, euery man that hath sen a Dære killed oꝛ shot, doth vnderstand the full foꝛce of them.

And foꝛ the long bow, it standeth in the like estimation that other Archers on fote dooth: as foꝛ the armours, the best is the Brigandine, the which is but equall with a coate of plate of the best making, which M. Eucers oꝛ Ewry was armed with, when as the Lord of Grange called Kirkaudie a Scot, and the laide M. Ewry did runne the one at the other, in a challenge by them made with sharpe speares: but how fell out the same? euen like to haue beene the death of that good and valiant Gentleman M. Ewrye, foꝛ Kirkaudy ranne him cleane through the armour, as in at the brest and foꝛth at the back, though both: the to what purpose is that arming in that māner? Foꝛ shot, all men doth know that the like armours will not defend þe foꝛce thereof, no not the Pistoll being the least of all the rest. Foꝛ example, was not the Duke of Anien, the Viscount of Tourain, the Lord of Chandenoir, slaine with Pistoll shot, vpon S. Laurence day, nêr vnto Saint quintins in Varmendoe, with manye thousands of me-
ner persons? and likewise the Constable of Fraunce Memorancie, was slaine with a Pistoll befoꝛe Paris, who were better armed then any Brigandine can be of, as by the Duke Anien his armour, yet readye to be shewed in England, it may be witnessed.

Why

M. Ewry doth run against the Lord of Grange with a sharp Speare. M. Ewry is run thogh the body for want of good armour. 3. Scuerall noble men slain at one encounter with Pistoll shot at Saint quintins in Fraunce. The Countable of Fraunce slaine with a Pistoll befoꝛe Paris.

and vie of weapons.

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Why then should such meane armours be allowed, with men of vnderstanding and knowledge? it were most fit that our enemies were so armed: foꝛ if it would defend against any thing, it wold serue best against archers, whose foꝛce is like vnto that maner of arming.

And now wil I by Gods helpe shew my simple opinion touching the arming of light horsemen, as Hargolets, Petronels, and Pistolliers: the Hargolets oꝛ as they terme them Hargoleters: which when I serued in Fraunce against Charles the 5. were called Hargolets, oꝛ being but one, Hargolet. These were taken into pay in the time of the wars, foꝛ to be guides, foꝛ they were al those countymen wheras they were in Garrison, & notwithstanding that the other bands had remoued, yet these Hargolets remained foꝛ that they knew the passages & streights, though all nêre adioining to them, and yet good lustie soldiers, and would serue well. And in my opinion these soldiers last spoken of may be armed all after one sort: as a good strong burganet, a collar with a paire of good Cuirasses of the Pistoll pꝛoofe, and a paire of well armed bands, one Gantlet foꝛ the Ryght hand and no Wambzaces: & the horse with a good strong saddle, with strong furniture, with two rains to his Bridle wherof one should be with a pꝛety strong chain of twier, and the head part also of the Bridle, foꝛ being not cut in sunder with the blowe of a sword: Then a good sword and a dagger: foꝛ weapons, either a Harquebuz with a snaphance, oꝛ a Speare and one Pistoll, oꝛ else thꝛee Pistolls two in cases and one at his girdle, oꝛ at the hinder part of his saddle: I do account the Harquebuz and the Petronels all as one, and these should be foꝛ these

Here is the authors maner of arming

Hargolets & not Hargoleters.

3. Sorts of horsemen armed all after one sort.

H

kindes

Certaine discourses of warre

kinde of Light horsemen.

And if that I were well and strongly mounted, and thought that I should at any service encounter with footmen: I would haue a placket to clasp upon my breast of the like p^rofe as aforesaid.

A Placket.

The lance being broken the pistol will giue a deadlie blowe.

And as touching men at armes and Launces, their manner of arming is common, except the Launce would haue as some will a Pistoll of a meane length, that when as the Launce is broken and he entred amongst his enemies, may yet therewith giue a deadly blowe: or hauing broken his Launce, and shall yet be put to retire, it is good to defend himselfe from being taken: as for example, the Keiser who in retiring, wounded the late Duke of Guise in the face, in the chase, or else he had been slain: or taken: or if a man should be in chase either following or retiring, for the better speed of both, the Launce is a great hinderance to the speede of the horse, where the Pistoll is none: but either to the defendant a preseruer, or to the followers to moue his aduersarie to yield, and so standeth the case in this respect.

The lance a trouble in flying or following, the pistol is not so.

The 12. discourse.

As now to the arming of footmen, I would with within his p^ratesties store, in Corselets for footmen, ouer and besides all those common and priuate armors placed in shires, to be 5000. of such good p^rofe and shape, as no nation should haue better, with good and strong Burgonets, to arme close to a mans head, not ouer high crested, a good collar and an easie, wide enough with Cuirasse well breasted, and not too flat, with good Laisses broad above and

and vse of weapons. 23

and narrow downward, according to the shape of a mans bodie, and not for great hose as of late daies haue been used, faire Holdbands with the turning ioint, and Lambzases with Gantlets: for all these 5000. a good strong sword of a yerde in blade, and no hilts but crosse onely, a dagger of ten or twelue inches in blade and the like crosse hilt: for weapons a faire Pike well armed with cheques a yard deepe, of eightene foote in length and a Pistolet at his girdle.

