XXXIII.—*Copy of a short Memoir on the Means considered fit for putting the Forces of England in Order at the time the Invasion from the Spaniards was expected in 1587; preserved in the Harleian MS. 168, fol. 110. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. Secretary.*

Read Dec. 18, 1845.

* * * This little memoir contains numerous comments upon the state of certain points and places where it was supposed the Spaniards might be able to land: the proper dispositions for combating with them: the order of fighting with the enemy if he should land: and the proportion of men to be provided for that purpose, more especially as regarded the border toward Scotland. There are various other points also proposed to be considered, which will be best understood in the detail.

The Letters which various Accounts of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada have constantly referred to as Original Dispatches, were a fabrication by the Authors of the "Athenian Letters," who intended in the first instance to have made this part of English History one of the points of their Lucubrations.

There are many papers of high historical interest preserved in our Manuscript Repositories, which have not yet seen the light of a later day, to explain all the circumstances attending the Formation and Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

AN° 30 ELIZABETHÆ.

November, 1587.

An advice of suche mennes as are considered to be fitte to putt the forces of the Realme of England in order to withstand an invation pretended by the Kinge of Spain, sit downe by thes noble and experiencede Captaines hereafter following.

Arthur Lord Gray.
S^r Francis Knolles.
S^r Thomas Layton.
S^r Walter Rauley.
S^r John Norris.

S^r Richard Grenfeild.
S^r Rich. Bingham.
S^r Roger Williames.
Ralphe Lane, Esquir.

These are the places most to be suspected that the Spaniard intendeth to lande in.	Milford	These are apteste for the Army of Spaine to lande in.
	Heilford	
	Falmoth	
	Plimoth	
	Torbaye	
	Portland	
	Portesmouth	
	The Isle of Wight	
	Nesse in Sussexe	
	The Downes and Marget in Kente	
How many of thes places may be putt in defence to hinder their landinge.	The Rivere of Thamis	These are apteste for the Army of Flaunders.
	Harwiche	
	Hull and	
	Scotland.	
	Milford for Wales.	
	Plimouth for the Weste.	
	Porteland for the middle of the Weste parts.	
	The Isle of Wight	
	Portesmouth and the River of Thames.	

Milforde.

Although wee doe suppose the barrennes of the country to be such as it is not likly to be invaded, yet touching Milford Havene, in respecte of the goodnes of the same Havene, wee thinke it conveniente that there should be a trayned number of 2,000 footmen, and 500 horse, to be levied and had in redynes; and for the increase of horsmene yf any lacke, then the gentlemen with their servingmen maye be comaunded to supply the defaulte of the number afforesayd.

Plimouth.

The reason whie Plimoth is thought to be the moste likly place is for that it is unlickely that the King of Spaine will ingage his fleete too farre within the sleeve before hee have mastered some one good harborough, of which Plimouth is the neereste to Spaine easye to be woonne, speedely to be by them fortifyed, and scituate conveniente to send succor unto, either out of Spaine or Fraunce.

Portlande.

The reasones whie Porteland is also an apte place to land in, is for that ther is a greate harborough for all his shippes to ride in, good landinge for men. The Isle beinge wonne is a stronge place of retreat. The country adjoyne champion, where with greate comoditye he may march with his whole armye.

Downes, Margat, and the Thamis.

The reason whie the Downes, Margate, and the Thames, are thought fitt landinge places is in respecte of the comoditie of landinge and neerenes to the Prince of Parma, in whose forces the Kinge of Spaine reposeth especiall truste, &c.

In Devone and Cornewall there are of trainede men in the countyes and stanneryes 5,000 men, which are to be assembled for the defence of Plimoth, standinge equall to both countryes, of which we are of oppinione, in place of muster daies, which is very chargeable and in effecte to small purpose, that 2,000 of those should be assembled together at Plimouth, under such a generall as shalbe ordayned to governe that Western Armye, to the intende that they maye knowe their leaders, be acquainted with watch and warde, be thoroughlye instructede to all purposes, that on suddennes ther may be noe amaze nor any confusyone. This shalbe done the one halfe at the charge of her Majestie, the other at the charge of the countrey, yf the countryes charge doe not surmounte the ordinary trainings.

Howe in these places order may be taken to hinder their landing whether by fortification or assemblie of the people or bothe.

For Plimoth bothe by fortification and assembly of people.

