

EARLY MILITARY PICTURES

By SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., *President*

Everyone who has at any time tried to illustrate a historical work, or to enliven a lecture, with pictures of contemporary value, which have some real bearing on the topic under discussion, will appreciate the difficulty of the task that is before me to-day. Early pictorial art in the matter of historic events inclines to be hieratic, biased, and tendentious. Late pictorial art, when illustrating anything save absolutely contemporary events, is always hopelessly anachronistic, representing the personages of some thousand years back in costumes and poses familiar to the artist's own age. We are all familiar with medieval pictures of King David in chain- armour and a spiky crown, or of Julius Caesar with plate armour and bright red hose, bearing a shield with the imperial eagle. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century historical pictures were even more absurd—the whole of the Old Testament in my George II family Bible showed Abraham, Joshua, or Ahab in classical armour with vague memories from Renaissance Art. We have got beyond that stage in this generation—but are we more sure of our *vraisemblance* if we try to dress those worthies from the Old Testament as Ninevite Assyrians, or Arab Sheiks?

But if we wish to exclude from our illustrations of ancient history all non-contemporary evidence, we have still hopeless difficulties before us. Contemporary artists, when they tried (alas too seldom!) to give representations of important events, were often ignorant of the minor details of the things that they were endeavouring to portray; they were almost always inclined to sacrifice reality to the glorification of the main persons concerned (probably their patrons), and not infrequently thought of showing off their own artistic skill, rather than of displaying an accurate

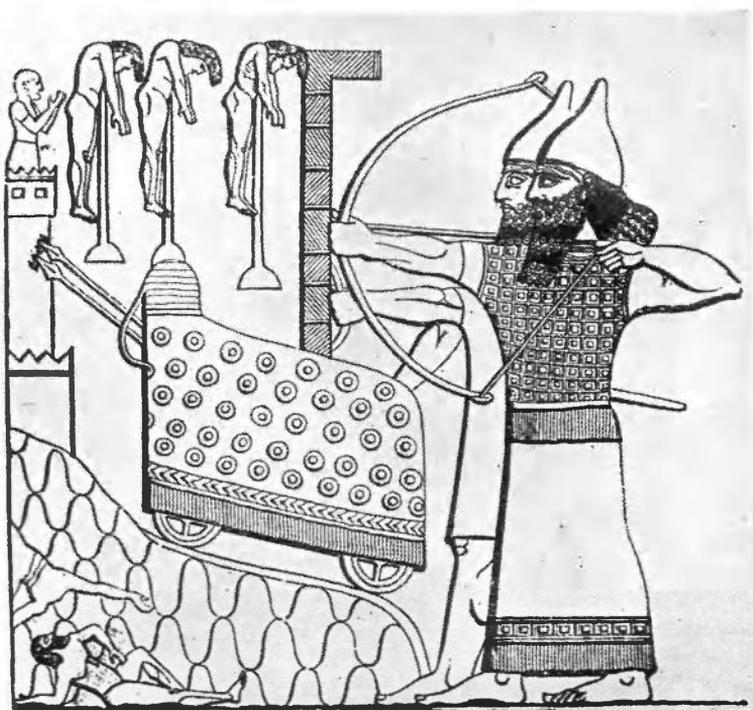
acquaintance with the process of events and the sequence of incidents. As far back as we can go in the attempt to secure contemporary illustration for historical events the main difficulty is the second of those which I have just mentioned, viz. the desire of the artist to over-emphasise his patron of the moment, or the ancestral heroes of his race. The individual or the race has to be adulated at all costs, with small regard for details of historical accuracy. This has been the tendency of all artists in all ages. Perhaps the most amusing examples of it may be seen in the palace of Versailles, where the presence of Louis XIV in Netherland campaigns dominates enormous paintings—though Louis hardly ever came under fire (if ever), and was certainly not the strategic director of the movements of his armies.

The oldest and the easiest to quote of such examples of history out of perspective are the scenes which we find in ancient Egyptian and Assyrian representations of the pageants and wars of dominant kings. A Pharaoh defeats the Nubians at one end of his kingdom, or the Hittites at the other (Pl. i A). His artist represents Seti I as a figure dwarfing all the other combatants, twice times the size of his own soldiery, or of the miserable enemy, who look like mice flying before a lion! It does not seem to have occurred to the ancient Egyptian artist that you lose credit for courage if you represent your enemies as small and contemptible.

This was what struck Charles Dickens' delightful creation Mr. Vincent Crummels, the actor-manager in Nicholas Nickleby, when he insisted that in the romantic dramas which he produced on his ambulatory provincial stage, the British Tar must be confronted in single combat by a pirate of far greater bulk and apparent ferocity—there would be no glory in defeating someone much smaller than oneself. This is a modern attitude of mind. The ancient Egyptian did not envisage things from that point of view; he was only set on insisting that his patron, the Pharaoh, was an enormous personage—a superman far greater physically as well as morally than all



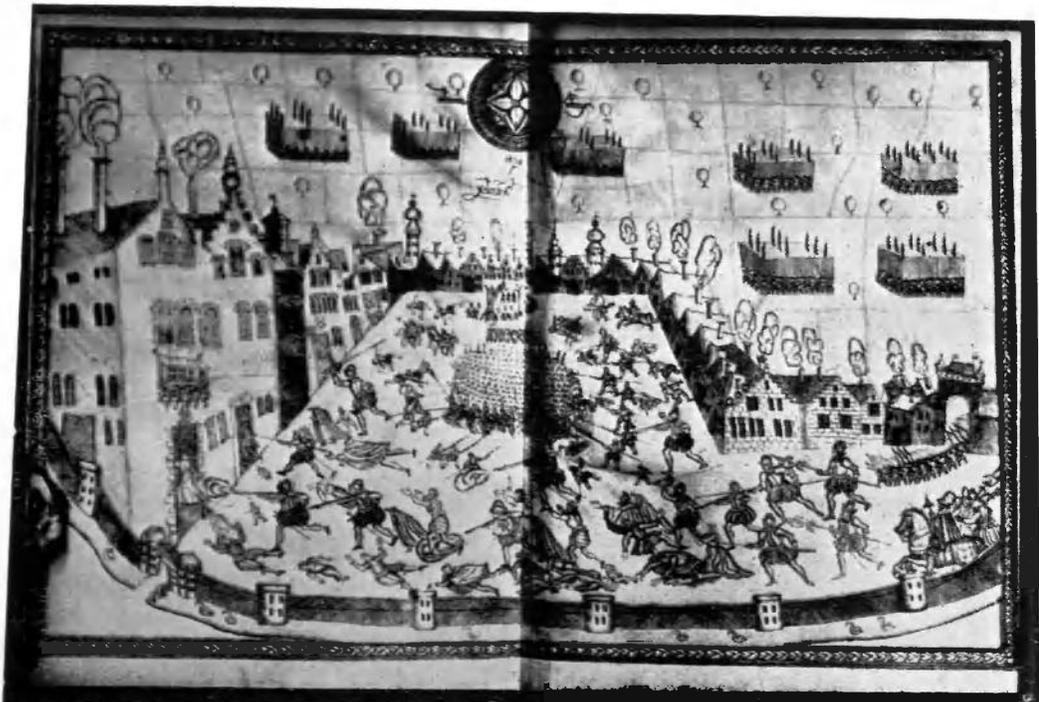
A. KING SETI I ROUTS THE HITTITES



B. SENNACHERIB'S ENEMIES IMPALED
(From the bas-relief at Nimroud)



A. HEADS OF ENEMIES COUNTED
(From the bas-relief at Nimroud)



B. THE MASSACRE AT NAARDEN (1573)
(From Walter Morgan's MS. in All Souls College, Oxford)

his contemporaries. The effect to us is precisely the reverse of that intended—in the scene of Seti or Rameses slaying the much smaller king of the Hittites, and driving before him hapless foes, the impression on our mind tends to be that of 'cruelty to animals' rather than heroism. How much better is the conception of the unarmoured stripling David, with his sling, defeating the enormous Goliath in his brazen armour—the moral touch of beating a boastful and gigantic foe is far more appealing than that of the superman exterminating pigmies—at least to our minds.

