An Authentic Military History Simulation Game

the time is: 11:00 AM, 25 October 1415

AGINCOURT

The Triumph of Archery over Armor, 25 October 1415



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RULES OF PLAY

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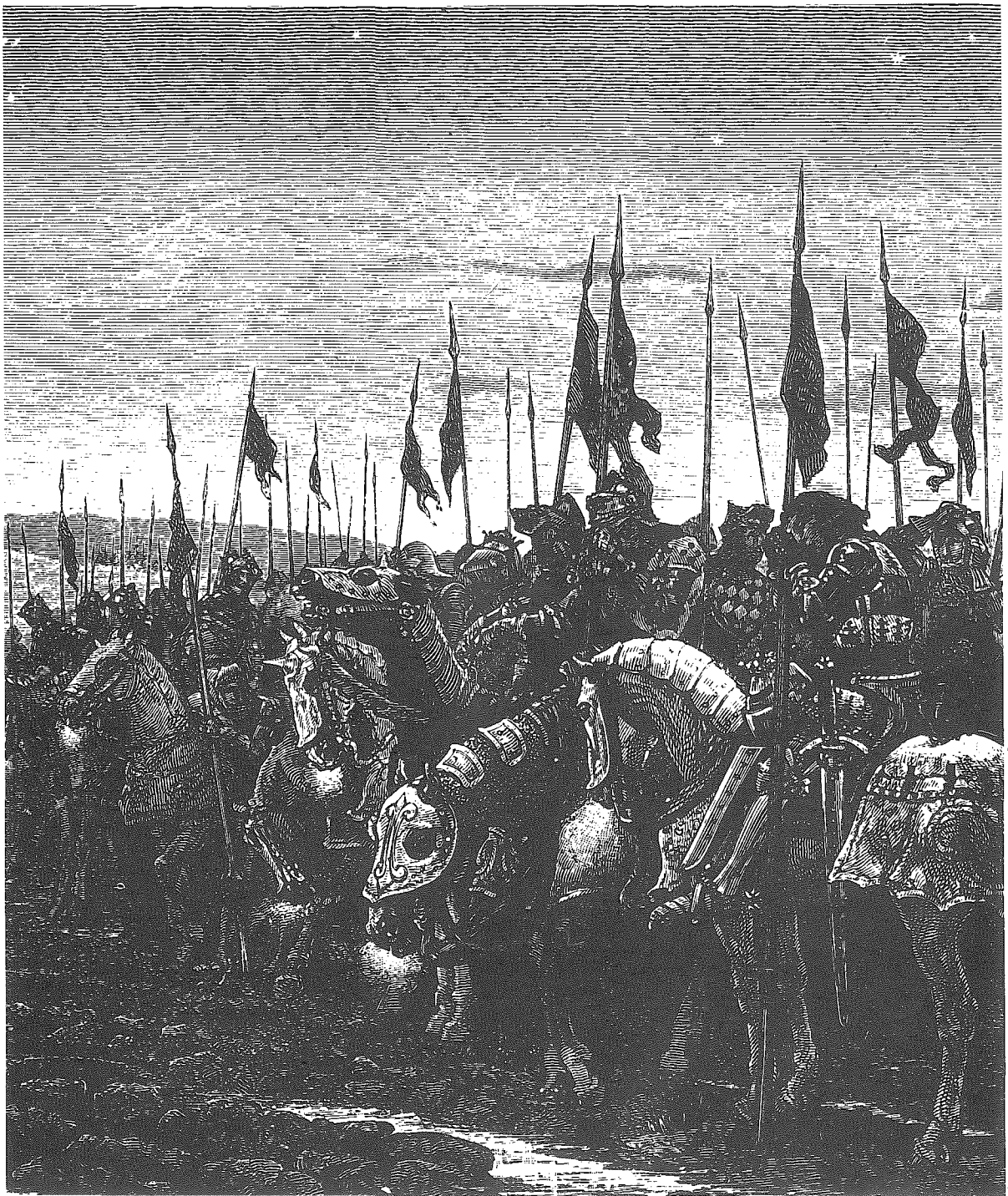

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[1.0] INTRODUCTION

Agincourt recreates the most decisive, one-sided victory of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). On that chill St. Crispin's Day, 25 October in 1415, a tired, hungry English army numbering perhaps 6,000 men-at-arms and yeoman archers under King Henry V met and defeated a French force of over 20,000 men, inflicting some 50% casualties against a loss of barely 100. It was, and it remains, one of the most remarkable battles in history, shaped as much by the stupidity and impetuosity of the defeated as by the courage and skill of the victors.

[2.0] HOW TO PLAY THE GAME

The Players Set-up their Units. After each Player has decided which side he will play, they each set up the pieces ("counters") representing their units and leaders on the game-map. The counters are placed as indicated by each scenario.

French Fugitives are Moved. The French Player determines the direction of movement for all French Fugitives currently on the game-map and moves them. (**Note:** At the start of the game, there are no French Fugitive markers on the game-map; they appear later in the course of play as a result of English attacks.)

The French Player Moves his Units and Leaders; the English Player's Archer Units Fire. The French Player may move all, some, or none of his units and Leaders, as he desires. Deciding which units to begin to move in each Game-Turn is a key decision in the game, as once French units begin moving forward, the opportunity for the French Player's capacity to coordinate and control their movement is significantly curtailed. Units are moved from hex to hex on the game-map through a path of connected hexes. The number of hexes into which a unit may be moved in any one Game-Turn is limited, depending largely upon the type of unit. During his movement, the French Player may capture English Leaders and/or Fugitives.

French movement is divided into three "impulses," during each of which French leaders, men-at-arms, archers, and non-charging cavalry may be moved 1 Movement Point (charging cavalry may be moved up to 2 MP's). At the end of each "impulse", the English Player has the option to utilize his Archer units shoot arrows at the French. Generally, he will fire only if the range is relatively small, since the supply of arrows is limited. Archery attacks are resolved with a die roll and referenced to a probability table. Casualties are expressed in terms of "arrow strikes" Each unit has several levels of strength called "line strengths." A hit reduces a unit by one line strength; the current line strength of each unit in the game is recorded on each unit's Line Strength Track on the game-map. Successful "arrow strikes" cause Fugitive and Dead Markers to be placed on the Game-Map.

The French Player Checks the Morale of his Units. The French Player must individually check the morale of each of his units which: 1) has been moved this Game-Turn, 2) is adjacent to an English unit, or 3) has been contacted by French fugitives. Morale is affected adversely by the proximity of Fugitives and Dead Markers, as well as prior casualties suffered by the unit. Depending on the circumstances, a certain percentage chance exists that a unit will lose a line strength; the French Player rolls the die for each unit to determine if that occurs. If so, a Fugitive Marker (but not a Dead marker) is placed on the game-map.

The French Leaders and English Leaders Engage in Leader Combat. If opposing Leaders occupy adjacent hexes, "individual combat" between them is resolved. There are up to five rounds of combat. Each round, the Players secretly select a Leader Combat Option and the options are then revealed and cross-indexed on a table. The result of that cross-indexing and a die roll determine the results of that round. The results of Leader Combat are expressed in terms of "wounds." If the wounds incurred by a Leader in any single combat equals (or exceeds) that Leader's Melee Strength, he is considered captured and removed from play.

The French Player's Units Engage in Melee Attacks. The French Player must resolve melee attacks against English units occupying hexes adjacent to French units, unless the French units are too weak to attack. There is a percentage chance that a defending English unit will incur a line strength loss, depending on its current strength level and the relative strength of the French attackers. The French Player rolls the die to determine whether such a loss occurs. The English Player adjusts the Line Strength Track of each affected English unit to reflect each Line Strength loss, and Fugitive and Dead Markers are placed on the map.

The English Player Checks Potentially Fatigued Units for Morale. The English Player must individually check the morale of each of his units which was involved in French Melee Attacks. For each unit, he rolls the die to determine if there is a line strength loss, and if so, the loss is recorded and a Fugitive Marker is placed on the game-map.

English Fugitives are Moved. The English Player determines the direction of movement for all English Fugitives currently on the game-map and moves them.

The English Player Moves His Units and Leaders; the French Player's Archer Units Fire. The English Player may move all, some, or none of his units and Leaders, as he desires. During his movement, the English Player may capture French Leaders or Fugitives. English movement is also divided into three "Impulses," during each of which English Leaders, men-at-arms, and Archers may be moved 1 Movement Point. French Archery attacks are resolved as English attacks are resolved, with any losses being recorded and Fugitive and Dead Markers being placed on the game-map appropriately.

The English Player Checks the Morale of His Units. The English Player must individually check the morale of each of his units which has moved in this Game-Turn, or is adjacent to a French unit, or has been contacted by Friendly English Fugitives. The English Player rolls a die to determine if each such unit suffers a line strength loss. If so, a Fugitive Marker is placed on the game-map.

The English and French Leaders Engage in Leader Combat. Once again opposing Leaders in adjacent hexes engage in combat.

The English Player's Units Engage in Melee Attacks. The English Player must resolve melee attacks by those of his units adjacent to hexes occupied by French units, unless those English units are too weak to attack.

The French Player Checks Potentially Fatigued Units for Morale. The French Player must individually check the morale of each of his units which was involved in English Melee Attacks.

The Game-Turn Ends. The actions described above constitute a complete Game-Turn. The Players proceed, starting at the beginning of a new Game-Turn (with the French Player moving his Fugitives) until as many Game-Turns have been completed as are called for. At that point, the victor is determined.

[3.0] GAME EQUIPMENT

[3.1] THE GAME MAP

The 22" × 34" game map portrays the battlefield of Agincourt. A hexagonal grid pattern is printed on the game map to regulate movement and location of the playing pieces and to calculate ranges which affect archery fire. There are several different types of terrain and terrain elevations indicated on the map, all of which are explained in the terrain section of the rules and the Terrain Key printed on the map.

[3.2] GAME CHARTS AND TABLES

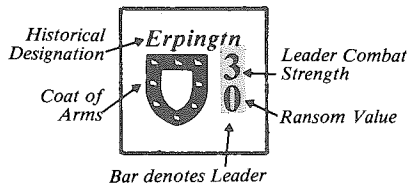
Various visual aids are provided with the game to simplify and illustrate certain game functions. All of the following aids are printed on the game map: Unit Line Strength Tracks, Arrow Supply Tracks, English and French Casualty Tracks, and the Impulse and Game-Turn Track. The use of these graphic aids is explained in the appropriate rules Sections.

[3.3] THE PLAYING PIECES

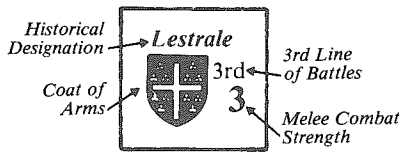
There are 240 single (½" × ½") back-printed playing pieces and 30 double sized (1" × ½") playing pieces, called *counters*, in *Agincourt*. Most of these are *Informational* counters. Informational counters include *Line Strength* counters, *Arrow Supply* counters, *Fugitive* counters, *Dead* counters, and various counters used to record information on the Game-Turn, Impulse, and Army Casualty Tracks. All of these Informational counters are used to convey information about the status of a given combat unit. The actual military units in the game — the men-at-arms, cavalry, archers and historical commanders — are represented by combat unit counters. Combat unit counters feature the *Historical Designation, Coat of Arms,* and *Melee Strengths* of each unit.

[3.31] Sample Units

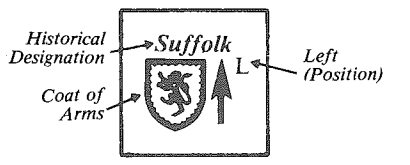
LEADER



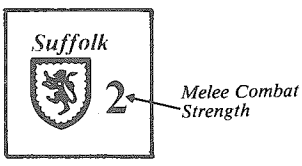
MEN-AT-ARMS



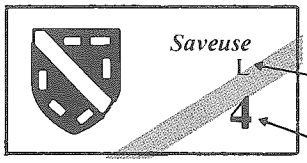
ENGLISH LONGBOW (Front, archer)



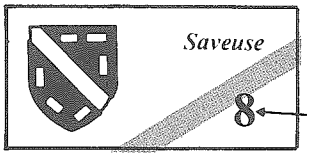
ENGLISH LONGBOW (Back, yeoman)



FRENCH CAVALRY (Front, normal)



FRENCH CAVALRY (Back, charge)



FRENCH CROSSBOW



FRENCH SHORTBOW



Note: Armagnac units feature blue type, Burgundian black, and English red.

[3.32] Summary of Unit Types

Front		*Back*
Lestrale 3rd 3	Men-at-Arms (some men-at-arms are represented by double-size counters)	
Fauqm 3rd 3	Cavalry (some cavalry are represented by double-size counters) Dismounted	*Fauqm* 3rd 6 Mounted
Suffolk L	English Longbow Archer status	*Suffolk* 2 Yeoman status
CB III	French Crossbow	
SB III	French Shortbow	
Erpingtn 3 0	Leader	
	Artillery (optional)	
Oxford ARROW SUPPLY	Arrow Supply Marker	

Namur 3rd	French Men-at-Arms Line Strength Marker	
1 DEAD	Dead Marker	2 DEAD
3 DEAD	Dead Marker	4 DEAD
5 DEAD	Dead Marker	6 DEAD
1 FUGI-TIVE	Fugitive Marker	2 FUGI-TIVE
3 FUGI-TIVE	Fugitive Marker	4 FUGI-TIVE
5 FUGI-TIVE	Fugitive Marker	6 FUGI-TIVE
1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	Cavalry Fugitive Marker	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE
STAKES CAR	Stakes Marker Carried / Implanted	STAKES IMP
W.Cntry L	English Archer Line Strength Marker	
SB II R	French Archer Line Strength Marker	
Camois	English Men-at-Arms Line Strength Marker	

[3.33] Summary of Impulse Movement Allowances

Charging cavalry and cavalry fugitives have an Impulse Movement Allowance of 2. All other fugitives, leaders and units (including non-charging cavalry), have an Impulse Movement Allowance of 1.

[3.4] GAME SCALE

Each hexagon on the map represents approximately 34 yards of terrain on the actual battlefield. Each double-sized infantry counter represents a 1000-man French combat unit called a "Battle." Each single counter represents from 250-500 men. Each artillery counter represents a battery of 1-2 guns. Each Game-Turn represents 3 minutes of real time.

[3.5] INVENTORY OF GAME PARTS

A complete game of *Agincourt* includes:

One rules booklet (including historical situation briefing and two identical chart sheets)

Two different counter sheets (one of 200 counters, and one of 40 single and 30 double-sized counters)

One twenty-sided plastic die

One game box

If any parts are missing or damaged, write:

Customer Service
Simulations Publications, Inc.
44 East 23rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10010

[3.6] RULES QUESTIONS

Questions concerning the rules for *Agincourt* will be answered if phrased in such a way that a simple yes or no reply will suffice and if the questions are accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Mark the envelope "Rules Questions: Agincourt."

[3.7] GLOSSARY OF GAME TURNS

Archery/Yeoman Status: Each Longbow Unit has both an Archery and a Yeoman Status. The Archery Status is printed on the front of the counter representing the unit and is he status the unit must be in to engage in Fire Combat (firing arrows). The Yeoman Status is printed on the reverse side of the counter and indicates that the unit has stowed its bows and taken up side arms (swords, axes) to engage in Melee.

Arrow Strikes: Each successful Arrow volley is an Arrow Strike and causes the target to suffer a one line loss (creating Fugitives and Dead in the process).

Crowding: A Combat units Morale is affected by the number of units to which it is adjacent. See the Morale Point Schedule, 10.5.

Dead: As each unit takes line losses due to Fire and Melee combat a marker is placed in the hex to represent that Dead are present there.

Fugitives: As each unit takes losses due to Fire Combat, Melee Combat, and Morale, a Fugitive Marker is placed in the hex with the unit. Fugitives begin moving off the field of battle during the next Fugitive Movement Phase.

Impulse: One third of a Movement Phase.

Line Strength: Each Combat unit begins the game with a Line Strength equal to the number of lines (ranks) that unit was organized into at the Battle of Agincourt. As a unit loses lines through Combat and Morale, its Line Strength is recorded on the units' Line Strength Track.

[3.8] USE OF THE PERCENTILE DIE

Included with the game is a twenty-sided die (with two sides displaying the number one, two with the number two, etc.) for use in resolving percentages which are called for in the various tables. Typically in the game a given result will occur if a percentage result of less than or equal to the number listed on the Table is rolled with the die.

The percentile die is used rolling first for the "tens column" and then again for the "ones column." A double zero result signifies the number 100. However, the die is rarely rolled for the "ones column" because the first roll for the "tens column" is usually the only roll of the die that is needed.

Example: Upon reading a Chart, the Player ascertains that there is a 47% chance of a given event occurring. The die is rolled for the "tens column" and a three is the result. After this roll the Player does not need to roll the die for the "ones column"

because he knows that no matter what the second roll is the number will not be higher than 39. In fact, the second die roll would be needed only in two instances:

1. If the "tens" die roll was a four (to check if it were a 48 or 49), and

2. If the "tens" die roll was a zero (to check if another zero was rolled which would be a 100).

[4.0] SEQUENCE OF PLAY

GENERAL RULE:

Agincourt employs a *Sequence of Play* in which each of the two Players is alternatively the *Active (Phasing)* Player. The game is played in sequenced turns called *Game-Turns*; each Game-Turn consists of strictly sequenced *Phases*. There are basically two different types of Phases which occur in a Game-Turn; regular Phases and simultaneous Phases (Movement/Archery Fire Phases). During a particular Phase, one Player is the Phasing Player while his opponent, who is not active, is the non-Phasing Player. During a simultaneous Phase, the Phasing Player may move his units, while his opponent (the non-Phasing Player) may engage in fire combat using his archers. Only the two Movement/Fire Phases are simultaneously resolved by both Players. A Player is the Phasing Player during his Player-Turn.

GAME-TURN SEQUENCE OUTLINE

A. FRENCH PLAYER-TURN
(French Player is Phasing Player)

1. Fugitive Movement Phase: The French Player determines the direction in which French fugitives created in the last Game-Turn must be moved and then moves them accordingly. He also determines the new retreat path of French fugitives which "ran into" French units during the last French Fugitive Movement Phase and moves them accordingly. All other French fugitives are moved in the same direction as in the previous Game-Turn. Fugitives which enter hexes containing English units are captured.

2. French Movement and English Archery Phase: The French Player may move all, some, or none of the French combat units and leaders within the limits and restrictions of movement (see Section 5.0, Movement) and the individual Scenario rules. English fugitives and leaders may be captured. Movement is executed in three individual one-minute Impulses, with the French Player moving all of the units he wishes, up to their Impulse Movement Point Allowance each Impulse. At the end of each Impulse, the English Player may fire up to six volleys from each of his longbow units at French combat units (subject to range restrictions), taking arrow supply into account. The non-Phasing (English) Player may not move his units during this Phase.

3. Morale Phase: The French Player must check unit morale, using the Morale Table, for all French units which:

1. Have remained in place and have been contacted by French fugitives
2. Have been moved during this Game-Turn
3. Are adjacent to English combat units and have sufficient Strength Points to melee in this Game-Turn

4. Leader Combat Phase: If opposing leaders are stacked with two adjacent combat units, personal leader combat is resolved.

5. Melee Phase: The French Player must conduct melee attacks against English units in hexes adjacent to his own units (if the French units have sufficient Strength Points to melee).

6. English Fatigue Morale Phase: The English Player must check unit morale for all English units which were engaged in melee combat during the French Player's Melee Phase this Game-Turn.

B. ENGLISH PLAYER-TURN
(English Player is Phasing Player)

1. Fugitive Movement Phase: The English Player determines the direction in which English fugitives created in the last Game-Turn must be moved and then moves them. He also determines the new retreat path of English fugitives which "ran into" English units during the last English Fugitive Movement Phase and moves them. All other English fugitives are moved in the same direction as in the previous Game-Turn. Fugitives which enter hexes containing French units are captured.

2. English Movement and French Archery Phase: The English Player may move all, some, or none of the English combat units and leaders within the limits and restrictions of movement (see Section 5.0, Movement) and the individual Scenario Rules. French fugitives and leaders may be captured and arrows may be retrieved. Movement is executed in three individual one-minute Impulses, with the English player moving all of the units he wishes, up to their Movement Point Allowance each Impulse. At the end of each Impulse, the French Player may fire up to four volleys from each of his shortbow and up to two volleys from each of his crossbow units at English combat units (subject to range restrictions), taking arrow supply into account. The non-Phasing (French) Player's units may not move during this Phase.

3. Morale Phase: The English Player must check unit morale, using the Morale Table, for all English units which:

1. Have remained in place and have been contacted by English fugitives
2. Have been moved during this Game-Turn
3. Are adjacent to French combat units and have sufficient Strength Points to melee this Game-Turn.

4. Leader Combat Phase: If opposing leaders are stacked with two adjacent combat units, personal leader combat is resolved.

5. Melee Phase: The English Player must conduct melee attacks against French units in hexes adjacent to his own units (if the English units have sufficient Strength Points to melee).

6. French Fatigue Morale Phase: The French Player must check unit morale for all French units which were engaged in melee combat during the English Player's Melee Phase this Game-Turn.

C. ARMY MORAL CHECK STAGE

Every Fifth Game-Turn, each army must undergo an army morale check. Consult the Army Morale Table (11.3).

D. GAME-TURN INDICATION STAGE

The Players advance the Game-Turn marker one box on the Turn Record Track to indicate the end of one Game-Turn and the beginning of the next.

[5.0] MOVEMENT

GENERAL RULE:

During the Movement Phase, the Phasing Player may move as many or as few eligible units as he desires in accordance with the movement rules, with a unit's movement being restricted by its Movement Point Allowance, as well as by restrictions imposed by movement, line movement, terrain, fugitives, and individual Scenario rules Sections.

PROCEDURE:

During the Movement Phase, the Phasing Player may move his units in any order he desires (subject to individual Scenario rules). Combat units may be moved either individually or together with leaders (see Section 6.0, Stacking). During each Impulse of the Movement Phase, the Phasing Player must complete the movement (for that Impulse) of each unit or stack before moving another unit or stack. Movement for each unit is executed in three individual Impulses, with the Phasing Player moving each unit up to its Impulse Movement Allowance. At the end of an Impulse, after the Phasing Player has moved all of the units he desires, the non-Phasing (Enemy) archers may engage in fire combat (see Section 8.0, Archery Fire Combat). Each unit or stack is moved separately, tracing a path on contiguous hexes through the mapsheet hexgrid. As each unit enters a hex (or hexes for a double-sized unit), a portion of its Impulse Movement Point Allowance must be expended. The number of Movement Points expended varies according to terrain and condition of the ground on the field of battle.

CASES:

[5.1] RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT

[5.11] During the Movement Phase, only the Phasing Player's units may be moved; he may choose to move all, some or none of his eligible units (subject to individual Scenario and Movement rules). Units controlled by the non-Phasing Player must remain stationary during the Movement Phase.

[5.12] Movement is basically calculated in terms of Movement Points. The number of Movement Points expended by a unit during an Impulse may not exceed that units' Impulse Movement Allowance. Unused portions of a unit's Impulse Movement Allowance may neither be accumulated from one Impulse or Movement Phase to the next nor transferred from one unit to another (see Case 3.33).

[5.13] The total distance (in hexes) which a given unit may be moved in a single Movement Phase varies according to the terrain in the hexes the unit is moved through and the elevations the unit crosses in tracing its movement path through the hexgrid. See the Terrain Effects Chart (7.3) for a complete summary of how terrain affects movement.

[5.14] A combat unit may be moved freely into a hex containing a leader, a dead marker (Enemy or Friendly), or an Enemy fugitive at no additional Movement Point cost (exception: see Cases 17.25 and 17.27).

[5.15] A combat unit may be moved freely into a hex containing a Friendly fugitive marker at no additional Movement Point cost. However, a combat unit that is moved into a hex containing a Friendly fugitive marker may not be moved out of that hex for the remainder of the Game-Turn.

[5.16] If, during the Phasing Player's fugitive Movement Phase, a fugitive marker "runs into" (and is consequently stacked with) a Friendly combat unit (see Case 14.25, Movement of Fugitives), that Friendly combat unit may not be moved during the Movement Phase of that Game-Turn.

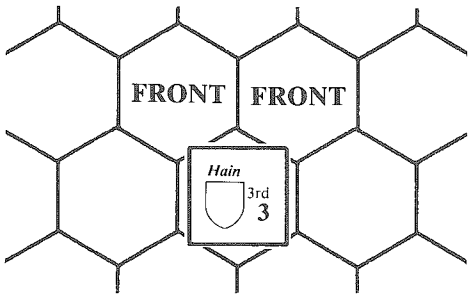
[5.17] A Friendly unit may never be moved into a hex containing another combat unit (Enemy or Friendly) during the Movement Phase.

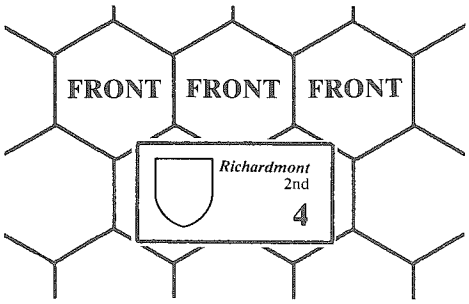
[5.18] A French archer unit may not be moved adjacent to another French combat unit, nor may a French combat unit move adjacent to a French archer unit.

[5.2] FACING

The French dismounted their men-at-arms at Agincourt and deployed them as heavy infantry in large, unwieldy blocks, which were forced to move and fight as mere masses of humanity rather than as disciplined units. In *Agincourt*, we have introduced double-sized counters to reflect the clumsy French formations.

Facing deals with the general orientation of a unit (or stack of units) within the hex it occupies. The direction in which a unit is "faced" indicates the unit's general direction of march (for movement purposes). In general, all units on the map must be oriented in a single, unambiguous direction. Each unit must be oriented so that the front (top of the counter when placed right-side up) is facing toward either the two front hexes for a single counter unit or toward three front hexes for a double counter unit.





[5.21] During the Movement Phase, the Phasing Player may reorient (change the facing) of any Friendly single counter combat unit or leader within a given hex to any desired direction at a cost of one Movement Point.

[5.22] In moving a single-counter unit, the owning Player may move it to one of the two hexes it faces (only). A single counter unit may never be moved directly into a hex other than one of its front hexes. If such movement is desired the unit must first be reoriented in the hex it presently occupies so that it faces the desired direction of movement.

[5.23] During the Movement Phase, the Phasing Player may reorient a double counter unit 180° (reversing direction) within the two hexes it occupies at a cost of one Movement Point.

[5.24] A double counter unit may "pivot" its facing by having one half of the unit enter the hex directly in front of the center of the double counter unit. To do so, the entire unit must pay the cost of the terrain that the one half unit enters. ⟶

[5.25] As a double counter moves, it may enter only two of the three hexes it faces in front of that unit. A double counter unit may never be moved directly into any hex or hexes that are not among its three front hexes. If such movement is desired, the unit must be "pivoted" (turned) in the hexes it occupies, so that it faces the desired direction of movement.

[5.3] LINE MOVEMENT

Just as double-sized counters have been used to help reflect the clumsiness of the French formations at Agincourt, the rules concerning line movement are designed to further demonstrate the extreme crowding which in fact "backed up" the French forces into three columns when they attempted to attack the English men-at-arms.

