

The Words of Command Practised in the regiment¹

The Military Instructions of Colonel Sir Johan Skytte of Duderhof, 1634–1636

by Steve Murdoch

COLONEL JOHAN SKYTTE (1612–1636) was the son of his more famous eponymous father, Johan Skytte (1577–1645), and Maria Näf [Neave] (-1649). Maria considered herself Scottish and her relationship to Scotland had a significant influence on the identity and social circle of Colonel John Skytte. Indeed, this is reflected in the actions of Sir James Spens, the Scottish general and diplomat in Swedish service. On 16 June 1632 Spens wrote to a colleague at the English court, recommending Johan and Bengt Skytte to the courtier's protection specifically because the Skytte brothers were Scottish through their mother's line.²

Colonel Skytte was born on 5 December 1612 but is often overlooked in histories which focus on his more famous siblings, particularly Bengt Skytte who became a member of the *Riksråd* (Swedish State Council), served as a diplomat, and was appointed Governor of Estonia. Johan unfortunately predeceased most of his family, which most certainly accounts for his comparative obscurity. Colonel Skytte nevertheless had a successful military career, both under Gustav II Adolf and as commander of a Scottish regiment in Pomerania. The colonel's name appeared once in an English-language publication covering the progress of the Swedish wars in the Holy Roman Empire, namely in a reference to his 1632 Latin account of

the campaigns in which he had served. The author of *The Swedish Intelligencer* notes that Colonel Skytte had sent this account to his brother Bengt, who was then in England accompanying their father on a diplomatic mission for Sweden – as alluded to by Spens in his letter noted above.³

During the 1634–35 period Colonel Skytte certainly made an official visit himself to the Stuart Court in London, also undertaking a recruitment trip to Scotland on the same mission.⁴ To achieve this he had the help of several Scottish officers in the Swedish army, and influential among these was Colonel Alexander, 10th Lord Forbes. In March 1635, while Colonel Forbes was in Bremen, he had informed Colonel Skytte that William Forbes, Alexander's brother, was awaiting Johan's arrival in Scotland. Moreover, he noted that Major John Beaton had given William the recruitment patent for Skytte's regiment, and that William would be one of Skytte's captains.⁵ Skytte had long maintained a correspondence with a number of Scottish officers operating in and around Bremen *Stift*, including (in 1635) John Beaton, General Alexander Leslie, Hector Monro of Foulis and John Urquhart.⁶ Indeed, Beaton had suggested Monro of Foulis as a senior officer to Skytte, and Monro even indicated his intention to join the regiment, but before the unit took to the field Monro suf-

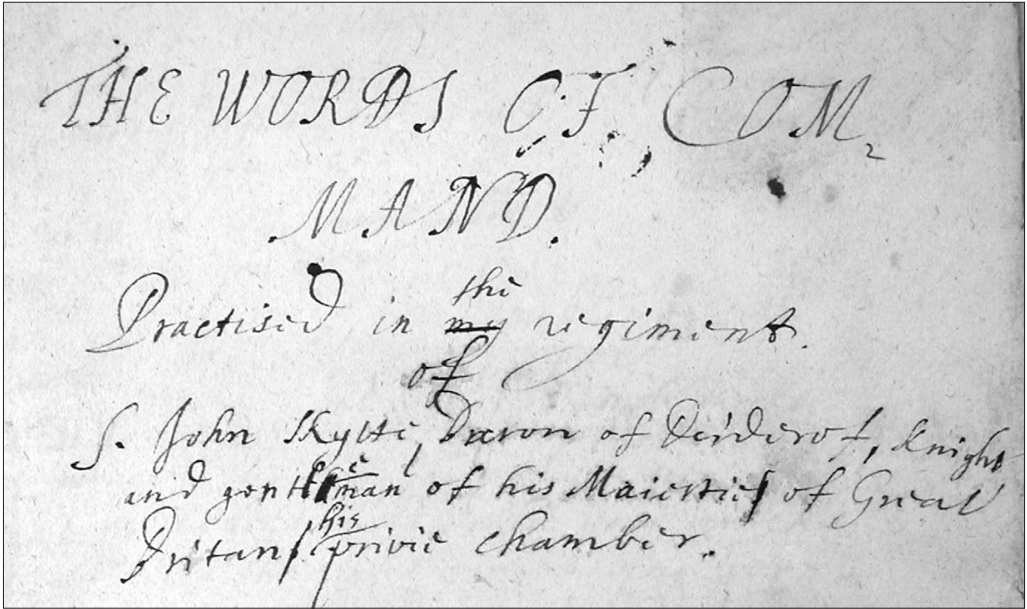


Image A: The Title Page of Johan Skytte's "Words of Command" (c.1635).

