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**Animadversions of warre; or a militarie magazine of the truest rules, and
ablest instructions, for the managing of warre**

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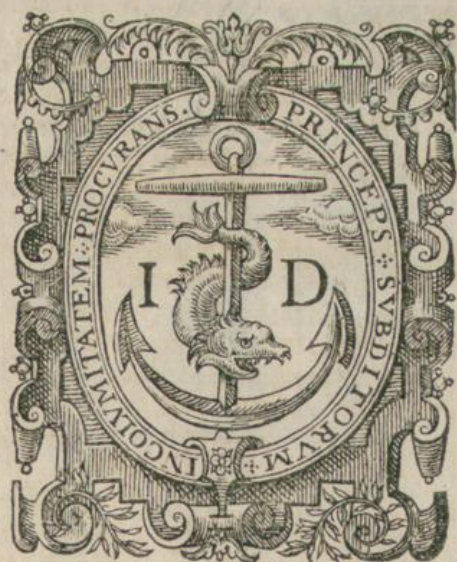
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ANIMA'DVERSIONS OF VVARRE.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

By ROBERT WARD Gentleman,
and Commander.



LONDON,
Printed by Iohn Dawson. 1639.

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OF VVARE.
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THE
OFFICE
OF A
GENERALL,
VVith his
ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

LIB. II. SECT. XV.

CHAP. I.

The Character of a Generall, with such excellent properties, both of body and mind, which he ought to be indued withall, declared; and also the chiefeſt circumſtances belonging to his high and weighty Office.



Generall over an Army, muſt be ever truſty, faithfull, and dutifull to his Prince; indued with excellent judgement, reaſon, and reſolution; well ſtudied in the liberall Arts; of a fierce diſpoſition, yet qualified with juſtice, and clemency; not raſh in undertaking, yet as free from cowardife, as cruelty; talke little, and bragge leſſe, in ſpeech ready, and eloquent, faithfull of his word, conſtant and ſtrong in the proſecution of his purpoſes, bountifull and honouring due deſerts; of a good ability of body; in his countenance a ſtately terror, yet in private affable and pleaſant; naturally diſpoſed to abhorre vice; of a naturall ſtrength and hardineſſe to undergoe all extremities, either in travell, or want; in armes expert and adventurous; his invention ſubtill, full of inward bravery and fierceneſſe, in his execution reſolute; alwayes forward, but never diſmayed; in counſell ſudden and wiſe, of a piercing inſight to foreſee dangers, ingenious, decent, and in performance a man; or as Sr. R. Dallington ſpecifies in his Aphorifmes

Bona Ducis sapientia
quinque, sentia, vir-
tus, providentia, autho-
ritas, fortuna, Lip.
fol. l. 5.

Tiberius hortabatur
Senatum, ut eligeret
Proconsulem in Bello
contra Tacfarinatem,
gnarum militie, cor, ore
validum, & Bello sus-
secturum. Tac. hist. l. 3.

Non erunt honores un-
quam sortiti mune-
ris. Auf. fol. 92.

risines, to be five things required in a Generall; knowledge, valour, foresight, autho-
rity, and fortune; he that is not renowned for all or most of these vertues, is not to
be reputed fit for this charge; nor can this glory be purchast, but onely by practice
and prooffe; for the greatest Fencer, is not alwayes the best Fighter, nor the fairest
Tilter, the ablest Souldier, nor the greatest Favourite in Court, the fittest Comman-
der in a Campe: that Prince therefore is ill advised that conferres this charge upon
his Minion, either for his Courtship, or what other respects, neglecting those more
requisite and more noble parts.

Wherefore a Generall ought to be excellently qualified in the reall knowledge
of his Office, and every circumstance belonging unto it, before he shall adventure
to take so weighty a charge upon him; and farre be it from any man to undertake
this honourable burthen, having the speculative and practick part of his Office to
learne, when occasion calles for performance; for many Armyes hath beene sub-
dued by this onething; for he that will be fortunate and desires to atchieve to honour,
must consider it hath a dangerous birth, and that in like manner it must be nourished
and fed with great circumspection and care; he must be infinitely chary, lest he
be seduc'd by the traines of time; and the preservation of his honour must be his
chiefest aime, next the love and feare he owes to God, having an especiall care that
the Christian Religion be had in due reverence in his Army, causing such Ministers of
Gods word, as shall follow to instruct the Army, to retaine their dignities, and to be
reverenc'd of his souldiers; by this meanes an Army shall be kept in marvellous obe-
dience and order, and the Almighty Lord of Hostes will be ever assisting to worke
him honourable victories, causing his divine providence to attend him, as he did to
Gideon, who had a miraculous signe of a Conquest by the strange effects of the
Fleece.

Iudges 6. 36.

2 Kings 20. 8.

Hezekiah had the like by the Sunnes retrograding tenne degrees.

Also in History we read of Alexander, how he dreamed that he sported with Satyrs,
as he marcht to the siege of Troy; whereupon his diviners perceived some divine re-
velation in it, and found the Anagram of it to be *Tua Tyrus*, and so it hapned.

Secrates Scholast.

Likewise Constantine marching towards Maxentius and Licinius, to give them
Battell, being sad and pensive casting up his eyes, perceived a lightsome pillar in forme
of a Crosse, wherein he read ingraven these words, *In hoc vince*; the night following
our Saviour appeared in a vision unto him, commanding him to weare that Em-
bleme in his Banner, and he should be victorious; this command he observed, and
was victorious, and turned a faithfull Christian; so that questionlesse, where God
loves and favours, before he will see destruction to incompasse his chosen Army, his
destroying Angell shall devoure the enemy: and never was Generall yet chosen to
governe an Army, which God did so favour, but he gave him another heart, as he
did to Saul, and fitted him with vertues fit to execute the place.

Samuel 10. vers. 9.

CHAP. II.

*The things which a Generall is to give order for, unto his Sub-officers, to be in a rea-
dinesse against he Marcheth; with all manner of circumstances belonging to this Of-
fice; as namely rules and precepts, whereby the ablest Generalls in former ages have
steered their warlike course.*



THE things necessary to be thought upon by a Generall after his Ar-
my is leaved, is provision necessary for the same; as (formerly hath
been shewed) namely Victualls, Monies, Powder, Shot, Artillery, En-
gines, Armes, Spades, Mattocks, &c. with the safest transporting of
these either by land or water, and how in time of want to be speedily
relieved with these materials, which war consists of; the Army being
composed of a competency both of horse and foot, as the consequence of the designe shall
be thought to require, for the managing of this war, there must be a convenient Navy
if the service requires, either to conduct or assist, or both. His care is to provide,
and

and declare, good and wholesome lawes, that souldiers may be governed by; endeavouring to winne favour, using justice with clemency, and curtesie towards all; taking away all occasions, that may provoke his Officers, or souldiers to transgresse before punishment be inflicted; he must be very vigilant and carefull, how and where hee lands his men, strongly fortifying neere the shore, that recourse may be had too and fro from their shippes: he is seldome or never to re-imbarke his Army in the same place he landed them, especiall if the enemy be at hand, where he will have infinite advantage upon the disorderly re-imbarking, if some fortification be not raised to defend them from the enemies assault.

He must be frugall of the blood and slaughter of his souldiers; only in dangers not to be eschewed, or upon absolute advantages, in such a case he is both to adventure his honour and his souldiers lives, to the hazard of the mercilesse sword; alwayes remembering that upon unadvisednesse, and yeelding unto dishonourable termes, though at first it fares like a greene fore, yet afterwards he shall finde paine enough; for dishonour frets to the bone.

Also there is great knowledge, by reading, and practice, required in him, whereby he may give advice for the sundry sorts of Imbattelling, Encamping, Fortifying, and to use or prevent all kind of stratagems; for by the reading of History a man may learne, and conceive more in a yeere then he possibly can see practised in his life time; by reason whereof the worthies of ancient times, were portraited with a Booke in one hand, and a Sword in the other.

