NOTES AND ANTIQUITIES

"MILITARIE INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CAVALLERIE"

One who sets out to study the early history of cavalry soon finds that he enjoys an advantage (or suffers a disadvantage, according as one chooses to look at it) in the relatively small mass of its literature as compared with that of infantry, artillery, fortification and many other subjects. The difference is more marked in English than that in other languages of military consequence. War being regarded, until quite recently, as the normal condition of mankind, treatises on the art of war, as on all the other arts, began to multiply not long after the general diffusion of printing, and England had an extensive output from the time of Elizabeth onward. So it is remarkable that no work devoted entirely to cavalry appeared in England until so late as 1632. Even in general military works the mounted service received little more than bare mention until well along in the seventeenth century.

Its first treatment in any detail is found in *The Souldiers Accidence,* published in 1625, the first of three manuals by Gervase Markham, all of which give some attention to mounted service, and which were reprinted in one volume under the title of *The Souldiers Exercise* in 1639 and 1642. Gervase Markham apparently set out to cover the whole field of human knowledge and he went pretty far on the road. His books treat, among other things, of gardening, veterinary medicine, fishing, horsemanship, tactics, bee keeping, "fowling by water and land" and the breeding of fighting cocks. He also tried his hand at poetry and drama. It was thus but natural that he should include cavalry in his survey, especially as he had been a soldier himself; but it is only one of many things touched upon in these manuals, which are of no great size. At any rate, no other Englishman attempted the subject at all until some years later. England had not put a real army into the field for generations. Some small expeditions had been sent out within the memory of men; there had been alarms of foreign invasion, leading to more or less intelligent measures of defence; but there had been nothing to cause Englishmen to give serious thought to military operations on any extensive scale. A good many saw service abroad, it is true, as professional soldiers of fortune or as

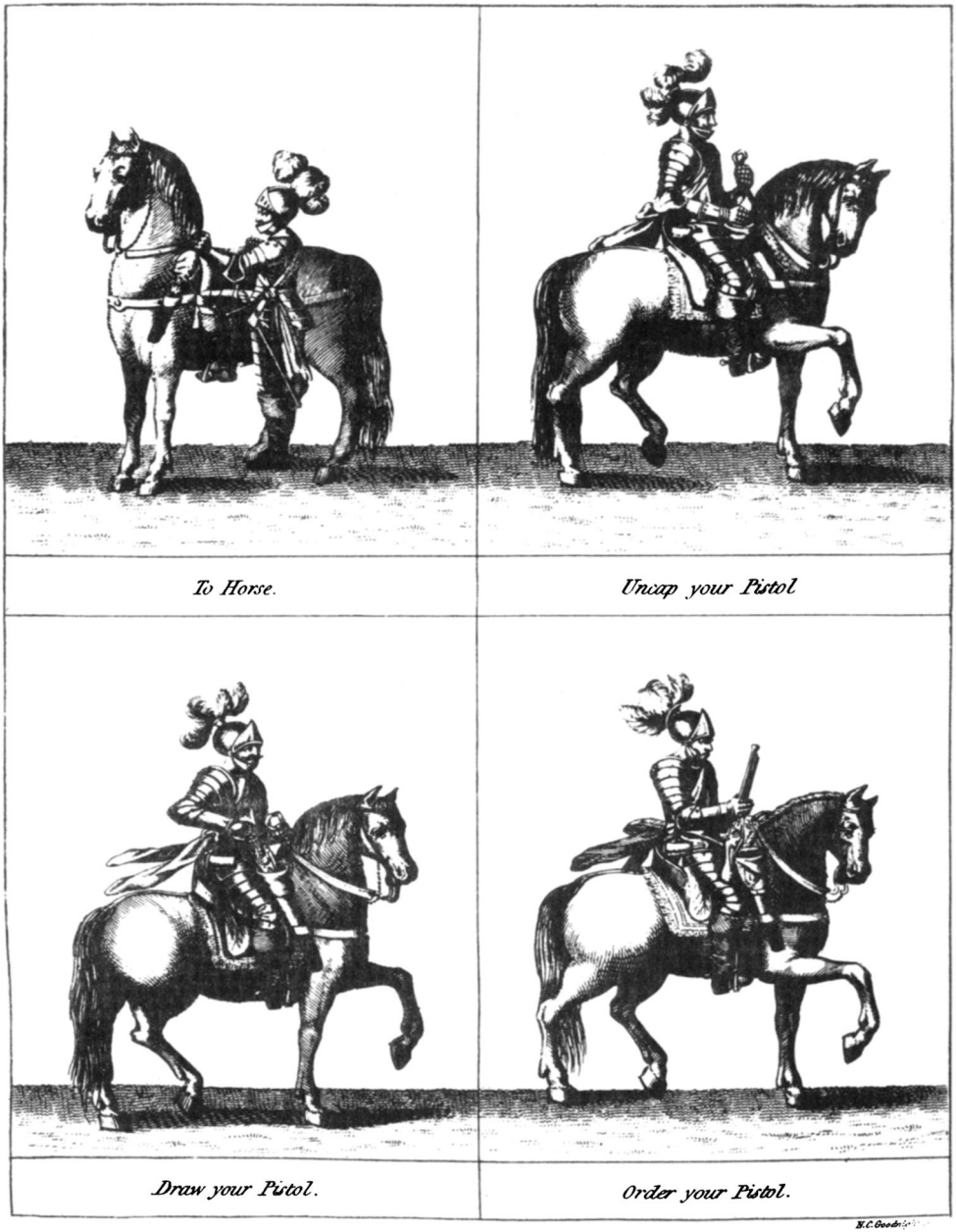
amateurs seeking adventure. They went as individuals, however, secured commissions or trailed pikes in foreign corps, and their stories, when they came home, were of what came under their own observation, not often extending to the cavalry service.