Armors fit for mens bodies and not for great hose as of late hath been used.

All these armed pikes should be allowed twelue pence the day, who should be for the most part gentlemen, and those should neuer be called upon, but upon some great occasion. For Halbarbs or Billes meaner arming will serue, as burgonets, cuirasses with Laisses and Holdbands, and no Lambzases, he shall the better haue his armes at liberty to lay about him: and to haue swords and daggers as the armed pykes. I with no Halbarbs into the hands of any that hath no skill to vse the same, for it is a weapon that can abide no blowes, as the Bill will do, but yet in the hands of officers, & such as hath skill how to vse the same, it is a very good weapon, but the same must be handled delicately with the push onely, and quickly drawne backe: the cause that the French officers do vse them with such long staues and pykes, is to encounter with the Lance-knights, who do vse being Sargiants of fote-bandes, to carrie verie good long swords or slaugh swords.

Armed pikes to haue 12. pence by day.

For short weapons, meaner arming will serue.

Halbarbs are not to be put in the hands of an ignorant person.

But for our common countrie men, not used to handle a halbard as aforesaid: I would with him to haue a good strong black Bill wide in the socket, to receiue a strong Staffe, the heade thicke in the backe, with a strong pyke in the backe and point

Strong black bills for our plain felowes to be well made.

Certaine discourses of warre

Sharpe edged: and thus much touching these kinds of armed men, I thinke them in my opinion to be sufficiently armed and weaponed for the seruice if occasion be offered. And notwithstanding that I haue spoken something touching the Harquebuziers, how that I wish them to be furnished: yet for that I am in hand with the same, I will let doونه my opinion touching the fiery weapons.

The 13. Discourse.

The Muskets are weapons of great force and effect, in all seruice on foote whatsoeuer: they will helpe to great purpose. And whatsoeuer numbers be furnished into the shires in Englande, I would wish her Maiesties store to remaine still furnished with 5000. of the best Muskets that could be made, and rather of a little bigger boze then these common Musquets that be sold in the countrie: and so being well proued and tried to be sure, and not ouer churlish in recopling, the which consisteth much in making the vice in the breech, for when that is short, whereby any of the powder doth lie behinde the tuch hole, then will they recople very much, but being well made and also furnished, they will not.

I would wish that from among al the Captains in England, that there should be chosen forth of their numbers, the most apte and able, both in strength and knowledge 5000. men, that by the said captains could be chosen, and those being well chosen should be trained fixe daies in euery month in the yere, sauing December, Januarie and February, to that ende they should be perfect in that weapon:

To haue in
hir Maiesties
store 5000.
Muskets.

To haue the
best trained
for their mus-
kets.

For training
54. daies in
one yecre.

and vse of weapons.

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weapon: and those should also be in the same pay, and to the same effect, that the 5000. pykes should serue for.

And for Harquebuziers, I would wish 3000. of those to be as wel chosen, trained and furnished, as the Muskets are in their kinde. Now do we yet want 1500. Pistolliers, to be well mounted and furnished, and as perfectly trained as the Harquebuziers or Muskettiers, both how to vse their hozes, as also their weapons. For as there be many that can ride & vse a horse well, so is there manie that can shote a Pistoll, and yet but few that can rightly vse both together: for he that will bee a Pistollier, must vse his horse to know it, whereby he do not feare neither the cracke nor the fire: and that done, he must learne to occupie his bzidle bande, his Pistoll, and his spurs in due time and forme, all at one instant.

3000. Har-
quebuziers to
be trained as
the muskets.

Few can vse
both Pistoll
and the horse
wel at one in-
stant.

All these numbers do not yet amount vnto 15000. for these are but as it were Bulwarks, flanks, and curtains to an armie, and yet woulde these be to a better purpose than fortie thousande not trained, and the matter through this Realme were no great charge. And as for the armed pikes and halberds, launces and speares, are better to be made perfect in fixe daies, than the fiery weapons are in 60. daies.

These are
but bulwarks,
flanks, & cur-
tains to a bat-
tell.
Pikes, Hal-
berds, Laun-
ces, & Spears
are made per-
fect in fixe
daies, better
than fierie
weapons are
in 60. daies.

The 14. Discourse.

And now hauing spoken of such things as haue come to my memozy, the most part whereof I haue had the vse off: I will by Gods helpe and the fauor of authorite, proceed a little further touching deuices,

Touching de-
uices against
such an armie

Certaine discourses of warre

as Sir Iohn
Smith doth
speake of.

devices, and giue my opinion, as concerning the defence of the landing of such an armie as sir Iohn Smith doth speake off in the 10. 11. 12. and 13. leafe of his laide discourse, where he doth saie in this maner. viz.