And because there is no Generall, but is limited by his Prince in his Commission, he is therefore to observe literally every tittle of it, & not to exceed the limits of it, although a victory might be attained; in the like kinde, all inferiour Officers are bound to obey their Generall in all things he shall please to command; which obedience and observancy made King Philip of Spaine protest, that the true observing of his Commission by his Generall the Count de Medina in 88. was farre more pleasing to him, than the losse of his Invincible Navy caused griefe.

Generalls must be very circumspect in making choice of their Officers, not electing them for their outward shew, but for their vertuous conditions and approved experience; for favour may be prejudiciall in these affaires, and greatnesse of birth is not to be expected as the sole thing to qualifie a man, and to beget in him the habit of a souldier.

Also a Generall is not to be unmindfull to honour and reward the vertuous and valiant, as well as to be severe in punishing the vitious and imbellick persons; for he that correcteth the offender, and rewardeth not the well deserver, will soone be disesteemed of. Hythlodas in his *Vtopia* bitterly invayeth against such kinde of proceedings; he holdeth it very unfitting for Commanders to make the sentence of death the guerdon for theft and mischief, and doth not rather first carefully provide to prevent the occasions; *Cum multo potius providendum fuerit, uti aliquis esset proventus vite; ne cuiusdam sit tamen dira furandi primum, deinde pereundi necessitas.* Also deserts of right ought to be gratified with gifts and advancements; for it is the surest tie to knit a man to his superiour, which being not performed, breeds impatience, discontents, and heart-burnings, and for the most part apt to breake forth into dangerous attempts, *Milnes ditare reliquos omnes spernite.*

A Generall ought to be very circumspect in Marching his Army in difficult wayes, especially if the enemy be at hand; for an enemy will waite his occasion, and take the best opportunity to fall on; for prevention whereof the horse-troopes are to March before; which will discover the enemy and hold them play, untill all the foote divisions are drawne into Battalia; also in Marching over Plaines or Heathes, at every stand the Companies must draw up into severall divisions, which are as so many limmes ready to frame the body of the Army upon a sudden.

The danger of being pestered and troubled with carriages and luggage, is very great, and to be avoyded; for it hath been the confusion of divers Armies; as first of Malchome King of Scots; likewise Sebastian King of Portugall in his warres against Abdelmelec King of Morocco.

Likewise a Generall is upon all occasions, to call to counsell his chiefe Officers to debate of all affaires and designes, taking every mans opinion at large, onely reserving

reserving his resolution to himselfe in all secrecie, that none or very few should be made partakers before the execution.

A Generall ought to know the situation of every countrey by his insight in the use of Maps, and take a true survey of all such parts as his Army is to march thorow, whether they be plaines or champions, or woody and full of waters; whether or not furnished with strong Townes and Forts; so that accordingly he may proportion his Horse and Foot; for in Champion Countries Horses are of greatest use; if situated upon Straights and strong Forts, the Army must consist most of Footmen.

He is also to gaine perfect intelligence, how his enemy is appointed; how, and in what kinde his Army is demeaned; for it is no pollicy to follow a light-footed enemy with an heavy Army.

Also a Generall must take notice if any matter of feare or muttering be in the Army, upon the rumor of giving Battell: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat*; also a further principle in warre must be observed. *Si Duces necessario cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, Consilium est noctis tempore Belli fortunam tentare.*

A Generall ought also, not onely to have expert Enginers and men of exquisite knowledge in the arte of fortification, both of Forts, Campes, conducting of Mynes, planting of Batteries, and disposing of all kind of Trenches; but also to have therein himselfe absolute judgement and knowledge; otherwise he may be wondrous misled, frustrating his designes, which will redound to his great dishonour.

He is also to have a speciall consideration of the place he meaneth to incampe and continue his Army in; first respecting the healthfulnesse of the ayre, then the drynesse of the ground, the conveniency of wood and water; and that the enemy may have no advantage to intercept the releefe and provision that is to be conveyed to the Campe, either by water or land; that no hills be neere to annoy the Campe, and that no waters be cut out to drown it.

A Generall must cause his souldiers to take good rest and competent food, before he presumes to give Battell; for it is a principle in warre, *In pugna milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque referti fuerint; Nam famem intrinsecum magis pugnat quam ferrum exterius*: Souldiers doe better stand to it in fight, if they have their bellies full of meat and drinke; for hunger within fights more eagerly, than Steele without. Also he is to stirre up their drooping spirits with some brave Heroick Oration, that shall inflame their spirits, that like lightning they may consume where they goe.

A Generall is to command his Officers daily to exercise their Companies, which will inable their bodies, and preserve their healths; and although the enemy should be far remote, yet duly to observe watches, guards, and setting forth their Sentinells as carefully, as if the enemy were neere at hand; this will breed an habit and custome to their bodies, so that it will not seeme grievous to them, when as they shall performe those duties in earnest.

A Generall must be very circumspect in giving an expresse command to his Officers, that no abusive drinking be used amongst his Officers, nor Souldiers; *par vinolentiam crudelitas sequitur*; for it is commonly seene that quarrels, mutines, and horrible abuses arise by drunkennesse, besides the neglect of their duties, whereby an enemy takes his advantage to destroy a whole Campe.

A Generall is to have speciall care, that there be no quarrels or heart-burnings betweene his Officers, but speedily to reconcile them, before they goe upon any service, lest a greater mischief ensue, as did upon the like difference betwixt *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*, two famous Captaines of *Carthage*, who being in fight against *Agathocles*, and furiously charged by his troopes, *Bomilcar* withdrew his divisions, suffering *Hanno* and his souldiers to be hewen to peices.

If a Captaine or souldier transgresseth twice by his cowardlinesse, or through negligence, a Generall ought not to forgive; as *Hannibal* a Commander in the first Punick warres lost his head, for being through his cowardise vanquisht twice; *Non est bis in Bello peccare.*

A Generall must avoid mutinies, disorders, and abuses in his Army, by commanding every Regiment to be drawn in parrado, and before the head of the troopes, some Officer to reade such lawes and edicts as are provided for the Army to be governed by, whereby they may

Not that famous
Hannibal that poisoned himselfe.

may not plead ignorance, and if any dares offend wilfully against any of the Articles, immediately to have the punishment inflicted without respect of persons.

He is to command divers false allarmes to be made, whereby he shall see in what a readinesse his Army will be in if necessity required, and if any baseness should be found in any souldier, that should not dare to answer the alarm with speed, he should be brought before the head of the troops, and his armes broken, and banisht the Army.

If a Generall perceives that the enemy stops his reliefe of Victualls and Ammunition, that without hazard they cannot arrive; then he must take notice what Townes, or Forts intercept the passage of reliefe, and give order for the taking of them in, or strong Convoyes prepared to conduct the carriages; for it is very dangerous to have an enemy in the Reare of an Army to hold any strong Townes or Forts; for thereby they have advantage to stay and surprize all reliefe, that should sustaine the Campe.

He must be truly informed by Intelligencers, and Guides (whose informations he must compare with the Map of that Countrey, to see that no false wood be used) how farre the enemies Townes lye from his Army; he must not be ignorant of the Hills, Vallyes, Wayes, Straights, Passages, Lakes, Rivers, and Bridges; their number, quality, distance, with every particular circumstance; whereby he may know how the enemy may annoy him, and the better he may know how to place his Fortifications, and Guards, for to prevent him. The Prince of *Orange* was well seene in these affaires; he knowing the situation of the seventene Provinces in the *Netherlands* so exactly, that he was able at one time to give directions, how sundry parts and passages, should be guarded, what Straights fortified, what Levells drowned, either by sea or fresh water, whereby hee avoyded present and eminent dangers.

Before a Generall intends to march with his Army, the wayes are to beskowred by certaine horsemen, for feare the enemy should lay any Ambuskadoes; and also to give notice of the conveniency of the wayes for the Souldiers and Artillery to passe; and also he is to have provided able sufficient Guides to conduct them, the best and safest way.

