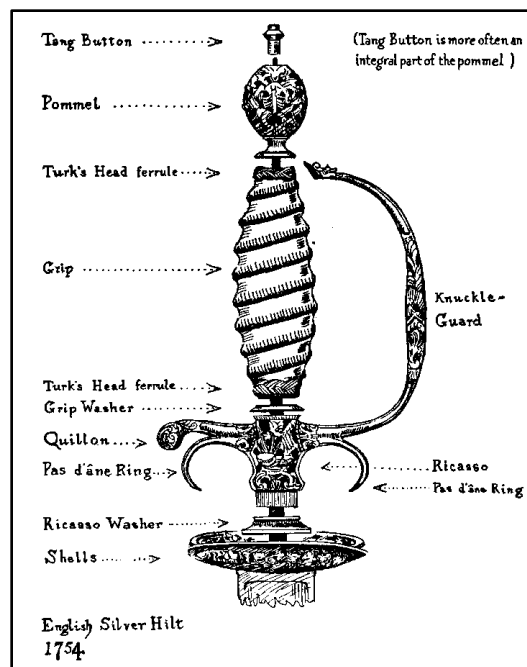


A Very Brief History of Small Sword

JBT Emmons, Rev. June 19 2023

Capitale Escrime/Sala delle Tre Spade

Most experts agree that the small sword appeared in the early 17th century and owes its development, at least in part, to changes instituted by French masters who opted for speed over considerations such as reach.¹ The weapon descends from rapier and for some time coexisted with it. Depictions of both types of swords in portraiture are one indication for this, but so too is the confusion over what “rapier” meant, or could mean, into the 18th century.² The kinship between the longer, heavier rapier and the shorter, lighter small sword is obvious—both are designed primarily for the thrust rather than the cut; both often have complex hilts, that is to say, sport in some fashion much of the same hilt furniture, such as a knuckle-bow, quillons, *pas d’âne* or annulets, and guard. Moreover, like the rapier, small sword was a civilian weapon, one ill-suited for the conditions of battle, and though sometimes carried by military officers was more often an item of fashion and self-defense. Its size, speed, and deadliness made the small sword an ideal weapon for the duelist as well.



From Aylward, *The Small-sword in England*, 64. 2

¹ Norman states that the earliest datable smallsword hails from 1635, but that it was not popular until after 1660. See Anthony North, “From Rapier to Smallsword,” in *Swords and Hilt Weapons*, Michael D. Coe, et al, eds., New York, NY: Barnes & Noble Books, 1993, 58-71; 66 (hereafter Anthony North, “From Rapier to Smallsword”). See also Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000, 103; J.D. Aylward, *The Small-Sword in England*. London, UK: Hutchinson & Co., 1960, 18-19; Richard Cohen, *By the Sword: A History of Gladiators, Musketeers, Samurai, Swashbucklers, and Olympic Champions*, New York, NY: Random House, 2002, 71-76; Adolphe Corthey, *Fencing through the Ages and On the Subject of the Transformation of the Combat Sword*, 1892, trans. by Chris Slee, LongEdge Press, 2015, 38-48; William M. Gaugler, *The History of Fencing: Foundations of Modern European Swordplay*, Bangor, ME: Laureate Press, 1998, 57; Ewart Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armour: From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution*, Reissue, Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2000, 236-252.

²A.V. B.Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword 1460-1820*. Reprint. Kent Trotman, Publishing, 2019, 19-26, see especially 27.

What makes a small sword a small sword? One defining feature is a guard with a centered aperture through which the blade inserts. This “quillon block,” as A.V.B. Norman termed it, helped keep the guard against the blade, and in some examples included both a knucklebow and two extra guards, known as the “arms of the hilt,” often referred to as the annulets.³ On many smallswords the quillon is vestigial, but in others a rudimentary quillons project past the guard, often only on the false-edge side.

Origins of the Name

Marcelli refers to the small sword as *spadino*, i.e. “little spada,” *spada* being the general word for “sword” in Italian.⁴ The French simply called it *l’epée* or *l’espee* (spelling not being standardized), a word again meaning merely “the sword.” Sir William Hope uses both “rapier” and “small-sword” in his *Scots Fencing Master* (1687), and mostly to distinguish this weapon from the broadsword, used for cutting, and “shearing sword,” which could cut and thrust.⁵ The word “small sword” grew in use in the late 17th century and “rapier” fell out of use, at least until Victorian antiquarians and historical fencing enthusiasts muddled the waters of modern scholarship by over-classifying swords of the 15th to the 19th century.