[5.31] Until successful in battle, French combat units must be moved in lines (exception: Case 5.32). That is, all French combat units which begin the Movement Phase in the same vertical hexrow (e.g., hexrow 2200 which is the French first line in the historical scenario printed on the maps) must be moved individually, so that at the end of each Movement Impulse, each unit within the "line" has expended the same number of Movement Points. Such a unit may not be pivoted until that unit has destroyed an English unit in its path. Once a French combat unit has successfully eliminated an English unit, that unit may freely be pivoted and moved disregarding line movement restrictions for the remainder of the game.

[5.32] Any French unit which cannot be moved because it is blocked by an English unit (or by a French unit in turn blocked by an English unit) may expend as many Movement Points as the French Player desires during each Movement Segment. **Note:** This allows the French Player to move other (unblocked) units through gaps in the English line without violating line movement restrictions (see Case 5.31) because the blocked unit may "expend" an equal number of Movement Points as the other unit in its "line" which moves through a gap in the English line. Units which have been moved through gaps in the English line may freely be pivoted..

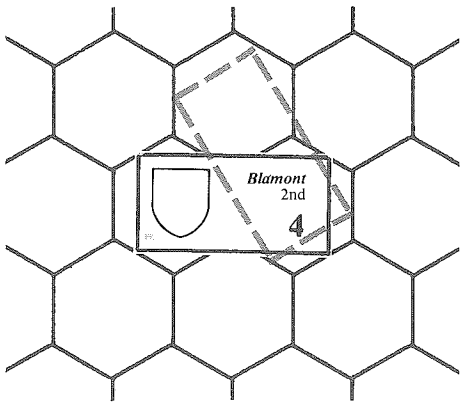
[5.33] A French unit must begin its Movement Phase "in line with" at least one other French unit to be subject to line movement rules. If a unit's path is blocked (if, for instance, it has been contacted by Friendly fugitives, or blocked by another unit) it may be forced to drop out of the line and hence would not be subject to the line movement restrictions of that line.

[5.4] LINE FORMATIONS

Combat units at Agincourt were organized into linear formations. When in close proximity, these formations would extend themselves to "link up" with each other to form a continuous line which could be penetrated only by elimination of a constituent unit.

[5.41] A unit may not be moved into a hex which is the only hex adjacent to two Enemy combat units. **Example:** A unit in hex 3023 could not be moved into hex 3123 if there were Enemy combat units in hexes 3122 and 3124.

[5.42] A unit may not be moved directly from one hex which is adjacent to two Enemy combat units which are not adjacent to each other, to another hex which is adjacent to both of those Enemy units. **Example:** A unit in hex 3023 could not be moved into hex 3123 if Enemy combat units were in hexes 3124 and 3022.



[5.43] Units may freely be moved into or through hexes which are adjacent to only one Enemy combat unit. Leaders, Fugitive markers, and Dead markers do not inhibit units from entering adjacent hexes.

[6.0] STACKING

CASES:

[6.1] STACKING LIMITATIONS

[6.11] The placement of more than one combat unit, leader, or informational counter in a hex is called *Stacking*. In *Agincourt* there is no stacking of combat units (men-at-arms, archers, and cavalry).

[6.12] A combat unit may not be moved through or into a hex containing another combat unit at any time.

[6.13] Leaders are not considered combat units and may be stacked freely with Friendly combat or archery units of their same contingent (color). There is no limit to the number of Friendly leaders that may be stacked in a hex. All English combat units and leaders are of the same contingent. The French are divided into two contingents: The Armagnacs and the Burgundians.

[6.14] Informational counters representing dead and fugitives may be stacked in hexes occupied by combat units and leaders.

[6.15] Two or more combat units may never occupy the same hex at any time during the game. Friendly combat units may enter and occupy a hex containing only Enemy fugitives and/or Enemy leaders and capture them.

[6.16] Friendly leaders may never be moved into a hex containing an Enemy combat unit.

[6.2] HOW STACKING AFFECTS MOVEMENT AND COMBAT

[6.21] There is never any additional Movement Point cost to stack or unstack combat units, leaders and informational markers within a given hex.

[6.22] Only a combat unit in a given hex is affected by melee and fire combat. Leaders and informational markers stacked with that combat unit are not affected.

[6.23] There may be more than one Friendly leader stacked in a hex with a Friendly combat unit. However, only one leader in the stack may engage in leader-to-leader combat during the Leader Combat Phase.

[7.0] TERRAIN EFFECTS ON MOVEMENT AND COMBAT

GENERAL RULE:

The terrain features printed on the map represent the physical characteristics of the Agincourt battlefield including the dwellings and castle of Agincourt and the roads, woods, and contour of the ground itself. These terrain features have various effects upon the movement and combat capabilities of combat units, leaders, and fugitives.

CASES:

[7.1] TERRAIN FEATURES

[7.11] All of the terrain features depicted on the map are identified on the terrain key (see map).

[7.12] There are two distinct types of hexes characterized by different terrain features: Clear terrain hexes and Woods hexes. A hex which is partially or totally green is a Woods hex. A hex which contains no Woods is a Clear terrain hex regardless of any terrain elevation differentiations.

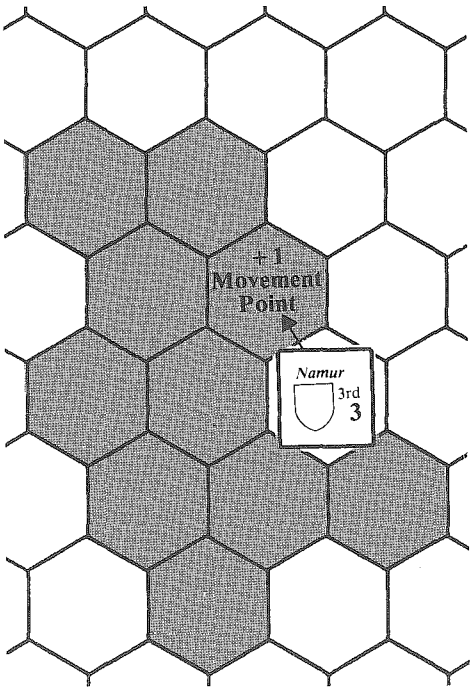
[7.13] To clarify the ground contour, terrain is divided into six distinct levels of elevation, each distinguished by a different shade of color. The edges which divide different levels of elevation are called contours. Each contour indicates a five-yard difference in ground elevation. **Note:** A hex is considered to consist *entirely* of the highest elevation represented in that hex.

[7.2] HOW TERRAIN AFFECTS MOVEMENT

[7.21] It costs ½ Movement Point to move a unit into a Clear terrain hex which is in a dry condition (the ground condition is listed in the individual Scenarios). If the field of battle is in a muddy condition, each Clear terrain hex costs 1 Movement Point to enter. If, in an individual Scenario, the condition on the field of battle is muddy, then all the Clear terrain hexes on the map are muddy.

[7.22] No unit may ever be moved into a Woods hex (Exception: see Scenario 20.4).

[7.23] One additional Movement Point must be expended to cross a contour hexside if, and only if, the unit is moving from a lower level of elevation to a higher level. If, for example, an entire (or one half of) a double-counter French was moved across a contour hexside from a lower to a higher elevation level, then one additional Movement Point from that double-counter's Movement Point Allowance would have to be expended. There is no additional Movement Point cost to move a unit (or ½ a double counter unit) across a contour hexside from a higher elevation level to a lower level.



[7.24] In the Scenarios where the condition of the field of battle is muddy, a unit does not have sufficient Movement Points to traverse an uphill contour hexside during any one Impulse (Exception: see Case 17.2, Cavalry Charges). In this case, in order to be moved across such a hexside, the unit must first stay in a hex adjacent to the uphill contour hexside for one complete Impulse. During a succeeding Impulse (or, if necessary, during a succeeding Impulse of a subsequent Game-Turn) the unit may traverse the contour hexside at a cost of its entire Impulse Movement Allowance.

[7.25] Roads have no effect on movement.

[7.26] Cavalry may not charge through a contour hexside from a higher to a lower elevation. Once a cavalry unit begins to charge, it may be moved across a contour hexside into a higher elevation but never into a lower elevation for the duration of the charge (see Case 17.24, Cavalry Charge).

[7.3] TERRAIN EFFECTS CHART

(see chart sheet)

[8.0] ARCHERY FIRE COMBAT

COMMENTARY:

Both sides had considerable numbers of archers at Agincourt, but the English bowmen were equipped with their natural weapon, the long-bow, and their training was superior to anything hitherto known. In contrast, the French bowmen were equipped either with crossbows (technically superior but of shorter range than the longbow) or the shortbow (a totally inadequate substitute) and their training was by no means comparable to that of the English. In *Agincourt*, an attempt has been made to enhance realism by having the archers fire during the Movement Phase rather than the Combat Phase of each Player-Turn. This was, in fact, the normal procedure: as the Enemy advanced, arrow volleys were released.

GENERAL RULE:

At the end of each Movement Impulse of the Movement and Archery Phases, the non-Phasing (non-moving) Player's units may fire volleys of arrows at Enemy combat units which are within range. The rate of fire and the arrow supply of the firing unit must be taken into account. Archers must be in the archer status (not the yeoman backprinted status) to fire. All archery fire is resolved using the Fire Combat Results Table.

PROCEDURE:

When archery fire occurs, each eligible unit fires separately, up to its rate of fire. However, all fire attacks must be allocated before any are resolved. To execute a fire attack, a Player must identify which of his units is firing, how many volleys it is firing, and which Enemy unit is the target. Once volleys have been allocated to a particular target, they cannot be withheld. To resolve fire, the Fire Combat Results Table is consulted with the range and number of volleys indexed on the correct Table, for the firing unit and target type (e.g., the longbow firing at cavalry table). Fire results affect the target unit immediately.

CASES:

[8.1] RESTRICTIONS ON FIRE COMBAT

[8.11] A unit is not required to fire (Exception: Case 8.15). A permissible fire attack is always executed at the option of the Player who controls the eligible fire unit.

[8.12] Only archer units which have not been moved during the previous Movement Phase are eligible to fire during the Movement and Archery Phase. Archer units which have been moved are flipped to the yeoman (backprinted) side to signify that they have been moved.

[8.13] Only the following units may fire:

1. English longbowmen
2. French crossbowmen
3. French shortbowmen

[8.14] A fire unit may not fire at more than one target unit during any one Impulse. Fire, once targeted, may not be changed. Each unit's fire is resolved on the Fire Combat Results Table (8.7).

[8.15] A non-Phasing archer unit may fire (up to its rate of fire, see Case 8.4, Rate of Fire) at the end of each Movement Impulse. If a Player fires any of his archer units during an Impulse, then he must fire of all his archer units that have an Enemy unit within range. Archer units may not fire except during non-Friendly Movement/Archery Phase.

[8.16] A unit may never fire at a target through a Woods hex (see Case 8.2, Line of Sight). It may fire over another Enemy or Friendly combat unit (Exception: crossbow units may never fire over another combat unit). However, the range column for the fire attack when firing over a unit is increased by one on the Fire Combat Results Table. If the range is two hexes and the range column is increased (by one) to three, the rate of fire is still that of a 2 hex range.

[8.17] If a French combat unit is in a hex which is adjacent to an English combat unit, then only the closest English archer unit may fire at that French combat unit. If more than one English archer unit is equidistant from the French combat unit, then they may all fire, within the restrictions of Case 8.18.

[8.18] More than one archer unit may fire at a target unit. However, each attack is resolved individually and treated as a separate attack. All fire combat attacks must be resolved before proceeding to the next Impulse.

[8.2] LINE OF SIGHT

Terrain may inhibit fire combat by blocking the "line of sight" between a firing unit and its target.

[8.21] A fire unit may never fire at a target unit it is unable to observe. To observe a target, a unit must be able to trace a Line of Sight from the center of the firing unit to the center of the target unit free of blocking terrain.

[8.22] If a Line of Sight passes along a hexside between two hexes one of which is blocking terrain, the Line of Sight is not blocked.

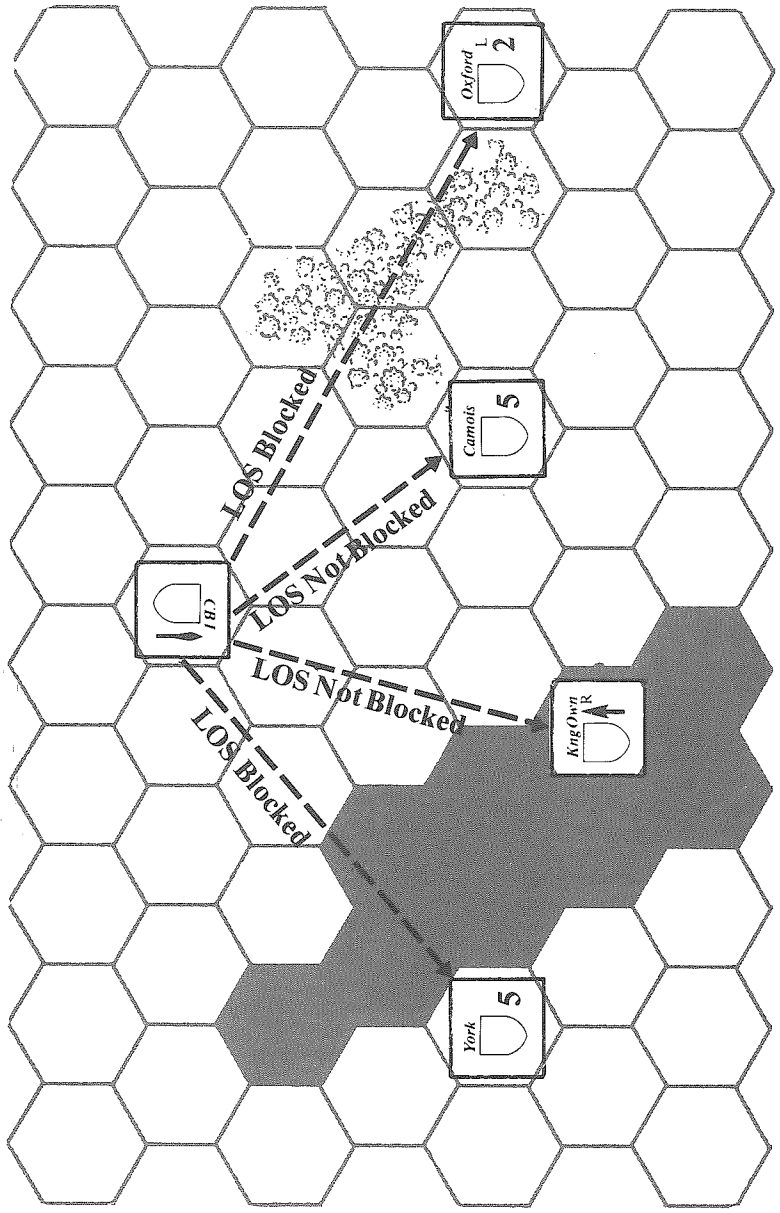
[8.23] Woods hexes always block Line of Sight regardless of the elevation of the target and firing unit.

[8.24] If the firing and target unit occupy hexes which are at the same level of elevation, and the Line of Sight traverses any hex which is on a higher elevation than either of the two units, the Line of Sight is blocked.

[8.25] If the two units occupy hexes on different levels of elevation, the Line of Sight is blocked if it traverses any hex which is on a higher elevation level than both of the units.

[8.3] EFFECTS OF FIRE COMBAT

Each combat unit in *Agincourt* is composed of a certain number of "lines." The number of lines a unit possesses is a measure of its durability ("staying power") in combat. Combat losses reduce the number of lines which a unit has. Note that as a unit loses lines it does not lose Melee Strength (a fresh line steps forward). The total line losses an



army incurs due to fire (and melee) combat are recorded on the army's Casualty Track which is printed on the map.

[8.31] Each arrow volley which is successful in hitting a target unit is called an Arrow Strike. For each Arrow Strike a target unit incurs (as noted on the Fire Combat Results Table), that unit loses one line.

[8.32] The numerical Arrow Strike results on the Fire Combat Results Table are the number of lines eliminated from the target unit (see Case 3.7, Glossary).

[8.33] The number of lines currently possessed by each unit is displayed on that unit's Line Strength Record Track, printed on the game-map. For each line loss (Arrow Strike) a target unit incurs, the number of lines of the target unit is reduced by one on that unit's Line Strength Record Track. On the Track, a marker is used to indicate the current Line Strength.

[8.34] Line losses result in fugitives and "dead." For each line loss a unit occurs, both a Dead marker and a Fugitive marker with a denomination equal to the number of line losses suffered is placed in the hex with the target unit. (For French double counters, a die is rolled to determine the side of the unit on which the counters are placed: 1-5 for the left side of the counter and 6-10 for the right.) If a Dead (or Fugitive) marker currently occupies the hex, the totals are combined and a Dead (or Fugitive) marker which is equal to the combined total is placed in the hex.

[8.35] When all of a unit's lines are eliminated, it is immediately removed from the map.

[8.36] A Player must immediately increase his army Casualty Level by one Point for each line eliminated by fire combat.

[8.4] RATE OF FIRE

[8.41] Archery units have a rate of fire determined by their bow-type. The rate of fire is the maximum number of volleys an individual unit may fire during one Impulse of a Movement and Archery Phase.

[8.42] English longbow units have a maximum rate of fire of 6 volleys per each (one minute) Impulse of the Movement/Archery Phase. French shortbow units have a maximum rate of fire of 4 volleys per Impulse, and French crossbows have a maximum rate of fire of 2 volleys per Impulse.

[8.43] At a range of one or two hexes, the maximum rate of fire of each archery unit is reduced by 50%. The maximum rate of fire for longbow, shortbow and crossbow units at this range is 3, 2, and 1, respectively.

[8.5] ARROW SUPPLY

The arrow supply in *Agincourt* is limited. The arrow supply for each archery unit is recorded on the Arrow Supply Track.

[8.51] Each archery unit expends one "volley" of arrows each time it fires, regardless of target range. Arrow supply for each unit is represented by an Arrow Supply marker which is placed on the unit's Arrow Supply Track.

[8.52] All archery units begin with an arrow supply of 24, which is reduced as arrows are expended, except for French crossbow units, whose ammunition is unlimited for game purposes. In addition, all English longbow units (except for the King's Own and the Royal Guards Archers, which were much smaller formations) have an additional 15 to 24 volleys. To determine the additional arrow supply, the die is rolled on the first Impulse after the first supply is spent, and that number is added to 15 to determine the additional supply. Once the second supply (or quiver) of a longbow unit is spent, the English Player may not roll again for that unit. All French shortbow units and the English King's Own and Royal Guards' Archers have no additional arrows.

[8.53] Arrow supply has no effect on Melee Strengths of English longbow units. French shortbow units which are out of arrows must immediately flee the field of battle in a northerly direction (as though routed) (see Case 11.21, Demoralization).

[8.6] ARROW RETRIEVAL

English longbow units may replenish their arrow supply by retrieving arrows during the English Movement and French Archery Phase.

[8.61] For each entire Impulse during which a longbow unit in yeoman status (see Section 15.0, Yeomen) remains stacked in a hex occupied by a French Dead marker (i.e., without being moved), that unit may retrieve 2 volleys. Yeoman may not retrieve arrows if 24 volleys are stored by the unit, i.e., no more than 24 volleys (one quiver) can be stored by a longbow unit for its arrow supply. If a longbow unit captures French fugitives, leaders, or melees with French units during that Impulse, it may not retrieve arrows.

[8.62] Only English longbow units may retrieve arrows, and only from French Dead markers. There is no limit to the number of arrows that may be retrieved from each French Dead marker. However, only the unit which retrieves the arrows may add them to its arrow supply; arrows may not be supplied to other units.

[8.7] FIRE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

(see chart sheet)

[9.0] MELEE COMBAT

GENERAL RULE:

Melee combat may occur only between opposing combat units which occupy adjacent hexes during the Melee Phase. A unit may never attack more than one Enemy combat unit during a Melee Phase. Melee combats may be initiated in any sequence the Phasing Player desires. Combat units must melee if they have sufficient Strength Points to attack, with the Phasing Player being considered the Attacker and the non-Phasing Player the Defender. A unit's Melee Strength is adjusted according to the Melee Adjustment Table (9.4). The following conditions are checked for when consulting the Melee Adjustment Table:

1. Presence of Friendly leaders and Dead in the hex
2. Number of Friendly units crowding the unit
3. Possibility of initial shock
4. The presence of stakes

PROCEDURE:

1. Total the Melee Strength Points of the attacking unit(s) adding and subtracting applicable Strength adjustments (including leaders) from the Melee Adjustment Table (9.4). Then total the Melee Strength Points for the defending unit in the same manner.

2. Subtract the Melee Strength total of the defending unit from the Melee Strength Total of the attacking unit(s). Locate the column corresponding to this differential at the top of the Melee Combat Results Table.

3. The attacking Player then locates the horizontal line on the Melee Combat Results Table corresponding to the Defensive Line Strength of the defending unit and determines the intersection of that line with the vertical column corresponding to the differential determined in step #2. Remember, a unit's Defensive Line Strength has no effect on its Melee Strength. For example, if a unit had lost two lines it would be on its third line and therefore its Defensive Line Strength would be 3. However, if that same unit were attacking during melee it would use its Melee Strength which is never affected by its Line Strength (a new line stepping forward would have the same strength as the last). The attacking Player now rolls the die. If the number rolled is equal to or less than the number indicated where the line and column intersect, the defending unit suffers a one line loss according to the explanation given in Case 8.34

CASES:

[9.1] HOW TO CALCULATE THE MELEE COMBAT STRENGTH DIFFERENTIAL

When determining the Melee Strength of a unit to determine the differential of a melee attack, the unit's Melee Strength is adjusted according to the Melee Adjustment Table (9.4).

[9.11] A leader may add its Leader Melee Rating to the unit's Melee Combat Strength. Only one leader's Melee Rating may be added to a combat unit regardless of how many Friendly leaders are present in the hex.

[9.12] The number of Dead of the same nationality (English or French) in a hex with a combat unit involved in a melee modifies the Combat Strength of that unit by reducing its Melee Strength by the number of Dead present ($\times 2$ Dead would be a -2 modifier).

[9.13] A combat unit may be *crowded* by other Friendly units(s) which modifies the Melee Strength of that unit. Crowding is defined as being adjacent to a Friendly unit. For each Friendly combat unit which is crowding a given combat unit, the Melee Combat Strength of the crowded unit is decreased by one up to a maximum of -3. A combat unit could be crowded by 4 or more combat units. However, the Combat Strength Modifier for crowding would still be -3. ⟶

[9.14] *Initial Shock* can modify a given unit's Melee Combat Strength by adding $+7$ to French double counters and English men-at-arms counters or $+4$ to French single combat counters and English yeomen (archers). To be eligible for an Initial Shock bonus, a unit must have moved during the immediately preceding Friendly Movement Phase. Initial Shock may be applied only to a unit's first melee attack during the game.

[9.15] If an English yeoman unit is behind a set of stakes and is not being attacked through a flank hexside (see Case 16.31 and 16.32), that yeoman's Melee Combat Strength is increased by $+1$.

[9.16] A unit's current Line Strength never affects that unit's basic Melee Combat Strength. For instance, a 7-line unit could have lost 6 lines, but its basic Melee Combat Strength would remain the same.

[9.17] If only one-half of a French "double-counter" unit is adjacent to an English unit, that French unit's Attack Strength is halved.

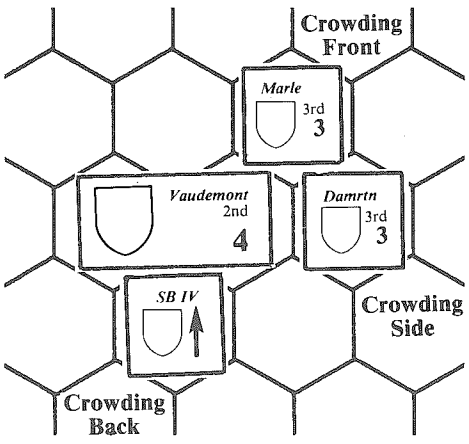
[9.18] If a French combat unit is adjacent to more than one English combat unit, it must melee attack one and only one of the adjacent units.

[9.2] RESOLVING MELEE COMBAT

[9.21] Combat units and leaders which become involved in melee combat (attacking or defending) may not be moved in ensuing Movement Phases until the unit or units with which they are meleeing are eliminated. Additional units may move adjacent and become involved in subsequent melee combat. However, once engaged in melee combat, these additional units may not be moved until the opposing unit(s) are eliminated.

[9.22] Defending units which have engaged in melee combat must be checked for morale during the ensuing Fatigue Morale Phase.

[9.23] If the combat differential is cross-indexed with the current defense's line strength, and a zero is the number which is referenced, then the die is not rolled (there is no chance of a loss due to melee). However, the defending unit must still check morale during the Fatigue Phase (it has been involved in melee). **Example:** During the French Melee Phase, the French Player wishes to execute a melee combat attack using the French "double counter" Orleans in its first attack and the leader Orleans against the English men-at-arms unit York. In addition, there is a $\times 2$ Dead marker in the hex occupied by the Orleans men-at-arms unit, and the leader York is in the hex occupied by the York men-at-arms unit. The Melee Strength of the Orleans combat unit (4), plus the Leader Melee Rating (4) of Orleans, plus (in this case) Initial Shock (7) and minus (2) for standing in a hex with the $\times 2$ Dead marker, would yield a modified Melee Combat Strength of $+13$. The modified Melee Combat Strength of the York unit would be 9 (5 for the unit and 4 for the leader). The English strength would then be subtracted from the French strength to yield to a combat differential of $+4$. This differential, when cross-referenced on the Melee Combat Results Table with York's current Defensive Line Strength of 4 (it is on its fourth line and has one line left), yields a casualty probability of 23%. The die is then rolled and a "17" is the result (see Case 3.8, Use of the Percentile Die). Thus, since the number rolled was equal to or less than the casualty probability, the English unit suffers a one line loss. The loss is recorded on the Line Strength Track of the unit and, since no lines remain, the unit would be removed from play.



Note: In addition, one Dead and one Fugitive marker would be placed in the hex to signify the line loss and the English Army Casualty Track total would be increased by one. The leader, York, would not be affected (see Case 12.32, Loss of Leaders).

[9.3] MELEE COMBAT RESTRICTIONS AND PROHIBITIONS

[9.31] A unit in a hex adjacent to a hex occupied by an Enemy unit is required to attack if it has a modified Melee Combat Strength of zero or higher.

[9.32] Only combat units may execute a melee attack. Leaders alone in a hex, artillery units, and informational markers are not eligible to make melee attacks.

[9.33] A combat unit may not execute more than one melee attack during a single Melee Combat Phase. A melee attack may not be made against more than one unit at a time.

[9.34] Terrain does not affect melee combat.

[9.35] Two or more units may combine their strengths (adjusted on the Melee Adjustment Table) to melee attack an adjacent defending unit. French double-size units which have only one-half (one hex) of the unit adjacent to the defending unit have their modified Melee Combat Strength halved when attacking.

[9.4] MELEE ADJUSTMENT SUMMARY

This Schedule Summary lists the various effects which adjust the Melee Strength of a unit involved in a melee (see chart sheet).

[9.5] MELEE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

(see chart sheet)

[10.0] UNIT MORALE

COMMENTARY:

Medieval armies, even at their best, were fundamentally different from professional forces. Thus, their morale was never very reliable. At Agincourt, the English, with a far more professional force than the French, had fewer morale problems in as much as defeat meant almost certain death or imprisonment.