A Generall is to see every Regiment as they march, take their places according to their antiquities in the Field; but when Companies are in Garrison, that Company which first enters the Towne hath the priority during the time they stay; also in a March the eldest Regiment is not continually to have the Vaward, but the Regiment that marcht the first day in the Van, the next day must march in the Reare; and so proportionably every Regiment must take his turne if the march continues; and in the morning before they dislodge, a peece of Ordnance is to be discharged first, whereby the Army takes notice they are to march; at the second report of the Ordnance, every Company is in armes ready to march; and at the third report of the Cannon, the first Regiment marcheth.

If divers Nations should be in an Army, every particular Nation is to be quartered in a division by themselves, and not to mixe Companies to avoyd quarrells: moreover if the number be great of the Mercenary Nations, it is best to divide them, both in marching and imbattelling, lest they should be treacherous, or cowardly; for there is no confidence nor trust can be reposed in them, unlesse they be conveniently placed in the Battell, so as they may be yoaked in and tyed to performe their best indeavours. If an enemy should keepe a Straight to hinder the marching of the Army; a Generall must draw out both Horse and Foote to charge them in either Flanke, and then the residue to fight out their way in the Front of them.

Also a Generall must be very expert in distinguishing the severall seates of the Drum, which is his voyce in the time of warre; the souldiers are also to be taught the understanding of the same, that they may accordingly demeane themselves as the beate of the Drumme commands.

A Generall is to give to the Serjeant-Major-Generall of the Army the watchword, which is privately to be kept and returned to all inferiour Officers; by which word, they may passe the whole Army through; this watchword is to be altered every night.

A Generall is to cause lots or billets to be made, with the names of every particular

garde written in them, those are to be rowled up, and put into a hat by the Major, and so every inferiour officer drawes his guard; by this meanes disputes are prevented, and the enemy cannot corrupt an officer to give over a guard, because it is uncertaine who shall have that watch; also to give order to the inferiour Officers, for the due and orderly relieving of the watch, morning and evening.

A Generall is to draw his whole Army into Battallia and to see them exercised in grosse, changing them into divers formes of Battell; the footemen are to be ordered in divers small Battallions, whereof are framed the right Wing, the Battell, and the left Wing; the Battell is to consist of as many more men as either of the Wings doth; the Horsemen are to bee divided into divers Battallia's, so as they may one relieve the other; the one halfe of the horse, are to be plac'd on the right Wing of the Army, the other on the left, unlesse one of the Wings, and the reare of the battell may be secured by Rivers, Bogges, or Rockie ground, so that the enemy may not take advantage with his horse; then they are to be ranged only upon one Wing, they are to be plac'd a sufficient distance from the foote, lest by their disorderly retreat they annoy their owne foot-troopes; divers foote and horse are to be ranged a good distance before the Army, which are termed the forlorne hopes, in regard they are first to charge the enemy; these troopes being thus ordered are to be taught how to advance and retreat, performing all actions, as ample as if the enemy were encountring with them. This kind of exercise will make them ready, and orderly in their performances, otherwise it may prove dangerous to bring them to the encounter.

A Generall is to animate his souldiers in time of need to take paines; as the valiant Emperour *Vesfasian* who was the first man that carried a Basket of earth to the Fortification, that his souldiers might not thinke scorne to imitate him; it is the sober obedient minde, and the hard painefull body, that makes the noble souldier.

A Generall must take away all hope of refuge from his souldiers in time of Battell, as *William* the Conquerour and *Julius Caesar* did send away their shipping that there souldiers should hope for nothing but either victory, or a grave; and in many Battells troopes of horses have been placed in the reare of the Army, to put to the sword all such as turne head to looke for refuge.

It is not sufficient for a Generall to get a victory, but also to know how to use it, for many times security and negligence, after a conquest hath bred utter ruine, as appeared by the history of *Bayan Chinsan*, who was Generall to the *Tartarian* Emperour, after he had vanquish't his enemy at *Cinguinguy*, by their carelesnesse, disorders, and drunkennesse, were set upon in the night by the remnant remaining, who put them all to the sword.

Scanderberg practised this against the *Turke* and overcame him.

It is very dangerous for a Generall to present battell to an enemy in such a difficult place, that he is devoyd of all refuge, or possibility to escape, whereby urgent necessity may make an enemy desperate. If a Generall sees his horse-troopes too weak to encounter with the Enemies, then he must give order for divers shot to march up in file with the horse; then seeing their advantage, to breake out from them, and gall the enemy; these shot would be often exercised with the horse to make them apt to give an assault, and also upon occasion to reunite themselves into a body to make a defence.

If a Generall drawes out any Winges of shot, (to charge and skirmish with the enemy) any farre distance before the body of the Army; then they ought to be backed with a guard of Pikes, which are to rescue them from the charge of horse, as also to aide them if they should joyne pell mell with the enemies forlorne hope; but this is to be performed long before the bodies of either Armyes can meet, which kind of skirmishes are for divers good ends; as first, to discover, and winne some ground of advantage, or to give the souldiers courage, by seeing how those loose bands doe valiantly foyle those of the enemy, in which skirmishes some politicke stratageme is to be used, to skare and affright the enemy; for any unexpected accident, will seeme strange to an Army, although it be never so small, and will be ready to disorder them; he that commands these troopes must be very wise and circumspect, lest hee fall into the enemies stratagems, which may discourage the Armie.

Also a Generall is not to trust to a seeming victory; for many times good successe

at the first, in a battell, occasioneth the overthrow of many great actions, as we have the example of *Theoderick*, Generall of the Germans; his army being very potent, had gotten the best of *William* Earle of Flanders at the first encounter, which made the Germans confident, and the rather secure, in regard their strength exceeded the Flemmings; but the Flemmings being rather desperate than resolute; and by the valour of the Earle they had so reunited their broken troopes, and with a furious charge did so shake and disorder the Germans, that many of them were slaine, and the rest put to flight.

If a Generall or some other great Commander, or if any part of the Army should be cut off by the enemy, it is best to keep it from the knowledge of the rest of the Army, lest it dishearten them.

If an Army be to march in the darke; to avoyd confusion, command must be given that every souldier shall carry the end of his Leaders pike or weapons from making any noise: and by that means they shall keep right in their ranks.

A Generall in time of battell must be very wise and discreet, to give order when the skirmishers of the loose-banded Maniples shall make their retreat, and to what place; also when the Horse shall charge, and what part of the enemies divisions they shall assault; and to give order what foot-men shall be drawne out to succour them if occasion be; also what Battalia's shall advance forwards, and when to retreat; likewise when the whole body of the Army shall charge, and what divisions shall pursue the victory; alwayes remembring to keep the maine Battell stedfast, and not to move in pursuit after the vanquisht enemy; also to have Officers in the time of fight, to gather together such stragling souldiers as shall bee disfrank't and in disorder, and so make a body of them in the reare of the Army.

There are sundry opinions about the place of a Generall in the time of giving battell: but questionlesse, the best and securest place is before the battell of succour; but at the first he may stand in the front of the maine battell, untill such time as the forlorne hopes are beaten in: he is to ride upon a small Palfrey, having a guard of able gentlemen in like sort attending him, the which he may send to and fro upon all occasions to give Officers intelligence of his pleasure.

If a Generall shall perceive fresh aids are approaching, then let him use his best endeavours to give the enemy battell before they arrive; and also to draw out a convenient force to meet those aids, and give them battell in some place of greatest advantage.

If a Generals victuals, amunition or pay begins to faile, then let him endeavour to give his enemy battell, if he suspect Supplies: but if he knowes his enemy is in want either of victuals, amunition, &c. or that sicknesse, mutinies or the like are in his Army, so that any hope be that his Army may of it selfe dissolve, then a Generall must stand strongly upon his guard, and by all meanes avoid joyning battell, as was practised by the Prince of Orange about fourteene yeares since, when *Grave Hendrick Vandenbergh* marcht over the river *Yssel* in a great frost, by the Towne of *Duesburgh* into the *Vello*, with ten thousand men; where his Excellency and the States of *Holland* might have given him battell with a great deale of conveniency, but he rather suffered him to pillage the Dorpes and burne where he pleased, because hee knew hee could not stay long, nor march far from the river, lest the frost should have broke, and he disappointed of his returne.