In Dorsett and Wilteshire ther are of trayned men 2,700, which are to be assembled for defence of that place, and that 2,000 of that number should be assembled and reexercised, as before is said, at Plimouth, or in some place of Wilteshire, appointed of the Isle of Wight to take Somerset, in which there are 2,000 foote.

For Portland by assembly of men and fortifying.

In Kent and Sussexe there are of trayned men 4,500, which are to be assembled in these places for defence there, and 2,000 of the said numbere to be assembled at Sandwich, to be governed and exercised as before is sayd for Plimouth.

At Sandwich, and the Downes by assembly of men.

So likewise for Norfolke and Suffolke the like order to be observed. Oure forther meaninge is that these garrysones shall remaine, but for 20 dayes to be throughlie trained and acquainted with incamping, and then everie suche 2,000 men in garrisone, being so acquainted with this discipline, shall give example to a great armye of rawe men, wherby ther shalbe no manner of confusyone one all soddenenes.

Further we are of opinione that to these 2,000 men ther shalbe 20 captaynes appoynted, which 20 captaynes, havinge eche of them 100 trained men, shall receive under their charge, when the army shall assemble, 100 more, so as in effecte ther shalbe 4,000 men in ordere and under marshall discipline. The choyse of which captaines we thinke fitte for the one halfe to be lefte to the choyse of the generall of the army, and the other ten to be of the princepall gentlemen of the countrey, under whom their may be souldieres appoynted for their leiftenants.

Like ordre is to be observed in every of the other places of garrisone.

For the manner howe to fight with the enemye it muste be lefte to the discretyon of the generall, onely we give this advise, that at his landing he maye be impeached yf convenyently it may be done, and yf he march forward, that the country be driven so as no victuall remaine unto him but suche as they shall carry one their backs, which will be smalle. That he be kepte wakinge with perpetuall allarrames, but in no case that any battaile be adventured untill such tyme as diveres leiftenants be

What order must be taken to fight with the enemy if by force he be landed.

assembled to make a grosse armye, as we have before specefied, excepte upon spetiall advauntages.

Further it is thought necessary that in these twoe provinces and in all other where many lieftenants be, some one be appointed to be cheife to leade the armye, that amonge many lieftenantes ther may be noe straininge of courtesye, least by such delay and confusione greate inconvenience doe growe to the countrie, and advantage to the enemye, and therefore every lieftenant cominge out of any countrie with his force, his authoritie only to extend to governe his companye as corronell of that regimente, and so to be comaunded by the generall lieftenante; as for example, in Devon and Cornewall ther are 10 lieftenants, wherby it maye be knowne who shall comaunde in either as neede shall require.

What proportion of men must bee prepared to serve to that ende.

Wheresoever the ennemye shall lande, as if at Plimoth for example, then by the computatyone of 6,000 men armed and furneshed in Devon and Cornewall, we conceive that the assistance of Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Somerset, adjoyninge to the 6,000 of the Weste, will make uppe a suffytiente armye, beinge strengthened by the gentlemen and servingemen and other of the country that shalbe adjoyned, though not so thoroughly armed as the reste; and yf it happen either by resistance or contrarye whether that the enemye passe over Plimouth and land at Portelande, then the armed men and trained souldieres of the Weste shall repaire unto them.

And further, yf the invasione be in Kente, or anye other where to the weste of the rivere of Thames; then those middle shires directed to assiste the Weste maye turne to the Este alonge the coste.

Yf the army of Flaunders land to the east of the rivere of Thamys, then the same order is to be taken with the sheires adjoyninge as is afforesaid, namlie, Suffolke, Norffolke, Essex, and the Cittie of Londone.

And because ther is a speciall regarde to be had to the savegarde of her Majestie's persone, we think it most necessarye that an armye should be provided to that ende, to be compounded of suche countyes as are appointed and reserved for that purpose, and to joyne with the forces of the cittie of Londone and such other as maye be armede out of her Majesty's store.

Furthermore, generally for the increase of footemen lackinge armore, wee thinke it fitt that there be of the hable men unarmed, wherof choyse maye be made to joine with the trained men armed, one fourth parte more, of the which fourth parte of unarmed men 80 may be pikes and 20 billesmen, for providinge of which pikes and billes ther muste be speedie provision made, beinge wepones that the realme doth furnishe.

Also for the increase of armed pikemen in this tyme of scarcetie of armore, wee

doe thinke it good that all the armed bill men maye be converted to be made armed pikemen, and that able billmen unarmed should be levied and chosen in their places, because the rankes of billmen in order of battaile are alwaies environed and compassed about with pikemen; for the billmen serve specially for executione yf the enemye in battayle shalbe overthrowne. But here is to be noted, that there muste be reserved a fewe armede billmen or armed halbards to garde the rankes wherein the ensignes and droms, &c. are placed in the order of battaile.