The Assyrian artist was not quite so bad in exaggerating the physical size of the monarch whom he was glorifying, but was no less intent on showing that Sennacherib or Assur Bani Pal counted for everything, and that the rest of the persons taking part in a campaign were comparatively unimportant. And, of course, all picture-chronicles must be a series of triumphs: naturally, checks and untoward incidents must be suppressed. What we, with our modern humanitarian squeamishness, might regard as horrors did not affect the oriental artist quite in that way—the execution *en masse* of prisoners of war, or diagrams of impaled chiefs in rows, or of piles of severed heads or hands, are only symbols of completed victory and the proper punishment of those whom the victor chooses to consider rebels, or at least deniers of his imperial supremacy (Pls. i B and ii A). The conception of war as a series of horrors is quite a modern piece of mentality. The first much stressed representations of massacre held up to execration that I know are the engravings of Perissot and Tortorelle from the Huguenot side in the Wars of Religion, showing the murder of the Prince of Condé after Jarnac (1569), and Walter Morgan's drawing of the sack of Naarden by Alva (1573) (Pl. ii B). These are both tendentious pictures from the beaten side, intended to rouse execration against the habits of the winning side, and to stir up wrath that would take shape in retaliation. They are propagandic in short. It is only in the seventeenth century that we get a general exposition

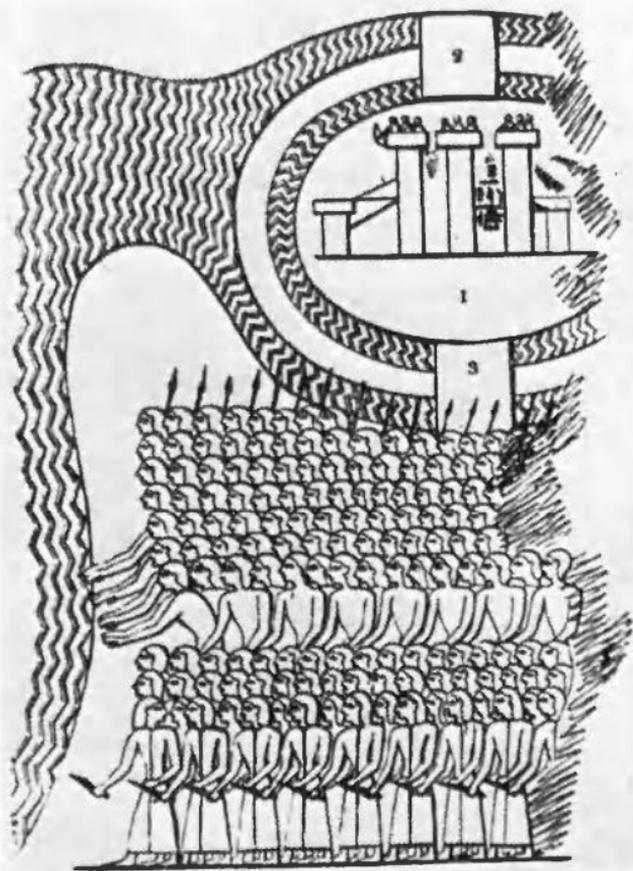
of the wickedness of all war in Callot's 'Miseres de la Guerre,' which, taking no political side, stress the ordinary details of a contemporary campaign—the burning of undefended villages, the plunder and murder in a sacked town, the wholesale hanging of prisoners, and the miseries of the mutilated wounded (Pl. iii A). Of course, this school of thought has had wide developments among the nineteenth-century artists—for the obvious end of 'debunking' military heroes and emphasising only the horrid side of war, as in Wiertz and Verestchagin's assault on the Napoleon legend, by pictures of the frozen army of the Retreat from Moscow. Such correctives were naturally produced by the blind adulation of the Emperor, displayed in hundreds of insincere battle-panoramas of the orthodox imperialist painters.

The ancient artist's outlook was naturally uninfluenced by humanitarianism: he was always employed by the victor, and naturally had to earn his pay by glorifying his patrons. Moreover, in most cases he was, no doubt, an honest admirer of the achievements of the monarch, general, or army whom he was representing. We may have our doubts, if we please, of the sincerity of medieval artists who produced triumphal representation of the doings of Gian Galeazzo Visconti and Alfonso the Magnanimous, as much as of the serious conviction of modern painters who showed Napoleon III as the inspiring genius of the victory of Solferino. Artists of all ages must sometimes have used the chisel or the brush with a certain sarcastic humour—think of the thousands of statues of Nero that once existed, not to speak of the vanished records of hundreds of other quite unamiable if not so entirely detestable monarchs and magnates.

The artist entrusted with a military subject has many initial limitations. Obviously it is easier to represent a limited number of individual figures than to suggest the presence of the many thousands of minor combatants who take part in a large-scale battle. To give the impression of a vast armed multitude is very hard—if a prosaic artist attempts it he may become merely hieratic—as in the picture