Origins of the Style

Fencing manuals in 17th century France reflect the change from rapier and dagger to *l’escrime pour la pointe seule*, or “sword alone.”⁶ While many of the earlier texts are not specific as to what they meant exactly by *l’epée* (“sword”), by the last quarter of the century it is increasingly clear most masters were describing how to use a small sword. When lucky, we possess illustrations, but where a text lacks images there are other indications. The prominence of the guards and parries of *tierce* and *quarte*, the more conservative footwork, and focus on tight actions on or around the blade all distinguish what these masters were teaching from earlier rapier practice. Earlier works concerned with rapier often cover the sword alone followed by a section on sword and dagger. In some respects this tradition survives in small sword works, but not in the same depth. Treatment of the dagger in small sword manuals, generally, is brief, an extra, a special inclusion that is separate from the thrust of the work as a whole.

Wherever the small sword developed first, it is fair to say that in terms of devising a solid system France claims first place. This is to say that French influence is clear not only in English works of the period, both in nomenclature and technique, but in places like northern Italy as well. In fact, most European nations saw the advantages in the speed and portability of the small sword. Not all masters, however, embraced the shorter weapon. For example, Francesco Marcelli, the great Roman-Neapolitan master, had little kind to say of the *spadino*. In his *Rules of Fencing* (1686), he remarked that:

³ Anthony North, “From Rapier to Smallsword,” 66.

⁴ Marcelli, *Regole di Scherma*, 1686, Libro III, Cap. III, p. 87, “*Del modo di maneggiare lo Spadino contro lo Spadino*.” Unfortunately, Marcelli provides little background—that the small sword was in use in Italy is clear, but to what degree it was popular is difficult to determine.

⁵ Sir William Hope, *Scots Fencing Master*, 1687, 2, 158; see also *A New, Short, and Easy Method of Fencing*, 1707, 60.; cf. Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword 1460-1820*, 26-27.

⁶ To be fair, Henri de Saint Didier, who codified his cut-and-thrust system in *Traicte Contenant les secrets du premier livre sur l’espee seule*, 1573, used the same language. However, what he described shares more with the Bolognese masters and George Silver than it does rapier works. For our period, one early and important text to use the term is Philibert, Sieur de la Touche’s *Les vrais principes de l’Espee seule*, 1670.

In the number of short weapons there is also a sword that, by detestable custom, has been reformed into the small sword, a little longer than the arm. It is already used, this it is a clear thing that, wearing this small sword and having in some scuffle to fight with someone that would have the long sword or other similar more advantageous weapon, the life must be lost for custom.⁷

The misgivings that some masters had notwithstanding, the small sword grew in popularity. Works in French, English, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, and other tongues all survive. In some degree the ease of travel with a shorter weapon made the small sword additionally appealing. Rapiers could grow to ridiculous lengths, so much so that some cities instituted length-restrictions.⁸ In a crowded street, a shop, or a ball, a longer sword could easily trip others, be caught up in doors and skirts, and cause everyone undue annoyance. For example, Cohen recalls a diary entry by Samuel Pepys dated 10 January 1660, in which he makes mention of a Captain Oakeshott “whose sword got hold of many people in walking.”⁹ Add to the convenience the fact that small sword is an effective weapon and for the urbane man about town a shorter weapon made good sense.

It is easy, especially with the attention in “HEMA” to so-called “martial” weapons like longsword, to discount the small sword. This is not only because some truly fine examples qualify perhaps more as jewelry than a sidearm, but also because our distance from the sword-as-weapon conditions us poorly to appreciate the reality of a sharp point. Just as no one in their right mind today would discount an opponent aiming a small caliber pistol at them, so too would few 18th century ruffians be likely to rush someone holding a thirty-inch death spike.