The first English treatise on cavalry, so excellent that it held the field undisputed for nearly thirty years, was not produced by a grizzled veteran of foreign wars, but by a college freshman. It is just possible that John Cruso had seen some military service, but it cannot have been much and there is no evidence that he had had any. He certainly possessed a thorough knowledge of one or more foreign languages and was a great reader; but how he could produce such a work is a mystery. It is not known when he was born, but boys usually entered a university at an earlier age then than now, and the date of his death (1681) suggests that he was not exceptionally old when he entered Caius College, Cambridge, in 1632. In that same year appeared his *Militaire Instructions for the Cavallerie: or rules and directions for the service of horse, collected out of divers forrain authors ancient and modern, and rectified and supplied, according to the present practice of the Low-Countrey Warres.* It was printed by the university printers.

As has been suggested, not much is known about John Cruso's life. He received his bachelor's degree from Cambridge University in 1635 or a year later, and his master's in 1639. He held a fellowship in the university for four or five years until deprived of it during the civil wars on account of his royalist sentiments. He was later chancellor of the diocese of St. David's, in Wales. At no time in his life could he have had any military experience whatever, unless possibly for a short time in his boyhood before he appears as a "sizar" at Caius, "working his way through college." Yet he wrote or translated six military books of real value, and his publications include no books not military. His drama *Euribates* never got into print and survives in a single manuscript in the library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

The *Militarie Instructions* is a large and handsome book with many illustrations, suitable for the shelves of a gentleman's library, where no doubt a good many copies immediately found their way. It was also an invaluable manual for the practical soldier, and many copies must have been worn out in service after the outbreak of the civil wars made the art of war an absorbing study to every man. A second edition was produced, apparently in considerable haste, in 1644. The book is uncommon now, even in England, and in this country is naturally very scarce. There are copies of the 1632 edition in the Huntington Library in California, in the Newberry Library in Chicago, and at the University of Michigan and Harvard University; the Library of Congress has a copy of the 1644 edition.

The title page bears a quotation from the Book of Proverbs: "The horse is prepared for battell: but victory is from the Lord." Cruso believed, however, that man should do his part, and in his book he discusses every aspect of the



EXERCISE OF THE HORSE Pl.1.

Francis Grose, *MILITARY ANTIQUITIES*, After Cruso

mounted service, dividing his treatise into four parts: "Of levying men" "Of Marching," "Of Encamping" and "Of Embattelling." He says in his preface that he wrote the book only for his own use and information but that "two noble and judicious perusers" (one of them an officer on leave of absence) had revised it and recommended its publication. The organization, armament and tactics that he describes are in the main those then prescribed in the service of the Netherlands, but he constantly cites the standard works of Melzo, Basta and Wallhausen. It is worth noting that translations of Melzo and Basta were licensed for publication in London in December, 1631, but it does not seem that they ever appeared. May it have been that these were Cruso's? He published some military translations at a later time. One might speculate that the noble and judicious perusers diverted him to the publication of the original work that he had not ventured to offer to a publisher before.

Melzo's book was first published in Italian in 1611, and later in Spanish, French and German. Basta's appeared in 1612 in the Italian language, and translations into French and Spanish followed. Wallhausen's, originally in German (1616), was translated into French. If Cruso could read French at this time all three were accessible to him; if not, he must have known German and also either Spanish or Italian. Some years later he published translations from the French, so it is likely enough that he never read these treatises in the original German or Italian but only in the French versions.

Cruso assumed the normal enlisted strength of a troop to be sixty-four men, divided into three squadrons, called respectively by the names of the three officers, the captain, the lieutenant and the cornet. They were actually led, however, by the captain, the cornet and the senior corporal. The lieutenant was stationed in the rear, for his duty in action was to encourage the men and to kill any who misconducted themselves. The cornet carried the standard. In this connection the writer mentioned a curious custom, prevailing among lancers only. In the charge the cornet rode alongside the captain and endeavored to break the lance of the standard against an enemy, leaving the standard on the ground to be ridden over. This was occasion for pride; but for the enemy to get the standard with lance unbroken would have been a great disgrace. In the infantry, then as now, "the preserving of the colours hath ever been prized above life." It should be noted that this cavalry custom applies only to lancers, as they alone rely on shock action.