A. EXECUTION OF PRISONERS
(From Callot's 'Miseres de la Guerre')



B. A HITTITE ARMY IN ARRAY

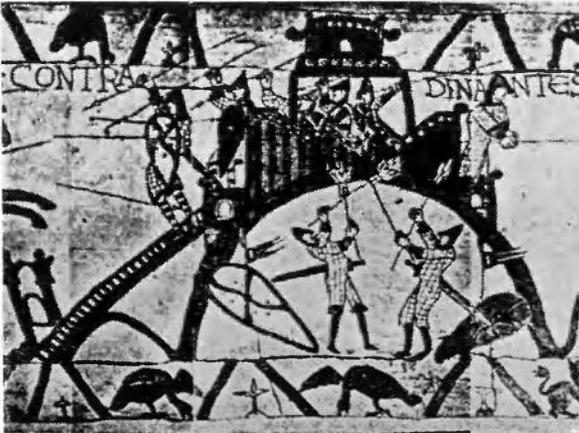


DOL



RENNES

FORTIFICATIONS FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY



DINANT



BAYEUX

of the Hittite army in the slide which I am showing. (Pl. iii B). If he makes any attempt to be accurate in proportions, the general or monarch whom he is intending to glorify will be only one tiny figure among ten thousand. Naturally he does not fall into that error. To show the hero in the central foreground seen from close at hand, while the army fades into a vague background, is much more satisfactory, both from the hero's and the artist's point of view. It is easiest to represent one's patron overcoming a real or a typical enemy in person by single combat—like Seti in the old Egyptian picture that I have shown, actually shooting down the Hittite king, or Alexander bursting in upon the chariot of Darius in the one large complicated battle picture which has come down to us from classical days. As a matter of fact commanders-in-chief seldom come to handstrokes with each other—it is even rare when divisional generals exchange blows—as did Adolphus of Nassau and the Duke of Arenberg at Heiligerlee (1568), with mortal results on both sides. I remember only one real modern case of two cavalry brigadiers actually exchanging sabre cuts—in Catalonia in 1813—though with no fatal effect, in Bentinck's retreat from Villafranca. The sculptor is even more handicapped by the difficulty of representing a battle than the painter owing to the necessities of his craft. Relief-pictures with large numbers of figures in violent action are always failures—from the times of the bas-relief fights of Kaiser Maximilian I on his tomb, down to certain very modern efforts that I could quote from memorial monuments of the Great War 1914-18. Hence to the sculptor a historic victory is easiest summed up in a couple of figures, the victor and the vanquished—sometimes suggesting the Archangel Michael and the Dragon. In these the victor (it must be confessed) is sometimes a king or general who was not given to hand-to-hand combats, but stayed safely behind the lines, as a good general (indeed) ought to do. 'Moi je suis plutôt organisateur' was certainly the motto of many persons immortalized in marble and trampling on the vanquished foe. They can cover themselves with the Roman Emperor's dictum that it is the brain

and not the limbs which issue the command and win the victory.

The artists of imperial Rome were rather too fond of making statues of an emperor treading down a vanquished foe, Persian or German, in an attitude to us suggesting mere brutality. Such triumphal statues become merely absurd when they were made for a sovereign who was not at all a fighting man, like Honorius, and whose armies were generally beaten. Bas-reliefs and friezes are not quite so liable to this abuse as single statues of victors, since they, at least, allow of the representation of many figures. But they must still be tendentious, since they are put up by the victorious party, for no one erects monuments to exhibit his own defeats. When we see Greeks fighting Trojans, or Romans engaged with Teutonic or Oriental foes, we detect at once where the sympathies of the artist lie. It is very rare that a balanced fight is represented in sculpture—as in the famous temple-front of Aegina, where Greeks and Trojans are exactly equal. They even each have their casualties—mainly (I suppose) because the narrowing triangular shape of the pediment makes it necessary to have a recumbent figure of a wounded warrior at each end of the composition, where there would otherwise have to be a blank or a mere meaningless architectural ornament.

Roman sculptors when designing a triumphal arch, or column, generally represent merely victorious incidents. Wherefore Trajan's artists deserve some moral credit for hinting in the long panorama that creeps round the core of his column, that the Dacian Wars were not one long parade of victories, but had their hitches. The Romans are sometimes not besiegers but besieged, though all goes well in the end, and the barbarians, beaten again and again, end by surrendering, after much slaughter, and the death in battle of their King Decebalus. Presumably the Romans had frescoes as well as bas-reliefs of their victories, but among the comparatively few scraps of Roman wall-painting which have survived, I do not remember a single large battle-scene. The well-known

Alexander and Darius episode which I have already had occasion to mention is a historical reminiscence from ancient Greek days, not a picture of a contemporary Roman victory.

Such representations of fighting as we get from the Dark Ages are, so far as I can remember, all archaistic stories from the Bible—exploits of Abraham or David, not of Alfred or Charlemagne. There are some curious groups of armed men in the Utrecht Psalter, which give us interesting lights on armour, but no contemporary fighting with Saracen or Dane. Incidentally, I may remark that in the few Crusading memorials that I have noted, such as the windows of Chartres and St. Denis, and the early illustration to the Roland Saga, the artist never seems to have had any proper conception of what the Saracens looked like. When they appear they are just horsemen with round helmets, not turbaned Orientals. It is not till the fourteenth century that we get some attempt to represent the 'Paynim' as he must have been familiar to the Crusader. But the artists at home had *not* seen him, and do not appear to have got a good description of him from those who had. The earliest real picture of a Saracen with turban, and brocaded tunic over his mail, and scimitar, which I know is in the great Catalan Reredos in the Victoria and Albert Museum, in which James of Aragon is riding down the Emir of the Valencian Moslems: it is, of course, early fifteenth century, while the battle is mid thirteenth century, but (though two centuries out of date) does give a picture of a Spanish Moor as he was in 1450, not a fancy drawing of an infidel at large.

It is a relief from the end of a thoroughly difficult period for illustration, such as we get from the fifth to the eleventh century, when we come upon that unique war-chronicle the Bayeux Tapestry—a record intended (no doubt) for the glorification of William the Conqueror, but not devoted entirely to his achievements, since it contains so many interesting episodes in which William is not present, such as the tale of Harold's unlucky sea-trip in the Channel, the whole story of the death and burial of Edward the Confessor,

of the appearance of the fateful comet in London, and of Harold's coronation. But as a chronicle it gives us a series of military pictures which must be studied with the greatest care from the point of view of armament and tactics. Note especially the very primitive character of the fortifications of Dol and Rennes and Dinant, which are still in the simple 'motte and bailey' style, and where the outer defences, being only wooden palisades, can be attacked by fire (Pl. iv). It is entirely to the credit of the designer that he makes no attempt to represent the battle of Hastings as a one-sided affair, a crushing victory for Duke William's knights, but allows that some of their attacks were repulsed with loss, and that archery, not the knightly lance alone, had a great part in deciding the day. I wish that I could find time to show many sections of the Tapestry, but confine myself to two—the attacks on the Breton castles, and the central point of the battle in which, as the legend above carefully remarks, both Normans and English fell dead together.

Other chronicle-tapestries must have existed beside this at Bayeux, but all seem to have perished. And for a long time after 1066 we can but show illustrations from manuscripts, giving only very few figures, and no general panoramas. From the thirteenth century onward we begin to find more complicated designs, but unfortunately none giving any of the great historical fights from contemporary evidence. All the pictures of Crecy, Poitiers, or Navarette, which illustrate illuminated chronicles, are not contemporary, but were from the time in the fifteenth century, when a whole school of historical drawings became common, in the *Grandes Chroniques* of France, England, Hainault, etc. As the armour shows, these pictures are not contemporary—so the well-known scenes of the disaster to the Genoese crossbowmen at Crecy, or the capture of King John at Poitiers, which are so often reproduced, have no historic value, but are fine examples of fifteenth-century illumination.

With the fifteenth century, however, the same tendency to make bold pictures of battles begins to extend into contemporary record. But the artists who



A. THE EARL OF WARWICK ROUTS THE WELSH
(From the Rous Roll)

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B. BATTLE OF VERNEUIL.
(From the Rous Roll)

PLATE VI



A. A SIEGE, *circ.* 1470

(From the MS. presented to Edward IV by John de Gruythuse in
Sir John Soane's Museum)



B. THE BATTLE OF NANCY (1477)
From the Strasburg Chronicle

drew them were artists and not military chroniclers, hence they only give representations of what a contemporary battle should have looked like, not of what actually happened at a particular engagement.