If a Generall hath had victory triumphed on his side, a little perswasion will serve to cause the Souldiers to encounter a second time; for as the proverbe saith, *victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis aufert*: for questionlesse one victory begets another, and puts great courage into those that have already had the better; and it beats the edge of courage and spirit from those that have bene beaten: wherefore a Generall must be very wise and carefull how hee brings on his men to fight after an overthrow once received, unlesse it bee upon great advantages and firme hopes of a Conquest.

When a Generall intends to make a retreat from his enemy, hee must bee very circumspect & careful in his carriage, and demeaning of his actions for his better safety and strengthening, for feare his souldiers perceive any cause of feare should constrain him, in regard of the nearnesse or potency of the enemies army; but hee is

to let his souldiers understand that his retreat is to draw the enemy after him to bee surprized in some ambushkado; or rather, if it may bee with conveniency, for his better advantage to give the enemy battell: for there are divers inconveniences attend a retreat, if the enemy be in view: for although a Generall may ayme at some place of better advantage, yet unhappily there may bee divers ill passages and streights to hinder their quick passage: besides, these kinde of retreats breede a jealousie both in souldiers and their Officers; for they know that hee that forsakes the field feares some danger: so that the safest way is either to retreat before an enemy be at hand, or being neare at hand, secretly in the night; for it is a Maximeto be observed, Rather to retreat in the darke than be beaten in the light: *Si certamen quandoque dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripit fugam; fuga enim aliquando laudanda* (saith a learned Generall). But indeed of all motions in the warre, a safe retreat is the most difficult, but that danger will ever attend, as *Montluc* high Marshall of France once said, *Je ne trouve poynt nul fait des armes choses si difficile qu'une retraite*: A Generall must have a jealous eye over an enemy that is revolted from his King, and beware what confidence hee reposeth in him; for divers respects; as namely, first, they are not to be used in any great enterprizes, neither are they to be trusted in any frontier Towne or Fort of any consequence; for they may redeeme their reputations, liberties and estates lost, by surrendring up those Forts: The French had experience of this when *Don Pedro de Navarro* (being banisht Spaine) was trusted with *Fonterable*, and to gaine his former freedome, he surrendred up this Towne, anno 1523. A Generall may make use of a Treason, but let him never trust the Traitor.

Machiavill teacheth
this for a great Sol-
cisme in State

A Generall must take this for a Maxime; If a Commander of any high authority hath wilfully transgressed, either not to strike at all, or else to strike home; for he shall be sure afterwards to be rewarded to purpose. A delinquent regaining liberty, may endanger the estate of an army and the life of a Generall: for high spirits will seeke revenge, as by our late wofull experience of that treacherous *Pelton*, who spightfully murdered our noble Generall, the Duke of Buckingham: therefore there is but three wayes for a Generall to deale with such wilfull transgressors, whose spirits cannot be subjected: namely, first to put them to present execution; although it be a solemne thing, yet it must be allowed where it cannot be helped; but where with safety it may be helped it is to be disallowed. The second is to keepe a delinquent close prisoner, or confine him to the custody of some man in trust, and in this there is a great caution to be used; for our Histories report of *Morton* Bishop of Ely, who was committed to the custody of *Buckingham* by King *Richard* the third; he by his policie not onely gained his owne freedome, but wrought the Duke to his owne faction. The third and last is the more noble and gentile, and in most cases surest; and that is a free and gracious pardon both of life and for liberty; which, although of it selfe, it may seem partly unsafe, yet if the delinquent be of a noble disposition, and have any spark of worth in him, there is no better way to endeare him to his Superiour, than by promising him promotions and honours, or advancing him to some place of gaine or trust: This was practised by *Otho*, who not onely pardoned *Marius Celsus*, the chiefe man of *Galba's* faction, but put him in a place of great command and honour in the Wars against *Vtelius*: He yeelding this reason for it, *Ne hostis metum reconciliationis adhiberet*: a pardoned enemy is jealous of the breach making up.

The chiefeft meanes whereby a souldier will bee drawne to love and honour his Generall, is by receiving courteous carriage, and carefull provision for those that are wounded and maymed in the Warres, and by a strict command that the Officers do not wrongfully abuse them: if any souldier should be taken prisoner, order is presently to be taken for his ransome. This will encourage souldiers to venture themselves upon all perilous dangers.

A Generall ought to be very carefull to prevent discontents, and to appease mutinies, which for the most part grow from the neglect of the due and well paying of the souldiers their weekly pay, which drawes infinite dangers after it: for usually they take the advantage to rebell, when the most present and urgent occasion of service is to be performed; as appeared at the siege of *Ostend*, where Duke *Albertus* his forces would not be enticated to goe upon the service intended, without they had first their present pay, which he, not being able to performe, nor having the art to in-
sinuage

sinuate into their affection to gaine their patience and loves, but rather trusting to his power to reduce them to his service by force of armes, caused two thousand of his army to revolt to the enemy, which might have been the ruine of his designe. In such a desperate case, there is no better way to prevent them, than by making loving protestations and large promises, and to satisfie so farre as ability will extend. They that are the chiefeest in the faction, in a fit time and season are to bee privately apprehended and punished, whereby the whole faction will be enervated and weakned by degrees, and the inferiours seeing the chiefeest in the rebellion to bee surprized, will yeeld quietly of themselves, so that they shall be brought under obedience without any hazzarding of the Generals person.

A Generall must conceive, that advice may be given and taken to a mans owne destruction: for it may as well bee the wise mans fall, as the fooles advancement; and is oftneft most dangerous in wounding, when it stroakes with a silken hand: for a base Polititian is indeed a devouring furie in the shape of friendship, to advantage his deceit the more.

That Generall that is not truely wise and valiant, soone loseth his Command, and growes contemptible, and by his owne folly or feares, infects his troopes with cowardize. It is reported of *Cesar*, (by *Cicero*) That in all his commands in War, there was not found an *Ito*, but a *Veni*; taking it as a great dishonour to himselfe to be any thing but the forwardest Leader in all his designes.

If any discontents and quarrels should arise in a Generalls Campe, between Officers of great Authority and Command, it is not safe for a Generall to take part of any side, but rather to mediate peace betweene them; for the contrary side that sees he is despised or neglected, will study a revenge; as by the example of the Earle of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Somerset*, who falling out in *Henry* the fourth his Court, *Somersetts* part was chiefly taken; whereupon *Warwick* rebelled, and deadly Warres continued twenty nine yeares, untill there was a generall confusion of both Houses: so that the safest way, if peace cannot be mediated, is to confine them both, untill they be glad to desire friendship of themselves.

A Generall ought in some kindes to participate in the wants and distresses of his Souldiers, which makes them the more willing to undergoe it; as *Alexander* did, who marching with his Army through a dry barren Countrey, where the Armie was almost famisht, a Souldier brought him an helmet of water, who courteously rewarded him, and told him hee durst not drinke it unlesse there were sufficient for all his Souldiers, and so cast it upon the ground; testifying, that he desired to fare no better than his Souldiers.

Also a Generall ought to take notice, that his Honour and all his Actions are much subject to be dimmed and disgraced; especially, if hee seekes not to be beloved and honoured of his Army: besides, it is the policie of a subtil enemy to study and labour how to undervalue and disgrace Commanders, so, that their Souldiers may have a base and poore opinion of their worths, whereby all enterprizes or designes, taking no effect, shall be censured and ambiguously construed. *Nihil est quod male narrando non possit depravari.*

A Generall is to consider, that in all treaties of peace and friendship, these circumstances are first to be considered: In the first place, either betweene the victor and the vanquished: secondly, betweene those, that having warred together, are upon equall termes of advantage: thirdly, betweene those that have lived alwayes in good agreement without any quarrell. Unto the Victor the vanquished must yeeld, and patiently endure the imposition of some strict Covenants, which otherwise might seeme unreasonable. Where Warre is made, and no advantage gotten, there it is usuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten or lost, according as both parties can best agree: But betweene such Nations as never fell out, there ought no conditions of establishing friendship to bee propounded, since it seemes reasonable, that each party should hold their owne, and neither carry themselves as Superiours unto other in prescribing ought that may be troublesome.