GENERAL RULE:

During the Morale Phase of the Phasing Player's Game-Turn, the Phasing Player must check the morale of all of his combat units that (1) have not been moved during the previous movement phase and have been contacted by Friendly fugitives, (2) have been moved during this Game-Turn, or (3) are adjacent to Enemy combat units and have sufficient Strength Points to melee in this Game-Turn. A unit's morale is checked only once during the Morale Phase. That is, if a unit has both been moved and has sufficient Strength Points to melee in this Game-Turn, its morale would be checked once, not twice. In addition, a morale check must be made for all defending units which have been engaged in melee during the opposing Player's Melee Phase (whether or not they would have sufficient Strength Points to attack) during the Fatigue Morale Phase.

PROCEDURE:

1. Total the applicable Morale Points of a unit being checked for morale using the Morale Point Table (10.4).

2. The Player checking morale locates the horizontal line on the Morale Table (10.4) corresponding to the Morale Point total for the unit and traces a line across the Table to the right, stopping in the vertical column corresponding to the units' current line strength and type. The Player checking for morale now rolls the die. If the number rolled is equal to or less than the number indicated where the line and column intersect, the defending unit suffers a one-step morale loss according to the explanation given in Case 10.2.

CASES:

[10.1] RESOLVING UNIT MORALE CHECKS

[10.11] If the Morale Point total for a unit is in excess of 10 Points (which is the highest line on the Morale Table), the owning Player must roll more than once on the Table so that the Morale Point lines referenced total the number of Morale Points that unit must check for. **Example:** If the Morale Point total was 28, the owning Player would roll twice on the 10-line and once on the eight-line.

[10.12] Morale Point totals which exceed 10 are always resolved using the 10-column of the Morale Table first. **Example:** A Morale Point total of 14 would be resolved by rolling once on the 10-line and once on the four-line. (Two rolls on the 7 line — 7 + 7 = 14 — would not be permitted.)

[10.2] APPLYING UNIT MORALE CHECKS

[10.21] Whenever a unit takes a morale step loss, a Fugitive marker is placed on the unit, and the unit's Line Strength is reduced by one on the Line Strength Track. Dead markers are not created by unit morale step losses.

[10.22] A one-line loss and a Fugitive may be created for each roll of the die during a Morale Phase. For instance, a 28 Morale Point total (broken down to two rolls of 10 and one of eight) could possibly create three line losses to a unit as well as a × 3 Fugitve marker.

[10.3] DEATH OF KING HENRY V

If King Henry V is captured by a French combat unit or during leader-to-leader combat, his capture may affect unit morale. On the English Morale Phase following the capture of King Henry V, all English combat units within three hexes of his hex of capture must check unit morale (see the Morale Point Table, 10.4). On the second English Morale Phase following the capture of King Henry V, all English units which are four, five, or six hexes away from the hex in which the King was captured must check for unit morale. On the third English Morale Phase following the King's capture, combat units which are seven to nine hexes away must check for unit morale. And on the fourth Game-Turn following the King's demise, all English units which are 10 or more hexes away from the hex in which King Henry V was captured must check unit morale.

[10.4] UNIT MORALE TABLE
(see chart sheet)

[10.5] MORALE POINT SCHEDULE

The Morale Point Schedule lists the applicable morale points which may apply to a combat unit when checking unit morale (see chart sheet).

[11.0] ARMY MORALE

COMMENTARY:

At Agincourt the French broke when they still actually outnumbered the English. This was due to the steady drain on their morale resources through the morning. Army morale is the means by which this steady erosion of French morale — or indeed, English — may reach the point where an entire army will rout.

GENERAL RULE:

Army morale is a cumulative measure of the endurance of each army to continue battle and is a basic determinant of victory for each Scenario. Each fifth Game-Turn, each army must undergo an army morale check. To check army morale, a Player first consults the Army Casualty Track to determine the number of line step losses his army has suffered due to archery fire and melee combat. The Army Morale Table is then consulted (using the number of casualties under the appropriate column) to yield the probability of that army being demoralized. The die is rolled and if the number is equal to or less than that probability, the entire army is demoralized as outlined in Case 11.2.

CASES:

[11.1] ARMY CASUALTY TRACKS

Both Players record the number of line step losses each army suffers due to archery fire and melee combat during the game (in other words, each time a Dead marker is placed on the map or increased, the number of line losses is recorded on the Army Casualty Track). At the beginning of the game, both Players place spare Dead markers on their Army Casualty Track in the spaces marked "0" and "00". The position of the markers should be adjusted throughout the play of the game at the instant each casualty is taken. Army casualty levels are cumulative, with casualties added to the previous total during each Game-Turn. All Scenarios begin with both armies' casualties at zero.

Remember: Only line step losses due to archery fire and melee combat (which create Dead) are recorded as casualties. Line step losses due to unit morale checks (which only create Fugitives and do not create Dead) are not considered casualties and are not recorded on the Army Casualty Tracks.

[11.2] DEMORALIZATION

[11.21] If a morale check reveals that an army is demoralized, then during all subsequent Movement Phases the combat units of the demoralized army are routed (Exception: see Case 11.22). Routed units must be moved directly away from Enemy units in the shortest path towards either the north map edge (for the French) or towards the south map edge (for the English), unless they are rallied (see Case 11.23). If a routed unit cannot be moved without moving into a woods hex or a hex occupied by a combat unit (Enemy or Friendly), then the unit remains in place.

[11.22] A combat unit which is stacked with a leader who is able to command that unit (see Case 12.1, Leadership Ability) is not routed if its army suffers demoralization. A unit which is *in command* may freely move and is not affected by the loss of army morale until such time that no leader capable of commanding that unit is stacked with that unit. If no leader is capable of commanding the unit, that unit is immediately routed and is subject to the conditions of Case 11.21.

[11.23] A routed combat unit may be rallied if, during the Movement Segment, a leader capable of commanding that unit moves onto (and remains stacked with) that unit.

[11.3] ARMY MORALE TABLE

The Army Morale Table lists the probabilities that an army will be demoralized (see chart sheet).

[12.0] LEADERS

GENERAL RULE:

Various historical leaders of the French and English armies have been provided with the game. Leaders influence melee combat resolution and determine whether or not a unit routs or is rallied if the entire army is demoralized. Leaders have two ratings:

1. A Leadership Melee Rating which can be used to augment the Melee Strength of a particular unit and is the Leader's Strength Value during leader-to-leader combat.

2. A Ransom Value which determines a leader's Victory Point Value if captured.

Each counter represents a historical leader of a French contingent or a leader of the English army. In order for a French leader to affect the combat ability of a French combat unit or command a unit if the army is demoralized, the leader must belong to the same contingent — Armagnac (blue type of counter) or Burgundian (black type on counter) — as the combat unit except for three French leaders who may command both contingents (see Case 12.13). Leaders may also prevent a unit from routing when an army is demoralized (see Case 11.22, Demoralization).

CASES:

[12.1] LEADERSHIP ABILITY

[12.11] An English leader may apply his leadership abilities (Melee Rating and his ability to prevent units from routing) to any English unit with which he is stacked.

[12.12] Any French leader except for Constable, Marshal, and Admiral who is stacked in the same hex as a combat unit, and is of the same contingent (color) as the combat unit, may apply his leadership abilities to that unit.

[12.13] The French leaders Constable, Marshal, and Admiral can apply their leadership to any French combat unit in the same hex regardless of their contingent.

[12.2] LEADERSHIP MELEE RATING

If a French combat unit is in the same hex as a leader of its contingent, or an English combat unit is in the same hex as an English leader, that unit may benefit from that leader's Melee Rating.

[12.21] A combat unit may benefit from a Leader melee Rating whenever involved in a melee combat, either for attack or defense.

[12.22] The effect of the Leader Melee Rating is to increase the melee strength of the leader-augmented combat unit by an amount equal to the Leader Melee Rating.

[12.23] A Player may never apply a Leader Melee Rating to the leader itself if it is alone in a hex. A hex containing only a leader(s) may be entered or passed through by an Enemy combat unit, in which case the leader(s) is captured and removed from the map.

[12.24] Only one leader's Melee Rating may be applied to a combat unit in a given melee.
more than one leader is stacked with the unit.

[12.3] LOSS OF LEADERS

[12.31] A leader is never affected by fire combat and is not affected *per se* by melee combat, whether or not it is stacked with a Friendly combat unit.

[12.32] If, during fire or melee combat, a leader is stacked with a combat unit which is eliminated,

that leader remains stationary until it retreats automatically with the created Fugitives beginning with the next Fugitive Movement Phase.

[12.33] A leader which is retreating with Friendly Fugitives (Case 14.2, Movement of Fugitives) during the Fugitive Movement Phase (he may not be moved during the Movement Phase) continues to retreat (off the map if necessary) unless, at the beginning of a Fugitive Movement Phase, he is stacked with a Friendly combat unit which he may command (Case 12.1, Leadership Ability). In this case, Fugitives are retreated away on their own, subject to Case 14.2, and the owning Player is free to move the leader as he chooses.

[12.34] Leaders which retreat off the map edge are not considered captured for victory purposes and may not be returned to play.

[12.35] If an Enemy combat unit enters a hex containing a leader, that leader is considered captured and is immediately removed from play. Leaders may also be lost during leader-to-leader combat (Section 13.0). Fugitives (Enemy or Friendly) may freely move through leaders and have no effect on them.

[13.0] LEADER COMBAT

COMMENTARY:

With the rigid class system which characterized feudalism, combat between prominent individuals of opposing armies was quite common and considered rather sacred. Individuals would challenge each other on a field of battle, and to refuse meant disgrace. When two knights fought on such terms, no one was likely to interfere. Often the outcome of such single combats could have serious effects on morale.

GENERAL RULE:

During the Leader Combat Phase, opposing leaders which occupy adjacent hexes and are stacked with combat units of their contingent may engage in leader combat. All leaders begin each leader combat with a strength equal to their Melee Rating. During leader combat, both leaders engage in five individual *Rounds* during which time their strength may be reduced. If a leader's strength is reduced to zero, the leader is captured and removed from the map. Leaders may be engaged in only one leader combat per Leader Combat Phase.

PROCEDURE:

1. Determine which leader has the greater strength; this leader is termed the *Superior Attacker* (see Case 13.12 if both strengths are the same).

2. Both Players then choose the manner of attack, selecting one of six options on the Leader Combat chart (13.3), and reveal their selections simultaneously.

3. The manner of attack chosen by each Player is then cross-referenced on the Leader Combat Chart, with the superior Attacker using the appropriate vertical column. The indexing of both Player's manner of attack will yield a series of three numbers. The die is rolled and the Superior, the Inferior, both, or neither leader's strength is reduced by one.

4. This leader combat (step 1 through 3) is repeated five times or until one leader (or both) are captured, whichever occurs first.

5. If both leaders sustain a captured result in some round, both leaders advance into "Sudden Death" round with both leaders considered to be of equal strength. Only one leader may be captured. If the result occurs that both leaders are captured, another "Sudden Death" round commences.

CASES:

[13.1] RESOLVING LEADER COMBAT

[13.11] Only one leader per hex may engage in leader combat. If more than one leader is present in a hex with a Friendly combat unit, the leader with the highest strength is used. (If two leaders are of the same strength the Phasing Player selects which one he wishes to engage in leader combat.)

[13.12] If both opposing leaders are of the same strength, the manner of attack is selected once. However, the die is rolled twice with each player cross-referencing his manner of attack once from the superior position.

[13.13] The six manners of attack which determine the probability of Strength loss are:

Advancing Attacking	0
Advancing Parrying	1
Standing Attacking	2
Standing Parrying	3
Retiring Attacking	4
Retiring Parrying	5

The manner of attack is chosen simultaneously by both Players in one of the two following manners:

1. Each Player writes down his choice (by name or number) on a piece of paper

2. Both Players simultaneously display (as in choosing up "odds or evens") a number of fingers corresponding to the manner of attack they have selected (the number zero being represented by a closed fist). **Note:** This method of selection is much more spontaneous and convenient.

[13.14] If a leader is not captured during leader combat, his strength in subsequent leader combats returns to full strength. A leader may engage in any number of leader combats and be returned to his full strength provided he is not captured.

[13.2] EXPLANATION OF LEADER COMBAT RESULTS

[13.21] Cross-referencing both Players' manner of attack yields a "box" with three ranges of numbers as follows:

SUPERIOR	01...35
BOTH	36...45
INFERIOR	46...90

- If the result lies between the numbers in the top line (inclusive), the Superior leader's strength is reduced by one.
- If the result lies between the numbers in the middle line, both leaders' strengths are reduced by one.
- If the result lies between the numbers in the bottom line, the Inferior leader's strength is reduced by one.

Thus in the above example on a die roll of 1-35 the Superior leader's strength is reduced by one, on a 36-45 both leaders' strengths are reduced by one, and on a roll of 46-90 the Inferior leader's strength is reduced by one. If the number rolled is 91-100 (00) neither leader is affected.

[13.22] If the die roll falls within a range which is marked "(c)", the leader to whom the die roll corresponds is automatically captured and removed from play, regardless of his remaining Melee strength.

[13.3] LEADER COMBAT TABLE

(see chart sheet)

[14.0] FUGITIVES

CASES:

[14.1] CREATION OF FUGITIVES

Military units, when they disintegrate, do not vanish from the field. Survivors remain and may often have important effects on the subsequent course of the battle. In *Agincourt* the Fugitive rules provide this element.

[14.11] Whenever a combat unit suffers a line loss due to fire combat, melee combat, or a morale check, a Fugitive marker in a denomination equal to the number of line losses suffered is placed in the hex with that combat unit.

[14.12] If a Fugitive marker is to be placed on a double-counter French combat unit, then the die is rolled to determine in which of the two hexes it is placed. On a die roll of 1-5, it is placed on the left side of the counter and on a 6-10, on the right.

[14.13] If a Fugitive marker already occupies the hex in which the new Fugitive marker is to be placed, the values of the two Fugitve markers are added together and one Fugitive marker of the combined denomination is substituted. **Example:** If a combat unit suffered a two-line loss from archery fire a $\times 2$ Fugitive marker would be placed with the unit. If that same unit suffered a one-line loss due to melee during the same Game-Turn, the $\times 2$ marker would be removed and would be replaced with a $\times 3$ Fugitive marker ($\times 1 + \times 2 = \times 3$).

[14.2] MOVEMENT OF FUGITIVES

[14.21] At the beginning of the Fugitive Movement Phase, the Phasing Player determines the direction in which Fugitive markers created in the last Game-Turn move (Cases 14.23 and 14.24). He also determines the new direction of fugitive markers which have "run into" Friendly combat units during the previous Game-Turn (see Case 14.25). All other Fugitive markers are moved in the same direction as in the previous Game-Turn (Exceptions: Cases 14.26 and 14.27).

[14.22] French Fugitve markers must always be moved in a northerly direction. To determine their direction of movement a die is rolled. On a roll of 1-5 they are moved in a north*easterly* direction; on a roll of 6-10, a north*westerly* direction.

[14.23] English Fugitive markers must always be moved in a southerly direction. As with the French Fugitive markers, a die is rolled to determine their direction of movement. On a die roll of 1-5 they are moved in a southeasterly direction; on a roll of 6-10, in a southwesterly direction.

[14.24] Once a Fugitive marker's direction of movement is determined and the marker is faced in that direction, it is moved its entire Movement Allowance in each Movement Phase (see Cases 14.26, 14.27, and 14.28).

[14.25] If a Fugitive marker is moved into a hex containing a Friendly combat unit, it is moved no further during that Fugitive Movement Phase. During the following Movement and Archery Phase, the combat unit which was "run into" by the Fugitive marker must remain in place. It may not be moved until the next Game-turn. Once a Fugitive marker has been moved into a hex containing a Friendly combat unit, the die must be rolled again (during the next Fugitive Movement Phase) to determine its direction for further movement.

[14.26] Fugitives may not be moved into Woods hexes. If the direction of their movement would force them into a Woods hex, then their direction of movement is deflected, with fugitives moving in an easterly direction changing their direction to move in a westerly direction and vice-versa. For

example, if a French Fugitive in hex 2626 was moving in a northwesterly direction, it would "bounce" off the Woods and proceed to move in a northwesterly direction into hexes 2526, 2425, etc., rather than moving into hex 2527, a Woods hex.

[14.27] Fugitive markers which are moved into a hex occupied by an Enemy combat unit are captured and are removed from play.

[14.28] Fugitive markers may be captured by Enemy combat units during the (Enemy) Movement Phase. To capture a Fugitive, a unit must begin a Movement Impulse stacked with a Fugitive marker, and remain in the hex for one complete Impulse, at which time the Fugitive marker is removed from play.

[15.0] YEOMEN

COMMENTARY:

In addition to being bowmen, archers were also light infantry, trained to take part in the melee under certain circumstances. The English bowmen were quite good at this, having had considerable experience. Others were not so good.

GENERAL RULE:

English longbow units are printed on both sides with one side representing archer status and one side yeoman status. The yeoman status of an archer unit indicates that the archers have "stowed" their bows and drawn a personal side weapon such as a sword, mallet, or axe. Archer units may freely be changed between their archer to yeoman status at the beginning of the Friendly Movement Phase, and they must be immediately changed from archer to yeoman status if melee attacked. French archers have no Melee Strength and defend at a Melee Strength of one. If melee attacked, they become fugitives during the succeeding Fugitive Movement Segment. Archers in yeoman status have a Movement Allowance and may be moved during the Phasing Player's Movement Phase. English yeomen may also be employed in one of four functions during a Movement Impulse:

1. They may be moved, during which time they may capture leaders and/or carry stakes (see Section 16.0, Stakes)
2. They may retrieve arows
3. They may capture Fugitives
4. They may implant or remove stakes

French yeomen may only move and/or capture leaders during their Movement Phase. Yeomen are treated as melee combat units for all purposes until they are changed back to their archer status. However, while in yeoman status they may not fire during the Archery Phase. Archers in the archer status may fire but they may not be moved. Archers in the archer status may not melee offensively. However, if they are melee attacked (which requires that they revert to the yeoman status), they may melee during their Friendly Melee Phase.

[16.0] STAKES

GENERAL RULE:

Eight of the 10 English archer units are supplied with stakes counters. These stakes, once implanted, provide protection for archers stacked in the hex with them. Stakes may be implanted or removed any at time during the game.

CASES:

[16.1] REMOVING STAKES

[16.11] English yeoman units which begin a Movement Phase stacked in a hex with an implanted stake counter may remove the stakes by expending their entire Movement Allowance for that Movement Phase (i.e., they must remain in the hex for the three Impulses of one Friendly Movement Phase).

[16.12] A removed stake counter is flipped to its "carried stakes" side. The counter may then be freely moved ("carried") by a yeoman during subsequent Movement Phases at no additional movement cost. A French combat unit entering a hex containing stakes is immediately eliminated.

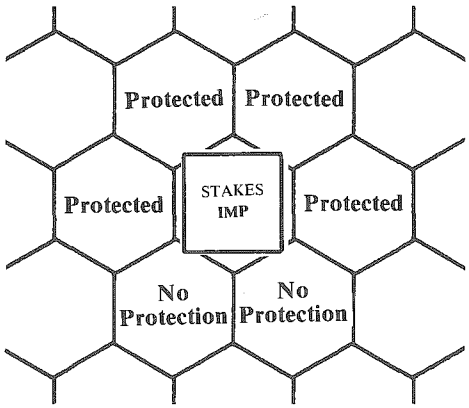
[16.2] IMPLANTING STAKES

[16.21] English Yeomen who are carrying stakes may implant them during a Movement Phase.

[16.22] To implant stakes, a yeoman which is carrying them must remain in a hex for three consecutive impulses (which extend over two Game-Turns), at which time the stake counter is flipped to its implanted status.

[16.3] FACING AND THE EFFECTS OF STAKES

[16.31] Stakes, when implanted, have a specific "facing" which protects English yeoman/archer units during the Melee Phase. Only English yeoman/archers (longbowmen) may benefit from implanted stakes. The "facing" (which is selected by the English Player when the stakes are implanted) protects a yeoman/archer unit from melee attacks from 4 of the 6 hexsides that surround the hex. Unprotected staked hexsides have no effect on play whatsoever.



[16.32] French men-at-arms units may not attack English yeoman/archer units through a protected stake hexside. (Men-at-arms units were made up largely of nobles and knights who thought it beneath them to attack a fighting force of commoners.)

[16.33] French cavalry units which attack English yeoman/archers through a protected stake hexside are affected when checking for unit morale (see Morale Point Table, 10.3) and in melee (see Melee Adjustment Table, 9.4).

[17.0] CAVALRY

CASES:

[17.1] CAVALRY MELEE AND MOVEMENT RATINGS

[17.11] Each cavalry counter is backprinted. Printed on the front side of each counter is the Melee Combat Strength for that cavalry unit when it is moving and attacking normally. Printed on the back side is the Melee Combat Strength for that cavalry unit if it is engaged in a charge.

[17.12] Cavalry counters are deployed with their normal (front) rating showing. At the beginning of any Movement Phase, cavalry counters may be flipped to their charging (back) rating, in which case the charging Melee Strength and Movement Allowance are utilized under the conditions of Case 17.2. Cavalry counters may be "flipped" back to the normal rating at the beginning of any subsequent Friendly Movement Phase.

[17.2] CAVALRY CHARGE

[17.21] Cavalry units may charge (using their higher Melee Strength and Movement Allowance) during a Game-Turn if their counter has been "flipped" to the charge status at the beginning of the Movement Phase, or if the cavalry unit which the Phasing Player wishes to charge has remained in the charge status since a previous Game-Turn.

[17.22] If a unit is used in a charge, it must be moved its entire Movement Allowance, with one exception: a charging cavalry unit which charges into an enemy unit does not have to expend its entire Movement Allowance. However, that cavalry unit must move at least one hex during is Movement Phase.

[17.23] Once a cavalry unit begins to charge it may not charge (or use its charge rating) for more than two consecutive Movement Phases. After a cavalry unit has "charged," if it charged for two Game-Turns, it must wait for two Game-Turns before charging again. If it charged for one Game-Turn, it must wait for one Game-turn.

[17.24] The path of a unit charge may not turn or cross a contour hexside into a lower terrain elevation. Charging cavalry may charge across a contour hexside into a higher elevation, however.

[17.25] Each time a cavalry unit charges into a hex containing a Dead marker during a Movement Impulse, the owning Player must check that cavalry unit for morale at the end of the Impulse. (This morale check is in addition to the other morale checks that must be made for that unit.)

[17.26] A charging cavalry unit must charge in a straight line (i.e., it may not pivot).

[17.27] Cavalry units may not charge through hexes containing Fugitive markers (Enemy or Friendly).

[18.0] *FAIT DU MORT* (Suicide Squad)

COMMENTARY:

The French organized a group of knights whose sole and fanatical purpose was to kill King Henry V.

GENERAL RULE:

Included in the countermix is a single counter representing the French suicide squad. This unit is treated exactly as a leader for all purposes except that its Melee Rating may not modify the Combat Strength of units during melee. The first French combat unit which is moved into a hex adjacent to the hex occupied by King Henry automatically receives the suicide squad, which is then placed in the hex with that unit. The *Fait du Mort* may then engage in leader-to-leader combat with King Henry in any subsequent Leader Combat Phase. The *Fait du Mort* may be freely stacked with French combat units of either the Burgundian or Armangac contingents.

[19.0] FRENCH ARTILLERY BATTERY (Optional Rule)

COMMENTARY:

The French had some cannon at Agincourt — probably great bombards. But there is little evidence that they were actuallly used aside from a notation to the effect that a single archer was killed by a cannon ball. Nevertheless, the effect of their presence was marginal, so they are included only as an option.

GENERAL RULE:

The French artillery battery may fire up to a range of 12 hexes at English combat units. Once deployed (see Section 20.0, The Scenarios) it may not move and is treated as a fire (archery) unit for all purposes except that the unit may never fire over an intervening combat unit (Enemy or Friendly). It may be fired at the end of the French archery phase. Once fired, it may be fired every sixth Game-Turn thereafter (i.e., if it were fired on Game-Turn One, it could not be fired again until Game-Turn Seven).

To Fire, the target is designated and the die is rolled. If the result is equal to or less than 6%, the target unit is hit and suffers a one-line strength loss.

[20.0] THE SCENARIOS

COMMENTARY:

Agincourt is presented in a series of four distinct Scenarios, each of which can be played as a separate game. We recommend that Players use the Historical Scenario (20.1) to gain a basic familiarity with the game system. This Scenario programs the historical mistakes that were made into the French army's movement and provides an almost historical clockwork representation of the course of events and dynamics of the battlefield, thus providing an enlightening two-Player or solitaire, English Player game.

The second Scenario, the French Free Deployment (20.2), explores the options available to the French had they used their forces intelligently and waited another day for the battlefield to dry out from the rainstorm of the night before.

English Attack Scenario, or King Harry's Folly (20.3), examines the situation had the English attacked or been forced to attack the French. This Scenario examines the possible situation had the French been content to blockade the English facing them with starvation. Both this Scenario and the French Free-Deployment Scenario are tensely balanced and provide both Players a chance to decisively defeat his opponent.

The Open Field of Battle Scenario (20.4) explores what might have happened had the French attacked two days before (when they were drawn up in full battle array just south of the actual battlefield), without granting the English request for the choice of the battlefield (which gave the English the protection of the two flanking woods of Agincourt and Tramcourt).

GENERAL RULE:

Each Scenario represents a distinct game possessing special rules governing the length, deployment, and victory conditions applicable to the situation it simulates. The initial deployments are printed on the map or stated in the Scenario rules. All units are deployed at their original maximum strength and arrow supply. Line Strength markers are placed at full strength (i.e., 7 lines exist in each French front line "battle") on each unit's Line Strength Record Track. All archer Arrow Supply markers are placed at 24 on the Arrow supply Tracks. (The English have a left and right Arrow Supply Track, for units in either portion of the English line, for easier reference.) All Casualty markers begin each Scenario at zero. All Scenarios begin on Game-Turn One (11.30 A.M.). The stacking rules must be observed in the initial deployment. All units are deployed on the map; there are no reinforcements in any Scenario.

To determine the level of Victory in a given scenario, total both the English and French Victory Totals and express them as a ratio of English to French points, using the following ratings.

Decisive English Victory — 2 or greater: 1
Substantial English Victory — 1.75:1 to 1.99:1
Marginal English Victory — 1.5:1 to 1.74:1
Draw — 1.25:1 to 1.49:1
Marginal French Victory — 1.00:1 to 1.24:1
Substantial French Victory — 0.75:1 to 0.99:1
Decisive French Victory — 0.74 or less:1

CASES:

[20.1] AGINCOURT HISTORICAL SCENARIO (Suitable for Solitaire Play)

[20.11] Scenario Length

The Scenario ends at the end of the first Game-Turn following either army's demoralization.

[20.12] Initial Deployment

French: All French units are deployed according to the inital deployments on the map. All French leaders are deployed on top of their appropriate combat unit (signified by a leader flag). The *Fait du Mort* unit is placed aside and deployed according to Section 18.0.

English: All English units are deployed according to the initial deployments on the map (the English second position). All English leaders are deployed on top of their appropriate combat unit (signified by a leader flag). Stake markers are placed on top of each longbow unit with the exception of the King's Own and the Royal Archers units.