Also, forasmuch as upon any sudden invasione yt would be too late to provid those thinges which should be necessary for defence, yt is thought necessary that befor hand a store of ordinance and munitione be provided, as also powdere, spades, and all other furniture whatsoevert, and to be lefte in these fornamed places in which these garrisons shall remaine.

It is also to be provided that at those generall assemblies for traininge, as well the horsmen as footmen may be exercised; and to that end, that at Plimouth, Porteland, Sandwich, and any other place that shalbe thought fitt to have the like traininge, the horsmen of the nexte adjoininge countryes be brought together, as namly; at Plimouth, those of Devone, Cornewall, and Somerset; at Porteland, those of Dorset and Wilts, Hampshire and Barkeshire; at Sandwich, those of Kente, Sussexe, and Surrey, and so foreth. But because it maye fall out that in those places appointed for traininge of the infantry ther may want forage or place fit for horsemen, it may be lefte to the discretion of the lieftenante to chose the fitteste plotte for cavallery, as nere the footemen as conveniently they maye.

Further, as concerninge Scotland, which landinge wee cannot resiste, wee thinke Scotlande. it meete that a stronger proportion be considered of for that parte, namly, 6,000 footemen and 2,000 horse, wherof to be 1,000 launces, armes of farr more defence, and may be furnished as good cheepe as the jacke, and those to be takene out of the presidencie; yf therfor the army of Flaunders should happen to land in Scotland, wherby their forces and strength shalbe so great as the army afforesaid shall not be able to encounter with them, then wee thinke fitte that a good parte of the army prepared to guard her Majesty's persone shall marche to second the Army of the North againste that enemy, and joyne with the trained men of that countrye, and the Army of the Weste to be brought to supplye that charge.

It is also moste carefully to be considered that the Kinge of Spaine is not hoplesse of some partie of papistes and mallcontents, all which, yf thes small regiments before spoken of be not in redinesse, it wilbe too late both to assemble for resistance of anye forraine ennemy and to withstand them at home both in one daye, for every man shall stand in feare of the fyinge of his owne howse and distructione of his

owne famelye. Therefore yf any stirre should happen, some severe course of proceeding or executyon towards such offenders would be used by marsheall lawe.

And to conclude, when it shalbe bruited in Spaine that there are at Plimoth and other places such a number of armed souldieres under ensignes and leaderes, the numbere will be reported to be double or treble; so as the Kinge of Spain upon good probabilitie maie conceave that these souldieres and such as are in other places upon the cost in like redines are determynd to land in Portugalle or the Indias. The same oppinione beinge fortifyed by the preparratione of soe manye shippes as are givene in charge to be made redye in those partes by Sir Frauncis Drake.

Wee thinke it also very necessary that thoroughe out all the countyes of the realme this proportion, aswell emongest the armed and trayned as the unarmed pikes and billes, may be observed, that is to saye; that of every hundred there be 80 pikes and 20 billes.

We thinke yt is necessary also that some orders and provision be taken by their lordshipes that her Majesties shippes beinge at Rochester be not entrapped.

Also for the increase of armed pikemen in this tyme of scarsetie of armore, we thinke it good that all the armed bill men should be chosen in the roomes of the unarmed pikes and billes, because the rankes of billmen in order of battaile are alwayes environed and compassed about with pikemen; for the billmen serve especiallie for execution if the enemy in battayle shalbe overthrowne; but here is to be noted, that there must be reserved a fewe armed billmen or armed halberdiers to garde the rankes wherein the ensignes and drommes, &c. are placed in order of battaille.

The same 2,000 footemen to be devided into 20 companyes of 100 the companye, eiche companye to consiste, for the devision of weapons, of 40 pikes, 10 billes, and 50 shott; also the ordinarie offices belonginge to a bande.

To this regiment of 2,000 there is to be appointed one cheefe gentleman from hence, under such tytle as shall seeme good to my lordes of the councell, assisted with a sufficient number of experimented captaines to be in her Majesties paye, as alsoe the said cheefe gentleman, to traine and order the said regiment with marshall discipline.

The said cheefe gentleman to give such orders for the trayneinge and excercisinge of the said regiment, with the assistance of the said experienced captaynes, as shall seeme good unto him, and likewise for the trayninge of the horsemen.