Thus do I conclude this discourse with divers Aphorismes (very proper and fit to be annexed to this subject) which I have collected out of *S. R. Dallington*, and fitted them for this purpose: and moreover I would not that any man should thinke that

I goe

I goe about to teach any Officer his dutie, much lesse this high Officer, whose perfections ought to be beyond my capacity to conceive of; but these collections I have taken paines to gather from the best Authours, as things of consequence to be taken notice of by a Generall.

Aphorisme I.

Princeps optimus faciendo docet, cumq; sit imperio maximus, exemplo maior est. Valer. l. 2.

Plus in Duce repones quàm in Exercitu. Prob. de Eper.

Unus homo pluris quàm universa civitas. Tac. de Mor. Ger.

Example is of greater validity than precept; therefore a Generall must principally bee an absolute Souldier, and likewise a good Director; that by his presence and personall performance his Souldiers may strive to imitate, and be encouraged to undergoe any paines, or meete with any danger: for upon his noble performance depends the successe of the Service; according to the Greek Proverb, That an Armie of Sheep led by a Lyon was better than an Armie of Lyons led by a Sheep.

Aphorisme II.

Fortuna vitrea est, cum splendet frangitur.

Vincere scis, Hannibal, uti victoria nescis. Prob. de Han.

The keenest Razor will turne edge at a more solid substance, but the tough and dull Axe is able to encounter the hard and sturdie Oke, and over-power him: So experience teacheth, that hot and fierie spirits are apter to get a purchase, than to keepe it. Hee therefore that hath the fortune to get the victory, but not the judgement to make use thereof, stands upon slipperie yce, and is subject to fall on either hand.

Aphorisme III.

In Milite unius fors est, in Imperatore universorum periculum. Egeſip.

Dubius praeliorum exemptus, summam rerum & imperii seipsum reservat. Tacit. lib. 11.
Stetit sub Ajacis clipeo septem plice telus. Hom. Odyſ. 9.

A Generall is to command and advise, but Souldiers are to execute with their swords what is commanded; in this, but one mans life is in danger; but in that, the hazzard of all. wherefore a Commander in chiefe ought to be covered with the seven-fold shield of Ajax, and never expose his person to apparant perill, but in case of a generall overthrow and manifest defeat.

Aphorisme IV.

Ex omni vita simulatio dissimulationis tollenda. Cic. l. 2.
Sanctitas, pietas, fides, privata bona sunt. Sen. Thyest.
Nescit imperare qui nescit dissimulare. Sigism. Imper.
Malum sub lingua, non in lingua habens. Greg.
Simplicitas ac liberalitas, ni adsit modus, in exitum vertuntur. Tacit. Hist. 3.

Vertue is a Gemme of such excellencie, that even her shadow, if it bee in a great Commander, doth much good to particular Officers by imitation, and to the publike Armie by participation. wherefore, though simulation of what is good, and dissimulation of what is evill, are accounted vices in a private man; yet in a publike person, they are necessary evils; for if hee bee overt in expressing his nature, or prodigall in venting his purposes, it breeds dangerous consequences; for it harmes himselfe, and armes his enemy with prevention.

Aphorisme

Aphorisme V.

Hide not from those of thy best and most private Councell the true state of thy cause, and discover not to thy Armie or Enemie thy wants or feares: for it encourageth the one, and quite dismayeth the other: But if confusion were at hand so eminent, as if heaven and earth had conspired thy overthrow, yet comfort thy selfe and Souldiers with hopefull words of assurance of some plottes and advantages thou hast against them (though thy heart apprehends truly the danger as it is) whereby thou maist make thy resistance the stronger, or procure thy peace upon better termes.

Medicus in desperatione, Gubernator in tempestate cognoscitur; Horum omnium sanam precedentia pericula exiollunt. Sid. App. 8.
Faire bonne mine, en mauvais jeu. Pro. Gal.

Quod timoris minus est, eo minus ferme periculi est. Liv. l. 23.

Bonus animus in re mala dimidium est mali. Plaut. Pseud.

Aphorisme VI.

A will to doe hurt is more dangerous in the close, than a professed enemy, because he that suspecteth least, is soonest and easiest overthrown: like the unskillfull Fencer, who, while he wardeth the head, is hit at the heart, which lay out of guard.

Flexuosum & occultum hominis ingenium, cujus vis propria in arte solertiaq, est posita, aptior tamen ad cavendos quam metuendos hostes. Eront. praef.
Nemo celerius opprimitur, quam qui nihil timet. Vel. l. 2.

Aphorisme VII.

In the Schoole of Art, doubt begetteth knowledge; so in the School of Policie, shew is the mother of good successe: for he that feareth the worst, preventeth it soonest. Man naturally interprets things according as he would have them, and so doubts lesse than he should; but hee that doubts most treads the safest path.

Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni. Gram. vulg.
Si nihil velis timere, metuas omnia. Seneca. Sent.
Quod nimis miseri volunt, hoc facilius credunt. Seneca.
Omnia audens contemnitur, nil temere agens metuitur. Liv. lib. 24.

Aphorisme VIII.

A Businesse well begunne is halfe ended: wherefore it much imports to the happie or disastrous issue of any affaires, what manner of entrance and beginning he makes, especially in that of war; for good successe in the first encounter greatly advances the maine of his businesse, & takes away both courage and reputation, yea, and resolution from the losing side: herein therefore consists the maine care of a Generall.

Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet. Hor. lb. 1. cp. 2.
Bonum principium dimidium totius. Pro. lat.
Fama in novis captis validissima est. Tac. An. 13.
Primis eventibus, metus aut fiducia gignitur. Idem An. 12.

Aphorisme IX.

Worth is valued by the qualitie, not the greatnesse of a thing; as the goodnesse of a Fortresse consisteth rather in the conformity of the parts, and the answerable distances, than in the unproportionable greatnesse: so the strength of an Army stands more in the valour and good order of the Combatants, than in the number; against which number, are these two principall advantages, great Ordnance, and good Ordnance.

Numquam bonos fortesq, milites habebis, nisi haec duo velut instrumenta adhibeas, delectum & disciplinam. Lip. Pol. l. 5.
Multitudo non vires habet, sed pondus. Seneca.

Aphorisme.

Aphorisme X.

De vita & regno velut ad casum aleæ periclitari, stultitia est & vanitas. Stobæus.

Fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare. Tac. de Ger.

It is unwarrantable to runne an extreme hazzard, save onely when extreme necessity commands : therefore a wise Generall ought never to venture his fortunes upon one daies tryall, or doubtfull chance of Battell, when he foresees by militarie inductions that he may obtaine his purposes without blowes.

Aphorisme XI.

Verum si incipias, neq; perficias graviter, nilo plus agas, quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias (quod ille de amore idem de bello). Terent. Eun.

Mars communis, & victum sepe erigit, & affligit victorem. Liv. Lib. 28.

Et fractis rebus, violentior ultima virtus. Sil. Lib. 1.

Who undertakes a long Voyage by Sea, and at a great charge, must resolve to hold on his course against all accidents that may offer to oppose him : So a Generall being engaged in a great Action, must wrestle with all difficulties rather than quit the Enterprize ; better it were to foresee the dangers at first and prevent them, or desist : but if once set forwards, hee must take up this resolution, To goe on with the Sword, or fall on the Sword : for in this he puts his fortunes upon tryall, but in retrograding hee purchaseth shame and losse.

Aphorisme XII.

Instandum fama, nam prout prima cesserint, succedunt universa. Tacit. lib. 12.

Non minus famam quam vi,stant res principum. Tac. An. 3.

La bonne reputation d'un Chiefe, est cause d'un grand bien par son Armée. Plut. Phoc.

As the Orator placeth his strongest arguments in the entrance of his plea, to perswade and confirme the Auditorie : So should a Generall bend all his best forces upon the first peece he attempteth, to animate and encourage his Souldiers, and to give reputation to the action he intendeth ; for first actions make deepest impressions either of feare or courage. Hee is therefore so much to tender his reputation at the first onset, as to leave nothing behinde him unbroken but that which bendeth.