[20.13] Special Rules

A. All units must be deployed exactly according to the initial historical set-up.

B. The ground is muddy. The Movement Point cost of each clear terrain hex is one.

C. Before the first French Player-turn begins, the English longbows which are within range of the French cavalry must fire at least one volley at both French front line cavalry units (as historically happened, triggering a French charge).

D. During the first French Player-Turn, the front line French cavalry — and only the French cavalry — may be moved. It must charge at its full Movement Allowance, toward the English line (in the Impulses as outlined in the movement rules). On the next Game-Turn, the French cavalry must continue to charge, and the French front line must move forward. On the third Game-Turn, the French archers must move forward. On the fourth Game-turn the French second line must move forward.

E. Once a French unit has begun to advance, it must be moved forward towards the English line at its full Movement Allowance continuously in accord with the rules governing movement, with the following exceptions: French archers are never forced to crowd with other French units (they may move laterally in that situation), and French archers which are within shortbow or crossbow range of an English unit may stand and fire instead of moving forward.

F. French archers which must be checked for morale at the end of the Movement Phase (if there are enough Morale Points present so that there is the possibility the archer unit will take a step loss) retreat from the battle as per the Fugitive rules (Case 14.2, Movement of Fugitives) beginning with the subsequent French Fugitive Movement Phase.

G. When playing this scenario solitaire, the leader to leader combat is resolved as follows: First the English Leader's Attack Posture is chosen, then the French Leader's Attack Posture is chosen at random using a six sided die with the number six representing the Advancing Attacking manner of attack (0).

[20.14] Victory Conditions

French Victory Points

1. The French Player (or the French Force when playing solitaire) receives 7 Victory Points for each English line step loss (including line step losses due to Morale).

2. The French Player receives Victory Points equaling 4 times the Ransom value of each English Leader captured.

3. The French Player receives 2 Victory Points for each point of English Fugitives Captured.

English Victory Points (see 20.24)

[20.2] FRENCH FREE DEPLOYMENT SCENARIO

[20.21] Scenario Length

The Scenario ends at the end of the first Game-turn following either army's demoralization.

[20.22] Initial Deployment

French: All French units may be deployed freely within the original deployment area behind the French front line. They cannot set up closer to the English than the French front-line (front-line cavalry included) of the historic Scenario printed on the map. French leaders may be deployed on top of any combat unit providing that the leader is of the same contingent (color) as the unit. The *Fait du Mort* unit placed aside and deployed according to Section 18.0.

English: All English units are deployed according to the initial deployments on the map (the English second position). All English leaders are deployed on top of their appropriate combat units (signified by leader flags). Stakes are placed on top of each longbow unit with the exception of the King's Own and the Royal Archer's units.

[20.23] Special Rules

A. The ground is dry. The Movement Point cost of each clear terrain hex is one-half. Units may not enter Woods hexes.

B. French units must be deployed in lines of at least 4 units. There is no specific Game-Turn on which each French line has to be moved. However, units in lines must be moved under the restriction of the line movement rules (Case 5.3).

C. A French combat unit must be moved at its full Movement Allowance each Game-Turn, if it begins its Movement Phase within the range of an English longbow unit. **Exceptions:** French archers which are within shortbow or crossbow range of an English unit may stand and fire instead of moving forward.

[20.24] Victory Conditions

French Victory Points

1. The French Player (or the French Force when playing solitaire) receives 4 Victory Points for each English line step loss (including line step losses due to Morale).

2. The French Player receives Victory Points equaling 4 times the Ransom value of each English Leader captured.

3. The French Player receives 2 Victory Points for each point of English Fugitives Captured.

English Victory Points

1. 1 Victory Point for each French Casualty point (as recorded on the Army Casualty Track).

2. 1 Victory Point for each point of Ransom value of each French Leader captured.

3. 1 Victory Point for each point of French Fugitives captured.

[20.3] KING HARRY'S FOLLY

[20.31] Scenario Length

The Scenario ends at the end of the fourth Game-Turn, following either army's demoralization.

[20.32] Initial Deployment

French: All French units may be deployed freely within the original deployment area behind the French front line. They cannot set up closer to the English than the French front-line (front-line cavalry included) of the historical Scenario printed on the map. French leaders may be deployed on top of any combat unit providing that the leader is of the same contingent (color) as the unit. The *Fait du Mort* unit is placed aside and deployed according to Section 18.0 No French archers may be deployed in the front line.

English: All English units are deployed according to the initial deployment on the map (the English second position). All English leaders are deployed on top of their appropriate combat units (signified by leader flags). English yeomen have no stakes for this Scenario.

[20.33] Special Rules

A. The ground is muddy. The Movement Point cost of each Clear terrain hex is one.

B. French units may not be moved until fired on by English Longbow units. (Exception: see Case D).

C. Once a combat unit has been fired at, it must expend its full Movement Allowance and move toward the English line.

D. Each time a French unit is eliminated, one French unit which has not been fired upon at that point in the game may be moved freely during succeeding game-turns.

E. In a given Game-Turn, if a French combat unit is hit by arrows, it must check for morale in the Morale Phase (if there are sufficient Points for there to be a chance of the unit suffering morale losses).

F. After 30 Casualty Points have been marked on the French Casualty Track, all of the French combat units are mobilized. They may move forward at the French Player's discretion and may attack the English.

[20.34] Victory Conditions

French Victory Points

1. The French Player receives 2 Victory Points for each English line step loss (including line step losses due to Morale).

2. The French Player receives Victory Points equaling 2 times the Ransom value of each English Leader captured.

3. The French Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of English Fugitives captured.

English Victory Points

1. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each French Casualty Point (as recorded on the Army Casualty Track).

2. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of Ransom value of each French Leader captured.

3. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of French Fugitives captured.

4. The English Player receives 4 Victory Points for each English Unit exited off the North map-edge.

[20.4] OPEN FIELD OF BATTLE

[20.41] Scenario Length

The Scenario ends at the end of the first Game-Turn following either army's demoralization.

[20.42] Initial Deployment

The Initial Deployment is identical to the deployment listed under 20.22.

[20.43] Special Rules

The Special Rules are identical to the rules listed under 20.23 with the following addition:

D. All woods hexes onthe map are treated as clear terrain and terrain elevations are not considered to exist for this scenario.

E. All units in this scenario are subject to case 5.3 Line Movement. However, they may be pivoted freely once they have passed a horizontal hexrow containing an English unit (i.e., the 29xx hexrow).

[20.44] Victory Conditions

French Victory Points

1. The French Player receives 2 Victory Points for each English line step loss (including line step losses due to Morale).

2. The French Player receives Victory Points equaling 2 times the Ransom value of each English Leader captured.

3. The French Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of English Fugitives captured.

English Victory Points

1. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each French Casualty point (as recorded on the Army Casualty Track).

2. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of Ransom value of each French Leader captured.

3. The English Player receives 1 Victory Point for each point of French Fugitives captured.

DESIGN CREDITS

Game Design: **James F. Dunnigan**
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Playtesting: **Steve Fisher, Dave Robertson, Andy Boyd, Ron Johnson, Lynn Law**
Rules Editing: **Brad Hessel**
Production: **Bob Degni, Kate Higgins, Manfred F. Milkuhn, Norman Pearl, Bob Ryer, Linda Sapin**

AGINCOURT
CHARTS & TABLES

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[7.3] TERRAIN EFFECTS CHART

Terrain Feature	*Movement Point Cost*
Clear, Dry	½
Clear, Muddy	1
Contour Line (downhill)	None (however, see Case 7.26)
Contour Line (uphill)	+1 (see Case 7.24)
Road/Stakes	None
Woods	Movement Prohibited

[8.7] FIRE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

LONGBOW firing at Men-at-Arms

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	17 28 35	14 24 31	11 20 26 31 36 37	9 16 22 27 31 34	3 6 8 11 13 16	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 31 43	– 26 36	– 21 29 36 43 48	– 17 24 31 37 42	– – 9 12 14 17	– – – – – –	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – 37 44 50	– – – – 38 43	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	3 Strikes

. . . *firing at Cavalry*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	22 34 40	19 31 38	17 28 35 39 40 40	14 24 31 36 38 40	6 11 16 20 24 27	2 4 6 8 9 11	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 39 52	– 35 46	– 31 43 51 57 60	– 26 36 45 51 56	– 12 17 22 27 31	– – – – 10 12	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – 53	– – 47	– – – 53 60 66	– – – 46 53 60	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	3 Strikes
4 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – – – 67	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	4 Strikes

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	32 44 44	28 40 44	24 36 42 42 40 37	19 31 37 41 41 40	9 16 22 27 31 34	3 6 8 11 13 16	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 54 65	– 48 61	– 42 55 62 65 66	– 35 46 55 60 63	– 17 24 31 37 42	– – 9 12 14 17	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – 68	– – 63	– – 56 66 73 78	– – 47 57 64 70	– – – – 38 43	– – – – – –	3 Strikes
4 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – – 74 81	– – – – 65 72	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	4 Strikes

CROSSBOW firing at Men-at-Arms

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes
Volleys	*1*	*1*	*1 2*	*1 2*
1 Strike	19	14	5 10	1 2

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes
Volleys	*1*	*1*	*1 2*	*1 2*
1 Strike	32	24	13 23	3 6
2 Strikes	–	–	– 25	– –

SHORTBOW firing at Men-at-Arms

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2*	*1 2*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	5 10	3 6	2 4 6 8	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 Strike

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2*	*1 2*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	24 36	20 32	14 24 31 36	9 16 22 27	3 6 8 11	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 42	– 36	– 26 36 46	– 17 24 31	– – 9 12	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– –	– –	– – – 47	– – – –	– – – –	3 Strikes

Find the section of the table which lists the Firing unit and the Target unit types (e.g., **Crossbow** firing at **Archers**). Next, find the column heading which indicates the appropriate range in hexes between the Firing and Target unit (e.g., **3 hexes**). Locate the number of volleys being fired under the appropriate range heading (e.g., *2 Volleys* at a range of 3 Hexes). The numbers listed reflect the probability of one or more successful Arrow Strikes (e.g., with a **Crossbow** firing *2 Volleys* at an **Archer** unit at a range of 3 Hexes, a die roll of 01 through 23 would result in 1 Strike; a roll of 24 or 25 would result in 2 Strikes; any other roll would have no effect.)

[9.4] MELEE STRENGTH ADJUSTMENT SUMMARY

–3 unit **Crowded** on **three** sides	**+1 to +5** unit stacked with **Leader** (also, see Case 9.15)
–2 unit **Crowded** on **two** sides	**+4** **Initial Shock** for **English** archers (yeomen); *or* . . . **Initial Shock** for **French** single counters
–1 unit **Crowded** on **one** side; *or* . . . per increment of **Dead** marker in unit's hex	**+7** **Initial Shock** for **English** men-at-arms; *or* . . . **Initial Shock** for **French** double counters

[9.5] MELEE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Combat Differential (Attacker minus Defender)

DEFENDING UNIT'S LINE STRENGTH	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or 11	12 or more
1st Line	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28
2nd Line	0	0	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38
3rd Line	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50
4th Line	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62
5th Line	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72
6th Line	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72	77	82
7th Line	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72	77	82	86	90

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the defending unit suffers a line loss. Place a Dead and a Fugitive marker. **Note:** Attacks may not be made at a Combat Differential of less than zero.

[10.5] MORALE POINT SCHEDULE

1 Point per **Arrow Strike** unit has suffered this Game-Turn.

. . . per **1-Point Dead** marker of same nationality within 2 hexes of unit.

. . . per Friendly unit **Crowding** the unit checking morale, (Case 3.7).

. . . if unit has lost its **First Line.**

---

2 Points if unit is **Stacked with Dead** marker of same nationality.

. . . per **1-Point Fugitive** marker of same nationality within 2 hexes of unit.

. . . if unit has lost its **First 2 Lines.**

---

5 Points if unit will **Melee** in ensuing Melee Phase.

. . . if unit has lost its **First 3 Lines.**

---

10 Points if unit is **Cavalry and will Melee with an Archer** unit through a protected hexside in ensuing Melee Phase.

. . . if news of **King Henry's Death** reaches unit (Case 10.3).

. . . if unit has lost **4 or more Lines.**

[10.4] UNIT MORALE TABLE

Unit's Current Line Strength

French Archers, French 3rd Battle All other units / *MORALE POINTS*	3rd 7th	2nd 6th	1st 5th	4th or 3rd	2nd or 1st
1	7	2	0	0	0
2	18	12	7	2	0
3	30	24	18	12	7
4	42	36	30	24	18
5	53	48	42	36	30
6	63	58	53	48	42
7	73	68	63	58	53
8	81	77	73	68	63
9	89	85	81	77	73
10	97	93	89	85	81

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the unit suffers a line loss. Place a Fugitive marker.

[11.3] ARMY MORALE TABLE

French Army Casualties	*DIE*	English Army Casualties
10-20	*3*	5-9
21-30	*7*	10-15
31-40	*12*	16-20
41-50	*17*	21-25
51-60	*23*	26-30
61-70	*29*	31-35
71-80	*36*	36-40
81-90	*43*	41-50
91-100	*51*	51 or more
101 or more	*59*	

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the entire Army Morale breaks (see Case 11.2).

[13.3] LEADER COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Inferior		Superior 0 Advance Attacking	1 Advance Parrying	2 Standing Attacking	3 Standing Parrying	4 Retiring Attacking	5 Retiring Parrying
0 Advance Attacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...35	01...45	01...20	01...30	01...25	01...35
	BOTH	36...45	46...55	21...30	31...40	26...35	36...45
	INFERIOR	46...90	56...90	31...60	41...60	36...70	46...70
1 Advance Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...45	01...25	01...30	01...10	01...35	01...15
	BOTH	46...55	26...30	31...40	11...15	36...45	16...20
	INFERIOR	56...90	31...60	41...65	16...30	46...75	21...40
2 Standing Stacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...25	01...35	01...15	01...25	01...05	01...15
	BOTH	26...35	36...45	16...25	26...35	06...15	16...25
	INFERIOR	36...50	46...60	26...55	36...55	16...30	26...30
3 Standing Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...35	01...15	01...25	01...05	01...15	01(c)05
	BOTH	36...45	16...20	26...35	06...10	16...25	–
	INFERIOR	46...65	21...30	36...60	11...25	26...35	–
4 Retiring Attacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...20	01...30	01...10	01...20	01(c)10	–
	BOTH	21...30	31...40	11...20	21...30	–	–
	INFERIOR	31...50	41...50	21...30	–	–	01(c)10
5 Retiring Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...30	01...10	01...20	–	–	01(c)20
	BOTH	31...40	11...15	21...30	01...05	–	–
	INFERIOR	41...55	16...20	31...35	01(c)10	01(c)05	21(c)35

#...# = span of die roll results required to reduce appropriate leader's strength; (c) = affected leader immediately captured; – = no effect. Superior leader reads down vertical column under his selected manner of attack, cross-referencing with Inferior leader's selected manner of attack to resolve combat. See Section 13.0 for complete explanation of Leader Combat.

AGINCOURT
CHARTS & TABLES

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[7.3] TERRAIN EFFECTS CHART

Terrain Feature	*Movement Point Cost*
Clear, Dry	½
Clear, Muddy	1
Contour Line (downhill)	None (however, see Case 7.26)
Contour Line (uphill)	+1 (see Case 7.24)
Road/Stakes	None
Woods	Movement Prohibited

[8.7] FIRE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

***LONGBOW* firing at Men-at-Arms**

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	17 28 35	14 24 31	11 20 26 31 36 37	9 16 22 27 31 34	3 6 8 11 13 16	1 2 3 4 5 6	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 31 43	– 26 36	– 21 29 36 43 48	– 17 24 31 37 42	– – 9 12 14 17	– – – – – –	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – 37 44 50	– – – – 38 43	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	3 Strikes

. . . *firing at Cavalry*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	22 34 40	19 31 38	17 28 35 39 40 40	14 24 31 36 38 40	6 11 16 20 24 27	2 4 6 8 9 11	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 39 52	– 35 46	– 31 43 51 57 60	– 26 36 45 51 56	– 12 17 22 27 31	– – – – 10 12	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – 53	– – 47	– – – 53 60 66	– – – 46 53 60	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	3 Strikes
4 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – – – 67	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	4 Strikes

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	6 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*1 2 3 4 5 6*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	32 44 44	28 40 44	24 36 42 42 40 37	19 31 37 41 41 40	9 16 22 27 31 34	3 6 8 11 13 16	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 54 65	– 48 61	– 42 55 62 65 66	– 35 46 55 60 63	– 17 24 31 37 42	– – 9 12 14 17	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– – 68	– – 63	– – 56 66 73 78	– – 47 57 64 70	– – – – 38 43	– – – – – –	3 Strikes
4 Strikes	– – –	– – –	– – – – 74 81	– – – – 65 72	– – – – – –	– – – – – –	4 Strikes

***CROSSBOW* firing at Men-at-Arms**

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes
Volleys	*1*	*1*	*1 2*	*1 2*
1 Strike	19	14	5 10	1 2

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes
Volleys	*1*	*1*	*1 2*	*1 2*
1 Strike	32	24	13 23	3 6
2 Strikes	–	–	– 25	– –

***SHORTBOW* firing at Men-at-Arms**

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2*	*1 2*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	5 10	3 6	2 4 6 8	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4	1 Strike

. . . *firing at Archers*

Range	1 Hex	2 Hexes	3 Hexes	4 Hexes	5 Hexes	Range
Volleys	*1 2*	*1 2*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*1 2 3 4*	*Volleys*
1 Strike	24 36	20 32	14 24 31 36	9 16 22 27	3 6 8 11	1 Strike
2 Strikes	– 42	– 36	– 26 36 46	– 17 24 31	– – 9 12	2 Strikes
3 Strikes	– –	– –	– – – 47	– – – –	– – – –	3 Strikes

Find the section of the table which lists the Firing unit and the Target unit types (e.g., **Crossbow** firing at **Archers**). Next, find the column heading which indicates the appropriate range in hexes between the Firing and Target unit (e.g., **3 hexes**). Locate the number of volleys being fired under the appropriate range heading (e.g., *2 Volleys* at a range of **3 Hexes**). The numbers listed reflect the probability of one or more successful Arrow Strikes (e.g., with a **Crossbow** firing *2 Volleys* at an **Archer** unit at a range of **3 Hexes**, a die roll of 01 through 23 would result in 1 Strike; a roll of 24 or 25 would result in 2 Strikes; any other roll would have no effect.)

[9.4] MELEE STRENGTH ADJUSTMENT SUMMARY

−3	unit **Crowded** on **three** sides
−2	unit **Crowded** on **two** sides
−1	unit **Crowded** on **one** side *;or*
. . .	per increment of **Dead** marker in unit's hex
+1 to +5	unit stacked with **Leader** (also, see Case 9.15)
+4	**Initial Shock** for **English** archers (yeomen)*;or*
. . .	**Initial Shock** for **French** single counters
+7	**Initial Shock** for **English** men-at-arms; *or*
. . .	**Initial Shock** for **French** double counters

[9.5] MELEE COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Combat Differential (Attacker minus Defender)

DEFENDING UNIT'S LINE STRENGTH	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or 11	12 or more
1st Line	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28
2nd Line	0	0	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38
3rd Line	0	3	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50
4th Line	6	10	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62
5th Line	14	18	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72
6th Line	23	28	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72	77	82
7th Line	33	38	44	50	56	62	67	72	77	82	86	90

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the defending unit suffers a line loss. Place a Dead and a Fugitive marker. **Note:** Attacks may not be made at a Combat Differential of less than zero.

[10.5] MORALE POINT SCHEDULE

1 Point per **Arrow Strike** unit has suffered this Game-Turn.

... per **1-Point Dead** marker of same nationality within 2 hexes of unit.

... per Friendly unit **Crowding** the unit checking morale, (Case 3.7).

... if unit has lost its **First Line.**

---

2 Points if unit is **Stacked with Dead** marker of same nationality.

... per **1-Point Fugitive** marker of same nationality within 2 hexes of unit.

... if unit has lost its **First 2 Lines.**

---

5 Points if unit will **Melee** in ensuing Melee Phase.

... if unit has lost its **First 3 Lines.**

---

10 Points if unit is **Cavalry and will Melee with an Archer** unit through a protected hexside in ensuing Melee Phase.

... if news of **King Henry's Death** reaches unit (Case 10.3).

... if unit has lost **4 or more Lines.**

[10.4] UNIT MORALE TABLE

Unit's Current Line Strength

French Archers, French 3rd Battle All other units / *MORALE POINTS*	3rd 7th	2nd 6th	1st 5th	4th or 3rd	2nd or 1st
1	7	2	0	0	0
2	18	12	7	2	0
3	30	24	18	12	7
4	42	36	30	24	18
5	53	48	42	36	30
6	63	58	53	48	42
7	73	68	63	58	53
8	81	77	73	68	63
9	89	85	81	77	73
10	97	93	89	85	81

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the unit suffers a line loss. Place a Fugitive marker.

[11.3] ARMY MORALE TABLE

French Army Casualties	*DIE*	English Army Casualties
10-20	*3*	5-9
21-30	*7*	10-15
31-40	*12*	16-20
41-50	*17*	21-25
51-60	*23*	26-30
61-70	*29*	31-35
71-80	*36*	36-40
81-90	*43*	41-50
91-100	*51*	51 or more
101 or more	*59*	

If the number rolled is equal to or less than the indicated die roll, the entire Army Morale breaks (see Case 11.2).

[13.3] LEADER COMBAT RESULTS TABLE

Superior

Inferior		0 Advance Attacking	1 Advance Parrying	2 Standing Attacking	3 Standing Parrying	4 Retiring Attacking	5 Retiring Parrying
0 Advance Attacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...35	01...45	01...20	01...30	01...25	01...35
	BOTH	36...45	46...55	21...30	31...40	26...35	36...45
	INFERIOR	46...90	56...90	31...60	41...60	36...70	46...70
1 Advance Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...45	01...25	01...30	01...10	01...35	01...15
	BOTH	46...55	26...30	31...40	11...15	36...45	16...20
	INFERIOR	56...90	31...60	41...65	16...30	46...75	21...40
2 Standing Stacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...25	01...35	01...15	01...25	01...05	01...15
	BOTH	26...35	36...45	16...25	26...35	06...15	16...25
	INFERIOR	36...50	46...60	26...55	36...55	16...30	26...30
3 Standing Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...35	01...15	01...25	01...05	01...15	01(c)05
	BOTH	36...45	16...20	26...35	06...10	16...25	–
	INFERIOR	46...65	21...30	36...60	11...25	26...35	–
4 Retiring Attacking	*SUPERIOR*	01...20	01...30	01...10	01...20	01(c)10	–
	BOTH	21...30	31...40	11...20	21...30	–	–
	INFERIOR	31...50	41...50	21...30	–	–	01(c)10
5 Retiring Parrying	*SUPERIOR*	01...30	01...10	01...20	–	–	01(c)20
	BOTH	31...40	11...15	21...30	01...05	–	–
	INFERIOR	41...55	16...20	31...35	01(c)10	01(c)05	21(c)35

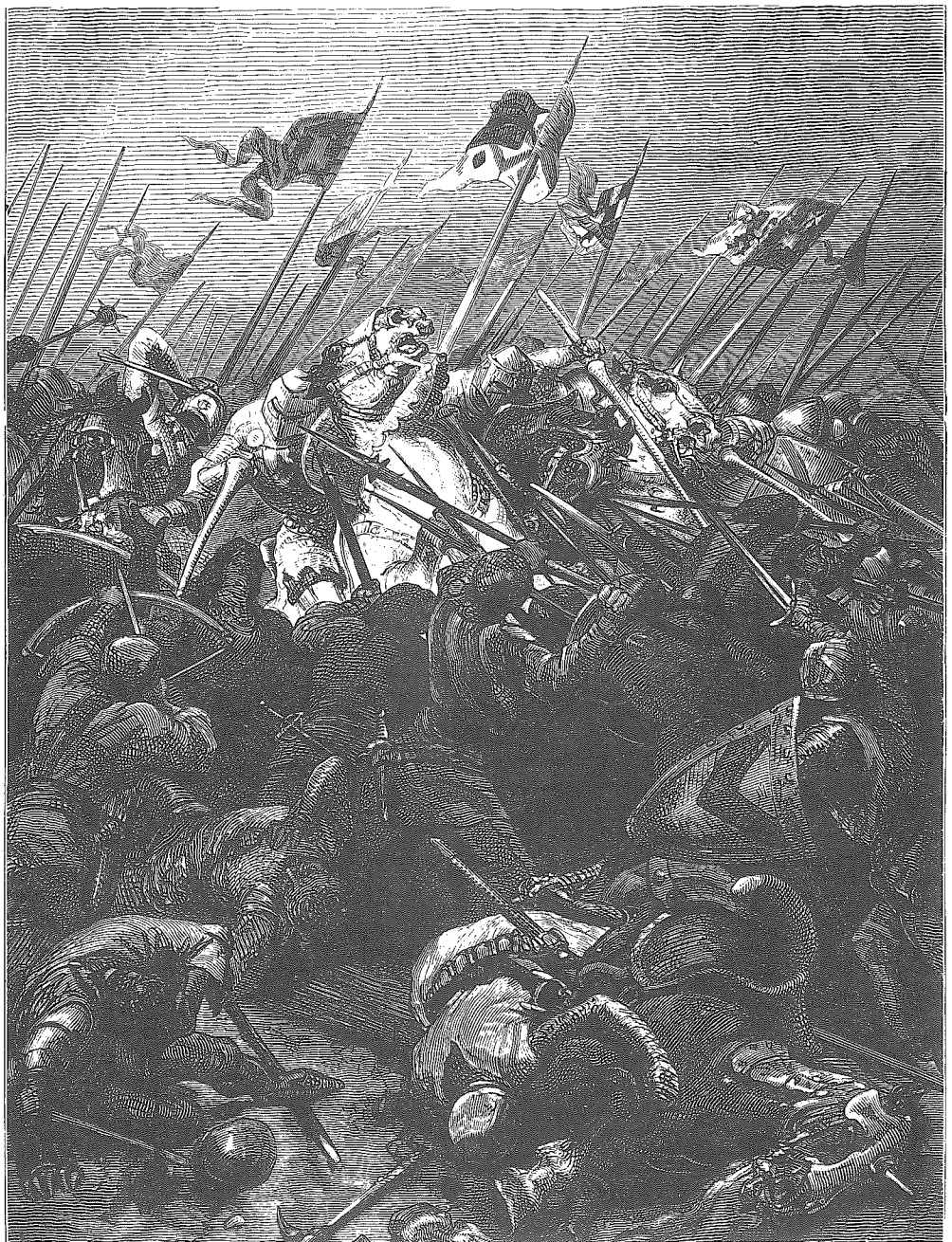
#...# = span of die roll results required to reduce appropriate leader's strength; (c) = affected leader immediately captured; – = no effect. Superior leader reads down vertical column under his selected manner of attack, cross-referencing with Inferior leader's selected manner of attack to resolve combat. See Section 13.0 for complete explanation of Leader Combat.

AGINCOURT

The Triumph of Archery over Armor, 25 October 1415

by Albert A. Nofi

It was St. Crispin's Day. The sun had risen at 0643 on this chill, damp morning. By then, the King had already been about for hours, donning his armor, hearing Mass, consulting with his officers, passing among his men. For days the English had striven to avoid battle. Finding this impossible, a time and a place had been arranged with the French. In the distance the French host could be seen untangling itself. This might yet prove a hot day for the tiny English army. For this St. Crispin's Day — 25 October 1415 — was the appointed time, and the fields near the village of Agincourt the appointed place.