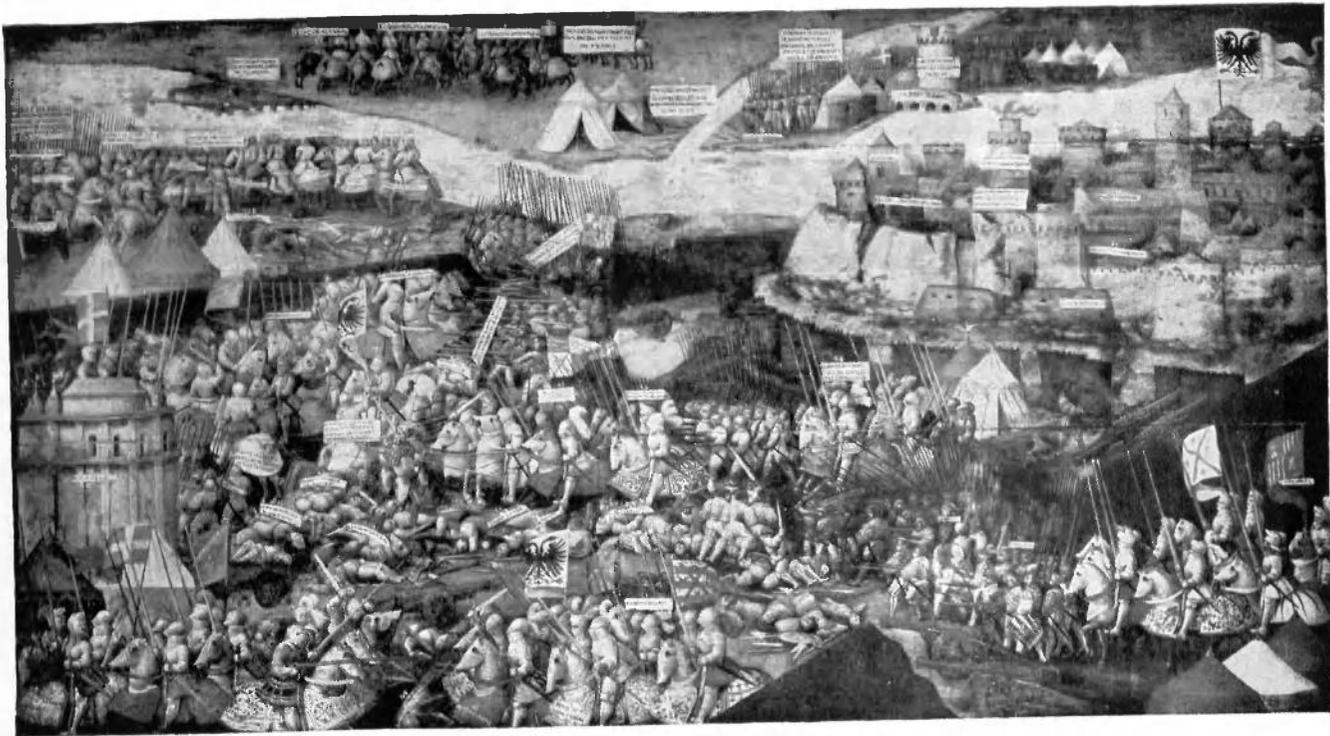
I have selected three to give some idea of what I mean by this statement. Two are English, from Rous's splendid illustrations of the life of Richard, Earl of Warwick—not the king maker, Richard Neville, but his father-in-law, Richard Beauchamp. In the first we have a picture of a defeat which Warwick—then quite young—inflicted on Owen Glendower (Pl. v A), in which the banner of the Prince of Wales was captured. Unfortunate Rous did not know that the Welsh always fought on foot, and though he represents the fight as taking place in mountainous country, makes the Welsh mounted men, perhaps in order that the young Warwick may get more credit from fighting a horseman on equal terms, rather than from riding down irregular infantry. But the second picture from Rous's Roll is even more distressing from the point of view of historical accuracy. It represents the battle of Verneuil, in which Warwick played a prominent part, with his Beauchamp banner flying (Pl. v B). The chronicles show that the English army was arrayed with dismounted men-at-arms in the centre, and archers on the wings, some of whom were covered by a laager or stockade. But Rous draws a normal battle according to his own lights, with a vigorous cavalry charge led by Warwick settling the day, and English bowmen opposed to French cross-bowmen in orderly front occupying the foreground. It may be mentioned that a quite contemporary drawing, now in the Ghent Museum, of the battle of Tewkesbury, fifty years later, makes exactly the same unreal disposition of the armies—in a plain field with a cavalry engagement as the main feature, and King Edward riding down his chief opponent—who may be either Somerset or perhaps Edward, Prince of Wales—the son of Henry VI. A balanced archery-contest fills the foreground. But this was really a contest on foot among hedges and ditches, with no cavalry engagement at all.

We may give as a similar picture, having no relation

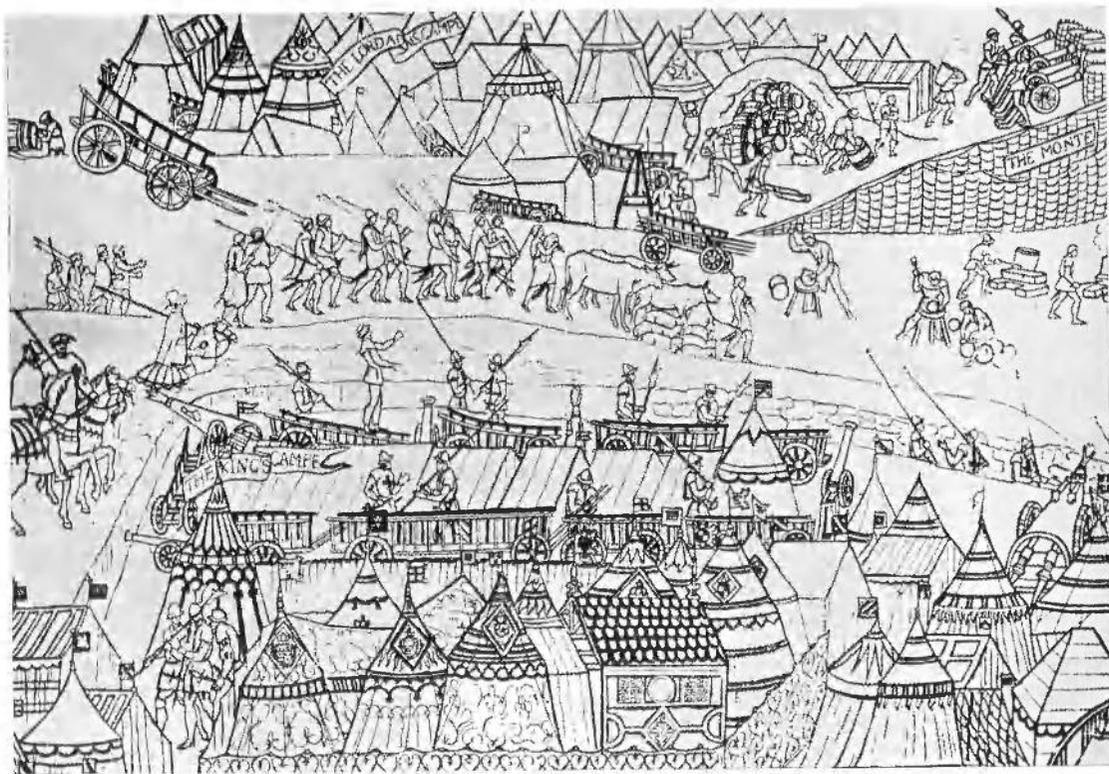
to any actual happenings, the beautiful illumination of a siege in a volume presented to Edward IV by his Burgundian friend John de Gruythuse, whom he made Earl of Winchester (Pl. vi A). The figures are splendid types of armed-men of 1470, with an interesting mixture of long-bows, cross-bows, small firearms and cannon. But the siege is simply an exercise in military drawing, not a representation of anything that ever took place.