Aphorisme XIII.

Inter scopulos quibus illidi ac frangi Reipub. Navis solet, prima miti fiducia occurrit. Lip. Pol. lib. 3.

Credulitas paviter ac diffidentia perdidit homines. Hesiod. Lib 1.

Mischeffe enters at the open gate of securitie. As the Indian Rat shuts himselfe into the belly of the Crocodile that sleepes gaping, and gnawes his guts asunder : So selfe-conceited confidence in our owne strength, and overweening credulity of an enemies insufficiencie, begets this supine negligence ; but a watchfull Providence prevents an eminent danger.

Aphorisme XIV.

Tutissimum est inferre cum timeas gradum.

Quand on void venir le danger, il faut gagner le devant : & ne attendre p. que le mal soit fait, pour y donner ordre. Ann. Plud.

WE perceive it easier to oppose (in the Schooles of Art) than answer ; So by prooffe wee finde the same in the art of warre : For it is safer to obviate and meet danger in the way, than to tarry till it comes

comes home to our doors. For there is ever more courage in the assailer, and commonly better successe.

Provocando, tuis auge confidentiam, & adversariis minus; quia fortiores videntur qui provocare non dubitant. Liv.

Aphorisme XV.

IN the active part of military service, the Generals greatest vertue is to apprehend a present occasion of advantage, and to take it. So on the passive side, the evasion from a sudden and imminent danger is much more noble than a fore-thought of prevention: for in this is only matter of judgement, but in that is the life of action and execution.

Ars vivendi & bellandi est prudentia, ut medicina valetudinis, Cic. de fin.
Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus: qui fallere non vult, falli non potest. Lip. Poll. 3.
Macbe giona (ô himè) che del periglio vicino, omai fosse presago il cuore, s'irresoluto in ritrovar rimedio: Lamia tenera età vendesse l'imore.

Aphorisme XVI.

TO speak that which a man thinks not, is reproveable, being taken in strict morall sense; but necessity gives a larger latitude to the managing of greater affaires. For nothing is more expedient to a General, than that the enemy knows nothing of his deliberations till they bee put in action, nor of his preparations till they bee on foot. It is therefore an usefull policie to pretend one Service, and intend another.

Nulla sunt meliora consilia quam quæ ignoraverit hostis antequam sunt. Veg. lib. 3.

Nec ostenderunt bellum prius quam intulerunt. Liv. de Sab.

Aphorisme XVII.

PLinie reports of a Getulian Captive that escaped the danger of devouring by many Lyons through her humble gesture and faire language; bee being the noblest beast of the Forrest never commits violence but where he finds resistance: So is the true Souldier the most honourable of all professions, who holds it as great glory to releve the oppressed captive, as to conquer the enemy.

Captivam Getulie reducem audivi, multorum Leonum impetui se mitigatum; alioqui ausam se dicere feminam profugam, infirmam, supplicem animalis omnia dignissima, ceterisque imperantis, indignam ejus gloriam prædam. Pl. nat. hist.
Debellare hostes fortuna est, refocillare victos verè regium. P. A.
Ius a quo clementia abest, crudelis est. Pom. Lec. I.

Aphorisme XVIII.

IN the honour of great achievements, inferiour Officers and Souldiers partake with the General, according to the measure of their place and merit: but the well or ill ordering of things achieved, redounds wholly to his own proper glory, or shame: it behooves him therefore to have a speciall care to the safety of his Army, that every thing may be regulated according to rule and order; for it is greater honour to come off with judgement, than to goe on with courage; to use victory wisely, than to get it happily; and more glory to retain that which is wonne victoriously, than to obtaine it.

Fortunam citius reperias quam retineas. Publi.

Non minor est virtus, quam querere, partatuere. Ovid.

Il est beau coup plus fait de garder un estat de ne tomber en ruine, que de l'agrandir, & enrichir. Am. in Plaut.

Aphorisme XIX.

NOthing is more necessary in a General than the perfect exploration of the courses his enemy takes, and a true estimate of the forces hee bringeth; for by the ignorance of the first, and the misprision of

Ille difficile vincitur qui de suis & adversarii copijs verè potest judicare. Veget. lib. 3.

*Tuum est, hostium exercitum,
locorum situm, naturam regionis
nosse. Liv. lib. 22.*

this other, hee makes his preparations, and builds his actions upon sup-
posals and slippery grounds, bereaving himselfe of many faire advan-
tages.

Aphorisme XX.

*Necessitas etiam timidos fortes
facit. Iust. lib. 3.*

*Hostes fugientes nolite trucidare,
ne potius ducant manere
quam fugere. Lycurg. in Pol.*

Despaire taketh Arms when all hope of escape is absent, for neces-
sity makes the most imbellick cowards valiant; wherefore it is wis-
dome to leave thy enemy a port open to flee, and rather build him a bridge
of gold to passe over, than coup him in a place, that either hee must fight,
or perish.

Aphorisme XXI.

*Exercitus praedator, & ipse pre-
da hostium. Salust. lug.*

*Eventus praeliorum inter initia
contra illos fuit, quibus victoria
debeatur. Veget. lib. 3.*

NO Actions of men are more subject to suddain and unexpected e-
vents than those of war; and in warre, nothing so soon snatcheth vi-
ctorie out of our hands, as untimely falling to the spoil: upon such dis-
order Fortune alwaies turneth her wheel, and maketh victors of them
which before were vanquished.

Aphorisme XXII.

*Subiata causa, tollitur effectus.
Aristot.*

*Teme, itas, ubi primum impe-
tum effudit, sicut quaedam ani-
malia, amissu aculeo, torpet.
Curt. lib. 4.*

AS in nature, so in warre; where the cause faileth, there the effect
also dyeth; for where men are couragious, not out of a true resoluti-
on, but out of some conceit of the enemies weaknesse or wants; when they
find things contrary to those former impressions, then they lose their spi-
rits and animosity.

Aphorisme XXIII.

*Qui de nuce nucleum esse vult,
frangat nucem. Plut.*

*Quisquis enim duros casus
virtutis amore
vicerit, ille sibi laudemque decusque
parabit. Vir. Opusc.*

THere is nothing so glorious or sweet in the fruition, that is not dif-
ficult and painfull in the acquisition; nor can wee tast the kernell of
pleasure, unlesse we crack the hard shell of danger: such are the craggie
and untrodden paths to honour, where though the first entrance bee hard
and many times disastrous, yet overcome by true resolution and perseve-
rance, it after turns to a mans great glory.

Aphorisme XXIV.

*Magna sunt momenta tempo-
rum, & multum interest, idem
illud utrum ante, an post decer-
natur, suscipiatur, agatur. Cae-
sar. Com. lib. 5.*

*Tempori aptari decet. Senec.
Med.*

From the collection of circumstances every action takes his warrant,
and amongst these, that of time is of greatest moment. For a Souldier
not to adventure when he should, is cowardize, not prudence; and to dare
when he should not, is rashnesse, not valour. A wise Generall therefore
must form his counsels, and frame his actions upon the mould of necessary
circumstances.

Aphorisme

Aphorisme XXV.

ABove all other actions, fortune is said to have the greatest stroke in warre; yet the fault cannot bee so transferred upon her, but the greatest blame will rest upon the Generall; for her two only advocates (Blindnesse and Ignorance) which plead her innocencie, will bee your chiefest accusers, and prove you guilty of your owne ruine. It behoves therefore every Commander to open the one eye of his providence upon the danger, and fix the other of his knowledge upon the remedie.

Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna. Cæsar. Com. lib. 6.

Qui quæ necessaria sunt non providet, non prorsus videt: hæc non scire, est plane desipere. Lip. Pol. lib. 3.

Aphorisme XXVI.

THe law of Armes tolerates a professed enemy to attempt that by stratagem, fraud or suborned treacherie, which cannot bee atchieved by force; without long endeavouring, uttermost danger and excessive charge. But it is dangerous for a Generall to treat in such a practice, and bee of the party, if hee bee to engage his person and trust his life in the hands of the suborned traitors; lest whilst he seeks to buy other mens lives for money, he sells his owne for nought.