Now saith he for answere vnto some of these unsoldierlike opinions, I saie that if any such as do holde that woonderfull opinion of the effects of Muskettiers, how good Souldiers soener they thinke themselves, were at any haue in England with five or sixe thousand of the best muskettiers that they euer sawe of our English nation, without an armie of horsemen and footemen of other weapons to backe them, I thinke they would worke verie small effect against the enimies landing, although they had insonced themselves, &c.

I will omit to rehearse the whole set downe by sir Iohn Smith, but the principall effects as thus, If they should see an armie of thirtie or fortie thousand men besides sea men, and such as should be left for the garding of the ships, vnder some notable and sufficient Generall, enter into any capable haue in England, with winde and weather fit for the purpose, with intention to innade as God forbid: they should finde themselves, &c.

For vpon the discharging of the third Cannon (saith he) all the longboates and vessels of oares for the landing of men, do rowe with all furie towards the land, with a woonderfull terrible noise of trumpets & drums:

Now if our such men of warre with their Muskettiers, would giue their vollics of Musket shot vpon these shipboates full of men, with intent to destroy great numbers of them, being so thicke and so many: they shall finde, that discharging their musket shot from the higher grounds downe into the sea, which by the Italians are called Botti di ficco, accounted of all other the most

uncertaine,

and vse of weapons. 25

uncertaine, &c. That in so much that in despite of this insoncing & muskettiers, the enimies will land and approach their indented Sconce, not with any crosse trench gabions nor mounts, according to the order of approaching and battering of places, in forme fortified: but with other inuentions gardable against musket shot, that peradventure our such men of warre are ignorant of, as also with musket shot, &c. In so much that our such men of war (as he saith) would not scarcely abide the landing of the first boate full of soldiers, without abandoning both sconce and shore vnto the enimies.

Whereunto I say, that if any such forren enimies should pretend to land here in England, as of late the Spaniards would haue done as it was thought, the which by Gods pzouidence, and the indreour of our valiant Seamen were pzevented, and disperfed to their losse and reproch. Wherefore I am fully perswaded that if the like occasion should be offered, although that they were moze in number than is spoken of, with the most sufficient Generall being but a man: that by the same grace and helpe aforesaid, and with the supply of the five thousand Muskettiers and Harquebuziers, with 500. Pyoners, and twelue Fawcons and Fawconets, to assist our Seamen, with such Gentlemen as would accompany the same, there is no doubt but it would suffice to be such a barre against those enimies, that they should not be able to touch our shoares in England, & chiefly if it should so come to passe, as sir Iohn Smith doth alledge, that the banks were high aboue the Sea, it were so much the worse for the enimies to assaile the same due to one: as for example, the banks being high as aforesaid, & enimies must either haue ladders to climb forth of their tottering boates, or else some of their owne

The authors
answer to the
obiection.

Pyoners.

A meane to
barre the lan-
ding of the
Spaniards.

A woonderful
terrible noise
of Drums &
Trumpets.

Certaine discourses of warre

stone friends or fellowses, to drawe them vp with pykes, the which I would thinke by all reason, that our muskettiers, harquebuziers and labozers with the blacke bill, should right well serue their turne in that behalfe, to their destruction and repulse. For whereas the enemies must of necessity stand vpight in their vessels of oares at the full shote, to their great annoiance, and also shall not be able to giue their volles of shot, with any such certainty as shall our muskettiers, who shall lie close vpon the shoares, with a small trench before them, and shall neede to shew nothing but their heads and weapons aboue the same, which trench may be made in halfe an houre, with the pioners aforesaid.

And againe, if the haven be full, that the bankes and water be in maner equall, then may our field peeces with muskettiers cleane the haven, at the verie first volle, being discretly deliuered, and in due time: that is first the fild peeces at 12. scoze yards, and the muskets at eight scoze, the harquebuziers at fower scoze, and so by these drowings, euery pece both great and small, should haue time to recharge before the enemies coulde touch the shozes: and to be readie againe to giue them their welcome to their faces.

But I do not beloue, that the enemies would abide the second welcome being thus vsed. And besides all this I doubt nothing lesse, but that her Maiesties armie by sea, wil be as readie to attend vpon them as afozetime they haue done, and with a greater desire to deale with them than at the first they had, by reason of some wants, &c. And so being still beating at the buttocks of the enemies, with the like aduantage as before they did. So that

and vse of weapons.

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that our Sea-men keeping them occupied in their reregard, I doubt not but this number aforesaid may with small losse stay their landing.

Now I feare nothing of this to be perfozmed, but for the vncertainty of the place of their pretended landing: for otherwise I had rather be one of the defendants vpon the land, of the 5000. shot with the assistance aforesaid, than to be one of 50000. to approach the shozes: for some must staie to defende their ships against our shauie, againe some are so sea-sicke, that they are for a space vnfit to fight: and for the vncertaine taking their leuell to shoot either their Base or Musquet, being vpon the swelling water, and our defendants vpon the firme land, where they may shote with the best aduantage. There is great difference in diuers respects, &c.

Nothing to be feared in all this but the vncertainty of the enemies landing.

Some are sea sicke vnfit to fight.