Hieratic drawings of 'a battle' or 'a siege,' with small knowledge shown of either topography or of decisive incidents, were the rule abroad as much as in England—a fair example is the battle of Nancy (1477) (Pl. vi B) from the Strasburg Chronicle, drawn less than twenty years after the event which it portrays, at a city not very far off from the field. There is no attempt to give an accurate view of Nancy, which is simply labelled with its name, and the armies are only differentiated by their banners—the cross 'raguly' of Burgundy on one side, the bear of Berne and the Austrian 'fess' on the other. The rear of the duke's cavalry is turning off in rout—Charles himself is being murdered by a single marauder in the lower right corner. As a matter of fact he was overtaken and done to death in a marsh some miles from the field. But that is a detail—a hieratic view of the battle and its consequences is given—all that the artist intended.

More frequent in fifteenth-century pictures is the fault of glorification of the victor. In the well-known battle (San-Romano or San Marciano) by Paolo Uccello in the National Gallery, hardly a knight or two of the routed party can be discovered. Such treatment errs on the side of making the defeated enemy so insignificant that the glory of the conqueror is decidedly diminished. It is quite rare, even in a fresco on a broad wall, where the artist could not complain that he was cramped for space, to find a fair representation of the army of the power hostile to the painter's employers. Generally it is the conquerors who get all the space as well as the glory. I can only remember one or two fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century paintings on a large scale where the artist has remembered that



BATTLE OF PAVIA
(From the Picture in the University Galleries, Oxford)



CAMP OF HENRY VIII BEFORE BOULOGNE
(From the fresco at Cowdray House)

' the more the enemies the more the glory,' as a certain Spanish captain once cried out. Exceptional pictures of this sort are the paintings in the Siennese Palazzo Publico of victories over the Florentines, and of King John of Castile's rout of the Moors at Fuentehiguerola in 1431, in the Escorial, where (by way of exception) the whole array of the enemy is fairly represented, and not merely the battle-order of the victors. I sincerely hope, by the way, that this great picture in the Escorial has not been injured or destroyed in the fierce and prolonged fighting which was going on for two whole years around that most dismal of historic palaces.

The sharp break in the history of military illustration comes with the Renaissance, all over Europe, though in Italy and France a little earlier than in England or Germany. There is at once a divergence in the aims of the artists : some are thinking of making a picture pleasing to the eye, with a greater or lesser amount of historical accuracy, according as the inspiration comes from the wish to gratify a patron—or perhaps a national public—or, on the other hand, from the artist's own desire to give a colourful panorama which displays his talent. Such pictures are primarily to be considered works of art, and merely decorative.

The other class of battle-pictures I may call diagrammatic—they are intended for the intelligent military eye, and try to show the disposition of troops, the bearings of the terrain or landscape on the action, and (if possible), the technical causes of victory or defeat. Such pictures are not for the glorification of the commander-in-chief, who must perforce be only one small figure among thousands—though his position is generally indicated with care—it often shows the meaning of the general tactics of the day.

Putting aside pictures merely intended to glorify the general—of which there are plenty in the sixteenth century—I give illustrations of the two classes of battle scenes. As an example of the first or decorative and pictorial style, I have chosen the great oil-painting

of the battle of Pavia (1525) which is the pride of the Ashmolean Gallery at Oxford (Pl. vii).

The battle is conceived as a many coloured panorama, full of life, but with a considerable care for the topography, which is sometimes helped out by explanatory labels of small dimensions.

The division of the French camps by the branch of the Ticino, the broken bridge, the abandoned trenches and guns in the siege lines before the town, and the battered state of its walls are all duly given. The artist is not apparently tendentious in a political way—the capture of the King of France is not made the main episode—it takes place rather in a corner: and on the other hand there is no special emphasis-mark for the Constable Bourbon or the Marquis del Vasto, the victorious leaders of the imperialist army. The artist seems mainly to be aiming at a picture of the break up of a wavering host—the French combatants who still keep the field are obviously doomed, and a heap of corpses in the foreground bears in small letters the names of fallen French officers—La Palice, Bonnivet, the Bastard of Savoy, the exiled Duke of Suffolk, pathetically labelled 'Blanc Rose,' etc. The whole effect is decorative, details of costume and heraldry emphasized. It is neither conventional nor diagrammatic, but it must be confessed that perspective was not the artist's strong point. We may detect the same spectacular design of treatment in the victories of Shah Ismail from the absolutely contemporary Persian illuminated manuscript in the British Museum.

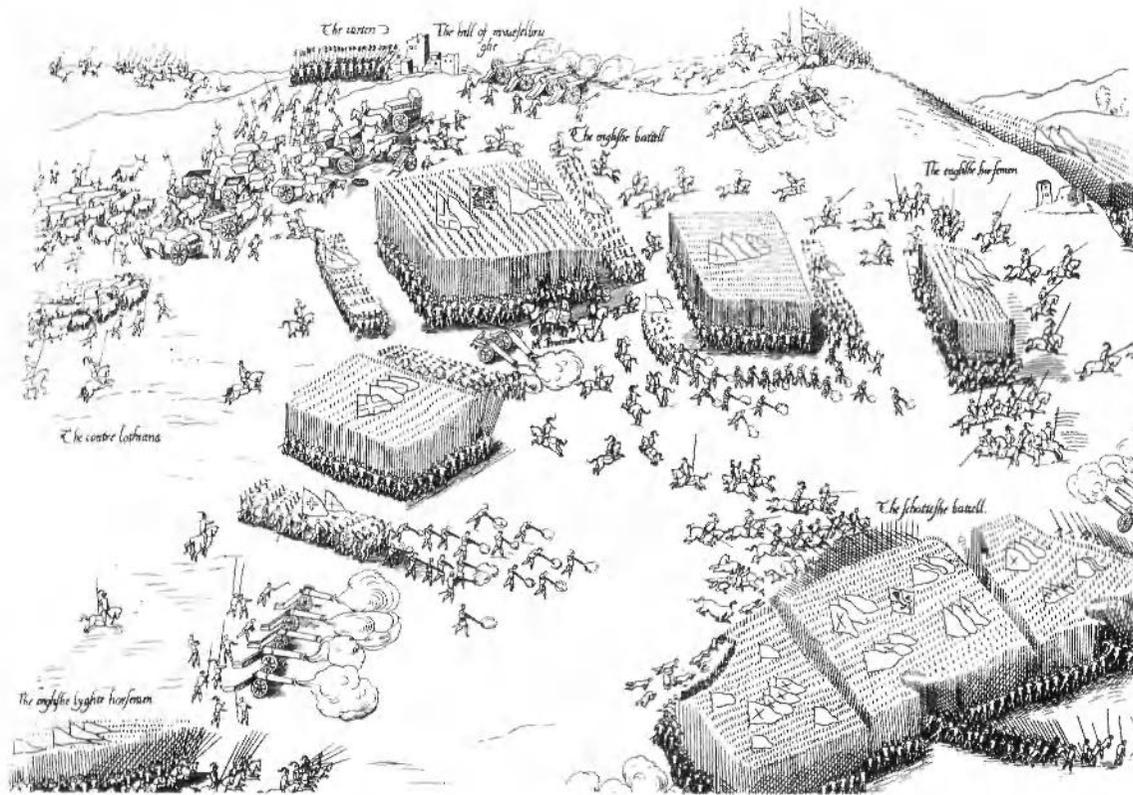
English pitched-battles were few in the early sixteenth century. There is, unfortunately, no representation of Flodden, and the poor picture of the battle of the Spurs in Hampton Court is, unfortunately, of the old hieratic sort—many knights engaged without any proper sense of marshalling or of surrounding scenery. We get on the other hand a series of spectacular pictures of the campaign of Henry VIII round Boulogne in 1544, where, unfortunately, there was no battle—only camp scenes and embarkation scenes. The view of the encampment of the English before Boulogne has its interests, and was evidently