Cum istud Bellum suscipitur, ut aperte pugnet quis, aut ex insidiis, nihil ad iusticiam attinet. August.

qui ad iussu solum audire d'un meschant, s'en repent & s'en voit l'onstrage puis apres. Ami. Plut.

Aphorisme XXVII.

THese which by our means, and for our cause are brought in case not to help themselves, by us ought carefully to bee tendered. It is therefore a shamefull thing in a Generall to give Hostages for keeping of Articles capitulated, and after by wilfull breaking of them, to leave the lives of those pledges at the enemies mercy.

Nemo sere credit nisi ei quem fidelem putat; perditissimi est igitur hominis fallere eum qui lesus non esset nisi credidisset. Cic. pro Ros.

—Rebus succurrite lesis, Et date naufragio littora tutam. Ovid. Iust.

Aphorisme XXVIII.

Blood flesh and bones are the least strengthening to the arme, unlesse there bee sinewes to stretch out and pull in for the defence of the bodie: So an Armie consisting of many valiant men, and furnished with all other warlike habilements, is but lame and uselesse, and unable to move it selfe without money the sinewes of warre.

Quemadmodum homines sine nervis ambulare nequeunt; ita nec Bellum usquam progredi sine pecunia. Lip. Pol. lib. 5. Antequam inchoetur Bellum, de copiis expensisq; sollicitus debet esse tractatus. Veg. l. 3.

Aphorisme XXIX.

IN unresistable tempests, where shipwrack is threatned, they disburden the Ship, lest themselves and all should perish: so it must fare with a wise Generall in the tempestuous stormes of warre; hee must adapt his consultations and actions to the necessitie of the times, and not expose the main to a manifest losse, by seeking to save the bye: Wisedome therefore is more requisite in a Chiefe than Valour.

Gubernator, ubi naufragium timet, iacturâ quicquid sanari potest, redimit. Lamp. Alex.

Parva sunt foris arma, nisi sit consilium domi. Cicero.

Bellum ex momenti parvarum sepe rerum dependet.

Liv. lib. 32.

Un petit accident est souventes fois, le commencement des grands maux. Am. Plut. Nocturni terrores Clearchi exercitum invaserunt; at ille præcepit, si nocturnus tumultus oriretur, nemo rectius consurgere: hoc præceptum docuit milites contemnere nocturnum terrorem. Pol. Strat. lib. 2.

Aphorisme XXX.

IN humane actions, small actions work great effects, and especially in those of War; for one word of command mis-understood, many times overthrowes both the action and the Actors. wherefore a wise Generall should accustom his souldiers to the perfection of discipline, never to take all arme, or apprehension of suddain danger from what others doe, or say; but from his own immediate Officers, or them in place about him.

Aphorisme XXXI

illa belli furta pulcherrimam laudem habent, per quæ hostes maxime decipiuntur, & amici plurimum juvantur. Thuc. 1.5

THe greatest glory of a Commander is to drive out the nail of his enemies practice with a stronger of his own, and to blow him up in his own mine. Policie against force deserveth much, and prevaieth often: but by stratagem to prevail against policie is most excellent.

Aphorisme XXXII.

Miles hæc tria curare debet, corpus ut quàm validissimum & perniciosissimum habeat, arma apta, animumq; paratum ad subita imperia: cetera diis immortalibus & Imperatori commendet. Liv. lib. 4.

THe chiefest weapon against victory, is good discipline; for if Souldiers have not this true temper, they lose their edge in their tryall, and turn the point into their own bowels that use them. wherefore nothing is more necessary in a Martiall government than obedience, both for the generall good of their affaires, and safety of the Souldiers.

Aphorisme XXXIII.

Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia. Iuven. Sat. 10.

Perdifficile est ad carentem auribus ventrem verba facere; venter quippe cibi avidus, præcepta non audit. Plut. in Cato.

IN the government of a prudent Commander rests the safety of the Army; and the greatest weakning thereof is by disorder and want of discipline. From want of pay springs up disorder: money comforts more than aqua vitæ; but want is such an aqua fortis as will eat up the steel coat of discipline: for hunger and penury will rout a well composed Army sooner than an over-potent enemy.

Aphorisme XXXIV.

duo sunt quæ principatus comparent, augeant, servent, milites & pecunia. Dion. l. 42.

Rehementer pertinet ad Bella administranda, quid hostes, magis verò quid subditi de suis Imperatoribus existiment. Cic.

Two things are most requisite for a Generall to possesse, and that is a sufficient treasure to discharge his Troops, and an high reputation, which begets a majestie in him, and an awfull obedience in his Souldiers towards him: by these hee shall preserve in health and safety the body of his Army. If reputation bee lost, neither his maturity of judgement to undertake, nor his alacrity of spirit to execute, will availe in the perfecting of his intended enterprize: for where there is no powerfull majestie to command, there is no awfull readinesse in Officers nor Souldiers to act what is commanded.

Aphorisme

Aphorisme XXXV.

THe two famous Souldiers of Rome and Greece which shot like two thunderbolts into the west and East, filling the whole world with the fame of their victories, were renowned for nothing more than their celeritie in doing, and preventing the very report of their coming. For there is nothing so excellent in a Chiefe as prevention; it blesteth the action with successe, and crowneth the Actor with glory. Hee therefore that will arrive at the ports of Victory, and by her gates enter the town of Fame, must steer his course this way.

Tam celer in agendo & consultus in exequendo, ut persue nuncios de se praeveniret. Suet. de Caes.

Veni, vidi, vici. Caes. apud Plut.

Se penumero in bello ea quae geri debent, celeritate facilius quam vi perficiuntur. Xenoph. lib. 6.

Aphorisme XXXVI.

IT is hard for a Generall so warily to walk in any condition of charge or service as that hee dash not his foot against the stone of offence: hee being chiefe in command, must use his authority sparingly, if he intends to keep it long. Wherefore that Generall which binds not himselfe within the limits of his Commission, nor useth the advice of his Councell of warre, shall never want secret enemies amongst those hee hath neglected, to urge his transgression, and work his confusion.

Difficile est in omni vite genere sic te gere ut non impingas. Lip. an. lib. 3.

Potentia tantis quam acrioribus consiliis tutius habetur. Tac. an. 114.

Aphorisme XXXVII.

Shafts being bound together are not easily bowed, but taken one by one, may easily be broken; so fareth it with the forces of an Armie, whose safety chiefly depends upon the unity and mutuall conjunction of the inferiours with the superiours, and of these one with another. Wherefore nothing is more dangerous in the service of warre than discord and faction amongst the chiefe Officers of the Armie.

Ibi semper est victoria ubi concordia. Senec. Sent.

Nobilium factiones trahunt ad se, & in partes, universum populum. Arist. Pol. l. 5.

Aphorisme XXXVIII.

AS Seconds in single fight bee very circumspect that there bee no ods in the Combatants weapons, but see them meet upon indifferent termes; the like care should every Generall have that the Arms and Armour of his Souldiers should be every way sufficient: for many times this prevails both against number and valour of the enemy: for in a Battell where the fight is in a firme station, and a greater desire is had of offending and killing others than of defending and saving themselves, ods of the weapon is most advantageous.

Ad victoriam plurimum refert ut lectissimos de pedibus & equitibus, bene armatos, & post aciem in subsidium praeparatos habeas. Veg. lib. 3.

Ensis habet vires, & gens quaecunque virorum est, bella gerit gladiis, sed Medos praelia prima exarmant, vacuasque jubent remeare pharetrae. Lucan. l. 8.

Aphorisme XXXIX.

IN the prosecution of warre, there are often advantages met with-all by accident, which reason and judgement could not possibly fore-think

Summum jus, summa in jura. Adag. Poly.

Res dant consilia hominibus,
non homines rebus: itaq; apta-
re te in rebus debes, praesertim
in Bello. Lip. Poll. 5.

Turpissima est jacturaque fit
per negligentiam. Senec. Epist.

of, much lesse direct; for things give better counsell to men, than men to the things: therefore the rigour of punishment due for transgressing a Commandement in warre is not so strictly to be forced, if good successe approves it. But he that hath once transgressed the limits of his Commission, and thereby hath fair occasion offered to make an honourable amends, and in ample sort to justifie his first transgression, and wipe out the forfeit, that man makes a double fault not to take it.