And againe, whereas Sir John Smith doth further alleadge, besides all which before is alleged, saying, That if a puissant and mightie Enemy, that in the time of Sommer, intendeth the inuasion of forraine Dominions by Sea, to the intent to giue battle and subdue, doth not alwaies bende himselfe to land his armie in a haven, but sometime vpon an open coast and shoare, if the Sea without hidden rockes and flattes be deepe, and the winde and weather faire, hauing commoditie by the deepe of the sea to approach his Nauie, and to cast anker in open rode neere vnto a commodious shore, to land and march vpon, &c. The which armie saith he, cannot be repulsed neither with insconcing of sconces, nor yet with any well ordered fortification, but onely with a great and extraordinary wisdom, and with the valiant hands of a puissant armie and a campe formed.

Whereunto I saie as before, if the certaintie

I

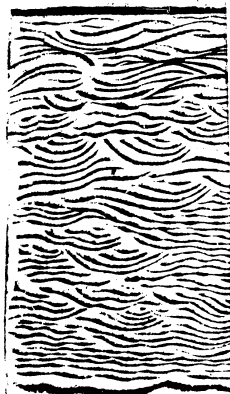
of

Certaine discourses of warre

of their landing might be knowne, it were no matter : for in my opinion they should be as well letted vpon the open coast as in the hauen. And let it fall out that the same should be at a dead lowe water, and a mile distant from the shore, I would wish then that the defendants should be advertised where the most meetest place for their vessels were, for the landing of their men, and so sone as the first boats should direct their course towards the land, I would put forth of my number two hundred shotte close to the lowe water marke, and there attende the approach as nere to offende them as could be, all as lose shot abycad vpon the sands, who with a little refiring in good order should keepe the enemies occupied, untill such time as from the same 200. shot I would in one halfe hower, cast a trench in the Sands towards the lande, into which the rest of the shot should descende to backe the two hundred first, and with some of the labourers aforesaid, drowne downe the said saide-pieces, as by this figure may be scene.

200. Shot put forth to skirmish whiles the laborers do make the trench for the rest.

Thus



Thus before the enemies could land two thousand men, I would not doubt but all this would be performed, so that if I thought god to bzeake forth, before the Boates should retorne for more men: I would do so, if not, I would plie the skirmish with some more fresh shot, and lie close with the whole regiment, if the enemies were not above fower thousand, unto that they were 6000. or 8000. and then would I take the vantage of the winde from before the fælde peeces, so that so sone as the defendants were so nere, that their bolleie of shot were deliuered: euen forthwith would I discharge the fælde peeces right vpon the enemies, and thereupon would I run vpon them with Halberds and Swords, and dispatch those against the rest should come, or at the least put them to swimming. And thus vsing the matter, it should moue our Sea-men to buckle the better with them, vpon their great Bulworks the Gallies, the which may not start from their course, and this being performed in this sort, I would not let if the enemies shoulde lande at the first ten thousand of their best men, (the which I thinke is as manie as can well lande at one vault, for as I saide before they will haue some impediment by sickenesse or other waies:) There is no doubt but these aforesaid defendants cannot be without the companie of some Gentlemen well mounted, who would not forbear to put forwarde themselves and the rest, seeing so great opportunitie as that would be: and the laborers hauing performed their workes would serue with a Carte load of Bills to some effect: in so much that wee should within two howers terrifie them after an other manner then they

Al this would be don before that the enemies could land 2000. men.

Time to discharge the fælde peeces.

If the enemies should land ten thousand, this would serue.

A cart lode of bills for the laborers. The enemies shall be terrified after an other manner

Certaine discourses of warre

than with
drums or
trumpets.

Should do unto vs with their Drums and Trumpets or their two Bales afoze-ship in their vessels of Dares.

The 15. Discourse.

The sconces
would not be
kept about
one day.

And now to the insconcing, as it is termed of late by the Lowe-countrie men, with manie other such like, it is a verie bad Sconce, that can not holde forth a peere of a day, for longer I would not wish the same to be maintained, in this respect, but for the daie of landing, and in the night to leaue the same, and to drawe all to one force there to abide them vpon grounds of the best advantage, if our first attempt should not preuaile, by not knowing the place of the enemies landing, or otherwaies, for those Sconces are but to defend some straightes, or passages, where enemies might other waies come vpon the sodaine, to doe some exploite and so retire againe: but against the Cannon or such a force as is able to abide the felde they are to small purpose: there were the like betwixt vs and the French Pale, nere vnto Arde in Fraunce, when Callis was English, as Anderne bulwarcke, Jones bulwarcke, Boyts bulwarcke, Harrome bulwarcke, and Henowayes bulwarcke, appertaining to the Flemings nere Andermike and Graueling.

Sconces are
but for a time
to be kept
against the
Cannon.

Fortification.

But as concerning Fortifications to be rightlie made, vpon such situations as are by nature strong: is a thing most necessarie for the safetie or defence of any kingdome, that can be possible, as by proue sufficient it may be seene in the Lowe countrie or Fraunce. Some may alledge that it is dangerous

and vse of weapons.