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PLATE IX.



SULTAN SOLIMAN BESIEGES RHODES (1522)
(From a contemporary German Print)



BATTLE OF PINKIE (1547)

(From the contemporary engraving, made from John Ramsay's drawings in the Bodleian Library)

drawn by an eye-witness—observe the trenches and the transport (Pl. viii). Alas! all the original frescoes perished by fire in 1793, when Cowdray House was burned. It may be worth while to compare King Henry's camp with a somewhat older German picture of the siege of Rhodes by the Turks in 1522—observe the casualties among the artillerymen of the Sultan Soliman—who have certainly pushed their guns right up to the front (Pl. ix). The central reserve of the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John is certainly well placed for bringing aid to any part of the enceinte, but its members seem a little out of proportion to the walls and towers which they defended so gallantly.

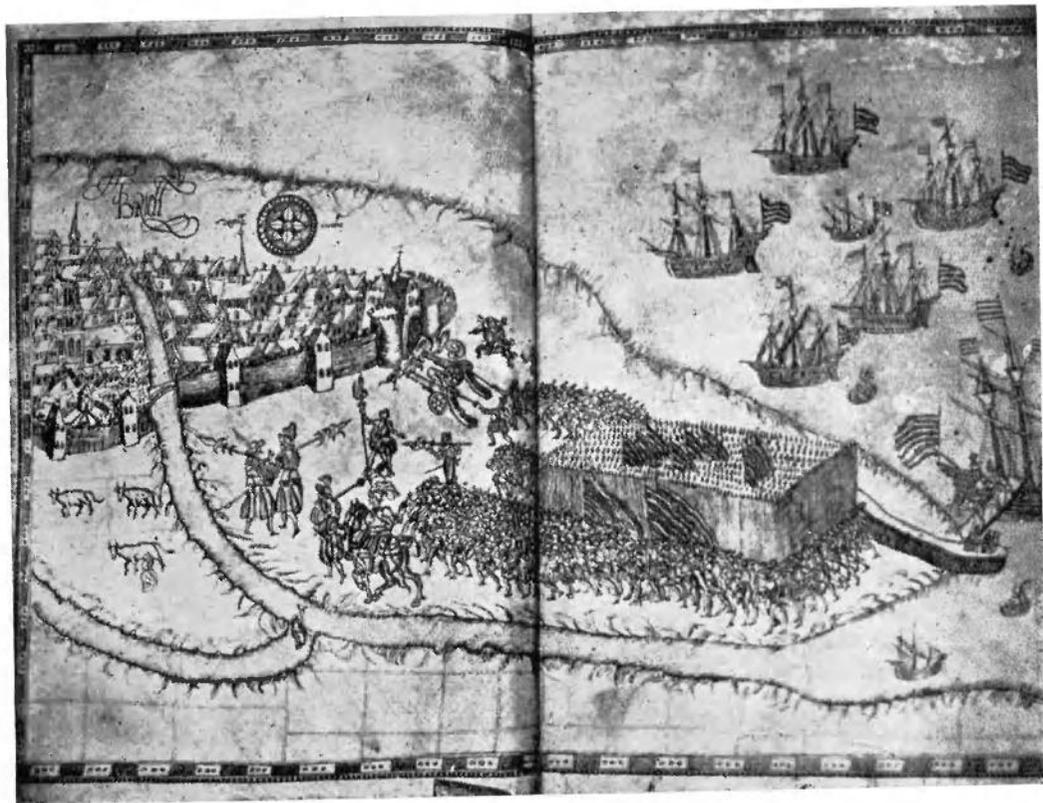
When I have to deal with English drawings of battle-pieces, we shall find that we have got on from the spectacular and decorative to the purely diagrammatic form of military illustration. Only three years after King Henry's siege of Boulogne we come to the wonderful contemporary representation of Protector Somerset's complete, if fruitless, victory of Pinkie (September, 1547), on which my esteemed colleague on the Council, Colonel Crookshank, read you a most interesting paper three years ago (Pl. x). This is a rather unique production, as it was drawn under the instruction of an eye-witness, from sketches made by him. He not only knew the topography of the Musselburgh-Edinburgh countryside, but appreciated the stages and the tactical causes of the Scottish defeat. John Ramsay's original pen and ink drawings, a little brightened with black, red and brown, are in the Bodleian Library. From them the general panorama was constructed in a contemporary engraving—which I give. Note that Ramsay fully appreciated the moral of the fight—the helplessness of masses of pikemen against a combined attack by fire-arms and cavalry charges. While the horsemen held the columns of pikemen to the ground, by repeated attacks which are at first beaten off, the guns and arquebusiers play upon the unwieldy clumps of spearmen and are beginning to break up their corners—note the gaps and the commencement of tailing off to the rear by the Scots. At the same time gun-fire from ships on the

flank of the column nearest the sea is already beginning to take effect. Altogether a most explanatory diagram—made lively by thousands of little figures all in varied actions.