ferred an untimely death in April 1635. That same month the Swedish *Riksråd* wrote to Johan Skytte senior ordering him to ensure the success of his son's recruitment of a full regiment.⁷ Colonel Skytte's decision to recruit in Scotland rather than England, along with his selection of Scottish officers, is easily explained by his aforementioned matrilinear familiarity with the Scots. The officers included John Beaton (promoted to Lieutenant Colonel), Major Thomas Moffat, Captain Arthur Forbes (son of 10th Lord Forbes), Captain Lachlan Ross, Captain James Dunbar, Lieutenant David Lindsay and Lieutenant John Urquhart, among others.⁸

Further, Johan Skytte was naturalised as a Scotsman in May 1635, as evidenced by King Charles I of Great Britain's patent of the same month. Although this naturalisation predominantly served to facilitate the colonel's inheritance of Scottish lands originally owned by his maternal grandfather, James

Neave [see Appendix B], it would certainly have facilitated recruitment in Scotland. Similarly, providing the regiment with a bona fide Scottish colonel would also have helped, along with the colonel's knowledge of languages, including Scots and English.⁹

Among the writings Johan Skytte has left behind is an undated English-language document labelled as "The Words of Command". Given the first appearance of Colonel Skytte's regiment in Swedish service on 10th July 1635 it seems highly likely that the text was authored that year.¹⁰ "The Words of Command" are a rough copy of the orders required to successfully manoeuvre an infantry regiment around the battlefield. Going by the original title page, these commands look to have been penned by Skytte himself in English, albeit the original "my" has been crossed out and later replaced with the word "the". The text contains a number of other alterations, including the re-numbering, and some-