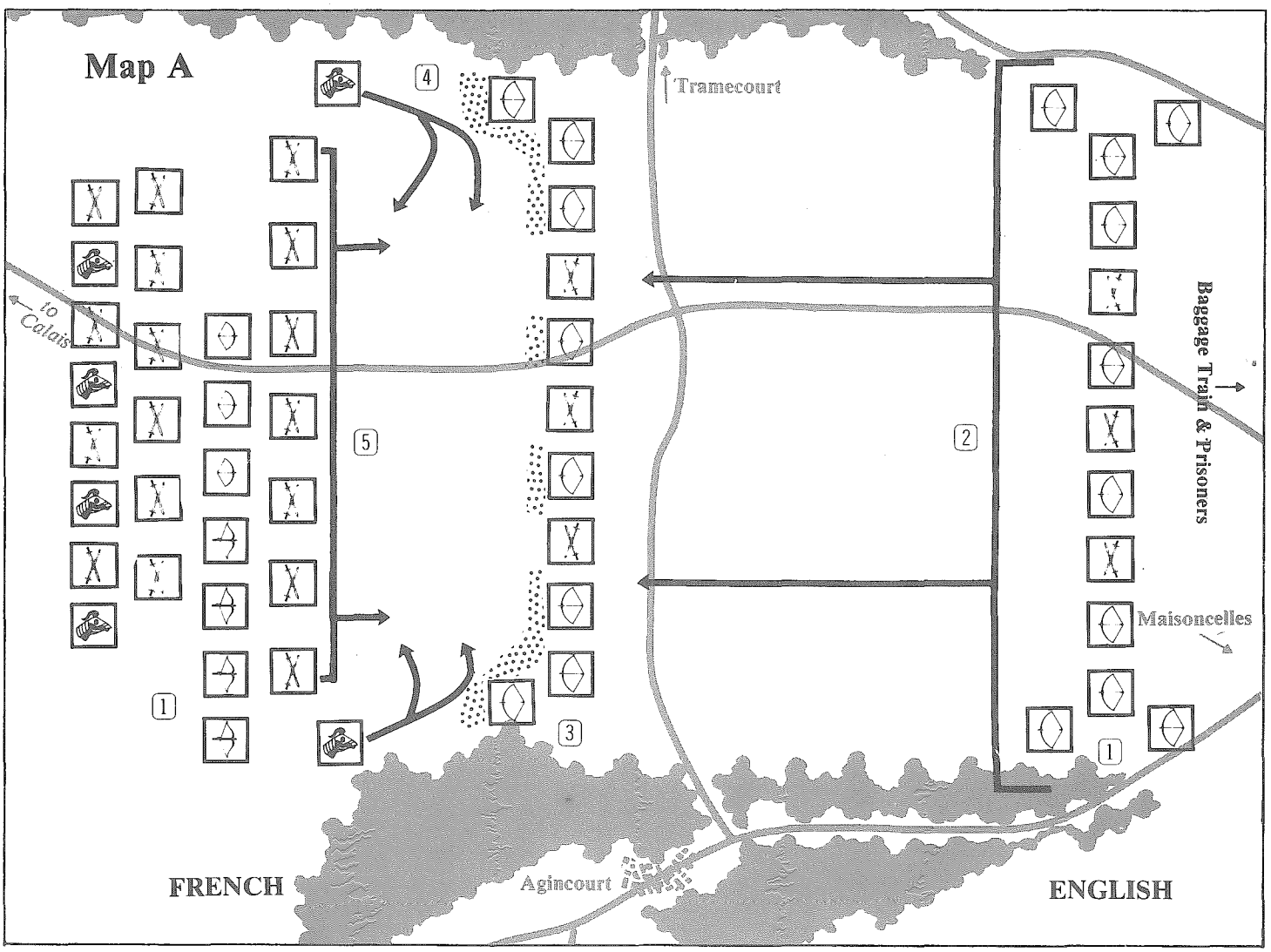
0643: Deployment

Had Henry V of England tried, he probably could not have picked a field much better suited to make a stand with his weary, hungry little army than that thrust upon him by Fate and the French. It was a roughly rectangular patch of muddy, featureless farm land some 900 to 1100 yards wide and about 1200 yards deep. On the left was the forest of Agincourt and on the right that of Tramecourt. At the north end were the French in their tens of thousands. Over at the south end were the English, barely 6000 all together. The field nicely fit the needs of the tiny English army. With the flanks well covered by the forests, the French could not employ their numbers to maximum advantage. The lack of obstacles between the armies greatly favored the use of the bow, which constituted the principal armament of 85% of the King's men, and the muddy ground would give the advantage to whomever stood in defense. For King Henry intended to do just that: stand on the defensive, employing tactics which had proven sound since the days of his great-grandfather.

Henry had approximately 5000 light infantrymen armed with longbow and sword or ax, plus another 900 or so men-at-arms, heavily armed and armored men trained in the English fashion to fight either as cavalry or heavy infantry. By judiciously mixing dismounted men-at-arms with bowmen, Henry would create a wall against which the French would beat in vain. In the center of his line the King placed a "battalion" of some 300 dismounted men-at-arms in a formation about 75 men wide by four deep, roughly 85 yards by six or eight yards. On either side of this was a "battalion" of 500 bowmen in triangular formation on a front of about 85 yards and up to seven ranks deep. On the outer side of the two "battalions" of archers was another mass of 300 heavy infantry deployed in a manner similar to the center "battalion." And between these outer "battalions" of heavy foot and the forests on either flank the King deployed huge blocks of about 1800 archers, thrusting them slightly forward of the main line as they approached the covering woods.

To further strengthen the position, Henry had each man implant in the ground before him a stout wooden stake about six feet long, angled toward the French so as to catch a charging horse squarely in the chest. This created a loose belt of obstacles perhaps 20 yards deep, in which a lightly armed man could move with ease, but which would impede the movement of a heavily armed one and prohibit that of mounted troops. Moreover, as the obstacles covered virtually the entire English line, only three narrow corridors, each about 85 yards wide, remained uncovered, severely limiting the route which an attack could take. These arrangements left the King with no more than 500 bowmen to spare. About 200 were sent off into the woods on either flank to burn the villages of Agincourt and Tramecourt and then to infiltrate the woods at the edges of the field and deliver flanking fire on the French. The remaining bowmen were distributed as baggage guards and body guards. The left flank "battalion" of heavy infantry the King placed in charge of his stout, middle-aged uncle, the Duke of York, while that on the right went to the elderly, war-wise baron Lord Camois. The King himself assumed command of the central "battalion." By 0700 the English were ready. Not so the French, however.

The French had been having some difficulty getting into position. The only really experienced soldiers among them—the Constable of France, the Marshal, and the Admiral—all lacked sufficient rank to impose unity of command on the horde of Dukes, Counts, Barons, and Knights which had come to the field. An angry council of war during the night had given grudging assent to Constable d'Albert's general plan for the battle, but had failed to establish a chain of command. Meanwhile, many of the men had spent the night drinking and gambling, while others had stood around, not wanting to get their armor, banners, or surcoats stained with mud. So many were suffering the after effects of their nocturnal activities. Nor had their days-long approach march helped their stamina. On top of that, each one wished to be in the first rank, as demanded by honor and where the greatest glory would be found. As the army—some 20,000 men-at-arms, 1000 crossbowmen, 2000 short bowmen, and one or two great bombards — began to deploy, everyone began shouting at once about their "right" to be in the forefront of the fight. Even before dawn the tumult had begun. Hours were spent arguing over everyone's ancestry and deeds. Eventually, with much



argument, a few challenges, and a great deal of counting of armorial quarterings, the order of battle was sorted out. The French would deploy in three main "battles" plus a few odd bits here and there. But no one would be in overall authority.

The first "battle" or division consisted of between 6000 and 8000 dismounted men-at-arms with lances shortened to serve as pikes. These were under the command of the Duke of Bourbon, the Constable of France, Marshal Boucicaut, the Duke of Orleans, *and* the Count of Eu, all of whom insisted on being in the first line. The formation, a rough rectangle perhaps 1000 yards wide and eight or 10 yards deep, was packed rather tightly, and the men crowded together in great confusion while trying to keep their improvised pikes out of each other's way. As this was a difficult task even for well trained pikemen, the "battle" greatly resembled an undisciplined mob – which, of course, to a great extent it was. A few yards behind this first "battle" was another, of approximately the same number of dismounted men-at-arms in approximately the same formation and condition, under the Dukes of Alencon and Bar. Behind this, again by but a few yards, were some 4000 men-at-arms, some mounted and some apparently on foot, under the Counts of Dammartin, Marle, and Fauquembourg, among others.

Slightly forward and to either flank of the first "battle" were two troops of 500 mounted men-at-arms each, the left under the Admiral of France and the right under the Count of Vendome. The 3000 or so crossbowmen and shortbowmen were squeezed some between the first and second "battles" and some were placed over on the right, to the rear of the Count of Vendome's troop, together with some bombards. Of course, such a deployment did not favor the use of missile weapons. If the French archers or artillery loosed any rounds, they were far more likely to hit other Frenchmen than any Englishmen. The French had not deployed to their best advantage, but then, they did not expect to attack. Remarkably, Constable d'Albert had convinced the council of war that the French should let the English do the attacking. So when they completed their deployment – some time after the English were ready – they waited. And waited!

0730: Waiting

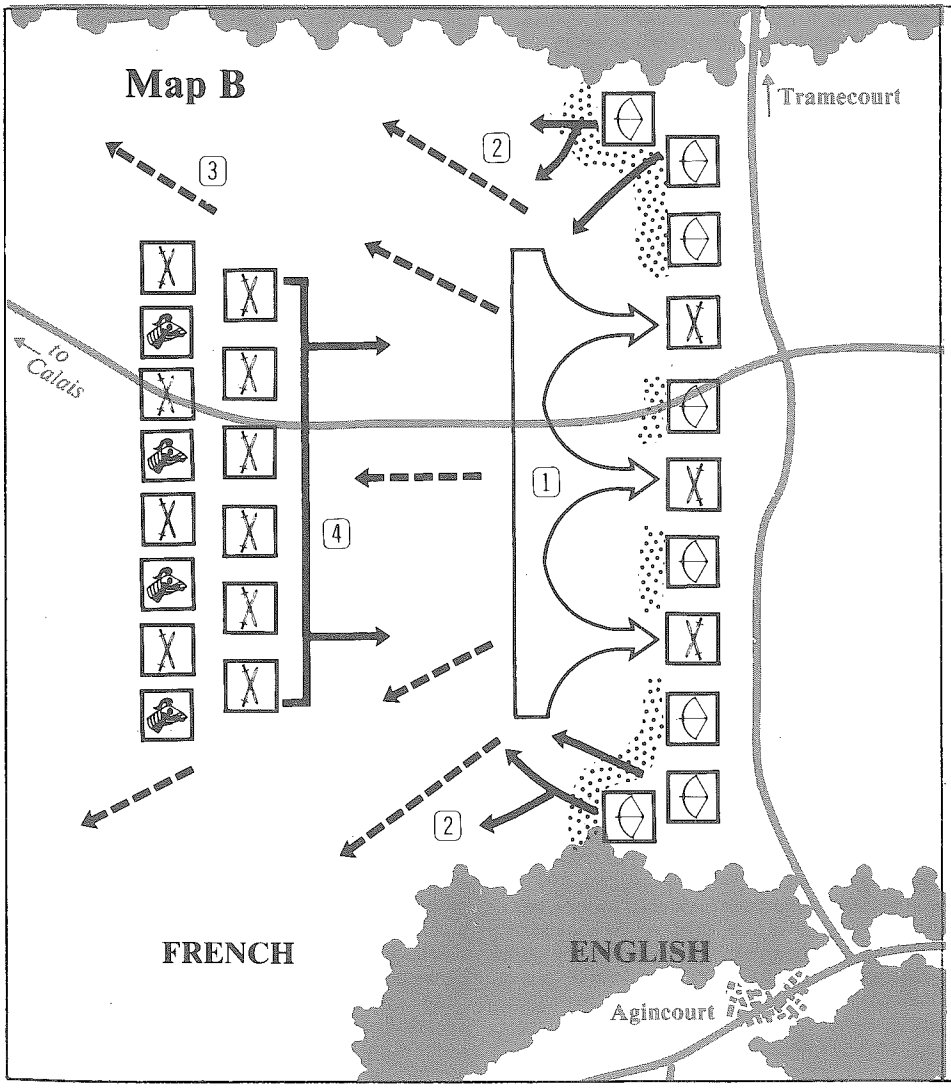
Both the English and the French completed deploying by about 0730, and, as each had planned to conduct a defensive action, nothing happened. Each army rested on its arms, expecting the other side to attack momentarily. Time passed. Soon an hour had gone by, then two. The men began to relax. The French host soon resembled a gang of picnickers rather than an army. Men milled about, speaking with old friends, drinking wine, throwing dice on cloaks spread over the muddy ground. Several arguments occurred, and duels were arranged for later settlement. What little discipline or seriousness that might have existed evaporated. The English relaxed too, but not so much. They were tired, they were hungry; many suffered from dysentery. Their situation was desperate, and they knew it. So they stayed tense and determined. The waiting continued. King Henry began to worry.

The English were in a grim position. Hunger, cold, and disease could do the work of the French without a blow being struck. All the French had to do was wait. The English could not withdraw without exposing themselves to a massive attack on unfavorable ground. Nor could they attack, since their tactics were unsuited to an offensive action. Time was working for the French. And it looked as though they preferred it that way. So Henry decided to try to force the issue.

Shortly before 1100, the King began kicking his army into position again. Under the supervision of Sir Thomas Erpingham – a war-wise veteran who apparently was chief of archers – the bowmen upped their stakes. When they were ready, Sir Thomas tossed his baton of command into the air and the King ordered an advance.

1100: Advance

"Banners Advance!" rang out across the field. Almost as one every men knelt, crossed himself, and kissed the cold, muddy ground, taking a bit of soil into his mouth in symbolic acceptance of the inevitability of death. Then they were up and, with trumpet blasts and banners waving, they stepped off slowly. The movement was good for morale. Indeed, though the men had accepted the probability of death in the field, they were grimly determined. Before they began to advance, and while they marched, the King had allowed the



Agincourt Battle Maps

MAP A: Deployment and Operations through c. 1135

1 = Initial positions, c. 0730; 2 = English advance, c. 1100; 3 = English arrow strike, c. 1125-1130; 4 = French cavalry charge, c. 1130; 5 = French first "battle" advance, c. 1135. Note that, for the sake of clarity, identification of the various contingents has been omitted from the map. Refer to the main text of the article for this information.

MAP B: Operations, c. 1140 through c. 1215

1 = French first "battle" in melee with English men-at-arms, c. 1140; 2 = English bowmen begin to harass French fugitives, c. 1200; 3 = Personnel of French second and third "battles" begin to drift away, beginning c. 1200; 4 = French second "battle" advances, c. 1215.

Key:

= Mounted men-at-arms
= Dismounted men-at-arms
= Long bowmen
= Cross bowmen
= Short bowmen
= Advance
= Retreat
= Stakes
= Woods
= Road

rumor to spread that the French would sever the right hand of each archer taken. They might die, but all alike were determined to avoid mutilation. And as they walked across the field their physical condition improved somewhat. Although hungry, the exercise was stimulating after standing about in the chill for hours.

They moved slowly, wary of the French and hampered by the muddy ground. Twice in their ten-minute walk they halted to dress ranks. At about 1110 they halted, having covered some 800 yards. The French were now but 300 yards in front—a long bow shot. The men-at-arms took up their positions again, the archers went about the business of implanting their stakes anew, roughly sharpening the ends as they worked.

As the English advanced, the French had what was probably their best chance to destroy them. A swift attack by cavalry against the moving English might sweep them away before they could reset their stakes or loose more than a couple of volleys. But the French were, if anything, less prepared to deliver an attack at this time than the English were to receive one. They probably noticed that the English were getting ready to move about the time the bowmen began to pull up their stakes. By that time the French ranks were a mass of confusion. Many had wandered far from their appointed places. Others had imbibed too much wine in the carnival-like atmosphere of the past few hours. So time was wasted getting back into formation. As the English began to reset their stakes in their new position, the French had scarcely begun to shape up. And there was still considerable confusion in the ranks when the English were finished. The French needed more time. King Henry did not intend to give it to them. At 1124 the King passed the word to Erpingham. Sir Thomas tossed his baton high into the air.

1125: Battle

As Sir Thomas' baton rose in the air full 4500 shafts were loosed. A second volley followed close upon the first. At such extreme range—300 yards—no serious wounds were inflicted. None, save that to French pride. Still but partially reformed, the French attacked. The first "battle" stepped forward. And the mounted men-at-arms on its flanks put spurs to horse.

No more than half the 1000 cavalry assigned to the flanking troops were available for the charge across the muddy fields, but those that were came on with determination. The English poured volley after volley into them. With each, the number of wounded and panicked horses grew. Horses crashed to the ground, and others stumbled over them. Riders went down with shattered arms or legs or backs. Yet still they came. The first 200 yards or so were covered in about two minutes as the mud slowed the horses. The remaining 100 yards or so took less than a minute as the horses went flat out into the charge. All along the English front the archers had advanced somewhat beyond the cover of their stakes. Now they fell back upon them in the face of the massive potential of the charging men and horses. Some archers moved too slowly and were caught in the open to be ridden down. Then the stakes loomed. On the English right the Count of Vendome's horse turned aside in time. But over on their left, the Admiral's men-at-arms were not so lucky. Unable to turn aside, some horses ran full into the stakes, impaling themselves. Quickly their riders were pulled to the ground and taken prisoner or killed with knife thrusts in joints or face or by a mallet blow to the head. Some few fortunate ones managed to turn aside and flee. From first bow strike to the shattering of the charge, barely three minutes had passed.

Now the surviving men-at-arms had to reach safety, with the terrible volleys still raining down on them, across a field littered with broken men and horses—a field on which, even now, their own infantry was advancing. With no alternative, the remnants of the French cavalry plunged into their infantry, inflicting further disorder on the already disorganized ranks which were struggling across the muddy ground. Shaken, the French foot doggedly pressed on, as it too began to receive thousands of shafts with each passing minute.

1140: Melee

The confused, crowded ranks of French infantry grew even more disorganized as they advanced. The mud, churned almost liquid by the passing of the cavalry, caused men to lose their footing. Others fell wounded by the thousands of arrows showering upon them. Still others fell under the hooves of their own cavalry as it tried desperately to escape. And as each man went down, he caused others to stumble into the mud as well. Yet still they came on. There being little honor—and no profit—in fighting base-born archers, the eagerly advancing French sought King Henry's three tiny "battalions" of men-at-arms. As they did so, their front narrowed from 1000 yards to but 250 in three columns, one confronting each of the English "battalions." The crowding grew worse as the men on the flanks pressed toward the middle and those in the rear pressed toward the front.

As the French came on, the English readied for battle. The King, standing with his bodyguard in the interval between the second and third lines of the central "battalion," gave his final orders. The French drew nearer. When they came within 20 yards they increased their pace, thrusting their improvised pikes out and charging headlong against the English. At the moment of imminent impact, the English stepped back!

The King, timing his move wisely, chose the instant before the French would smash into his front to fall back ten or twelve feet. The sudden move broke the momentum of the French charge. They halted, confused, some yards in front of their foes. Then, eager for battle and glory, and pushed forward by their comrades to the rear, they pressed on.

Soon Frenchmen and Englishmen were hacking, stabbing, chopping, and smashing at each other. Men began to go down all along the fronts of the three English "battalions." But more of the French were falling than of the English. The loose formation adopted by the King enabled the first two ranks of English heavy infantry to take part in the battle. The French, crowded together, often could barely wield sword or lance before being felled by a mighty blow from sword or ax or warhammer or before being hooked and dragged down by bill or halberd. Many indeed, fell without seeing their slayers as the relentless pressure from the rear thrust the men in the front on the very swords of the English. As men fell on the muddy ground, they caused those behind to lose their footing, making still more difficult the task of staying alive. The noise grew intense as men screamed and shouted and prayed and cried and as sword rang on sword or smashed against armor. And the slaughter grew.

Amid the chaos, great feats of arms occurred. The Constable of France, d'Albert, fought with frantic fury that belied his 46 years before falling to English swords. The youthful Duke of Orleans performed what one contemporary called "prodigies of valor" before being stunned and taken for ransom. And King Henry seemed everywhere at once, having determined that death would be preferable to saddling England with a huge ransom for his capture.

Two French knights, Brunelete de Masinquehen and Gainot de Bournonville led a band of 16 others, all sworn to strike Henry's crown from his head or die in the attempt. Attacking the King with suicidal fury, one of them—forever to remain anonymous—struck a golden fleuron from the royal war crown and severely dented the royal helmet. But Henry and his bodyguards and the men-at-arms around him beat the attackers off, killing them all. Their bodies joined the growing numbers littering the ground in front of the English positions. There they further hampered the French attackers, who had to try to advance over their prostrate fellows, while avoiding English blows and trying to deal blows of their own.

1200: Crisis

As the savage melee between French and English heavy infantry ran its course, the English bowmen kept up their fire, belaboring the flanks of the crowded French columns, but by noon the volleys had become ragged. Many of the bowmen, in action for over half an hour now, had run out of shafts. Some of them began to drift over the field in front of the English line, picking up some of the thousands of spent but undamaged arrows which littered the ground. As they did so, many noticed stragglers from the French attacks wandering across the fields wounded, confused, lost, or merely afraid. Many archers began to seek these unfortunates out, abandoning the shelter of the stakes and leaving their now useless bows behind. Soon some hundreds of archers were scattered across the field, struggling two or three to one against stray French men-at-arms.

Though unable to stand up to a man-at-arms singly, the archers could gang up on with with relative impunity—one man to distract the man to one side, another to run around behind him and deal a blow with sword or ax or mallet to his back or knees, and down he would go. A quick dagger thrust in visor or groin or joint would settle the fellow then and there if he wasn't worth a goodly ransom. In this fashion some hundreds perished or were taken prisoner and led to the rear. And as the archers worked, the French attack began to falter.

Most of the principal magnates—the Constable, the Marshal, the Royal Dukes, the Counts—had already fallen dead or been taken prisoner when the yeomen began their deadly work. The battle, for those who could see, was rapidly becoming no place for a nobly-born man-at-arms to win glory. Men on the fringes of the French columns began to drift toward the rear, dodging the roving gangs of archers as they went. Some men seem to have panicked, running aimlessly about until they blundered into some of the death-dealing bowmen. But the heads of the columns were firmly fixed against the fronts of the three "battalions" of English heavy foot, kept there by the terrible pressure of the thousands of men to their rear who still eagerly pushed forward, hoping to get a chance at the glory, and as yet ignorant of the imminent disaster which loomed over the French array. The killing went on, and the French fell in increasingly disproportionate numbers.

1215: Reinforcement

By now the French first "battle" had been engaged for nearly an hour. During this time their second "battle" had been standing in readiness some hundreds of yards to the rear, awaiting its chance to bid for honor and glory with little notion of the course of events on the battle line. It is difficult to judge the state of morale in this "battle" at this time. Many of the men seem to have been emotionally worn out just from having stood about waiting for well over four hours. Others seem to

have been very keyed up and quite willing to go into action when ordered. Then the first panic-stricken fugitives from the slaughter appeared, and two things happened very quickly. Some men, apparently in fair numbers, became infected with the panic and themselves fled the field, and others determined to advance at once in order to save the day. Among this latter group were the Dukes of Alencon and Bar, more or less in command of the "battle." At their order, that portion of the second "battle" which had not already abandoned the field stepped forward. The first "battle" would be reinforced with some thousands of fresh troops. Which was precisely what was *not* needed if the growing disaster at the front was to be averted.

1230: Disaster

The fresh men of the French second "battle" ran enthusiastically into the rearmost ranks of their first "battle," aggravating the situation of the men actually in contact with the English. More men were pushed forward onto the English weapons; more men became jammed together, unable to wield a sword or ax; and more men went down in the press to be trampled underfoot. The failure of the reinforcement became evident in minutes. Panic, hitherto confined to the men of the fringes of the massive column and to those of the second "battle" as had chosen to flee, now began to infect those in the center as well, and even some of the men of the third "battle" were touched by it. Something terrible was happening to the French army, and something desperate would have to be done to save it. The only problem was finding someone to do it. By now all of the ranking persons of the first "battle" were long gone and the Duke of Bar, having somehow shoved his way to the front of the tightly packed French troops, fell almost immediately. The only Frenchman of rank left was the Duke of Alencon.

Slipping from the melee, Alencon found and mounted a stray horse, one of hundreds wandering about the field. Riding back and forth across the battlefield, Alencon tried to rally the men. It was to no avail. He was rebuffed by all and sundry: the small knots of fugitives collecting to the rear; some elements of his own "battle" which had failed to advance; and even the uncommitted men of the third "battle." French morale had broken. The only thing he could do was die gallantly.

Alencon rode back to the melee, dismounted, and joined the few thousands still fighting. Personally leading a desperate attack on the English center, he became involved in a combat with the Duke of Gloucester, King Henry's younger brother. The young Duke received a dagger in the belly. The fighting around him grew fierce. The King and his bodyguard came up, beating off the French. Alencon, seeing that all was lost, shouted his surrender. Henry shouted back his acceptance. The heat of battle was upon everyone. An English man-at-arms struck Alencon down. The last Frenchman of rank had fallen.

1245: Panic

With the death of Alencon, the few thousand French still struggling with the English men-at-arms gave up. There was no one left to give orders. There was no one willing to obey them anyway. Panic took hold, and the French fled as best they could across the muddy, corpse-littered ground, with King Henry's archers in hot pursuit. Some scores of French fell now, and still hundreds more were dragged off as prisoners. Within minutes it was over, with the shattered and pitiful remnants of the two proud "battles" sheltering in the vicinity of the fast diminishing men-at-arms of the French third "battle." From the look of things, the battle was over.

The King unquestionably welcomed the collapse of the French. Though his forces had suffered relatively few casualties, the army was in no fit condition to fight on. Many hundreds—perhaps thousands — of men had gone off to escort prisoners or loot corpses. Most of his archers were very short on arrows, despite the fact that many had been recovered from the ground. And what men as still remained in the ranks were tired, still hungry, and in many cases still sick. The magnitude of the victory was still probably unclear. The French had the third "battle" which might yet make things difficult. Henry thought it best to keep his men-at-arms and available archers well in hand, to wait on developments. The battle might *seem* to be over, but one never knew. The King was right. For the battle had yet to run its full course.

1300: *Beau geste*

As the lasts fearful survivors of the French foot reached the safety of their third "battle," the young, impetuous Duke of Brabant arrived on the scene with a small escort. Full of chivalrous ideals, Antoine of Brabant had ridden hard and long to take part in the battle, even defying his brother—the powerful Duke of Burgundy—to do so. In his eagerness he had outstripped the bulk of his contingent. Indeed, so intent was the Duke on arriving in time for the battle that he had left behind his armor and standards. Nonetheless, seeing the disastrous outcome of the fighting, he sought to save the day.