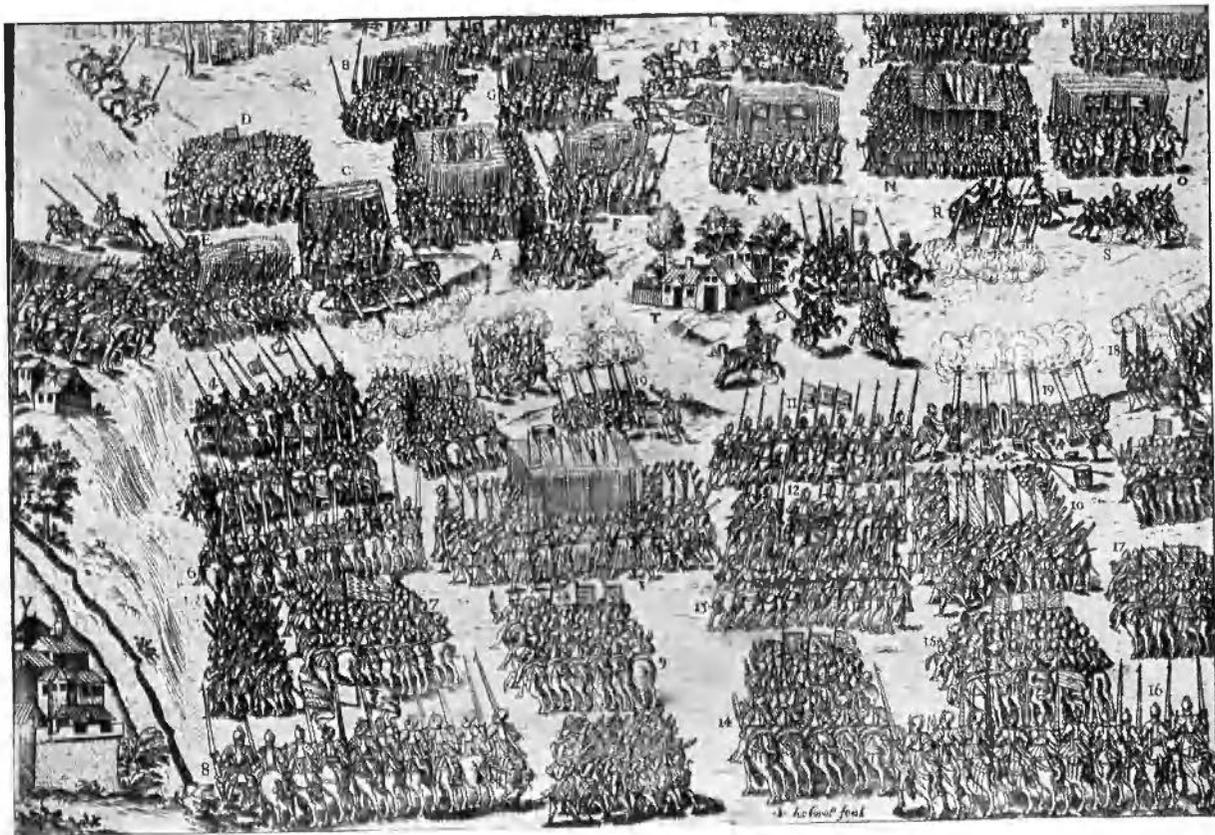
Ramsay's battle of Pinkie is a long way ahead in military intelligence of the next series of English illustration of war—the series of sketches made by Walter Morgan, a captain in the army of the Prince of Orange, William the Silent, who made in Dutch service the campaigns of 1572–3, and sent a score of elaborate pen-and-ink drawings of his experience to Lord Burleigh—with propagandic purposes. Morgan, as his covering letter to Burleigh shows, was most anxious to favour direct English intervention in favour of the Protestant rebels of the Netherlands, and specially stresses Spanish atrocities. Two pictures may exemplify his style—the first is the landing of the 'Beggars,' or sea exiles, at Brill (Pl. xi), on April 1, 1572, the second (already shown you under another context) is that of the Spanish massacre of civilians at Naarden in 1573 (Pl. ii B).

Walter Morgan was unfortunately a self-taught artist, very shaky in his ideas of perspective, who could draw individual soldiers in action, but was unable to fit them in properly on his ill-balanced streets and featureless countryside. It is most unfortunate that he was not present at any general action, but only at sieges and skirmishes. We should have been grateful for a sketch of two armies in battle array—but Morgan was not at Mookerheyde, the only pitched battle in his period of service. But if he *had* been present at that disaster, we should probably not have got his very interesting series of sketches—which survive to this day bound in an album with Lord Burleigh's crest stamped outside.

Morgan, more soldier than artist, was behind his time in the presentation of the logical rather than the picturesque side of war. Whatever may have been their relative ages—he was years behind the intelligent Ramsay who drew Pinkie. But on the continent military pictures of the tactical and diagrammatic sort had developed to great perfection—the most



THE 'BEGGARS' CAPTURE BRILL.
(From Walter Morgan's MS. in All Souls College, Oxford)



BATTLE OF MONCONTOUR
(From the Engraving by Tortorelle and Perissot)

striking examples which I give are from Tortorelle and Perissot's series of engravings of the earlier battles of the French Wars of Religion, 1567-69, covering all engagements from Dreux (December, 1562), to Moncontour (October, 1569). These are full of spirited drawing of figures, but intensely diagrammatic in treatment, not only is every corps in an army carefully drawn as a unit, but there are little figures or numbers below each, giving reference to a table of contents below. Nor are topographical features neglected. In the battle of Dreux we get careful marking of woods and villages, in that of St. Denis, the basilica in the background and Montmartre and the gates of Paris in the nearest foreground, very carefully shown. In Moncontour you may note the forest which covered the Huguenot flank, and the outlying farm in the centre round which there was much fighting (Pl. xii).

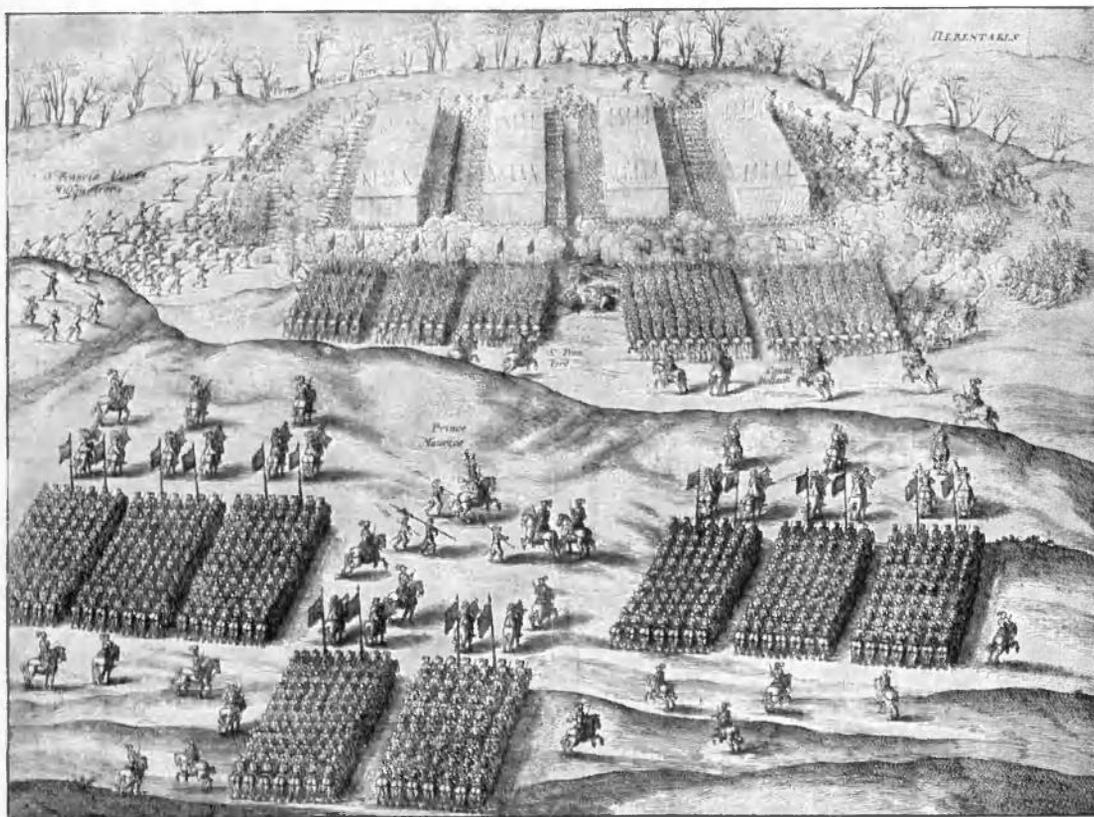
We may note as a tribute to the accuracy of these battle-pictures, that they carefully show the distinction between pikes and fire-arms in each infantry unit, and the use of skirmishers 'enfants perdus,' while in cavalry (a thing more surprising) there is a distinction made between squadrons of lancers—with the long spear—and those of 'reiters' with no long weapon, but sword and pistol. Generals can always be discovered, but are never made disproportionate figures dominating the whole field, as both earlier and later artists were often prone to do. On comparison with the detailed narratives of the battles of the Huguenots and Catholics in various memoirs, these engravings of Perissot's show a high degree of accuracy, and when divergent versions occur are nearly always in accord with the better authority. They seem to have a decidedly anti-leaguer bias, giving careful records of atrocities by Guise's followers, such as the massacre of Vassy, and stressing the murder of the Prince of Condé in cold blood after the battle of Jarnac.