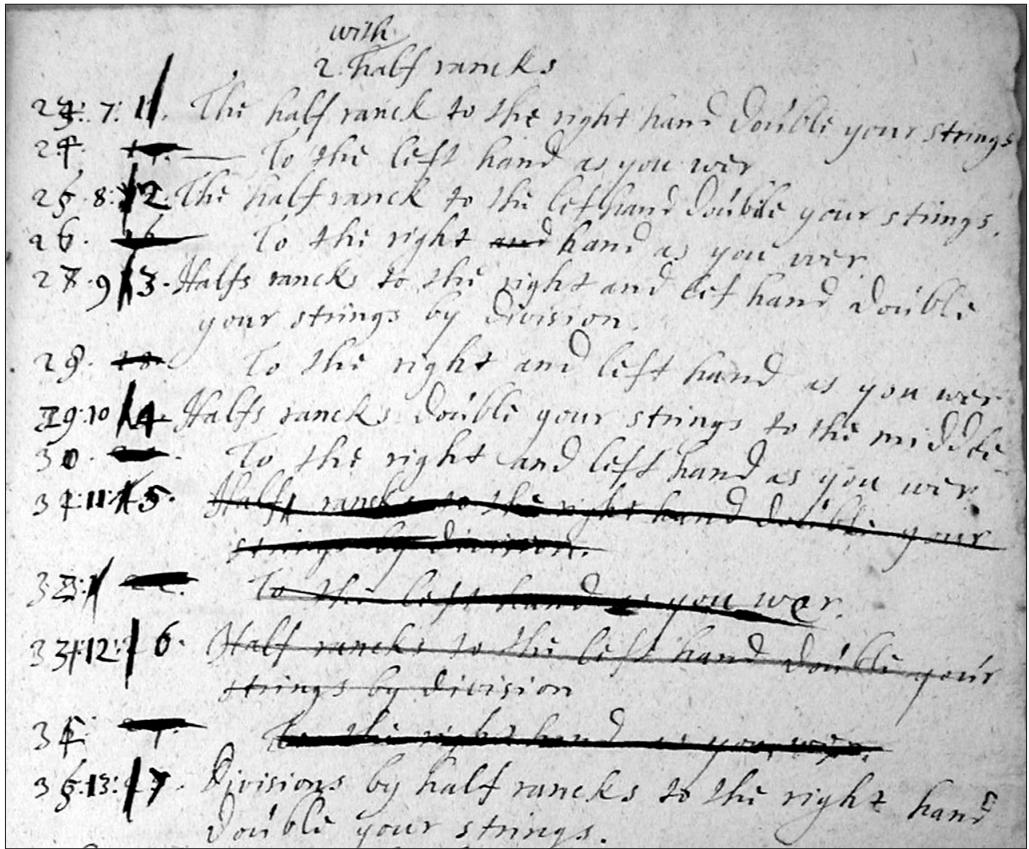


Image B: Page 2 (part) of Johan Skytte's "Words of Command".

times even crossing-out or finessing, of commands at some point. This may have been done after Colonel Skytte's death in 1636 at the siege of Stargard in Pomerania (more recently Stargard Szczeciński in Poland). Whatever the case may be, this text of military instructions is not a clean copy and does not match up to the quality of other contemporary military manuals then in circulation (see a sample page displayed above, in Image B). This raises questions as to not only the text's purpose but also as to why it was kept.

The late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries saw the development of a vener-

able canon of military manuals specifically designed to be books of instruction for various military services, be it the cavalry, artillery or infantry. One of the most famous and often reproduced such text is Jacques de Gheyn's *Exercise of Arms for Calivres, Muskettes and Pikes* originally published in Dutch in 1607, but translated into numerous languages, including English, German and French within months of publication.¹¹ The Swedish Crown and military were not unaware of such publications, but it was not until 1621 that the definitive Swedish military manual of the era emerged, namely Gustav II Adolf's *Krijgz articular* (or Articles

of War).¹² Like de Gheyn's *Exercise of Arms*, the Swedish *Krijgz articular* were also translated into other languages, including English in 1632 as *The Swedish Discipline*, which is a point of interest for the present article. This reveals that such texts were known, and available, to Colonel Skytte in both the original and translation by the time he wrote his "Words of Command".¹³ That being so, one wonders what requirement there was for any new military manual or instructional text given that Skytte himself had operated under Gustav Adolf's military discipline long before he set out for Scotland to recruit his regiment in 1634.

Anyone familiar with *Krijgz articular* knows that they are more about the discipline of the army rather than a handbook for how to conduct war, as presented in de Gheyn's work.¹⁴ Thus the question arises as to whether Colonel Skytte could have been trying to do just that – respond to the need for a military manual for his regiment in the Swedish army. Two earlier military manuals are of particularly great benefit to anyone trying to decipher Colonel Skytte's "Words of Command". These published editions are Thomas Kellie's *Pallas Armata or Military Instructions for the Learned* (1627) and James Achesone's *The Military Garden* (1629).¹⁵ Kellie and Achesone published their military manuals in English rather than their native Scots language, albeit on occasion Kellie gives the commands in both languages throughout his text.¹⁶ The choice of English language presumably represented a hope to expand readership beyond Scotland, encompassing potential readers in England and Ireland. Colonel Skytte's use of English for his "Words of Command" probably reflects the blatant borrowing of commands from other manuals such as Kellie's and Achesone's, albeit in abbreviated form.

Whereas Colonel Skytte's "Words of Command" provides no clarifications as to the terminology used within the text, nor illustrations of the manoeuvres to be carried out, both Kellie and Achesone draw on classical and contemporary sources in portraying every aspect of the military discipline required to deploy a regiment. This includes detailed descriptions of each officer's responsibility, as well as exact explanations as to the meanings of and purposes behind the commands. When transcribing Colonel Skytte's text below (Appendix A) the Kellie and Achesone editions proved essential for explaining Skytte's vocabulary. These texts are thus cited directly in the following transcription to give meaning to terms which otherwise might appear vague to the reader. Scrutinising the earlier texts also allows one to postulate an alternative reading of Colonel Skytte's pages. "The Words of Command" document, rather than reflecting a collection of the colonel's self-penned set of commands for delivery to his regiment, more likely appears to be an instructional text designed to teach the colonel the rudiments of command for use within a Scottish infantry formation. These "Words", then, probably represent Colonel Skytte's practice instructions for him to learn *from* rather than for him to deliver *to* his regiment. Such a reading explains the lack of detailed descriptions, diagrams and clarifications given the manuscript's actual purpose, as do the visible multiple re-workings of the text. One could envisage an experienced officer, perhaps even John Beaton, testing his colonel in the Scottish way of war through repetitive transcription and correction of the pertinent and requisite orders for the regiment. Positioning Beaton in this role is not random: he is considered here because during 1627-29 he had been a contemporary of Thomas Kellie – the author of *Pallas Armata*

– in the Scottish army in Denmark.¹⁷ Beaton, if he were the instigator, would merely be repeating the commands that both he and Kellie had learned contemporaneously and which the latter had published while they both were still serving on the same campaign on behalf of Christian IV.