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dangerous for sundrie causes: yet were it better to put it vpon that hazard than into the hands of a stranger.

And againe, this Realme is so little a thing that a rebell can not stande against the Prince: as by examples a great manie it may be proued.

A rebell can
not stand
against the
prince in a
little king-
dome.

And for good Situations, we haue diuers in England, vpon the coast most in danger, that are very strong by nature, whereof I will name those the which I do knowe. The first is *Hartlepoole*, *Skarborough*, *Kingston vpon Hull*, *Boston*, *Linne*, *Portsmouth*, and the *Isle of Dogs* nere vnto *Greenwich*, there is not within my knowledge, any such parcell of ground in this Realme all things considered, being well fortified, it were sufficient to snub the greedie desire of the ambitious Spaniards, and to make them fight like sheepe, whereas at *Antwerpe* they fought like Lions: for no doubt a poyze souldiers manner is to venter ten liues if it might be, for gold and iewels before all other things whatsoever.

To snub the
greedie desire
of the Spani-
ard, and to
make them
fight like
sheepe.

Now hauing roughly run ouer some part of the discourse of Sir Iohn Smith knight, as concerning my opinion touching armour and weapons specially, and with some other small matters, as the forme of the said discourse hath giuen me occasion: and for the rest I haue omitted, thinking this to be sufficient as concerning the vse of weapons, the which is the greatest and chiefe cause that hath moued me hereunto, seeing such great difference of opinions in the beginning of this treatise is something touched, but not so largely as willingly I would haue done, if my health would haue permitted: wherefore againe I do right hartily wish, that al true English hearts and

The cause of
sicknes hath
hindred his
discourse.

Certaine discourses of warre

and mindes, may with perfect loue and curtesie ioine together and confer of these causes of so great importance, friendly and as dutifull and naturall subjects best can deuise, and rather to instruct each other, than any way to contend, considering how much the same doth concerne the safetie of our déere Soueraigne, Country, Commonwealth and our owne estates: and let the end trie the troth of all parties, for howsoever we do batter our selues or be supported by friends, the end will iustly trie what the behauiour hath bene, either in vertue and valloz, or in vice and vanities, &c.

The 16. discourse.

Touching the discourse of sir Roger Williams Knight, who doth declare the manners of the Spanish wars.

Ad now to remember some things touching the discourse of Sir Roger Williams Knight, who doth for the most part of his said discourse, make relation of the manner and vse of the Spanish wars, as touching the long continuance of their armies, and how they do diuide the same, and how they do diuide their horsemen and footemen, the order of their marching and besieging of holds, the maner of their assaulting of breaches, and his opinion in the goodnes of diuers sorts of horsemen and footemen, and their armours and weapons: and the difference betwene the goodnes of the one and the other, wherein I finde no new deuise, either in gouernment, or orders, but in times past and before that euer these troubles did begin in the Lowe Countries, the like hath ben vied: saving the great numbers of Musquets, and one other point of seruice, which is also set downe by Sir Roger Williams Knight, and that is

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is whereas he saith in the 38. page of his booke in this manner.

That the capitaine or captains, saith he, that charge either with troupe or troupes, do not care whether the soldiers do breake their lances or not, but to enter resolutely and keepe together, and that halfe of them should carrie their swords and Pistols in their bridle hands, and rather than faile to quit their launces, and vse their swords and Pistols.

I am fully perswaded, that there is no furtherance in acquitting of any weapon, but as I haue declared in my 11. discourse fol. 22. of this Treatise, but that euery weapon may be in as great readines in their accustomed places, as in both their hands at once being of conuenient length, for long swords are not to be vied with horsemen and footemen.

But as touching the good orders of incamping, marching, or battering, with most excellent iustice both in Towne and feld: the Spaniards were neuer comparable vnto the French, at such time as the wars was continued betwixt Charles the fifth, and Henry the second French king, the which did continue from Anno 1551. vnto the first yeere of the Quenes Maiesties most happie raigne that now is. In which time there were greater armies, greater matters accomplished than these boyles betwixt Subjects and Subjects, could be by any waies or meanes: for as common reason may allow, Charles the 5. had as many friends as king Phillip euer had: againe, the French King had his whole Realme of Fraunce in such quietnesse and replenished with such aboundaunce of wealth, as the like was not in any one kingdome in Christendome: besides, he had all *Piedmont*, and

There were greater matters accomplished in the wars between the Emperor Charles the 5. and Henrie the 2. French king, than in the wars between Subjects and Subjects, can be.

Certaine discourses of warre

and *Sauoy*, with the *Duchie of Lorayne* and the *Ile of Corceca*, with so many *Almaynes* and *Swissers*, as he would require: I haue seene in one armie 35000. Strangers in the French Kings seruice, besides Frenchmen. And as touching Justice, I will heere for p^{ro}ofe remember a matter committed by a Spaniard vnder the charge of Iulian Romero, done in the Towne of *Macklin*, as Sir Roger Williams hath set the same downe in his discourse in the 26. page, and thus he saith,

An edill example.