This style of detailed and diagrammatic battle-pictures is very dominant all over Europe in the later sixteenth century, and was used for naval engagements as well as for land fighting. It is worth while to study

the panorama of the decisive conflict at Lepanto in 1571, in the very clear drawing of the Venetian engraver Camoccio (Pl. xiii), in which can be detected, with the names given in every case, the flagship of the commander-in-chief, Don John of Austria, and the 'six galleasses' of the Venetian admirals Barbarigo and Venier, as well as the Turkish flag-ships of the Capitan Pasha, and his lieutenants Oulouj Ali of Algiers, and Mohammed Schauolosh of Negropont. A careful inspection shows galleys sunk, burning, or rammed, in great detail.

But I have been reserving to the last, as the very best examples of the diagrammatic battle-picture, two representations of famous fights in the very last years of the sixteenth century—Tournhout (1597) and Nieuport (1600). The first, the less crowded and the better executed, is from Commelin's illustrated life of Maurice of Nassau, but was utilized by Sir Horace Vere, who was present and took a prominent part in the action. The second, equally vigorous but more difficult to follow, because of the tens of thousands of the troops engaged, is from Horace Vere's own commentaries, but I think that he had been employing a Dutch artist—not quite such a delicate handler of the graving tool as the man who portrayed Tournhout. I have not been able to utilize another set of very beautiful engravings of these Dutch Wars, because Strada, who produced them in his history, was not absolutely contemporary with the battles which he showed, and, though his pictures are admirable, commits anachronisms in armour and armament, making soldiers of 1570-90 wear not their real morions and trunk hose, but seventeenth-century hats and breeches, and they carry muskets instead of arquebuses. Nor had he the perfect knowledge of topography indicated in the two Dutch engravings which I show.

Tournhout (Pl. xiv), every detail of which is as carefully drawn as it is accurate, was a very interesting small-scale battle, showing a complete triumph of a comparatively small body of cavalry over a much larger body of infantry caught upon the march. The actual numbers were about 1,100 Dutch of whom only 300



BATTLE OF TOURNHOUT (1597)
(From Commelin's Life of Maurice of Orange)

were infantry, against 5,000 Spanish infantry, whose trifling cavalry detachment was driven off the field before the decisive moment came. Maurice had infantry too, but they never got on the ground, being delayed on muddy roads. Only some 300 musketeers under Francis Vere finally succeeded in keeping up with the cavalry. The interest of the fight was that when the Spanish horse had been driven off the field (they may be seen flying in the top corner) columns of infantry, caught upon the march, and forming up hastily, proved unable to beat off squadrons of cavalry charging home with resolution—the fire of the musketeers being insufficient to prevent Maurice's cuirassiers from breaking in at several points. After the clash the Spaniards dispersed, their General Varas having fallen early, and were terribly cut up in their flight. The picture shows Horace Vere's and Hohenlöhe's squadrons dashing straight in, despite of the musketry fire, while Francis Vere's 300 light infantry worry the rear of the Spanish column. It will be noted that all the victorious Dutch cavalry are cuirassiers without lances—which had been abolished in Maurice of Nassau's army.

Nieuport was a much larger affair—with over 10,000 men a side, and with horse, foot, and artillery, all deeply engaged. It was fought on very difficult ground, the high, sandy dunes above the sea-shore between Nieuport and Ostend. The Archduke Albert, commanding the Spaniards, had pushed in unexpectedly between Prince Maurice's army, then besieging Nieuport, and the Dutch base at Ostend. Maurice had therefore to cut his way through the intercepting army, and recovered his line of communications after very heavy fighting. The battle-picture (Pl. xv) shows the infantry of both parties on top of the downs, while their cavalry, which could not move on the sand-hills, fought a separate engagement inland, on the level ground below the downs. On the other wing, by the sea, each party has only a trifling force on the sand just above high-water mark of 'Oceanus Germanicus.'

Every regiment of foot and squadron of horse can be identified by its size and position, as we have

good muster rolls of both armies. In front the two main bodies of cavalry are engaged in a series of charges, in which the Dutch generally had the advantage, but got no decisive superiority. On the Downs the two main bodies of infantry are in desperate conflict around a sand hill front held by two English regiments, those of Horace Vere and his brother Francis. They were at last driven back, but only after very murderous fighting, into which the Archduke had to throw not only his front line but his reserves. Maurice seems rather to have sacrificed his English vanguard, in order to have plenty of intact troops when it at last gave way. Vere comments bitterly on this as he got no supports. But when the Spaniards, in great disorder, lurched forward 'like tired men,' says Vere, they were driven back by Maurice's second line troops, and charged again by a small cavalry reserve. They then broke and fled. Of thirteen infantry captains slain in the battle six were English—which shows where the casualties lay—Maurice's third line had hardly losses. He opened up his communication with Ostend, but did little more in the campaign—Nieuport never fell.

We have reached the year 1600 and come to our conclusion. I have only one comment more to make—that by some desperate mischance we have no pictures of the English wars of Charles I and his Parliamentary adversaries, to compare with these beautiful diagrammatic representations of the previous generation. There is only an inaccurate ground plan—no figures given—of Naseby, and a very sketchy drawing of Dunbar. There is a terrible gap in English military illustration between Vere's 'Commentaries' and the French war of William III. There were plenty of artists alive, but none gave us battle-pictures. Was it from unwillingness to represent the tragedies of a national civil war—in which every man who fell was a loss to his country if not to his party? There was perhaps no wish to stress the slaughter of Edgehill or Marston Moor.



BATTLE OF NIEUPORT (1600)
(From Sir Horace Vere's 'Commentaries')