Thus, one can conclude that unearthing Colonel Johan Skytte's "Words of Command" did not result in contributing to the canon of military manuals circulating in Europe in the first half of the Seventeenth century. In fact, far more importantly, this document demonstrates the significance of such works

in their actual use for officers and common soldiery alike. The discovery and analysis of this text reveals that such volumes by the likes of Kellie were not just decorations for display in the libraries of the higher echelons of society, but that they were read and understood by the officer class for the better command of their regiments in the field, be that in Scotland, Denmark, Sweden or Pomerania.

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Appendix A

Cover:

The Words of Command Practised in the regiment of Sir. John Skytte, Baron of Duderof, knight and gentleman of his Maiestie of Great Britan his privie chamber.

Page One

The Words of Command

1 For Turning [of rancks & whole rancks]¹⁸

1. 1. Silence.
2. 2. Stand right in your strings and rancks.¹⁹
3. 3. To the right hand.
4. As you wer.
5. 4. To the left hand.
6. As you wer.
7. 5. To the right hand about.
8. As you wer.
9. 6. To the left hand about.
10. As you wer.

2 For Doubling²⁰

of rancks & whole rancks

11. 1:1. To the right hand double your rancks.
- 12 To the left hand as you wer.
13. 2:2. To the left hand double your rancks.
14. To the right hand as you wer.
15. 3:3. To the right and left hand double your rancks.
16. To the left and right hand as you wer.
17. 4:4 The fourth ranck to the right double your front.²¹
18. To the left hand as you wer.
19. 5:5 The fourth ranck to the left hand double your front.
20. To the right hand as you wer.
21. 6:6 The fourth ran[c]k to the right and left hand double your front.
22. To the right and left hand as you wer.

Page Two

2 with half rancks

23. 7:1 The half ranck to the right hand double your strings.
24. To the left hand as you wer.
25. 8:2 The half ranck to the left hand double your strings.
26. To the right hand as you wer.

27. 9:3 Halfs rancks to the right and left hand double your strings by division.
 28. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 29. 10:4 Halfs rancks double your strings to the middle.
 30. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 35. 13:7 Divisions by half rancks to the right hand double your strings.
 36. To the left hand as you wer.
 37. 14:8 Divisions by half rancks to the left hand double your strings.
 38. To the right hand as you were. X
 39. 15:9 Divisions by half rancks double your strings to the middle.
 40. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 41. 16:10 Divisions by half rancks to the right and left hand double your strings by division.
 42. To the right and left hand as you wer.

3. of Bringers up.²²

43. 17:1 Bringers up to the right hand double your front.
 44. To the left hand as you wer.

Page Three²³

46. 18:2 Bringers up to the left hand double your front.
 47. To the right hand as you wer.
 48. 19:3 Bringers up to the right and left hand double your front.
 49. To the right and left hand as you wer.

4. of Leaders.²⁴

50. 20:1 Leaders to the right hand double your reare.²⁵
 51. To the left hand as you wer.
 52. 21:2 Leaders to the left hand double your reare.
 53. To the right hand as you wer.
 54. 22:3 Leaders to the right and left hand double your reare.
 55. To the right and left hand as you wer.

5. of Leaders and Bringers up.

56. 23:1 Leaders and bringers up to the right hand double your middle rancks.
 57. To the left hand as you wer.
 58. 24:2 Leaders and bringers up to the left hand double your middle rancks.
 59. To the right hand as you wer.
 60. 25:3 Leaders and bringers up to the right and left hand double your middle rancks
 61. To the right and left hand as you wer.

6. of Middle rancks.

62. 26:4 Middle rancks to the right hand double your front and reare.
 63. To the left hand as you wer.
 64. 27:5 Middle rancks to the left hand double your front and reare.
 65. To the right hand as you wer.