That the Alfere of the said Iulian Romero, being in loue with a Gentlewoman, could not obtaine her loue: on a Maie day he and his companie armed, came vnto her Fathers house: vnder the coulour of Maying, tooke her awaie by force, her friends and kinsmen doing what they could to saue her: with the disorder of the Alfere and soldiers diuers were slaine: complaint being made, Iustice could not be had, but perswasions to the friends of the Gentlewoman, shewing them what an offence it was to stir against a flying Ensigne of the king their lord, &c.

A good example.

And now to shewe the like offence committed and yet in my opinion not so hainous as that was, it fell out that at the time that *Callis* was yeldeo to the Duke of Guize: one of the chiefe captaines would haue taken awaie a merchants Daughter of the Towne, but the Maiden being vnwilling, he sought meanes to force her: wheretvpon, the Maiden did crie with a loud voice, insomuch that one of her friends tolde the Duke of the matter, vpon which aduertisement, the duke straightwaies caused the said Captaine to be hanged for th'exemple of others. This was Justice. At manie other times I haue knotone the like Justice done,

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done, touching manie other matters: and againe, there is vsed as Sir Roger Williams doth set downe in his discourse, in the 16. page, as touching a Secretary of greater trust then either Duke or Prince, who hath diuers Blankes signed with the Kings hand, it would make some Gouverno^rs thinke much, hauing his large commission from the King, to be ouer awed with a Secretarie, &c. These two points are differing from my experience, or else nothing that I finde set downe by Sir Roger Williams but as befoze is set downe, though it be supposed by Sir Roger otherwise: for whereas he speaketh of some Fortifications, and to p^{ro}oue a wette ditch stronger then a drie: it appeareth also in the 49. page, that the counter scarffe of a holde, should be made of Lyme and Stone, which I do thinke not to be the best course to fortifie: for all men that haue seene the experience of the Cannon, will neuer fortifie with stone where the Cannon may batter. And againe, he wisheth mynes to be made in the same, for thus he saith: *It were not amisse although it hath bene neuer seene before (saith he) to haue mynes like vaults ouerthwart to the midst of the counter scarffe, &c.*

It is a common thing in the frontye Townes in Fraunce, both in their Ramplers and counter scarffes to haue the like, the which are calemats, and not the flankers, for as there be flankers, so be there Calemats: and a flanker is not a Calemat, nor a Calemat is not a flanker, for a Calemat may be made of timber, as of Blankes: this I speake of experience for that I haue bene, and did serue in the most part of the Frontier Townes betwixt *Callis* and the Duchie of *Lorain*. And did see diuers of the same amended, in fortifi-

These things are common in the front townes in France.

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Certaine discourses of warre

eng against the force of the Cannon and mynes. And also after the conclusion of peace, betwixt King Phillip and Henry the second of *France*, I by extraordinary cause was prisoner in *France*, and being newly deliuered forth of prison, and my horses and armour lost, of necessitie I went with one Captaine Sturton, Captaine of fiftie myners to raise Townes fortified, the which by composition of the peace was to be raised and laide open, wherein I did see the secrets of diuers things, which I had, nor could neuer haue knowen, but for the same raising, the which were verie straunge, whereof I will omit to write for two causes, &c.

Notwithstanding that Nicholas Machiavel haue set forth his whole knowledge, as touching fortification, and other sundry policies, the which if he had been a soldier he would neuer haue done. As in his booke called the Art of war is to be seene.

It is a sport to heare how he doth by himselfe, fight a battell in words, and saith, that if he had been a soldier in his youth, he would either haue won the field with valor, or at the least haue lost it without shame. Who did let him to become a soldier in his youth?

And thus by alteration of times and the sundrie opinions of men, diuers matters do come in question, and especially with such as do least understand the iust triall of the thing it selfe, whereof they do reason: for as I haue heard at manie and sundrie times, that such Gentlemen and soldiers, the which haue gotten their knowledge and experience of seruice in the Low Countries and other places where ciuill wars haue been, do hold that opinion that the like discipline hath not been seene

neither

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neither in this age, no nor at any time before, and thereupon do seeme to disgrace some of good calling, and more ancient than themselves and of greater experience in seruice, than any that hath bene: but in these Low Countries seruice, or ciuill wars in *France*, can or may haue as before is said by reason of greater armies, of Princes whose subiects were both rich and loyall, vpon both the parties, as by many other examples I could proue but for breuities sake. And for any newe matters or inuentions there is not any worthy of remembrance but the musquets onely, the which euerie god harguebuzier may vse as well as his harguebuzer, presently. And therefore the thirde time, I with that contentions and comparisons to ante ciuill ende, may be left, and that loue and vnitie may be embraced. And with laudable and sounde arguments, matters may be decided to the best effect, that by age or youth can be deuised. And so I cease touching the discourse of Sir Roger Williams knight.