In borrowed armor, and using a stray banner as an improvised surcoat, Brabant led his small band on a thundering cavalry charge. If supported by the French third "battle"—which still composed some thousands of uncommitted men-at-arms—Brabant's attack might possibly have reversed the decision reached by the infantry. Sweeping across the field, the French could have swept up hundreds of Englishmen, slaughtering them. Without arrows, King Henry's archers would not have been able to stop the charge. But the third "battle" did not move. And as Brabant's little band charged, the few bowmen with arrows left let fly. In a minute or two it was over, the horses rolling in the mud, the men-at-arms and the Duke himself taken. It had been gallant and noble and chivalrous, but it had not influenced the course of the battle a bit. Nor would the Duke be rewarded for his courage.

1310: Raid

While the Duke of Brabant was making his fruitless charge, another Frenchman was bestirring himself. Isambard, Lord of Agincourt, the local baron, apparently had observed the battle from afar. Eventually the thought occurred that he might inflict some damage on the English by attacking them in the rear, whilst their attention was fixed in front. With two other men-at-arms and a gang of some hundreds of peasants armed with agricultural implements, Isambard fell upon King Henry's baggage train. The men-at-arms and bowmen assigned to guard the wagons had long since drifted off to join the battle, or were occupied guarding prisoners some hundreds of yards away. All that remained in the camp were some 30 priests, a flock of servants, and some laborers.

The raid caused a panic among the English camp followers. Isambard's armed rabble gallantly slit some priestly throats, tortured a few stable boys, and made off with the King's spare crown and some other regalia. Then, satisfied that he had fulfilled his duty to France, the Lord of Agincourt and his mob fled like the thieves they were. But by then, King Henry believed there might be a major French threat to his rear.

1320: *Debile geste*

The Duke of Brabant's gallant but fruitless charge stirred the leaders of the French third "battle" as nothing had done so far. Still some thousands strong, their men had stood idly around through the entire battle, ignoring even Alencon's impassioned efforts to get them moving. Then came Brabant's effort. Some of the leaders of the third "battle" were touched by his courage. The Counts of Marle and Fauquembourg tried to collect their men for a charge. Some hundreds responded. But most, including even the Count of Dammartin, refused. No matter, the two counts and their small band put spurs to horse. Within minutes it was over, as a few hundred arrows—quite possibly the very last in the belts of the English—shattered the feeble effort. It might just as well have not taken place. Indeed, it might have been better if the whole thing had not taken place. For just as Marle and Fauquembourg rode to their deaths, King Henry learned of Isambard's raid on the baggage. It seemed that the English were beset from front and rear both. And the King made a terrible desicion.

1330: Atrocity

By now the battle had lasted four hours. In that time the English had taken some thousands of prisoners, including a pride of dukes, a flock of counts, a herd of barons, and a host of lesser nobility. All had surrendered on their word, with no more than a token removal of helmet and weapons to confine them. There were far too many prisoners to guard properly, or indeed even to bind. They milled about in their thousands some yards from the battlefield, a field by now littered with thousands of discarded weapons. The attack of Brabant, the feeble efforts of the French third "battle," and then the raid by Isambard of Agincourt on the English rear all indicated that the day might not yet be over. The King was worried. The possibility of rescue could turn the prisoners from a listless mass of dejected humanity into a major threat to the safety of his tired little army. Something would have to be done. Henry ordered the prisoners slain.

The men-at-arms guarding the prisoners balked. Humanitarian considerations aside, the prisoners represented a considerable financial investment. Ransoms could run to the thousands of pounds, and one did not lightly throw that sort of money away. To stifle the protest—and execute the grisly task, the King sent 200 archers under a squire.

There is a problem here, involving Henry's intentions. On the one hand he might seriously have intended to slaughter all the prisoners. On the other, he might have meant his order primarily to cow them still further into submission. Certainly even 200 men without scruples would find the sheer physical task of killing five or ten times their number difficult, particularly given the weaponry available. Whichever the case, it is unquestioned that some hundreds were slain, and someone even put to the torch several huts in which wounded prisoners had been placed. Certainly these men offered no threat, even should rescue have occurred. But blood lust was upon the English. And in such circumstances even the Geneva Convention tolerates such an atrocity.

How many were slain is unknown. Certainly many were, but few among the great nobles. The exception here is the Duke of Brabant: his improvised equipment made him look like a poor country knight, and before anyone knew it, some yeoman had slit his throat. The total of the slain can not have been more than a few hundred. Within minutes of issuing the order, the King rescinded it. The threats in front and to the rear had evaporated.

1400: Victory

By mid-afternoon, the remaining French had given up and fled the field. In little more than three hours their host had been reduced from 25,000 to nothing. Over 6000 of their number were dead, including the Constable, an Archbishop (!), three dukes, five counts, 90 barons, and 1500 knights. A further 2000 or so were prisoners: among them were the Marshal, two dukes, at least five counts, some scores of barons, and hundreds of knights. And the rest — all fled. On the balance, the English had suffered lightly: the Duke of York dead of a stroke; the youthful Earl of Salisbury mortally stricken by a French blow; a dozen other men-at-arms killed; and a few score yeomen lost for a total of perhaps 100. It was a tremendous victory for the English, cheaply won.

Reprise

Agincourt is a difficult battle to explain. Every battle must have a victor and a vanquished. But it is sometimes difficult to determine who contributed more to the outcome. Such is the case at Agincourt. To be sure, Henry V—Shakespeare's "Hal"—employed his little army in such fashion as to gain the greatest advantage from its unique combination of longbowmen and heavy infantry. But in a very real sense the French lost the battle far more decisively than Henry won it. At no time did any of the French moves do more than contribute to their destruction. Indeed, the very fact that the battle occurred is because the French wished it. Given Henry's situation, there was no need for a general engagement. Isolated in the heart of France, surrounded by enormous armies, the English would have surrendered from starvation within days. Only their victory at Agincourt saved them.

Consider briefly the French errors:

- Lack of a chain of command.
- Lack of a clear plan of battle.
- Failure to employ their archers.
- Failure to coordinate their attacks.
- Excessive zeal.
- Excessive chivalrous idealism.

Ultimately, the French failed because they could not win. An army is no better than the society which puts it in the field. Sunken in feudalism, Late Medieval France could not but field an army which reflected its ideals. And such an army could not cope with the realities of warfare. So, given that it had to occur, there could be no other outcome than that the English would win at Agincourt.

THE HUNDRED YEARS WAR: 1337-1453

Arguably the longest war in history, the Hundred Years War was actually a series of wars between the Kings of England and the Kings of France stretching over a period of a bit more than 115 years. Its origins were rather complex, but by no means unusual for the Feudal Age. These may be briefly summarized as follows:

- A distant claim of the Kings of England to the throne of France.
- The fact that the King of England was a vassal of the King of France as well as sovereign in his own right.
- Franco-English commercial rivalry over the Flemish wool and luxuries trade.
- French assistance to Scotland in its ceaseless wars with England.
- Depredations of English and French pirates on each other's shores and ships.

The war is generally divided into eight phases or periods which are generally known after the event or person which dominated them.

The Sluys Period, 1337-1343. King Philippe VI of France declared the fiefs of Edward III of England forfeit and proceeded to invade them. Edward sent raiding parties into action and proclaimed himself King of France so that he might gain support from other French lords dissatisfied with Philippe. The war proceeded at a leisurely pace until 24 June 1340, when the English seized command of the seas in the naval Battle of Sluys. Thereafter everyone lost interest and a truce was proclaimed.

The Crecy Period, 1345-1347. A civil war in the Duchy of Brittany gave a pro-English faction the advantage, and Edward outfitted an expedition to take advantage of the situation. The French promptly invaded Gascony, Edward's principal fief in France, and laid siege to various castles. To relieve the pressure on Gascony, Edward took his army to Normandy and marched inland. After various adventures his 20,000 men—men-at-arms, archers, and light troops—met a considerable French force at Crecy (26 August, 1346) and, employing the tactics later used at Agincourt, soundly defeated them. Edward then marched northwards to Calais, besieged and took it. A long truce followed as each side readied itself for a renewal of the struggle and coped with the Black Death, which swept Europe from 1348.

The Poitiers Period, 1355-1360. Having failed to negotiate a real peace, Edward III invaded France again, aided by his able sons, Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt. Beginning in 1356 the Black Prince several times raided deeply into Central France. Usually he was pursued by a large French army. On 19 September 1356, a battle was fought at Poitiers in which the decision of Crecy was reconfirmed, save that this time the French were on foot. The King of France and scores of his nobles were taken. After Poitiers, the Black Prince withdrew to the English base at Bordeaux, and the war ran on as a series of raids. On 24 October 1360, the Peace of Bretigny was concluded. Edward III received some additional lands, but agreed to give up his claim to Normandy and to recognize Jean II—Philippe had died in 1350—as King of France, thereby technically yielding any right he might have had to that throne. But Jean's ransom was so great it was never paid. He died in England in 1364! A long truce followed in which the English and French backed particular factions in the ongoing Breton civil war and various adventures in Spain.

The Du Guesclin Period, 1368-1396. A revolt against Edward III by some Gascon nobles prompted a renewal of the war and of Edward's claim to the French throne. Bertrand Du Guesclin, Constable of France, injected some sensibility into French operations. Avoiding pitched battles, making use of sieges, artillery and even such "unknightly" things as night attacks, Du Guesclin slowly pushed the English out of most of their territories, save only the fortress-cities of Bordeaux, Bayonne, Brest, Calais, and Cherbourg. By his death in 1380, the reconquest had been almost completed. Meanwhile both Edward III and his sons had died. Thus, both sides were relatively leaderless, as the replacements were uninspired. Desultory warfare broken by frequent truces lasted for some 16 years more, but nothing decisive occurred. Then in 1396 a 30-years truce was signed. Both countries were beset by internal disorder and a collapse of royal authority. England promptly revived, but France fell into a long civil war between pro- and anti-Orleanist factions known respectively as Burgundians and Armangacs. And through it all intermittent warfare continued.

The Agincourt Period, 1413-1428. The throne of England passed to Henry V in 1413, who promptly renewed the war, aiming again at the French throne. His first campaign almost ended in disaster but the French, having forgotten Du Guesclin, saved him by giving victory at Agincourt on 25 October 1415. In the following years, Henry conquered or received the cooperation of most of Northern France including that of the Burgundian faction. Finally he got the French king to designate him as his heir. On his death in 1422, Henry's infant son Henry VI was proclaimed King of England. The King of France died shortly thereafter and little Henry was likewise proclaimed King of France. Meanwhile the "rightful" heir proclaimed himself Charles VII. As the war continued, the English seemed likely to soon conquer all of France. During 1428 the English laid siege to Orleans, the last important French stronghold.

The Jeanne d'Arc Period, 1429-1444. The peasant girl from Champagne who had visions of saints was somehow given command of the French armies by Charles VII. Within a short time she had driven the English from Orleans and went on to win a series of remarkable victories. Betrayed to the Engiish in 1430, she was burned as a witch. But she acted as a catalyst, inspiring French resistance, and in the next five years the military situation was more or less completely reversed. Subsequently, the French gradually eroded the English position until, in 1444, a five-year truce was concluded at Tours.

The French Triumph, 1449-1453. The French spent the truce reorganizing their army and turning it into a professional force. The end of the Burgundian-Armagnac civil war more or less foretold the end of English interference in France, as the French could now concentrate their entire energies against the English. Within four years of the expiration of the truce in 1449, the war was over. Using artillery to telling effect, the French were able to beat the English bow tactics. On 19 October 1453 Bordeaux fell, leaving England only the port of Calais from the vast Empire enjoyed by Edward III and Henry V.

POUNDS, SHILLINGS, PENCE, and FARTHINGS

Money is, of course, one of the crasser realities. Throughout history it has constituted—or rather it's *absence* has constituted—a significant problem for the overwhelming majority of humanity. And for just as long, war has been seen as a viable alternative to starvation and as a shortcut to great wealth.

At the time of Agincourt the pound was a fairly standard measure of money throughout Europe. Of course the exact value and composition of the pound varied from country to country and even from city to city in the same country. The English pound (about $300.00 in 1978 terms) was actually based on a standard set by merchants from Flanders—"Sterling" is cognate with "Easterling"—though the actual minting had long been in the hands of the King. The French had *two* official pounds at this time, that of Paris and that of Tournai. This was actually a vast improvement on their earlier situation, which had seen 30 different standards, including that of the King and a couple of dozen nobles and towns. Eventually the *livre tournais* (about $67.00) was to become the official standard for all of France. The pound was, of course, broken down into smaller denominations, to facilitate trade, business, and taxation. The English, and all other pounds, broke down thus: Pound = 20 Shillings; Shilling = 12 Pence; and Pence = 4 Farthings (literally "a fourth"). This was, of course, the break-down used in the Sterling area until very recently, when Britain finally decimalized the pound. The other surviving pounds—Italian, Israeli, and Turkish—had long since been decimalized. They have also all—including the English—lost any real connection to their original value or standard. For originally the pound, regardless of type, was a literal pound of silver, with value difference due primarily to the lack of a standardized system of weights and to debasement of the coinage. And when the pound was closer to its origins than it is now it was a truly powerful coinage.

Changes in purchasing power and standard of living make conversion of antique moneys into modern terms misleading. Nevertheless, some idea of the true power of King Henry V's coinage may be obtained. Roughly Henry's coin worked out:

Pound	$300.00
Shilling (*s*)	15.00
Pence (*d*)	1.25
Farthing (*f*)	.32½

In terms of purchasing power, two farthings could get you one scrawny chicken—we're not talking about the quality of Medieval merchandise here—or a dozen eggs, which were relatively dearer at that time than now. This doesn't sound too bad, of course. But in order to make the purchases one had to have the money. Which was why a lot of people chose war as an occupation.

As the table clearly shows the profession of arms was a bit more profitable than any other at the time. Incidently, French wages seem to have been somewhat lower than English at this time. The rigidity of the social scale is also demonstrated, of course. However that was so inherent in the system that no one ever really questioned it overmuch. But wages weren't the only way a soldier—regardless of rank—could turn a profit. For he could supplement his pay with loot—though Henry V frowned on it—and, more importantly, with ransom. A man who took a prisoner could demand ransom. And, depending on the rank of the person taken, ransoms could be enormous.

DAY WAGES
England, c. 1415

Civilians	*s*	*d*	*f*	= *$1978*
Master Carpenter	-	3	-	3.75
Master Mason	-	4	-	5.00
Carpenter	-	2	-	2.50
Mason	-	1	2	1.95
Reaper	-	3-4	-	3.75-5.00
Thresher	-	1	-	1.25
Soldiers				
Archer	-	6	-	7.50
Man-at-arms	1	-	-	15.00
Knight	2	-	-	30.00
Baron	4	-	-	60.00
Earl	6	8	-	99.00
Duke	13	4	-	200.00

SOME AGINCOURT RANSOMS

Item	*Amount*	*Paid to*
1 M. de Corpe	$107,005.00	2 men-at-arms + 1 archer
2 Men-at-arms	4,000.00	Sir Robert Laurence
1 Man-at-arms	3,000.00	unknown
1 Man-at-arms	1,500.00	a man-at-arms
1 Man-at-arms	325.00	an archer
1 Unknown	180.00	an archer

Now obviously these are randomly selected examples. But the ransom for the Seigneur de Corpe was not unheard of. Some ransoms were so high they might beggar a man and his family for years. Indeed, Henry V swore to die rather than be taken because he feared his ransom would break England for generations. The ransom for the Duke of Orleans was so high it was never paid. The duke spent 30 years as a "guest" of the Kings of England. Apparently the best ransoms were paid to the higher ranking captors. Lower ranking guys were very likely to get skinned. Even so archers obviously were able to get a piece of the action. The yeomen who took the two bottom-most prisoners on the table still managed to make a nice profit: $325.00 (21s 8d) represented 2½ months wages. One wonders whether any of the great landed fortunes of England are traceable to a little ransom picked up at Agincourt by an enterprising bowman. Certainly the common people thought it perfectly possible. Which is why they were quite willing to go off to war. The profits were better and the danger about the same as staying home and starving.

Footnote: English Profit and Loss at Agincourt

War is a form of industry in which one invests capital and labor in the hope of realizing a profit, victory. But in Medieval times it could yield not merely victory, but excellent monetary benefits as well. Consider what might be termed a profit and loss statement for Agincourt.

Expenditures (debit)		
Manpower	$52,471.00	
Munitions	37,500.00	
Total	$89,971.00	
Income (credit)		
Ransoms	$30,000,000.00	
Total	$30,000,000.00	
Grand Total	$29,910,029.00	*profit*

Obviously Henry V appears to have turned a neat profit at Agincourt. But things are not always what they seem and the table needs some clarification.

Manpower. The then current day wages have been used to calculate Henry's expenditures here, based on an army which included *as combatants* two dukes, four earls, five barons, about 890 miscellaneous men-at-arms, and some 5000 archers. This therefore excludes some hundreds of non-combatants who were also on the payroll, including a bishop and 31 priests—one for every 178 men; a physician and 20 surgeons—one for every 280 men; a flock of engineers and stone masons; and all types of courtly officials, such as heralds, stewards, and chamberlains.

Munitions. Only arrows have been counted, at 3d, or $3.75 per sheaf of 24. The king supplied these to the troops at his expense. On the other hand he did not feed them, as their pay was considered sufficient for them to obtain their own victuals. The king did, however, let contracts or permissions to specific merchants allowing them to supply the army and waiving any excise on their goods. This could be construed as a net loss to the king. But no one was eating at Agincourt anyway.

Ransoms. The figures represent approximately 2000 prisoners, including the Marshal, two dukes, five counts, scores of barons, and hundreds of other men-at-arms, pro rated on the basis of the average of known ransoms. But actually this enormous sum was not fully realized. When the English reached Calais on 29 October they discovered that there was little surplus food in the town and that prices were high. As a result many prisoners were ransomed at a discount, representing a considerable loss to many individuals. Only about 700 of the prisoners ever got to England. And even then many were never ransomed. The Duke of Orleans managed to spend 30 years as an English "guest," emerging in 1445 at 56 years of age with little to show for his life but a reputation as a minor French poet. His ransom was never paid. It could not have been without beggaring his family for generations.

Profit. Even assuming only 1% of the total of ransoms were actually collected, England still made a tremendous profit for one day's work at Agincourt. Indeed, the total must have gone a long way towards defraying the costs of the entire war.

MAN AND HORSE AND STEEL

The mounted, heavily armored knight immediately recalls the Middle Ages. With lance and shield he thunders across the centuries, sweeping all before him. But, beginning in the Thirteenth Century, he commenced a long, slow decline in the face of increasingly effective infantry. By Agincourt, he had already been several times defeated in encounters with Swiss, Italians, Scots, or Dutch armed with the pike and, of course, by Englishmen armed with the longbow. Nevertheless, in 1415 he was still considered the premier arbiter of battle.

The Man-at-Arms. The custom is to apply the word "knight" to any of the armored cavalrymen of the Feudal Age. This is not accurate by any means. Actually the knight was one, albeit the most honored and ranking one, of a class of such warriors known as *men-at-arms*. Anyone with the armor, the horse, and the training could qualify as a man-at-arms. But only a few would be knights. The knight, almost always of "noble birth," qualified for his position through various arduous ceremonials and essentially belonged to a sort of lay religious brotherhood with strong mystical characteristics. Below him in rank were several degrees of less prestigious men-at-arms: squires, serjeants, *valets de guerre*, and even pages. The heirarchy of men-at-arms below the rank of knight tended to get somewhat complex. A squire, for example, could be a nobly born youth getting some on the job training from a proper knight or could be an independent gentleman of some means or even a hired outrider for a proper knight. A serjeant was usually the hired outrider or the understudy for an independent squire. The *valet de guerre* was a youthful, or not so youthful, servant of a knight or squire. Now, in battle, all of these would be equipped pretty much in the same fashion, though the knight or wealthier independent squire would probably have the most expensive and modern equipment and the best mount. The lower ranking men-at-arms had to make do with older stuff, often very old, and less splendid mounts. In battle the lesser ranking types often ended up in the rear. Indeed, there is some suggestion that the French third "battle" at Agincourt was composed of such: poorly equipped fellows afoot or on old nags, who had just seen the flower of the men-at-arms go down under the English arrows and bills. Not the sort of thing that was good for morale. Finally came the pages, who were really just unarmed boys of 16 or less, in training. There was also a higher rank than knight, the "banneret", or standard bearer, who was usually an experienced man-at-arms—not always a knight—who could be trusted to lead a squadron of his fellows in battle.

Armor. Armor was perhaps the principal characteristic of the man-at-arms. By the time of Agincourt—the early Fifteenth Century—armor was just completing a transition from chainmail to plate. A proper suit of plate, with associated underarmor and padding, ran to a weight of between 40 and 100 pounds, depending upon the degree of protection desired and the stature of the man wearing it. It was actually lighter than chainmail, which required very extensive layers of padding to be effective. The suit was made in literally dozens of separate pieces, all having a special name, specific function, and particular maintenance requirements. The pieces fitted together in a prescribed fashion, thus enhancing the protection afforded. The man-at-arms would first don some light padding, then a vest of chainmail designed as a sort of last ditch defense against punctures. Then the feet would be encased in steel, followed by the legs, the arms, the back, the chest, the hands and the head. Each piece fitted over the preceeding in such a way as to provide extra protection at the junctures. Now, some joints could not be protected by plate and resort was made to the less effective chainmail. As much as possible, all plate surfaces were curved and free of decoration so as to permit blows to glance off. By heavily strengthening the left side, and particularly the left arm, a shield could be dispensed with, thus lightening the man's load considerably and permitting him to use two hands in battle. When all fitted together, the suit of armor was a flexible, well-articulated covering, if not overly comfortable in extreme weather. A man-at-arms in full armor could do pretty much what he could do without it. The notion that a man so equipped was virtually helpless is hardly accurate, as borne out by experiments conducted with actual suits from various periods. Even Ferry de Lorraine, a French man-at-arms who fell at Agincourt, could get around pretty well in his 90 pound suit of armor. Certainly his load was better distributed than that of his many times great-grandsons in the World Wars. A modern infantryman's load has often approached 90 pounds in combat and much of it rested squarely between his shoulders. At Agincourt not everyone wore a proper full suit of plate armor. Armor was expensive. Even for a high ranking noble it represented a considerable investment. Recently a major international corporation offered tailor made suits of armor to its customers at the remarkable price of $2,000, about the price in 1415. Considering that steel is cheaper nowadays than in 1415, one can get the general idea. So many men wore older equipment and some probably even wore full chainmail outfits, which were only about a generation out of date. These people in particular must have been highly vulnerable to the English bodkin point, which was especially designed to pierce chainmail. Of course, armor is essentially defensive. To win battles the man-at-arms had to have offensive equipment.

Weaponry. The existence of armor greatly restricted the types of weapons which could be used by the man-at-arms. Although the sword was an object of almost mystical veneration, it was not normally the main combat arm. Surviving examples are between five and ten pounds, often very tapered and having a very sharp, needle-like point, so that it could be thrust through chainmail and other weak portions of one's armor. Of course against a man properly armored and armed, such a lucky blow would be unlikely. So smashing weapons were more important than thrusting ones. And a considerable variety of smashers existed, including swords, axes, maces, and hammers. These could be relied upon to smash plate and break the bones beneath it. Indeed, a blow to the head, even if it did not smash the helmet, would very likely cause a concussion, rendering the luckless victim incapacitated. Since the man-at-arms was technically a cavalryman he usually also was armed with a lance of some 18 feet in length for use in the charge. At Agincourt, of course, the men-at-arms on both sides fought dismounted, in what had become a custom of sorts. As a result, the French found their lances too long and broke off a couple of feet at the butt to make them more manageable. This probably still left them somewhat unwieldy. The English did not have this problem. Their standard lance was shorter, designed some time before for either mounted or foot use as circumstances dictated. Moreover, many of the English men-at-arms do not seem to have carried lances, but rather bills or halbards. These weapons were about eight feet long and resembled nothing less than gigantic can openers, which was more or less what they were. The halbard, for example, had a broad axe blade, a spear point, and a hook. Thus the man wielding it could chop, stab, or hook his opponent as needed. At Agincourt, the English second line in each "battalion" seems to have used bills and halbards primarily as hooking weapons: reaching over their fellows in the first line, they would hook an unsuspecting French man-at-arms and drag him forward and to the ground, where he could be disposed of in more traditional fashion. Finally, of course, everyone carried a dagger, which was often large enough to qualify as a short sword.

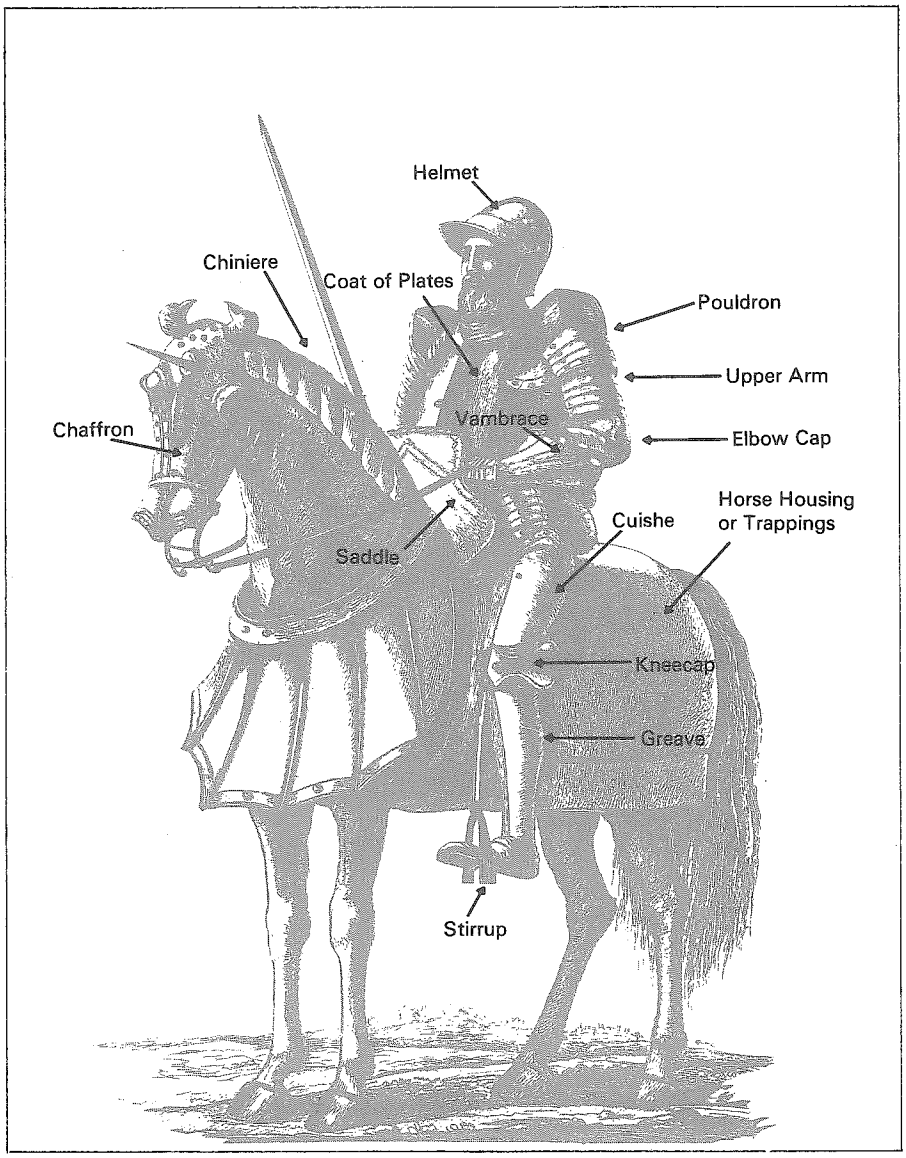
Horses. The man-at-arms was, above all, a cavalryman, so his mount was an essential part of his arms and equipment. It was, accordingly, often costly, running 100 to 200 pounds at times ($30,000-$60,000). Surprisingly, the typical horse for a man-at-arms was not a huge Clydesdale or Percheron type truck horse. Rather it was a largish animal similar to the English hunter or American quarter horse. The point is that the charger did not have nearly the load which is customarily assumed, at least in the period when the mounted man-at-arms was an effective battlefield combination. (Later, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries grossly overweight armor, and even extensive horse-armor, was introduced, making it almost impossible for the man-at-arms or his mount to do anything. But by then the system was already long since obsolete.) The total weight to be carried was usually no more than 250 pounds—man-at-arms, armor, weapons, and saddle altogether. Horses, at this time, carried little protection. Of course, this made them highly vulnerable to arrows, but it did keep things light. A Napoleonic *cuirassier* tipped the scales at about the same weight as a Fifteenth Century man-at-arms. Many mounts were trained to aid in the fight with hooves and teeth. But no horse, however well-trained, was willing to run itself up against a row of spear points. So once steady infantry evolved, beginning in the Thirteenth Century, mounted combat began to go out of style. The man and horse combination which had dominated the battlefield for some 600 years became obsolete.