Page Four

66. 28:6 Middle rancks to the right and left hand double your front and reare.
 67. To the right and left hand as you wer.

of Strings

by whole Strings.

68. 29:1 To the right hand double your strings.
 69. To the left hand as you wer.
 70. 30:2 To the left hand double your strings.
 71. To the right hand as you wer.
 72. 31:2 To the left hand double your strings.
 73. To the right hand as you wer.
 74. 32:4 To the right and left hand double your middle strings
 75. To the right and left hand as you wer.^{#26}

& of Wings²⁷

76. 37:1 The right wing double the left wing.²⁸
 77. To the right hand as you wer.
 78. 38:2 The left wing double the right wing.
 79. To the left hand as you wer.
 80. 39:3 The right and left wings double to the middle
 81. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 82. 41:5²⁹ Divisions by the right wings double your left wings.
 83. To the right hand as you wer.

Page Five

84. 42:6 Divisions by the left wings double your right wings.
 85. To the left hand as you wer.
 86. 43:7 Divisions by the right and left wings double to the middle.
 87. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 88. 44:8 Divisions to the right and left hand double your wings by division.
 89. To the right and left hand as you wer.

For Countermarching.³⁰

1 of strings.

90. 1:1 Strings to the right hand countermarch.
 91. To the left hand as you wer.
 92. 2:2 Strings to the left hand countermarch.
 93. To the right hand as you wer.

2 of whole rancks.

94. 3:1 Rancks to the right hand countermarch
 95. To the left hand as you wer.
 96. 4:2 Rancks to the left hand countermarch.
 97. To the right hand as you wer.
 98. 5:3 Divisions by rancks to the right hand countermarch
 To the left hand as you wer.
 99. 6:4 Divisions by rancks to the left hand countermarch
 To the right hand as you wer.

Page Six

3 of half rancks

98. 7:5 Halfs rancks to the right and left hand countermarch.³¹
 99. To the right hand as you wer.
 100. 8:6 Divisions by halfs rancks to the right and left hand countermarch by division.
 101. To the right and left hand as you wer.

4 of wings

102. 9:1 The right and left wings to the right and left hand countermarch.
 103. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 104. 10:2 Divisions by your right and left wings, to the right and left hand countermarch
 105. To the right and left hand as you wer.

5 of Leaders and bringers up.

106. 11:1 Leaders to the right and bringers up to the left hand countermarch
 107. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 108. 12:2 Leaders to the left hand and bringers up to the right hand countermarch.
 109. To the right and left hand as you wer.

Page Seven

4 For Opining [Opening].³² 1 of Strings.

110. 1:1 To the right hand open your strings.
 111. To the left hand as you wer.
 112. 2:2 To the left hand open your strings
 113. To the right hand as you wer.
 114. 3:3 To the right and left hand open your strings.
 115. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 116. 4:4 Divisions to the right hand open your strings-
 117. To the left hand as you wer.
 118. 5:5 Divisions to the left hand open your strings.
 119. To the right hand as you wer.
 120. 6:6 Divisions to the right and left hand open your strings.
 121. To the right and left hand as you wer.

2 of rancks.

122. 7:1 Open your rancks forward.
 123. To the right hand about as you wer.
 124. 8:2 Open your ranck backwards.
 125. As you wer.
 126. 9:3 Open your rancks forward and backward.
 127. As you wer.

3 of wings.

128. 10:1 Wings to the right and left hand open your seölfs by division.
 129. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 130. 11:2 Divisions by your right and left wings open your selfs by division.
 131. To the right and left hand as you wer.

Page Eight

5 For Closing.³³ 2 (sic) of Strings

132. 1:1 Divisions to the right hand close your strings.
 133. To the left hand as you wer.
 134. 2:2 Divisions to the left hand close your strings.
 135. To the right hand as you wer.
 136. 3:3 Division to the right and left hand close your strings by division
 137. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 138. 4:4 Division to the right and left hand close your strings to the middle.
 139. To the right and left hand as you wer.

140. 5:5 To the right hand close your strings.
 141. To the left hand as you wer.
 142. 6:6 To the left hand close your strings.
 143. To the right hand as you wer.
 144. 7:7 To the right and left hand close your strings by division.
 145. To the right and left hand as you wer.
 146. 8:8 To the right and left hand close your strings to the middle.
 147. NB.