And now hauing set downe my opinion as concerning Armour and weapons, and partly the vse thereof, so far as I thinke is requisite, considering that the perfect knowledge thereof cannot be had but by exercising the same. And for the better proue of my said opinions, I haue made rehearfall of diuers parcels of seruice, the which haue come to my memoire at this time, and yet for that I would not seeme tedious, I haue left diuers things vntouched both of my owne knowledge and of others, the which I do know to be true and to good effect. Neither haue I taken occasion herein to shew wholly that I could in action performe, if opportunity serued: neither do I euer intend to pub-

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The knowledge gotten in the wars betwene kings and emperors are more worthie than ciuill wars, and more to be learned.

Strange matters not to be written but first to be performed.

Reasoning without knowledge.

Certaine discourses of warre

lish the same but by action.

And whereas some may peradventure imagin that I haue witten rather to set forth my owne vaine glorie, than for any other iust cause herein contained: for answere whereof I do here in protest, that the onely cause which moued me to write, is as before in the prohemie of this Treatise I haue declared, to giue my opinion as concerning the force and effect, difference and disability of weapons, as well the one as other, and the vse thereof, whereof I could not shew my full intent, except I should make rehearfall partly of such matters as I haue in times of seruice had the experience of.

And notwithstanding that I haue not set down things done in *France* or *Burgondie* as they were performed one after another, wherein I haue rather regarded the effect of the matter, than observing of the time: yet can it not be denied, but all the same is most true.

The 17. Discourse.

As for that I haue read ouer the most part of the discourses of warre lately witten by that famous Gentleman and worthy souldier Mounsier de la Novv. Notwithstanding that I am not worthy to carie his Halbard: yet I will shew my opinion touching his rare discourse, and of the setting his two Battelyons, *To march three French leagues ouer plaine grounds with fower thousand footemen, maugre de 2000. Lances,* it is of him excellently handled and especially in the garding of the flanks of the saide two battelyons, it is both new & good,

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god, the like I did neuer see nor heare of before. And although a man may liue in warres threescore yeres, and not see any such thing come to passe, yet the deuice is verie good, neuerthelesse my opinion is that in two points he hath not set downe the best course. The one is in the setting of his two Battelyons, and the other is in holding the souldiers pykes: but it is better and easier to amende then to make.

Le Novv doth mistake two points in his discourse.

Now as touching the forme of his said Battelyons, I am of that minde, that there is yet a better way, to forme the said Battelyons with the same numbers by him set downe, and for example I haue here set downe the manner of his: and how I would do the same, as by these figures may be sene.

The first is his, the second is mine, and let it be considered, which of our flanks shall be moze noisome vnto these Launcers, when that they shall charge the footemen, considering vpon which side of the Horse the Launce doth giue his blowe, and withall remember the placing of his shot vnder the armed pykes and within them also, now to Mounsier de

la Novv, his battelyons.

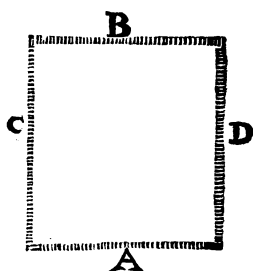
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THE LORD DE LA NOUVE his Battalyons.

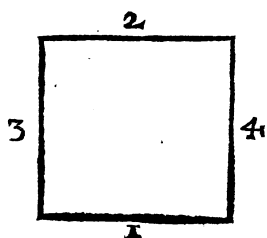
Behold if the front,
B. may not be charged
without the danger
of any flanke or not,
and to come forth at
C. and so make room
for the next troupe to
enter.

And so standeth it
with the front 1. and
to come forth at the
figure of 4. in euery
point.

Some may say that
being once entered,
they may go through,
but that is not the
way: for if the first
troupe can take away
the corner betwixt 1.
and 4. they haue done
their full part, and
the greatest, the next
may enter without
any great danger.



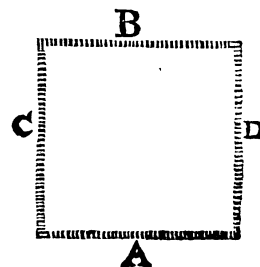
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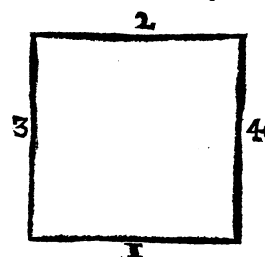
And

And now ouerlooke the two Battels for some effect
set downe by the Author, who is not to be adiudged by
Scots, or our northern Spearmen, for then I should be
condemned, but by men at arms, or Launcers such
as the Lord la Noue doth meane.

Mark if the front
B. can any way
be charged, and come
forth at C. but to be
in danger of the front
marked 2. Some wil
alledge that the flank
marked D. may be
charged and to come
forth at B. whereun-
to I answer, that the
flanke marked 4. doth
succour the same, and
so doth the second bat-
tell in euery point for
the first, and the first
for the second.



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Consider that in charging, men must come in by right line,
whereas at their coming forth they are to wheele about for
their best aduantage, hauing performed their part.

Certaine discourses of warre

The 18. Discourse.