Aphorisme XL.

In ventre mollis tenuisq; cutis
crocodili, ideo se ut terribili me-
gunt Delphini subeunt, siq; al-
vum illam secant spina. Plin.
nat. lib. 8. cap. 25.

La prudence doit conduire &
manier la force. Am. Plu.
Parendo potius quam imperia
ducum sciscitando, res militaris
contineatur. Tac. an. lib. 1.
Divisa inter Duces Militisq;
munia, his arma & manus sint,
illis consilium & virtutis suae spe-
cimen relinquunt. Tac. an. l. 1.

THe Crocodile is slain by the Dolphins policie striking him in his soft and tender belly being unarmed with scales. Experience should teach men more than nature can the creature; for a Generall must strike the enemy where he may be most hurt; and such things as reason deems impossible are not to be attempted, for prudence is of force where force cannot prevaile. Therefore direction is left to the Commander, execution to the Souldier, who is not to question why, but to performe what is given him in charge.

Aphorisme XLI.

Custodiendi milites intra limi-
tes, aliter solvitur militia tua,
immo perit.

Periculum subire instructo or-
dine. Xen. inst.

IN moralitie it is a greater vice to commit a wickednesse, than to omit the doing of a vertuous act: so in Martiall government it is worse for the Souldier to doe what he is forbidden in his own Camp, than not to doe what he is commanded upon the enemy; for this onely bereaves him of some fair advantage, but that laies himselfe open to all ambush and defeat.

Aphorisme XLII.

Citius venit periculum cum
contemnitur; inopinata magis
premunt mala. Senec.
Metellus aliquid militie inter-
rogatus, Si inquit tunicam me-
am arcani mihi consciam sci-
rem, exutam in ignem abjice-
rem. Plu. de Grac.

Those dangers are least avoyded which are unknown or unexpected, and those counsels are best carried which the enemies sees in execution before he hears them by relation. None in the Army must know to what Service Scipio leads his Troops, but only C. Laelius; nor is it fit things determined in Councell should bee communicated but to those without whom they cannot be effected: for as expedition is the life of action; so is secrecie of deliberation.

Aphorisme XLIII.

Dum festino omnia celeriter
percurrere, tardior sum. Plat.
Rep. 7.

Scito militibus cupidinem pug-
nandi convenire; duces pruden-
tia consultando, emelatione
sepius quam temeritate pro-
disse. Tac. hist. lib. 3.

THe furious Coursour breaketh his wind in the midst of his carreer, whereas the Snail comes to the top of the hill in her due time as well as the Eagle; wherefore hee that will doe a thing well, must have patience to tarrie till it may bee well done: for it hurteth as much to anticipate the occasion as to foreflow it being offered. Men of hot spirits erre in the first, for scarce doe they perceive the shadow of her, but they run to catch at it, and thinking to take hold on the solid substance, imbrace

embrace nothing but the empty aire; whereas the wary and well advised Commander, holds it safer to weary and weare out the enemy by cunctation and delay, than to put all to hazard by hast; in this is danger, in that is a Fabian vertue.

Fabius novam de Hannibali victoriam commentus est, non pugnare, ut qui frangi virtute non poterat, morâ comminueretur; hinc illi cognomen novum & reip. salutare (cunctator.) Florus lib. 2.

Aphorisme XLIV.

A Generall is not to stay his provision for warre, although he be constrained to seeke for peace; because otherwise he seekes to beg or buy his peace, and cannot purchase it but at a deare rate; wherefore peace is never to be treated with our enemy, our Armour being of, or Sword sheathed; neither can it be easily concluded but under a Buckler.

Ostendite modo Bellum, pacem habebitis; videant vos paratos, ad vim jus ipsi remittent. Man. apud Plut.

Pacem optatis magis quam defenditis, pacem sub clipeo parare. Salust. hist. 1.

Aphorisme XLV.

OF all bad ingredients into the heart of man, there is none poysons it so much with the venome of treasonable thoughts as that of disdaine. That Generall that sees this mischievous seed planted and grown amongst his Captaines in time of their employments, and seeks not to roote it up with a quick and sharp hand, is in the high road to his owne ruine.

Vetera odere, nova expetunt; odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student. Salust.

Digitis præscindi oportet, ne ob eam rem gangrena ad brachium perveniat. Varro. Frag.

Aphorisme XLVI.

IT is a hinderance to the Generalls service, and a furtherance to the Generalls destruction, to give any of his chiefe Officers any manifest cause of discontent, and yet after imploy him in any place of great charge; for neither can he be assured of his fidelity when he is used, nor he of his Generalls favour being accused.

Providendum, ne cui, qui insigni aliqua injuria affectus est, demandetur provincia administrandi rem aliquam magni momenti. Mac. dis. lib. 2.

Tam est periculosum, malitioso potentiam, quam furioso gladium dare. Æschin.

Aphorisme XLVII.

VPon certaine notice of some treasonable plot or practise in an Army, the Generall must first assure the place, and then more fully search into the treason, and punish the traitors, either all for the offence, or the ringleaders for example. Severity in this case is but justice, lenity puts all in hazzard; wherefore against such intestine ambush, we must first take up the Buckler of safety, and then produce the Sword of Justice.

Securitati consulas antequam vindicte. Tacit. an. lib. 11.

Principibus seditionis securi percussis. Mac. lib. 3. ca. 26.

Aphorisme XLVIII.

IF a Generall be forced to abandon any hold or place of strength; if he ever hopes to returne when times are more propitious, let him raze all such workes and Forts before his departure as may hinder his reaching, whereby he shall finde his returne and restitution more easie.

Arces exruuntur duplici de causa, ad hostes arcendos, ad subditos compescendos, & in officio continendos; ad priorem usum non necessaria, ad posterio-rem inutiles & noxia. Mac. lib. 2. dis. 24.

Aphorisme XLIX.

In omni prælio non tam multitudo & virtus indola, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam.

Veg. lib. 1.

Amplius potest locus sepe quam virtus. Veg. Lib. 3.

Vi Militum inferior, locorum fraude prior. Tac. an. 12.

Ereclum & fidentem animi te ipsum ostende. Tac. an. lib. 4.

Some advantages in Battell are personall, as better men, and horse, or more number of both; some are reall, as more money, or better armes; some are formall, as better discipline in governing, and better order in fight; and some are accidentall, as the Sunne, the winde, and the place. Now amongst all these the two last (of better order in fight, and better ground to fight on) are not the least meanes of obtaining the victory.

Aphorisme. L.

Al faut ployer plus tost que rompre. & se réserver à meilleur temps. Am. plu. Cic.

Majestas non fracta malis.

Lucan. 4.

Decet virum verè generosum; ferre tum bona, tum mala, si laesus fuerit. Menand.

Adversity may bend, but never breake a noble and undaunted courage: he abandons not himself though all his forces seemes to forsake him, but hopes when fortune is come to the height or Brumall Solstice of her frowning, she will be retrograde and shine againe upon him with the beames of better successe: a Generall therefore plunged into the lowest deep of disasters, must beware he sinke not to the nethermost hell of despaire, from whence is no redemption; but let him reserve himselfe for better fortunes.

Thus have I collected and joyned together the principall and worthiest observations, which the best and famousst Generalls both ancient and moderne have left behind them for the guides to posterity; whereby they may learne how to steere their course in a short time by the helpe of speculative knowledge, which hath consumed many thousand yeeres, and destroyed millions of people to purchase the experience, which here is offered to your view; and I question not the gratefull acceptance, unlesse it be some vaine glorious fellow, whose feather is greater than his wit: or experience may cast some silly aspersiõ upon this discourse; but let such an imbellick fellow know, that his depraving it doth not touch me or my reputation; but it must be transferr'd upon those noble Commanders, whose experience purchast these observations. In the next place I am to discourse about the marching of an Army, and quartering it for one night, wherein I shall be as breefe as may be.

Rules