I of rancks.

148. 10:1 To the front close your rancks.³⁴
 149. To the right hand about as you were.³⁵
 150. 11:2 To the right hand about close your rancks to the reare.
 151. By advancing as you wer.
 152. 12:3 To the middle close your rancks.
 153. As you wer.

θ I:³⁶

Page Nine

6 For the great Tourne.³⁷

154. 1:1 To the right hand the great tourne.³⁸
 153. To the left hand as you wer.
 156. 2:2 To the left hand the great tourne.
 157. To the right hand as you wer.
 158. 3:3 To the right hand about the great tourne.
 159. To the left hand about as you wer.
 160. 4:4 To the left hand about the great tourne.
 161. 5:5 To the right hand about opin your rancks.
 163. To the right and left hand as you wer.

Finis

Appendix B

Swedish Riksarkiv, Depositio Skytteana, A:5, E5412. Letter of Naturalisation by Charles I for Johan Skytte, 1635 (English Language)

Charles Rex,

Our Sovereigne Lord Ordanis a letter of naturalizaton to be made and expedited under the great Seale of the Kingdome of Scotland makinge mention that whereas His Ma:ties trustie and welbeloved Sr John Skite knight lawfull sonne to the Lord Duderhoff late Ambassador to his Majestie from the Queene of Sweden hath ben an humble suitor to his highnes for being made a naturalized person of the said Kingdome of Scotland in respect that his desent in blood on the Mother side, is from there, and that he intends an action in lawe for recovery of certaine Lands which (as is affirmed) did belonge unto his goodsir umquhile James Neave. Therefore and for divers other good considerations movinge his Majestie, his highness hath declared and for him and his successors does declare the said Sir John Skyte knight to be naturalized as a native subiect borne within the said kingdome in all time cominge and to be capable of whatsoever dignities offices and benefices within the same and to have full libertie and power not onlye to insist be law for recoverie of what is justlye due unto him but to purchace and acquire within the said kingdome whatsoever lands heretages annulments and other goods and geir movable and imovable and to the same to possesse and enioye be whatsoever title as well be way of succession as be donation acquisition or otherwise whatsoever and that the heirs of the said Sir John Skyte sall have right and power to succeed to whatsoever lands and heretages to be acquired to them within the said kingdome and shall have libertie to dispose be their Testaments and latter wills upon whatsoever goods and geir which shall happen to appertaine unto them within the said kingdome, and to nominate Executors in their Testaments and to loane and dispone thereupon be legacie to whatsoever person or persons and also to nominate tutors one or more to their children male or female procreated or to be procreated of their bodyes and to bruik possesse and enioye all other priviledges immunities faculties and liberties whatsoever which are competent or may be competent to any Native bourne subiect within the said kingdome And his Majestie wills and commandes that their presents shalbe a sufficient warrant to the writer to the great Seale and keep thereof for wreitinge hereof to the said Seale and appendinge the great Seale theireunto without passing any other Seale or Register for with these presents shallbe sufficient warrant, Given at his Majesties Mannor of Greenwich the nynthe day of May 1635.