Training. For a nobly born person, or even a person of gentle birth, training was a matter of life. From his youth, the potential man-at-arms engaged in hunts, jousts, and games, all of which helped ready him for battle. There was a lot to learn: riding; mounted combat with lance, sword, axe, mace, and whatnot; dismounted combat; and the rules of chivalry

and heraldry. Men often started as pages and learned on the job, working their way up in rank. It is by no means certain, however, that the man-at-arms was particularly skillful. Most of his work was pretty simple; swordplay, for example, was essentially a matter of cut-and-thrust, rather than anything resembling fencing, which evolved in Italy in the Sixteenth Century. But however well-trained, eventually he had to go into battle.

Organization. The man-at-arms did not go off to war in a vast disorganized mass. A regular system of organization existed, though one which might give a modern staff officer nightmares. Basically, all men-at-arms in an army were organized into "lances." A lance was a combat team of three to six men, though in exceptional cases it consisted of more. Typically it would be headed by a knight or independent squire, supported by one or two squires or serjeants, a *valet de guerrre* or page or both, and perhaps even one or two bowmen. Normally this would be the retinue of a single individual, consisting of himself and the men he was obliged, by contract or feudal oath, to supply in time of war. Five or ten lances would form a troop or "post" usually under the senior knight or squire. Several such troops would form a squadron or "banner" under a still more senior man, perhaps a baron or other lord. Eventually a separate rank was evolved, banneret, to designate the man qualified to lead a banner. A great lord, such as a duke or count or earl, would of course be likely to bring a considerable number of lances with him. And his own personal "lance"—everyone wore two or more hats in this primitive TO&E—might consist of a fairly large number of men-at-arms, who comprised his bodyguard and personal retinue. In battle, groups of banners would form the various lines or "battalions" or "battles" which the army would be divided into. Rank, of course, rather than practical military experience, often determined who would receive the post of greatest responsibility.

Tactics and Effectiveness. The ultimate, indeed the only, tactic of the mounted man-at-arms was the charge. This was surprisingly short. Although Hollywood would have us believe that cavalry can charge for hours, the horse is actually a less durable runner than man. So most charges lasted no more than four or five minutes. Usually this was mostly accomplished at the trot, perhaps three to five miles per hour. But when the enemy was within 50 yards or so, the attacker would pick up speed to about 12 to 15 miles per hour. This is actually less than a horse's maximum speed, but it preserves his wind. At the moment of impact, the kinetic energy was enormous: an 1800 pound man and horse charging at 15 miles per hour possesses nearly 2,000,000 foot pounds of kinetic energy! Small wonder that it took centuries to evolve infantry steady enough to face up to the charge of the mounted man-at-arms. But, of course, such infantry was evolved: the Swiss, the Italians, the Scots, and the Dutch all developing sturdy pikemen who could stand against the mailed ranks presenting unwavering rows of spear points for the horses to impale themselves upon. As the horses were usually more conscious of their survival than were their riders, it became increasingly difficult to drive home a charge against such a foe. So dismounted combat began to develop. The English were the first to be successful with it. The man-at-arms was essentially a spearman on horseback, so they began taking him off from time to time in the face of particular problems: superior numbers of enemy men-at-arms; sturdy enemy infantry; ground ill-suited to cavalry; and so on. And the man-at-arms became an infantryman. The English rapidly understood that this was a reasonable option. Apparently the French considered it somewhat less than desirable. Of course the English used the system defensively, well supported by natural features and by their excellent longbowmen. The French had to use it most often offensively, unsupported by effective missile troops. From the evidence, it appears that the system was ideal for defense. Certainly the few occasions when the French were able to employ it in that manner worked for them. At Formigny, 15 April 1450, an English army of 4500 men-at-arms and archers encountered a French army of 5000 men-at-arms *with* two light cannon. The English deployed in their traditional fashion. The French dismounted, lined up, and let the cannon work over the English just out of longbow range. After a few enfilading rounds, the English broke ranks, charged, and were wiped off the field by a counter-charge of the French men-at-arms acting as infantry. In essence, the French had done to the English what Henry V did to them at Agincourt: provoked an attack. At Agincourt the French ought to have stood on the defensive. Once Henry forced them to attack, they were doomed.



Armor at the time of Agincourt (horse armor of a later era). This sketch gives some idea of the more up-to-date patterns of armor worn at Agincourt. Only the principal pieces have been named: a panoply this extensive may have had over 100 separate parts. The use of relatively less effective chainmail is fairly widespread, demonstrating that this outfit falls toward the end of the transition from full chainmail armor to complete plate coverage. The charger is protected only about the head and neck, leaving a considerable area of the body exposed to arrows. Later, of course, armor, for both man and horse, was to become considerably more extensive. But by then it was already becoming obsolete.

"WITH CLOTH YARD SHAFT . . . ."

Celebrated in song and story, the yeoman archer with his longbow stands as the most uniquely English contribution to the art of war. Surprisingly, our knowledge of this man, of his weapon, and of their function in battle is poor. In its day the longbow was so common an object that everyone must have understood something of its construction, use, and capabilities. As it went out of style, fewer and fewer people shared that knowledge. And eventually, there was no one left. So today we must rely on a very small bit of firsthand evidence, supplemented by our knowledge of the modern sporting bow, and with the gaps filled in by some well-reasoned conclusions based on inherent military probability.

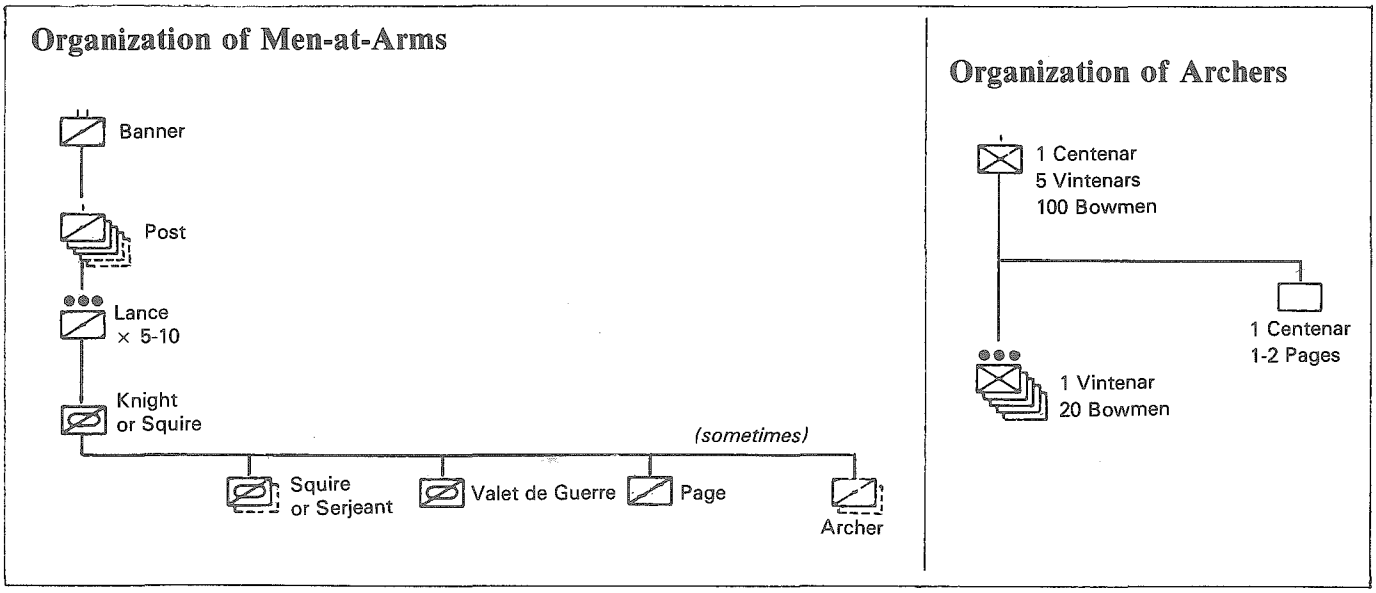
Equipment. Based on the three admittedly incomplete, but genuine bows which have come down to us, the typical English longbow seems to have been between 6' and 6' 4" long, about 4" around the grip, and weighing perhaps six to eight pounds. The best bows were made of Mediterranean yew, which is springier and sturdier than that grown in the cold damps of England. Oiling with wax or fat helped preserve the bow and its linen string from the elements. Arrows were 37" long—the famous *cloth yard*—with a plain, unbarbed steel head—the famous *bodkin* point. Fletching, preferably of peacock, was more normally of cheaper duck or goose feathers and occasionally of parchment. Twenty-four arrows constituted a *sheaf*, of which six were long-range *flight* arrows, whilst the balance were ordinary man-killers, or *sheaf* arrows. Each arrow weighed two to three ounces so a sheaf ran to about four pounds. Some archers carried their shafts in a belt quiver, but it was not unusual for a man to just jam them into his belt. The normal combat kit for an archer ran to his bow, one or two sheaves—with or without quiver—and an axe, sword or leadened mallet. This was supplemented with a quilted surcoat over his normal rags, plus a belt to jam all his gear into, and some sort of footgear. A few men wore helmets, most just a boiled leather cap. So John Yeoman went to war light, with no more than 25 pounds of arms and not half of that in other gear. The king supplied a nag for him to ride, but otherwise the bowman was required to supply most of his equipment himself, out of his princely six pence a day salary. And it was princely: a mason of the day made only four pence! So war was profitable. For the survivors.

Training. The yeoman was required to maintain and practice with the bow by England's ancient militia laws. Indeed, any activity except Church and practice was prohibited on Sundays and holy days. These practice sessions were social, as well as military affairs. And there were pecuniary and social rewards for accuracy, as well as military ones. Mandatory practice might not make everyone a Robin Hood, but it did produce a pool of effective, trained bowmen. Nor did the king necessarily want a host of Robin Hoods. He did want men who could deliver fast, accurate, disciplined fire at need. So practice stressed mass fire at area targets. Each parish had its Captain of Archers, usually a professional soldier in the employ of the local squire. This worthy supervised what was known as *clout* (i.e., cloth) shooting. A large piece of cloth was spread on the ground or on a frame set at a slight angle. The Captain would then drill his men to fire into the cloth from various ranges. Normal practice was conducted at about 200 yards—ten score paces. As the men were not stupid, a series of simple commands was easily learned which enabled the Captain to regulate fire. All of this would, of course, pay off in battle.

Organization. When war came, the king usually contracted with various nobles, barons, knights, and other magnates for varying numbers of soldiers. These men would hire—or press—bowmen. Most of the bowmen would be grouped not with their technical employer's entourage for further practice, but rather with the bowmen from other households, so as to be better organized for battle. Over each twenty men an old soldier, or *vintenar* ("twentier"), was placed. Five such commands were grouped under a mounted squire, or *centenar* ("hundreder"). These, in turn, were subject to an overall commander of archers, such as Sir Thomas Erpingham was at Agincourt. The system reeks of efficiency. The *vintenars* and *centenars* commanded what were, in effect, platoons and companies. The similarity to modern infantry usage is striking. And modern infantry usage is based on the number of men that can be directly commanded in battle by one man.

Deployment. There were apparently about 4600 bowmen on 660 yards of front in the English array at Agincourt. This approximates seven men per yard of front. As each man had an anti-cavalry stake implanted in the ground in front of him, the depth of the front must have been about 14 yards. If arranged in checkerboard fashion, the individual bowman would have had about two yards between him and the next man in any direction. *Vintenars* would have been at the head of their commands, which would have occupied three yards of front. The *centenars* must have stood mounted some yards in front of their men, who would have occupied about 15 yards of front. So a mass of 500 archers, as at Agincourt, would have occupied about 80 yards of front, 14 yards deep, and must have looked much like an infantry battalion in Napoleonic times, with horsed officers to the fore and NCOs at the heads of their platoons, all presenting a neat, symmetrical appearance. But neatness was not the object.

Fire Control. To weigh in the scales of battle, the archers had to deliver fire when needed, where needed, and in the volume needed. This required a system of fire control to tell them when, where, and how much to shoot. From available evidence, Sir Thomas Erpingham, in addition to being in charge of marshalling the bowmen, was also accorded the honor of conveying the order to loose at Agincourt. This was probably done by trumpet blast or the waving of Sir Thomas' banner. The *centenars* relayed the command to the *vintenars*, and they to the men, who would loose. The whole process must have greatly resembled what happens when a well-drilled battalion is put through its paces by the sergeant major: commands echoing and a ripple of execution passing through the ranks almost before he has finished. Once the overall command to shoot was given, the regulation of range and rate of fire must have been in the hands of the *centenars*, the noise and confu-



sion being too great for quick reference to higher authority. Simple commands, based on practice standards—"Seven score paces! Six score and ten!"—must have been used, and the men were probably briefed beforehand anyway (certainly the *centenars* and *vintenars*must have been) to facilitate regulation of rate of fire and possible movements during battle. The net result is that the king had his firepower when he needed it, where he needed it, and in the amounts he needed.

Effectiveness. This, of course, was the essence of the matter. No matter how well trained, well organized, and well equipped, if the troops could not inflict damage on the enemy they may as well have stayed home. The problem is to define effectiveness. To be effective, the longbowmen had to reach the enemy before the enemy reached the bowmen. At this they were quite good, though not nearly so good as legend and Hollywood suggest. While maximum range was in excess of 300 yards, the object was killing, not world distance records. A flight arrow could kill an unarmored man or horse at about 250 yards. If it could hit him. Accuracy at this range, or indeed much over 120 yards, was primarily a matter of luck. Moreover, the target, unless a horse, was not likely to be unarmored, but rather encased in various layers of plate and chain armor. A direct impact (i.e., at 90°) by a sheaf arrow with bodkin point was supposedly capable of piercing ¼" plate at 120 yards. This did not, of course, mean instant death to the wearer, as he was likely to have a light chain mail shirt and some quilted padding under his plate. Moreover, the plate was curved so as to *prevent* direct impact: the arrows would thus glance off. This is supported by modern experimentation. It seems fairly certain that armored men were rarely killed outright by the cloth yard shaft. Certainly the mathematics of the situation must lead us to this conclusion. At Agincourt the English shot between 120,000 and 240,000 shafts, but the French suffered only about 6000 dead and perhaps a further 2000 wounded. So it required between 15 and 30 arrows to inflict injury on one man, even ignoring the work of the English men-at-arms. This is hardly deadly fire. The real impact of the arrows must therefore have been to harass the attackers, disorganizing them for the hand-to-hand fighting which was to come. Now this is not to say that men were not killed by the longbow. Large portions of the man-at-arms' body was not protected by plate armor. The joints, the neck, the eyes, the groin were all either unprotected or covered with chain mail alone. And all were highly vulnerable. Of course to hit these by means of aimed fire would have been difficult. Moreover, aimed fire would have had to have been of low volume. In a block of 500 bowmen, only about 25% might be able to employ aimed fire. The rest would be screened by their comrades to the front. So volume of fire must have been more important than aimed fire. A large number of shafts reaching an area target—which was what clout shooting was all about—would result in a fair number of hits in places of high vulnerability, plus a considerable amount of disorder. As long as the volume was kept up, the accuracy and effectiveness of the individual shaft were not important. And volume it truly was. A single volley by the English at Agincourt—perhaps 4600 shafts—weighed some 725 pounds! In contemporary terms this would be equal to the weight of 22 howitzer shells (105mm), albeit lacking the explosive content. At the theoretical maximum of six shafts per minute, the English would be delivering a projectile mass equal to that of almost four batteries of 150s. Assuming each Englishman expended just 48 shafts at Agincourt—his "basic load" plus whatever he could pick up from the field averaged together—the total weight delivered would have been upwards of 16 tons, all in the form of some 200,000-odd arows. Of course to maintain this volume, certain conditions had to be met. To begin with, the bowmen had to be protected from unfriendly swords, axes, and whatnot. This was done through the use of the stakes. But more importantly, the range had to be sufficient to permit the rear-rank men to employ relatively high angle fire. Otherwise, as the range decreased, so too would the volume of fire, and thus the rate of useful hits. Apparently the most effective range—and therefore the maximum "killing zone"—was between 100 and 150 yards. At Agincourt, the French cooperated by placing themselves deliberately in that zone. And the result was a French disaster.

Footnote: Shortbows and Crossbows

The French had 3000 or 4000 bowmen at Agincourt, about two-thirds of whom were armed with the shortbow, while the rest carried the crossbow. Having been placed behind the first "battle" and over on the French right behind the cavalry, these archers played no part in the battle as far as can be determined, although there is a suggestion that they attempted to follow behind the charging cavalry at about 1125, only to be beaten off by the longbow volleys which decimated the cavalry.

The shortbow was a rather feeble affair. In every way it was inferior to the longbow: range, accuracy, effectiveness, impact. The French had some tens of thousands of militia armed with this three or four foot weapon. One of their kings, smarting under the impact of English arrows, had tried to establish a national bow-armed yeomanry such as the English had enjoyed. But he picked the wrong bow. The crossbow, however, was another matter.

In the English-speaking world the crossbow is usually given short shrift, being considered generally inferior to the long bow. Some of this attitude derives from social or moral considerations: crossbowmen were usually mercenaries. And much of it is understandable ethnocentrism. But not a little of it must derive from the fact that the two weapons were never tested against each other in battle. For each has certain advantages and disadvantages which might have made for an interesting outcome.

The crossbow has three principal disadvantages. It has a somewhat shorter range than the longbow, no more than 250 yards or so, though the effective ranges seem to have been similar, 100 to 150 yards. The rate of fire is rather low, no more than two shots per minute, but this was probably reduced to one in practical terms. Most importantly, however, the crossbow was a complex piece of machinery, liable to break or become damaged easily. Now, on the other side of the argument, the crossbow has certain clear advantages. It is more accurate than the longbow up to its maximum range. And it is far more effective. There exist numerous examples of plate armor pierced by crossbow bolts, but few, if any, pierced by longbow shafts.

So what would the outcome have been in a stand up fight? One can never know. Probably the superior maximum range of the longbow would have been the decisive element: crossbowmen were armed and equipped like longbowmen. Without armor the crossbowmen might have been massacred before coming into effective range. But one wonders.

THE LONGBOW COMPARED

Weapon	*Wt*	*PWt*	*MV*	*IKE*	*RPM*	*Range*
Longbow	6-8.0	1000	140	1372	6/2	150
Crossbow	10.0	1900	140	2646	2/1	150
Arquebus	15.0	700	100	1000	½ / ½	75
"Brown Bess"	10.7	500	1,200	50,400	6/3	100
Minie Rifle	9.5	740	950	47,381	6/3	350
Mauser '98	9.0	154	2,500	68,750	20/10	800
M1	9.5	150	2,700	76,545	24/12	800
M16	6.3	110	1,080	8,748	850/650	450

This table compares the English longbow and the contemporary crossbow with other famous infantry small arms: the early Sixteenth Century Arquebus; the English "old Brown Bess" Tower Musket, in use from the early 1700s through the 1800s; the American Model 1842 Rifle-Musket widely used in the mid-1800s; the German Infantry Rifle '98 used extensively since 1898; the American M1 Garand Semi-automatic rifle; and the current American M16 rifle. The important data in the table is the IKE, or initial kinetic energy: the energy possessed by the projectile as it leaves the weapon. This helps determine both range and effectiveness. The higher this figure, the better both will be. A kinetic energy of about 75 foot pounds is required to pierce human skin, but at least 150 foot pounds is necessary to inflict severe injury. Thus, both the longbow and the crossbow were superior to firearms through the Sixteenth Century.

Abbreviations: *Wt* = weight in pounds of the weapon; *PWt* = weight in grams of the projectile; *MV* = muzzle velocity, the speed at which the projectile leaves the weapon, in feet per second; *IKE* = initial kinetic energy, the energy of the projectile as it leaves the weapon, a factor of projectile weight and muzzle velocity, expressed in foot pounds; *RPM* = rounds per minute, with the maximum given first, then the normal; *Range* = the effective range, in yards.

AGINCOURT AND OTHER MEDIEVAL MYSTERIES

We know a great deal about the Battle of Agincourt. Indeed, we know a great deal about the Middle Ages in general. But there is much that we do not know, and what we do not know is frequently of critical importance. The principal reason that we lack accurate information on many aspects of Medieval life is not due to any lack of interest: Medieval studies constitute a remarkably vibrant branch of History. Nor is there any lack of resources: documentation on the period is voluminous. Rather the problem stems from the fact that people usually do not write down for posterity what they consider common knowledge. Future archaeologists digging into the ruins of Des Moines or New York may well be hard pressed to explain the purpose of certain peculiar small loops of metal which we produced in great profusion: documentary references to beer can pull tabs are likely to be rare. This module is designed to point out some of the things we do not know about warfare in late Medieval times—with particular reference to Agincourt—and to explain how we have attempted to fill in the gaps where necessary.

The principal tool used in helping us reconstruct what we know is something called *Inherent Military Probability,* or IMP for short. IMP is the application of common sense and basic military knowledge to any situation in which we find the sources to be of little help. In effect, we infer from available information and certain fundamentally unchanging data, the probably original circumstances. These facts are things like march rates, food consumption, common practice of the times, and so forth. Nor is an occasional bit of practical experimentation unwelcome. While the use of this technique can only establish a probability, rather than a certainty, it is nevertheless a highly reliable probability and a particularly useful tool.

We have nearly a dozen eye-witness accounts of the Battle of Agincourt. All of the accounts, whether of French or English provenance, are in general agreement as to the general course of events. But all of them are woefully inadequate and contradictory when it comes to details. What follows is a series of brief discussions concerning some of the many points which could stand clarification.

Numbers. Medieval use of numbers was remarkably casual. Frequently we find reference to armies running into the hundreds of thousands, carelessness with casualty figures, and an incredible lack of accuracy in accounting. For Agincourt the English frequently claimed that the French numbered upwards of 100,000, while the French often gave the English two or three times their probable strength. Aside from the practical impossibility of feeding such hordes, the size of the battlefield alone would indicate the impossibility of such numbers. As noted in our discussion of the battle, the field was just wide enough for the English army to fit comfortably, and just a little too narrow for the French. Moreover, careful examination of admittedly fragmentary muster rolls for the English army show that our estimate of something near 6000 is not far from the truth. No such documents appear to survive for the French, but the entourages of certain of the magnates in their army are known with some degree of accuracy, enabling us to make a reasonable estimate of their numbers as well. Casualty figures are also a problem and the English frequently put in claims of upwards of 50,000 French dead. But, aside from some few hundred men buried in local church yards, all their dead were interred in a vast excavation by the Bishop of Cambrai, who totalled them to 6000, which in itself is probably as accurate a figure as we will ever see. English casualties have been stated as anything between 12 and 100. As the names of at least 26 men killed are known—all knights or other gentlemen—it is probable that the latter figure is closer to the truth. Certainly such revised figures would in no way detract from the magnitude of King Harry's victory.

Organization. Strictly speaking we know virtually nothing about the internal organization of either the French or the English armies. However, the English system of *vintenars* and *centenars* had been in use since the time of Edward III a century earlier, and there is occasional reference to men holding these ranks, so the inference is on firm ground. Edward III had also experimented with groupings of 1000 bowmen, called *milliards.* But these had been employed only briefly and then apparently abandoned, thus they were excluded from our discussion. It is highly probable that the French crossbowmen and shortbowmen were organized in very much the same fashion— there was remarkably little variation in military practice from country to country in this period —but this is something for which we have no evidence. The grouping of men-at-arms into lances, posts, and banners is by no means clear for this battle, but the practice was very common and has been assumed.

Deployment. We know surprisingly few details about the deployment of the French. There were, to be sure, three divisions of men-at-arms, plus their bowmen and a couple of bombards. It is certain that the two divisions of men-at-arms which actually participated in the battle were dismounted. And it is clear that at least a part of their third division was mounted, but by no means certain that all of it was, particularly if, as has been assumed, this "battle" was composed primarily of *valets de guerre* and pages. There is some difficulty concerning the deployment of the French bowmen since they are reported as being squeezed between the first and second "battles," but with some also over on their right. Several accounts of the battle place some bowmen on the French left as well, but this is by no means clear. French bombards—however many there were—are variously reported as being all on the right, split between the two flanks, or, in one case, all on their left. The first option has been adopted. (Incidentally the effectiveness of these guns is difficult to determine. Only one Englishman was killed by gunfire, but that was probably due to the fact that the advancing infantry rapidly masked the pieces.) The situation for the English is somewhat better known. Nevertheless, there are several hazy areas. The most important of these is that some accounts have King Hal sending a strong detachment of archers in the forest of Tramecourt to provide enfilading fire. Not all accounts are in agreement with this, and it is possible that such troops as were in this wood had infiltrated from the large right flank block of bowmen. A very interesting question is how the area between the archer blocks and the men-at-arms was arranged: was there some sort of a gap between each group or did the outside archer rub shoulders with the outermost man-at-arms?

Command. This is perhaps the most difficult area. Bluntly we have *no* idea how either army was commanded. We know who was technically in command, but we are unable to explain the process by which they conveyed orders once the show began. All of the ranking personnel in both armies were involved in the hand-to-hand combat and clearly unable to take matters in hand. Erpingham, for example, was almost certainly King Henry's marshal with direct responsibility for the bowmen. But during the battle he stood with the king in the central "battalion" taking part in the melee. So who regulated the rate of fire? Was everything left up to the judgment of the individual *centenars* and *vintenars*? Or was there a "fire plan" agreed upon in advance? For this, and other command questions, we are likely never to have an answer.