AND now to the second point, as concerning the Souldiers in holding their Pykes, the Lord de la Novve doth wish that Souldiers should set their Pykes in the ground, and to holde the same about the middle thereof, to receiue the bzunt of the charge of Launcers: whereunto I answere, that it is verie dangerous for the armed Pykes to giue the horseman that aduantage, for as the horsemans intent is to strike the footeman vpon the bzest of faces, so is it for the footeman to direct his Pyke point, right vpon the bzest of the horse: now if the Launce be longer befoze the bzest of the horse then halfe the footmans Pyke, then doth the Pyke no seruice at all: for so sone as the Launce doth hit the footeman vpon the bzest of face, and the footmans Pyke not entred into the horse, it must of necessitie come to passe, that the Souldier giuing backe, with the violence of the blow of the launce, must either let fall his Pyke, or other waies be constrained to pull it vp: so that the point of his Pyke shall be aboue the horse, and thereby worke no effect, but become vnprofitable: I would wish that such armed Pykes should be taught to holde their pykes rather two parts of thre befoze their hands, & to set them in the ground vnder his right foot, and to hold them low right against the bzest of the horse, and not against the head of the horse, nor the bzest of the man, for the horse hauing a chieffront, and also the man well armed, the pyke can do no harme at all.

Some may alledge and saie, that if the horse be armed vpon the front, he is also armed vpon the bzest,

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bzest, but I saie that there is ten to one armed moze vpon the head, then vpon the petron, and if it be that the horse were armed vpon the bzest, it is nothing so strong as the chieffront is by halfe.

And notwithstanding that I haue spoken of diuers incounters and ouerthrowes, giuen betwene the Emperour Charles the fifth, and Henrie the second French King: yet haue I left vnremembred the most bzaue battaile offered by the French King vnto the Emperour nere vnto *Valentian*, where the saide King did cause all his footemen to be deuided into thre battailes, and so being aranged and reduced into the form of battails, the Maingarde being led by the Duke of Vandosme accompanied with the Counte of Ringraue with his Almaines for the bodie of his battaile.

The King himselfe in the maine, being all French, the fronte whereof was a hundredth and fiftie, ninetie in flanke besides shot, the forme and manner whereof was in other sort, then in Machiauell or Stuard, or any other Printed battailes as yet hath bene set forth and published.

Then was there in the Reargard ten thousand Swisers, conducted by the constable Memorance: the footmen were in number 35000. in horsemen 12000. in pyoners 6000. with 30. paces of great Ordnance: al which numbers being most perfectly imbattailed in a plaine field of thre miles at the least in the narrowest place without either hedge or ditch, wode or bushes.

And being thus placed with the caualrie vpon their left hand, and vpon the right hand a strait or gill, and betwene both the armies a faire plaine ground: and thus being placed in the face of the enemies, the Canons enterchangeably did go and

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come

Certaine discourses of warre

come through both the armies, and yet no great matters perfozmed, by reason that the Emperours campe was intrenched with huge and high trenches.

And the King seeing that the Emperour would not come forth of his inclosed campe, caused his numbers to turne their faces, and so march towards his campe againe, after diuers skirmishes done by the light Horsemen, and after that the Kings battailes had marched a myle homewards, the Harquebuziers discharged their peeces, one battaile after another, in such sort, that with the gallant soundes of the Trumpets and Drums being such, and the voice of the armie calling *Battaille, Battaille*, that if I should heere make report what I heard and did see, it would not with the most seeme credible, therefore I will omit.

Some will imagine that the plot that I haue herein made, wherein there is placed the figure of twelue fælde peeces, that it is some skonce or forte, but my meaning is, that the same might bee as a trench cast with pioners for the safetie of the five thousand shot, the better to defend them from the danger of the enemies artillerie, the which might otherwile annoy them from their great ships: and also to be nere their enemies if any should lande, as I trust neuer any shall do to offend vs.

I haue god will to set forth the manner of the Kings battaile aboue spoken of in forme as it was, the which I wil omit for this time for some cause: it was the onely and most braue thing that euer I did see, although at diuers times I haue scene as many together and more, and whosoever did not see the same, I dare anouch, that in this age with in Europe, the like hath not been scene of any.

Diuers

and vse of weapons.

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Diuers and sondrie opinions haue been deliuered about the burning of this Treatise, wherby the Author hath bidden the bitter censures of others onely, to his priuate friends, the truth thereof hath been manifest, but now that it may generally appeere that there was no such matter contained in the same as was supposed, nor other then by him set downe of dutie and loue to his Countrey and Souereigne, to confirme the which, he hath at his own charges, caused the same to be newly Reprinted, before which time, it pleased some of the best calling to carrie a more better opinion of the same, then by others is deemed, so that now in conclusion he praieth of the Marshalllest, equall iudgement, and of the Learned, pardon.

Faults escaped.

Folio 2. line 6. read 40. fol. 5. line 32. read mine owne knowledge. in diuers places lieftenants, reade leutenants. fol. 16. pag. 2. line 9. read Harbebuziers or archers be most readiest.

F I N I S.