Vera Copia James Philp

Notes

1. See Appendix A for the full text of the document.
2. The National Archives (London) SP95/3 ff. 201-202. James Spens to Secretary Conway, Hersbruck, 16 June 1632, Scots Language. "... on ye lordships part I am to recommend thir two brethren my Lord Skyts sone cum off scotis be ye mother syd, yat yow wold for my respect be ther frend and countenance them at courtt be your best adwyse". Translated from Scots to English this reads: "...on your lordships part I am to recommend these two brothers, my Lord Skytte's son, of Scottish heritage on the maternal side, and that you would out of respect for me be their friend and countenance them at court with your best advice." Although Spens states "son" singular at this point, meaning Bengt alone, he clearly intends the favour to include Johan as well.
3. Anon.: *The Swedish Intelligencer: The Third Part*, London 1633, p.46. Johan Skytte is often stated to have accompanied his father and brother on this mission. However, he can only have joined them after sending this battlefield report: only Bengt was in London when it was received. Indeed, Spens's letter referenced above specifically describes "the youngest Sir Benedict", cf SP95/3 f. 202 verso.
4. Riksarkivet (Stockholm), Svenske Sändebuds till Utländske Hof och Deras Sändebud till Sverige', unpublished manuscript, 1841, pp. 77-78.
5. Riksarkivet, Deposito Sytteana, A:5, E5412. Alexander Lord Forbes to Johan Skytte, March 1635.
6. Riksarkivet, Deposito Sytteana, A:5, E5412. Alexander Leslie to Johan Skytte, Stade, 20 January 1635; Hector Monro of Foulis to Johan Skytte, Stade, 20 January 1635; John Beaton to Johan Skytte, Buxtehude, 18 March 1635; John Urquhart to Johan Skytte, 18 March, Buxtehude and 16 April, Stade, 1635.
7. Bergh, Severin (ed.): *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll V*, 1635, Norstedt & Söner, Stockholm 1888, p. 48. Riksråd minute, 8 April 1635.
8. Swedish Krigsarkiv, Muster Roll, 1635/26, 27, 30, 31; 1636/19-24; 1637/15. Note that the remnant of the regiment is taken over by Beaton in late 1636, but the Skytte name is kept for a year after the colonel's death.
9. See Riksarkivet, Deposito Sytteana, A:5, E5412. The correspondence in this archive relating to the colonel is written in the Scots, English, German and Latin languages.
10. For the regiment's first appearance in service see Swedish Krigsarkiv, Mönsterrullor, SE/KrA/0022/1635/26.
11. For the original see de Gheyn, Jacques: *Wapenhandelinge van Roers Musquetten ende Spiessen*, Robert de Badous, Den Haag 1607-1608.
12. Gustav II Adolf: *Krijgz articular, som fordorm then stormechtigste furste och herre [...]*, Ignatio Meurer, Stockholm 1621.
13. The English version of *Krijgz articular* was published in English as Anon.: *The Swedish Discipline, Religious, Civile and Military [...]*, John Dawson for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, London 1632. Indeed, the text was used during the British Civil Wars (1639-1660), most notably at the Battle of Edgehill in 1642. For discussion of this use see Grosjean, Alexia and Murdoch, Steve: *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish Generals of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1649*, Pickering & Chatto, London 2014, pp. 120-123.
14. Ögren, Kenneth: "Humanitarian law in the Articles of War decreed in 1621 by King Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden", *International Review of the Red Cross*, no. 313, August 1996, pp. 438-442.
15. Kellie, Thomas: *Pallas Armata, or Military Instructions for the Learned: And all Generous Spirits, who affect the Profession of Arms. The First Part, Containing the Exercise of Infanterie, as well Ancient, as Moderne: Wherein are Clearlie set downe all the postures and Motions, belonging to Battaillions of Foote [...]*, by the Heirs of Andro Hart, Edinburgh 1627; Achesone, James: *The Military Garden or Instructions for all young Souldiers and svch who are disposed to Learne, and have knowledge of the Militarie Discipline [...]*, printed by John Wreittoun, Edinburgh 1629.
16. See, for example, op. cit., Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, pp. 25-26 and 125-128.
17. For Beaton in Danish service Monro, Robert: *His Expedition with a worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes*, printed by William Jones,