Equipment. Superficially it would appear that this area would present the fewest problems. In fact, in its way it presents fully as many difficulties as some other aspects of the battle, for we can not be sure what type of armor was being used by most of the men-at-arms involved. Unquestionably the magnates —the King, the Dukes, the Earls, the Counts— wore the most up-to-date, stylish equipment. But armor was extremely expensive. A relatively cheap iron outfit ran around one pound sterling. For superior steel it could go as high as four pounds, roughly $1200. Many of the lesser nobility were not remarkable for their wealth. And the ordinary man-at-arms, the squire, the serjeant, the *valet de guerre* were often relatively impoverished. They often had to make do with their overlords' hand-me-downs or odds and ends of loot. So there is a very high probability that many of the men-at-arms at Agincourt were wearing outdated armor. Indeed, it would seem that an army in this period, particularly if it was a feudal levy such as the French at Agincourt, was something of a mobile museum of military fashion, with some men encased in the most stylish steel plate, whilst others got along in century-old chain mail. Hardly the image one conjures when thinking of the word "knighthood."

The Heralds. There is an interesting question concerning the heralds at Agincourt. Heralds were originally officials charged with supervising coats-of-arms and protocol. As time went on they were also used for communications between rival armies. At Agincourt the English and French heralds had arranged for the battle to take place where it did. During the battle they are said to have stood together viewing the action from someplace on the field. At the end of the battle the French heralds conceded that the English had won and offered "Agincourt" as a convenient name for the fight. The problem is: Where did the heralds stand? The battlefield was very narrow, with woods on either side so they had to have been standing *on* it while the

fight raged all around them. Hardly a comfortable situation. Nor one likely to be particularly safe.

Time Sequence. It is fairly certain that the armies deployed about dawn and that the battle itself began somewhat before noon and ended sometime in the early afternoon. Unfortunately, it is unclear just how long the action actually lasted. The times indicated in this article are based on an estimate of the minimum time necessary for the events to unfold in view of our knowledge about march rates, rate of arrow fire, the nature of the terrain, and the minimum time necessary to do in one's fellow man whilst he is trying to do you in. If anything, the times given may be 5%-10% too low.

The Cavalry Action. There is some dispute as to the number of mounted men-at-arms the French had available for the opening cavalry charge, and it has been suggested that only their right flank horse took part. In our account we have assumed an attack from both flanks, but with less than the maximum available number of men because there is evidence that the English archers on both flanks were engaged. The general description relied heavily on the known capabilities and practices of cavalry.

The First Division Attack. The discussion relies on the question of the physical space required for a given group of men to fight properly, plus the fact that all accounts agree that the French ranks were very crowded. The English fallback has sometimes been attributed to the impact of the French onslaught, but is more probably deliberate, so that the French would lose momentum. The tactic's use is recorded elsewhere. The problems created by the corpses which quickly began to litter the front are examined in some detail by John Keegan in *The Face of Battle.* Certainly they interfered with the action, but there is no reason to believe they quickly piled up into small mountains.

The Archers' Intervention. We know that the English bowmen began attacking stray French men-at-arms shortly after the action began. Our account presumes they did so when their arrow supply was nearly exhausted, roughly half-an-hour after they began to shoot assuming a minimal rate of fire. The general details culled from all accounts tend to agree as to this series of events.

The Second Division Attack. It is clear that a considerable time passed before the French second "battle" intervened. It is not clear why they did not do so earlier. The Duke of Alencon's adventures are largely reconstructed. His difficulties in getting the third "battle" to move would indicate that the chain-of-command had broken, if one ever existed. French casualties up to this point are very difficult to assess, but it is highly probable that a great many men were running away, perhaps more than were actually engaged in fighting.

The Suicide Squad. Most accounts of the battle agree that this group of knights really existed and actually made a suicidal attack on King Henry, only to be wiped out to a man. None, however, place this attack relative to the larger framework of the battle. We have assumed it occurred during the first French attack. It may just as well have come during the second attack—if it happened at all.

The Duke of Brabant. There is general agreement that the Duke arrived without his equipment or retinue. We know he borrowed some armor—unimpressive stuff at that—and must assume he "borrowed" some men from the third "battle" in order to make his attack, as it does seem to have been made mounted.

Fauquembourg's Attack. This action is by no means clear. Beyond the bare fact that it occurred, we have virtually no information. It is probably that only a small portion of the third "battle" took part in this mounted charge. Most likely the attack was broken up by the last few volleys available to the English as there is no evidence of any English casualties resulting from this movement.

The Slaughter of the Prisoners. There is no question but that King Henry *did* order the prisoners killed. Just how many were so treated, however, is conjectural. The stated purpose, that the King feared they would snatch weapons from the field and fall on his army from the rear, can only hold water if we assume the English had advanced during the battle, which is unlikely since available evidence tends to suggest that they fell back somewhat. (All accounts mention the French as having trouble with corpses underfoot, not the English. Such a situation would be impossible if the English were slowly advancing during the battle.) The suggestion that the move was intended to cow the prisoners is a reasonable one.

Class Solidarity. All the accounts of the battle suggest that both sides fought with great courage. This seems to have been somewhat less than accurate. Indeed, it is almost certain that many Frenchmen must have run away from the field. The total number of French troops committed to combat was perhaps 16,000 to 18,000. These suffered upwards of 7000 dead on the outside, plus perhaps 2000 taken prisoner. We are therefore left to account for something between 7000 and 9000 additional men who were committed to action but whose fate we cannot be certain of. As only a small number are supposed to have fallen back when the French broke off combat, there can be but one conclusion: a great many men took off on their own, probably in panic. That this panic is not recorded by any of the eyewitnesses is understandable given that the upper class of both sides felt more akin to each other than to their less fortunate fellow-countrymen. Also, who would admit he lost a battle due to panic in the ranks or gained as victory because the enemy ran away?

The foregoing discussion by no means exhausts the unanswered questions concerning Agincourt. We could go on. But there is so much more that the task would soon fill the entire magazine. These examples serve to illustrate what we know, what we don't know, and what we can conjecture with some certainty. As in these cases, we have attempted to deal with all similar cases in a like fashion.



DESIGNERS NOTES

I've come to realize that it is quite difficult for the designer to write designer's notes. For the simple reason that, being the designer, one is very familiar with all the details that went into the design of the game — so familiar that it is difficult to pick out those elements that would be of most interest to players. Normally, I would just take the rules outline and try to say something cogent about each section. This provides something approaching what designer's notes should be, but rarely what they *could* be. My current solution for this problem is to have the game's developer write up a list of items he would like to see covered. Next time around, I think I'll have some of the playtesters draw up lists also. Meanwhile, let us take up Dave Werden's list, point by point.

Why the double size counters?

That's a hell of a question to start off with, since the idea for double size counters was Dave Werden's. Before that we just had normal size counters and a more complicated set of rules to recreate the same effect as the current large counters. To answer the question, however, the reason for the double size counters was to represent the large (and therefore unwieldy) line formations used in that period. The English, because of their smaller numbers, had smaller formations. Given the basic laws of physics (two objects cannot occupy the same space at the same time), this was, and is, a critical consideration in simulating the battle. I generally avoid new shape components, having had to handle the production details years ago. Dave is not bothered by that and the game has benefitted from it.

Why do morale losses cause fugitive losses?

The concept of discipline was somewhat ill-defined during this period. What held armies together was "honor" (among the nobles) and sheer force of personality (for most of the folks). This "force of personality" was the implicit assurance that "the boss (the titled leader) would put things right." When it becomes obvious that the boss cannot prevent violent death at the hands of the enemy, the mass of the fighting men lose one compelling reason to keep at it. About 5% of the force represented the "honorable" leaders. As these were killed or disabled (by wounds or by their own hesitation), their followers would literally drift away from the battle. There being no military police to straighten such matters out, these "morale fugitives" would continue on off the battlefield. Up until World War I, this sort of thing was quite common. How soon we forget.

Why are English losses at morale checks usually from the fatigue morale?

Eventually, either side would be worn down from the sheer exertion of hustling about in all that armor, not to mention the physical and mental stress from actually fighting. Even though the English were having it all over the French, the magnitude of this success was sufficient to cause debilitating fatigue. This fatigue was severe enough to lower the combat capabilities of the English. The French were usually killed, or scared off, before this could happen to them.

Why were only 100 or so of the English casualties?

First of all, the English simply didn't expose themselves to the effects of enemy weapons. The unarmored archers were protected from the enemy horsemen by their stakes and from the dismounted enemy men-at-arms by the French contempt for yeomen. Never underestimate the effects of sociology on military affairs. When the English and French men-at-arms did finally close, the English simply overpowered the French at the point of contact because of a number of reasons, any one of which could have been decisive in a battle. First of all, the French were too crowded

together to use their weapons properly. Further, the English were better at dismounted combat (the French were better mounted). The French were more fatigued, much less disciplined (especially compared with the English). As the first French fell to the English "hook and bash" tactics, more victims were unwillingly pushed forward by their eager, unaware comrades in the rear. The English, with a thinner line, used a tactic whereby a man behind the first rank would thrust out with a long pole, tipped with a pointed "hook." Once an enemy man-at-arms was hooked, the victim would be pulled forward (often off his feet) where another English man-at-arms in the first rank would dispatch the hapless Frenchman with sword or axe. The bodies would pile up (making it more difficult for a hooked Frenchman to keep to his feet). The English eventually advanced on the wavering French line, which was beginning to thin out and lose its eagerness for advancing. The French got some blows in, but both English and French men-at-arms were well armored and would, in a one-on-one combat where neither party went to ground, be unlikely to do each other any lasting harm. In the Agincourt situation, the French were being brought to ground and disabled. Even if an Englishman was brought to ground, the French were rarely in a position to do anything about it, given the tactical situation.

The yeomen were, essentially, unarmored (a leather jacket gave some protection). In a line versus line situation, yeomen (acting as light infantry, not archers) against men-at-arms would result in a great slaughter, assuming the yeomen were dumb enough to stand still and not use their superior mobility to run away. This superior mobility became critical in fluid situations where groups of two or more yeomen could gang up on an individual man-at-arms, bring him down and kill or capture him. In addition to greater mobility, the yeomen had an equally effective advantage in his field of vision, which was far superior to that from inside the man-at-arm's elaborate helmet. Given the above factors, and the historical record (the battle was well documented, especially regarding casualties), it is no wonder that English casualties were so low. And all of this had to be worked into the game.

Most other historical points are answered in Al Nofi's article. There are, however, a number of interesting comments to be made on the game design. For instance, the basic element of the design was how to simulate the English surviving at all. It was this problem which got me the job in the first place. The fellow who wrote the original proposal blanched when he discovered that the game had made it. He quickly took stock of the situation and immediately sent for SPI's resident relief designer — me. This being one of my favorite periods, I was familiar with the problems. This was essential, for familiarity with the period meant that one knew Agincourt was an exceptional battle at the time it was fought. The French knew what the English "system" could do to them if the conditions were right. Two previous major battles, Crecy and Poiters, had been carbon copies of Agincourt. But to remember is one thing, to take the appropriate action is something else. Thus, as the accompanying historical article points out, the battle's outcome was the result of a series of French errors. Without some of the French errors the battle outcome is much less predictable.

How the Basic Game System Evolved

This is one of those topics many gamers are interested in, and which most designers (understandably enough) take for granted. They did it; they know it; so what's the mystery?

How, at what rate, and to what extent did the two armies destroy each other? I knew from the start that we were dealing with losses from fatigue and morale as much as from arrow and axe. The analytical literature on all the above sources of loss was scanty at best. But the outnumbered English won, and many thousands of French skeletons were dug up from the battlefield during the 19th century. We had to re-construct history. This is what a simulation exists to do. Given a minimum of functioning parts, a simulation will generate any missing elements. I made estimates of kill rates for various weapons and began crunching the game through the motions of the historical battle. During this process, many of the mysteries of Agincourt were revealed.

The first mystery to come unravelled was the respective roles of archery, men-at-arms, and yeomen light infantry in causing casualties. While archery made the largest contribution, it was not by itself decisive. The yeomen, acting as archers and then as light infantry, were decisive. But they probably could not have won the battle by themselves. You can easily cook up your own scenario to play this one out. The yeomen light infantry behind their stakes (which would impede dismounted men-at-arms) would not be as efficient inflicting one sided carnage on the French. The yeomen's lack of armor and "heavy weapons" (hooks and heavy swords, etc.) would lower the attrition rate. More importantly, the French would probably spread out and attack the entire line. This would aid the French by reducing their crowding and eliminating the flank archery fire they took historically as they crowded against the three small contingents of English men-at-arms.

We went through extensive "developmental" playtesting to arrive at the current combat results tables. As you can easily deduce from one playing of the game, all of the various "attrition" tables (archery, melee, morale, fatigue, etc.) are interrelated. Deriving a proper balance among all of these was strictly a matter of putting the details of the historical event in front of us while running the game through its paces again and again, making small changes in many combinations until the system works.

With the above in mind, it's easy to see how all the other elements of the game fit in. Actually, once the "base" of the game is constructed, the rest is easy (even enjoyable). The game base in this case consisted of the map, order of battle, and various attrition tables. Everything else (including a lot of "essential" items) we classify as "chrome."

Now you have to be careful with chrome. You can go overboard in some areas and choke on the stuff. There are also two kinds of chrome; "system" and "optional." The system chrome consists of those elements that must be added to the game to support the basic, core elements. In this case system chrome includes movement rules, stacking, etc. The optional chrome is things like leader combat, the suicide squad, terrain elevation on the map, French artillery, additional scenarios, much of the graphic color and detail of the components, etc. To create a successful game, you must have the core elements and a certain amount of system and optional chrome. The proportions of all elements are critical to making the game work well.

Now That You've Done It, How Would You Do It If You Had To Do It Over Again?

A fair question, for one principle I have seen vindicated time and again is the perishability of any design. As long as designers strive constantly to improve the "state of the art," games will become obsolete and benefit from a new design. Some designers take a more extreme view of this than others. I am of the school that believes designing a game could go on and on without ever stopping. All I stop for is to publish what I currently have. More than most games, I am rather satisfied with *Agincourt* as it stands now. I expect more ideas to come out as gamers get into it. Despite the one-sided nature of the historical scenario, the optional scenarios show what a subtle tactical game it is. Because of the nature of the design, we had to do a greater than normal amount of playtesting. Based on what I know now I would be tempted to increase the role of morale and leadership in the game. "Firepower" itself has played a predominant role only in this century. The further back you go, the more critical the role of leadership and morale becomes. You can't ignore pure combat (or "killing") power, but to achieve the highest degree of realism, this killing power must be accurately spliced into the morale/leadership system. Indeed, one of the optional rules dropped (because it showed signs of developing into a full blown game of its own right) dealt with the "council of war" held before the battle (by both sides). In these councils, the basic strategy and tactics, as well as the morale/leadership alignments, were decided upon. This was almost purely politics and obviously could play a crucial (often decisive) role on the outcome of the battle. But enough of this. Suffice to say there's plenty of unexplored ground left for the next Agincourt game. Hope you enjoy playing this one as much as I enjoyed designing it.

Jim Dunnigan

Agincourt: A Bibliography

The literature on Agincourt is voluminous, and a good portion of it was consulted in the production of the Agincourt game and article. Surprisingly, much of the material is in English, with French providing only a small contingent — or perhaps not surprising in view of the outcome — and a few bits and pieces of Latin. The eye-witness accounts of St. Remy, Walsingham, and others are all in general agreement as to the course of the battle, but provide little detailed information on events and virtually nothing on the military system of the time. Primary materials are, in short, not particularly useful.

Secondary accounts of the battle vary considerably. The best undoubtedly are in John Keegan's *The Face of Battle* and Alfred H. Burne's *The Agincourt War.* At the other extreme is Ferdinand Lot's account in *L'Art militaire et les armees au moyen age. . .* , which spends most of its time trying to prove the English greatly outnumbered the French! In between these extremes are the accounts of Christopher Hibbert, *Agincourt*, which is superficial; H. Nicholas, *Agincourt*, and particularly J. Hunter's *Agincourt*, which reprints much original documentation.

Material on the military system and art of war in the period is not well organized. The best general survey remains Charles Oman's *The Art of War in the Middle Ages*, which is now 50 years old. This must be supplemented by such recent materials as Richard A. Newhall's *The English Conquest of Normandy* and *Muster and Review*; Herbert J. Hewitt's *The Organization of War under Edward III*; Michael Powicke's *Military Obligation in Medieval England*; Philippe Contamine's *Guerre, etat et societe a la fin du moyen age*; John Hewitt's *Ancient Arms and Armour in Europe*; Laking's *A Record of European Armour and Arms*; Nagler's *Archery: An Engineering View*; and E.K. Milliken's *Archery in the Middle Ages*, among many others.

The scholarly journals, such as *Journal of British Studies, English Historical Review,* and particularly *Speculum* always contain useful materials, though often such are only obliquely related to Agincourt.

Two individuals who rendered useful assistance were Dr. Helmuth Nickel, Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Mr. Tony Ptolomey, Armourer, of Ramsden, Oxfordshire.

AGINCOURT Countersheet A (Front)

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Admiral 3 3	Orleans 4 4	Marshal 3 3	Cnstable 3 3	Bourbon 4 4	CB I	CB II	CB III	Bar 1 2	Bar 3rd 3
Alencon 2 2	Marle 2 1	Fauqm 2 1	Rambls 1 0	Fait du Mort 4 0	SB I	SB II	SB III	Namur 3rd 3	Hain 3rd 3

French

SB IV	Fauqm 3rd 3	Baumont 3rd 3	Lestrale 3rd 3	IM-PULSE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE
SB V	Marle 3rd 3	Damrtn 3rd 3		GAME-TURN	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD

1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD
1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	Henry V 5 5

Suffolk L	Fitzhugh L	Camois L	W.Cntry L	RylGds L	KngOwn R	Gloucstr R	York R	Huntgtn R	Oxford R
Suffolk L	Fitzhugh L	Camois L	W.Cntry L	RylGds L	KngOwn R	Gloucstr R	York R	Huntgtn R	Oxford R

English

Suffolk ARROW SUPPLY	Fitzhugh ARROW SUPPLY	Camois ARROW SUPPLY	W.Cntry ARROW SUPPLY	RylGds ARROW SUPPLY	KngOwn ARROW SUPPLY	Gloucstr ARROW SUPPLY	York ARROW SUPPLY	Huntgtn ARROW SUPPLY	Oxford ARROW SUPPLY
Camois	Camois 5	Camois 4 2	Gloucstr	Gloucstr 5	Gloucstr 3 4	York	York 5	York 4 3	Erpingtn 3 0

1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD
1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD

1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD	1 DEAD
3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD

Markers

3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	3 DEAD	5 DEAD	5 DEAD	5 DEAD	5 DEAD	5 DEAD
1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE

1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE
1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	1 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE

STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	3 FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE
STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	STAKES CAR	5 FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE	1 Cav FUGI-TIVE

AGINCOURT Countersheet A (Back)

2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD
2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD

2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD
4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD

6 DEAD	6 DEAD	6 DEAD	6 DEAD	6 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD
2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE

2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE
4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE

2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP
2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	2 Cav FUGI-TIVE	6 FUGI-TIVE	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP	STAKES IMP

Bar 3rd 6									

4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	4 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE				Fauqm 3rd 6	
4 DEAD	4 DEAD	4 DEAD	2 FUGI-TIVE	2 FUGI-TIVE			Damrtn 3rd 6	Marle 3rd 6	

2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD
	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD	2 DEAD

Oxford 2	Huntgtn 2	York 2	Gloucstr 2	KngOwn 2	RylGds 2	W.Cntry 2	Camois 2	Fitzhugh 2	Suffolk 2

AGINCOURT Countersheet B (Front)

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Saveuse	*Eu*	*Orleans*	*Roussey*	*Marshal*	*Blamont*	*Richard-mont*	*Vaude-mont*	*Bar*	*Namur*
L	1st	1st	1st	1st	2nd	2nd	2nd	3rd	3rd
Ven-dome	*Grend-pre*	*Con-stable*	*Foix*	*Bourbon*	*Alencon*	*Fauqem-bourg*	*Nevers*	*Heinadt*	*Bar*
R	1st	1st	1st	1st	2nd	3rd	2nd	3rd	2nd

Dam-martin	*Marle*	*Baumont*	*Lestrale*	*SB I*	*SB II*	*SB I* ARROW SUPPLY	*SB II* ARROW SUPPLY	*SB III*	*SB IV*
3rd	3rd	3rd	3rd	R	R			R	R
SB III ARROW SUPPLY	*SB IV* ARROW SUPPLY	*SB V*	*CB I*	*CB II*	*CB III*	*SB V* ARROW SUPPLY	*CB I* ARROW SUPPLY	*CB II* ARROW SUPPLY	*CB III* ARROW SUPPLY
		R	R	R	R				

French

Saveuse L 4	*Eu* 1st 4	*Orleans* 1st 4	*Roussey* 1st 4	*Marshal* 1st 4	
Vendome R 4	*Grendpre* 1st 4	*Constable* 1st 4	*Foix* 1st 4	*Bourbon* 1st 4	

(Double-Size Counters)

Blamont 2nd 4	4	4	4	4
Alencon 2nd 4	4	4	4	4

Richardmont 2nd 4	*Vaudemont* 2nd 4	4	4	4
Bar 2nd 4	*Nevers* 2nd 4	4	4	4

AGINCOURT Countersheet B (Back)



Saveuse

8



Vendome

8

French Line Strength Levels

First Battle Cav.

2nd Line	*Saveuse* 1st Line
2nd Line	*Vendome* 1st Line

First Battle Infantry

7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Eu* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Orleans* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Roussey* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Marshal* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Grenpre* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Constable* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Foix* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Bourbon* 1st Line

Second Battle

7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Nevers* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Vaudemont* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Bar* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Richardmont* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Blamont* 1st Line
7th Line	6th Line	5th Line	4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	*Alencon* 1st Line

Archer Strength Levels

3rd Line	2nd Line	*SB I* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*SB II* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*SB III* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*SB IV* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*SB V* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*CB I* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*CB II* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*CB III* 1st Line

Third Battle Cavalry

2nd Line	*Bar* 1st Line
2nd Line	*Fauqembourg* 1st Line
2nd Line	*Dammartin* 1st Line
2nd Line	*Marle* 1st Line

Third Battle Infantry

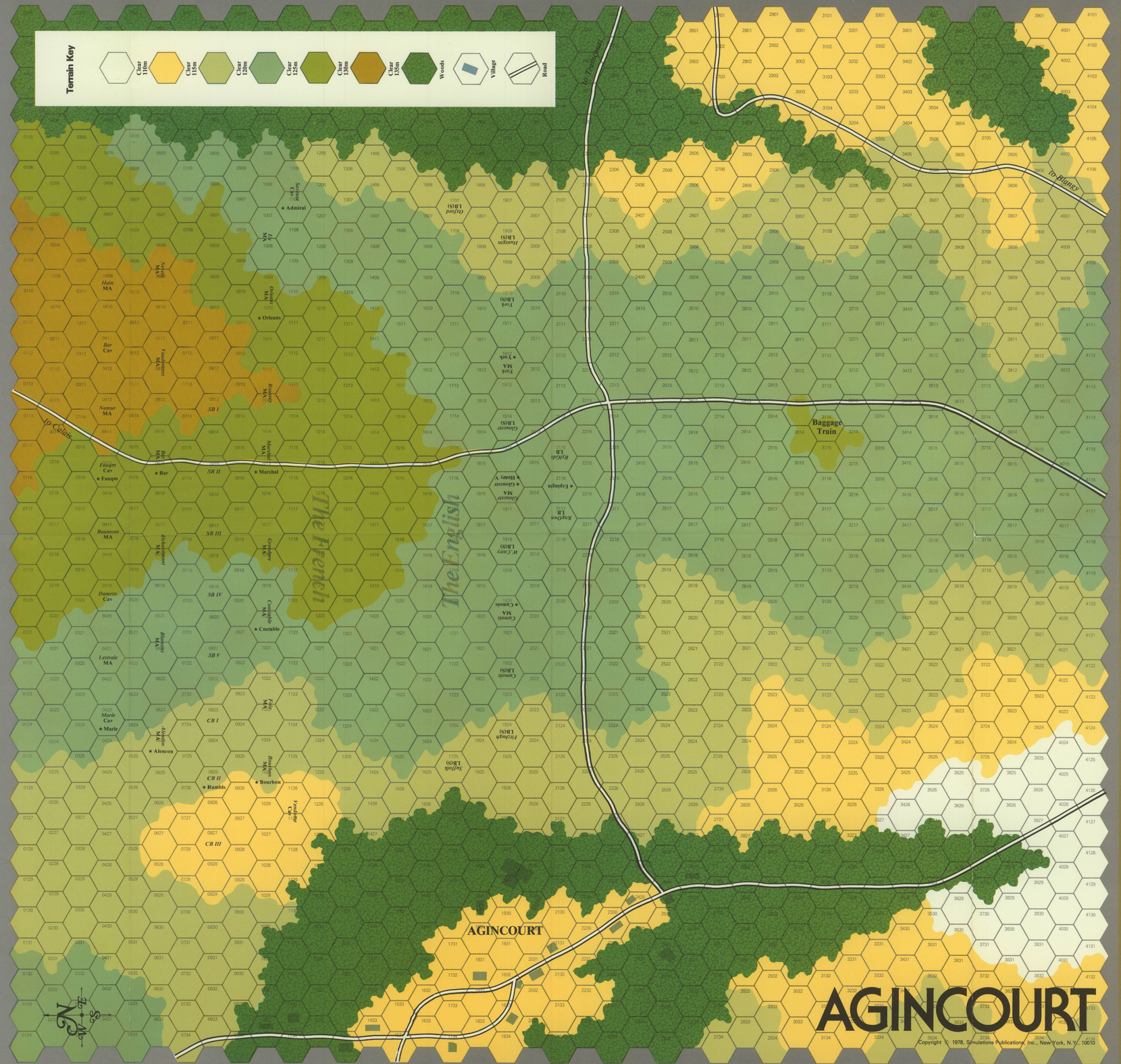
3rd Line	2nd Line	*Hainadt* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*Namur* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*Baumont* 1st Line
3rd Line	2nd Line	*Lestrale* 1st Line

Shortbow Arrow Supply

24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17
16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9
8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1

Crossbow Arrow Supply

24	23	22	21	20	19	18	17
16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9
8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1



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AGINCOURT

Turn Record Track

Impulse
1
2
3

1	11:20
2	11:23
3	11:26
4	11:29
5	11:32
6	11:35
7	11:38
8	11:41
9	11:44
10	11:47
11	11:50
12	11:53
13	11:56
14	11:59
15	12:02
16	12:05
17	12:08
18	12:11
19	12:14
20	12:17
21	12:20
22	12:23
23	12:26
24	12:29

English Line Strength Levels

Right Arrow Supply

24	23	22	21	20	19
12	11	10	9	8	7
6	5	4	3	2	1

Right Archers

4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Oxford*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Hntgdn*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *York*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Glouc*
		2nd Line	1st Line *Royal Guards*

Men-at-Arms

4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *York*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Glouc*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Camois*
		2nd Line	1st Line *King's Own*

Left Archers

4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *West Country*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Camois*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Fitzhgh*
4th Line	3rd Line	2nd Line	1st Line *Suffolk*

Left Arrow Supply

24	23	22	21	20	19
12	11	10	9	8	7
6	5	4	3	2	1

English Casualty Record Track

0	00
1	10
2	20
3	30
4	40
5	50
6	60
7	70
8	80
9	90

French Casualty Record Track

0	00
1	10
2	20
3	30
4	40
5	50
6	60
7	70
8	80
9	90