Heavy cavalry were either lancers or cuirassiers. Both were fully armored, closed helmet included, and both carried swords. The lancer carried an eighteen foot lance—not the enormous tree that the old man-at-arms used, but rather resembling the pike. The cuirassier is described as a lancer without the lance, instead of which he had two firelock pistols, eighteen inches long, carrying bullets of twenty in the pound. Lancers were wholly abolished in some countries. Light cavalry are classified as harquebusiers, carabines or dragons. The two former

wear back and breast, with open casques, carry two pistols like the cuirassier's, and are also armed with harquebus or carabine. Each of these is two and a half feet long, their only difference being in weight and bore, one carrying bullets of seventeen and the other of twenty-four in the pound. Dragons are mounted only for transportation. They normally fight on foot, and like infantry may be armed with either pike or musket.

The charge is delivered rank by rank, with apparently some thirty paces distance between ranks. The carabine or harquebus is rested on the bridle arm with the butt against or below the right shoulder, and fired at a distance of twelve or fifteen feet; if the pistol is used, it is not fired until almost in contact with an enemy. After delivering fire, each soldier wheels to the rear (by the left if possible), making way for the succeeding rank. This represents the practice in 1632. In his 1644 edition Cruso notes a change: the cavalry attack "now not by wheeling off as formerly but by charging through."

In the course of his treatise Cruso covers every detail of the mounted service, even to the pay table. Much of it reads very naturally to us now. A recent author has said that the ancients did not know that they were ancient but believed themselves to be quite modern. The present writer is disposed to agree with him. In Cruso's time as now, the captain had to "endeavour to know every one of his souldiers by their names." The trumpeter, in addition to being able to sound the calls, was required to be "fit to deliver embassies and messages." Commands were of three kinds: vocal (by word), semi-vocal (by trumpet) or mute (by signal). And so on with innumerable small details. Other things in this book seem strange to us. The lieutenant had to be able to read and write, as he kept the list of the names of the soldiers. The captain received ten per cent of the booty taken by the company, whether he was present or not. Reverting to the subject of trumpet calls, the *boutezselle* is mentioned. The present author has always supposed that "boots and saddles" meant just that, but evidently the phrase is a corruption of the simple command, "put on the saddle" or "saddle up."

The book ends with the modest statement: "If I have done well, and as the matter required, it is that which I desired: but if slenderly and meanly it is that which I could attain to." The freshman had done so well, in fact, that for twenty-nine years no Englishman felt the need of doing it again. In 1635 William Barriffe published one of the most popular manuals of the time—one which continued more or less in use for over a hundred years. In this he omitted discussion of mounted service altogether, saying that Cruso's book rendered it unnecessary. Barriffe's work went through six editions, and it was only in the last (1661) that a section on cavalry (by another hand) was added, signed with the initials "J. B." Cruso's work retained its authority until that time. One should not be misled, by the way, by the title of Barriffe's book: *Military Discipline of the*

Yong Artillery Man. "Artillery" in those days might mean "military equipment," or "munitions," and the "yong artillery man" was the young soldier.

As for Cruso's further work, he published two treatises in 1642: *Castrametation, Or The Measuring Out of the Quarters for the Encamping of an Army;* and *The Order of Military Watches.* They are sometimes found together in one volume and sometimes separately. There were also two translations from the French. *The Art of Warre* was printed at Cambridge in 1639. Nothing is known about its author, the Sieur du Praissac, but his book was widely read, both in the original French and in Cruso's English version, and was a recognized authority. *The Complete Captain* (Cambridge, 1640) is the Duc de Rohan's *Le Parfait Capitaine,* dealing chiefly with Caesar's campaigns, but including also a section on modern war.

In conclusion, to quote a sagacious remark in Cruso's preface, there was "no want of books for the practising of the foot (though I dare say they exceed rather in number than in weight)." Certainly this reproach could not apply to cavalry books. One, and one only, held the English field for a generation.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING

ERRATA: "THE BATTLE OF THE CRATER"

On page 6 of the spring issue of the *Journal* appeared a photograph titled "Federal Trenches, 1864." Our attention has since been called to the fact that this is actually a photograph of Confederate trenches constructed by General Joseph E. Johnston at Centreville, Virginia in 1862. Another view of the same line may be found in the *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1911), I, 166.

This error is of a kind much too frequently made and against which the researcher has only too little protection. The *Journal* has for some time considered the advisability of requiring all illustrative material to be documented with the same care and precision as would be used towards other historical evidence. Inasmuch as most negatives carry not the slightest clue to the identity of either time, place, or photographer, such documentation must largely depend upon a careful investigation of the picture itself and upon the testimony of people familiar with the episode or scene depicted.

A CARTRIDGE BOX BADGE OF THE ROYAL REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY

Revolutionary camp-sites and fortifications continue to yield an ever-increasing number of interesting mementoes. One recent find, recovered from a dust heap at Stony Point, New York, gives us a very distinctive type of appointment, a