- London 1637, part I, pp. 68, 82 and part II, pp. 2, 23, 28. In this latter reference Monro specifically notes “Captaine Beaton was made Major, and afterward Lieutenant Colonell to young Colonell Skeutte”. See also Riis, Thomas: *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot*, 2 vols., Odense 1988, II, p. 120. For Kellie’s Danish service see *ibid.*, II, p. 133.
18. The clause in brackets is an addition inserted on the right side of the page adjacent to number 6 and was clearly an afterthought/clarification meant to go with the title.
19. Op. cit., Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, p. 6, defines a “File or String” as “a sequence of men standing one behind the other back to bellie” and notes Count Mansfeld had files of 10 men. On p. 8 he describes a Ranke as “A Row of men standing one by another, in a right line, shoulder to shoulder”. Op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 10, has a strikingly similar description of both indicating he had probably seen Kellie’s work. “A String is a sequence of men standing one behind another, back to bellie, and consisteth commonlie of 10 or 8, or sometime 6 depth [...] A Ranke is a raw [row] of men, standing one by another, shoulder to shoulder, their faces being directed all one way.”
20. Kellie notes that “Doubling of Rankes is a Motion whereby the length of the Battell is enlarged, and the depth diminished, by inserting the one half of the Rankes in the other.” Op. cit., Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, p. 36. Over the next twenty-nine pages, Kellie gives a number of useful figures to illustrate Doubling in a number of formations. See pp. 36-65. See also op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, pp. 12-13.
21. “The Front is ever where the faces of the company are directed all one way.” Op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 10.
22. Op. cit., Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, p. 9, observes “The last ranke is: A row of Bringers-up, and is called [by Cauda] the Reare”. See also op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 10, who notes “these that are in the last ranke are called bringers up, every one being a bringer up of a string. *Reare division, half strings or sixt rank, all of these names may be given to this division*” (The italics are Achesone’s).
23. Note that the previous page ends on no. 44 and this page begins with no. 46.
24. Op. cit., Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, p. 9, notes “The first ranke is: A row of File Leaders, and is called [...], The Front”. See also op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 10: “Leaders of Strings are these that are in the first ranke; every one in the same ranke is a leader of a string.”
25. Op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 10, notes “The Rear is ever where the backes of the whole company are turned.”
26. Page Three Verso: On this page there are a number of additional clauses that appear to be the correct orders to follow on after the hashtag. The additional commands for insertion are:
 33: 5: *Divisions to the right hand double your strings.*
To the left hand as you wer.
 34: 6: *Divisions to the left hand double your strings.*
To the right hand as you wer.
 35: 7: *Divisions to the right and left hand double your strings by division.*
To the right and left hand as you wer.
 36: 8: *Divisions to the right and left hand double your middle strings.*
To the right and left hand as you wer.
27. Op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, p. 11, states “The wing is the side of the company from the front to the rears, the right side being called the right wing, and the left side the left wing”.
28. Above the clause that has been struck out is another struck clause.
29. The number sequence here clearly does not follow on as it should from 39:3 above and should read 40:4. That being so we can add the final notation from p. 3, Verso, which reads “40:4: *To the Right and left hand double your wings by division*” which the author of the Verso annotation must have intended to be read here.
30. Op. cit., Achesone, James, see note 15, pp. 15-16, details that “To countermarch and maintaine ground, the-leaders of every string, having turned to the hand directed (which is specially to bee observed) passe thorow the company, their followers march up to the leaders ground, making the same good, then turne and passe thorow the company after their leaders, till they have all done the same. [...] To countermarch and lose ground, the leaders of everie string, turne to the hand directed, pass-

ing thorow the company, the followers move not till their leaders are passed them, then they turne and passe after their leaders, the ranks doe the same one after another, not moving till their leaders are passed by them, then they turne in the same ground. By countermarch the reare may become the front, in the same ground the front stood in, having brought them up, and face about." Achesone then goes into detail about countermarching in different directions. Kellie is even more comprehensive in his discussion of the countermarch, detailing the practice in both antiquity and his contemporary usage. See *op. cit.*, Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, pp. 65-78.

31. There is clearly another numbering continuity error here as this should be 100 in the sequence given the numbers that have gone before, and thus the subsequent clauses are also out of sequence.
32. For Kellie's more detailed interpretation of Opening and Closing manoeuvres, see *op. cit.*, Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, pp. 79-92.
33. *Op. cit.*, Achesone, James, see note 15, pp. 13-14, explains the purpose of "Closing" as a transformation from having been in "open order" to being in a tighter formation. "Being in open order, the word strings close without naming to any hand, which is thus performed, the two middle leaders close first, the one to the right, the other to the left, till they are in the distance commanded, the rest of the company to take their distance from them, on either wing closing to the middle leaders." He then details a variety of other closing manoeuvres from right, to left and by division.
34. Here the numbering 9:1 – which should logically follow – has been crossed out and 10:1 inserted.
35. This is the sole instance of "were" being written out as per modern English rather than "wer".
36. The meaning of these symbols here is unclear.
37. It is clear from Kellie that Turning as used here equates to the more common expression Wheeling. In describing the evolution of Wheeling by "Epistrophe" he adds: "Our words of Command are: The Great turne to the right about, the Great turne to the left about." See *op. cit.*, Kellie, Thomas, see note 15, p. 95, for this quote and pp. 93-105 for the history and contemporary diagrams illustrating Wheeling.
38. Here and below sometimes Skytte writes "tourne" and other times "turne". I have added "o" in italics to indicate where this difference occurs.