Sources

Given the length of time people relied on the small sword it should be no surprise that the texts change over time. Earlier works, such as those by L’Abbat (1696/1734), and Zachary Wylde (1711), among others, advocated what we often call a “middle guard” today; the body is still mostly in profile, but the hand, nails down, point up, is held in the middle of the body.¹⁰ Others, such as Sir William Hope (1707) preferred a “hanging guard,” later referred to as a “German guard” by Domenico Angelo (1763/1787); still others advocated the guard of fourth (quarte/cart), such as and Donald McBane (1728).¹¹ Though foils are depicted in the plates and illustrations and/or mentioned by name, these works read differently than later ones. In these earlier works foils are merely training tools, not a branch of fencing in its own right yet. On the whole, these masters were more conservative, not only in the incidental references they make to combat “on the ground” versus the *salle*, but in their approach. For example, de Liancour (1686) remarks that “counterattacks belong to games of the Salle d’Armes where such things are often practiced, but they are rarely of use once

⁷ Francesco Antonio Marcelli, *Rules of Fencing*, 1686, trans. by Christopher A. Holzman, Wichita, KS: Lulu Press, 2019, 401.

⁸ See for example *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion*, ed. John Strype, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1824, 539; source <https://elegant-weapon.blogspot.com/2018/05/english-laws-related-to-fencing-in.html>; see also Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword 1460-1820*, 23-25.

⁹ Cohen, *By the Sword*, 71; cf. Oakeshott, *European Weapons and Armour*, 236.

¹⁰ At the very least the middle-guard, if not the chief guard, is included.

¹¹ McBane is not specific as to placement, but since his preferred guard of fourth allowed for a turn of the hand by which “you may Parie all High Thrusts, or Thrusts made at the Level of your Hand, and above,” it’s possible he envisioned the hand more to the middle of the chest than modern fourth, cf. p. 4 in McBane, *The Expert Sword-Man’s Companion*, Glasgow, 1728.

one has a real sword in hand.”¹² Given the choice between a parry-riposte and a counter-attack, de Liancour prefers the former.

By the mid to late 18th century, some of the distinctions between fencing for single combat and fencing as artistic pursuit in the *salle* began to solidify. This is where foil as a separate game begins. There are several reasons for this. First, in many areas, such as England, the duel declined; in others, the pistol began to replace the sword as the favored tool. Second, wearing a sword as an item of dress and fashion statement went out of style. Third, social changes, especially the broadening of elite society was a two-way street. Where in Molière’s time (he died in 1673) a well-to-do merchant might seek to acquire the trappings and habits of the aristocracy, by the time of Diderot (d. 1784) the French Revolution and rise of industrialism meant that many blue bloods, eager to preserve their waning funds, married into wealthy middle-class families.

Traditionally the aristocracy’s primary role was war, but increasingly the role of warrior transformed into one as officer, and though it did not happen overnight, the officer corps, mixed as it was between aristocrats and the sons of successful burghers, adopted other signs of class identity. The fencing these men conducted in the *salle* among their peers, while it might add to one’s ability in the field, was carried out under different rules and expectations. Good form, graciousness, and skill were highly prized, but as fewer men had need of instruction for small sword, their foil play developed into a game. It was sabre, by and large, that became the military sword of choice. Some officers continued to carry small swords, mostly as a sign of rank, but as this weapon had never been general-issue even this trend did not last.

In mid-18th century works we see important, subtle changes. Girard (1740) and D. Angelo (1763), for example, share techniques and actions that will work in the fencing hall, but which are still viable with a sharp weapon. For example, Girard’s focus on remaining behind the point, especially in recovery from the lunge; his suggestion to turn the head slightly to the opposite side in “pushing” thrusts in tierce or quarte; and the fact he preferred the fencer to maintain opposition (vs. fencing in absence) all argue strongly for a duelist’s mentality. Domenico Angelo’s *The School of Fencing* (1763/1787), is one of the most well-known treatises for small sword. His work was included in Diderot’s famous *Encyclopedie*, for example, much to the chagrin of rivals like Danet. Like Girard, Angelo reveals a concern for actual combat as well as good *salle* play—where Girard wants one to retreat behind the point after lunging, Angelo advocates a large “circle parry” to sweep the line. Both of these masters, significantly, provide suggestions for facing not only a similarly armed opponent, but those wielding everything from sabres to grain-flails (Girard), as well as advice for managing enemies who adopt “ethnic” guards, be they Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, or German.

Foil, originally the training weapon for small sword, became a “weapon” in its own right in the late 18th century, and survives—in much altered form—as one of the three modern Olympic weapons. Our sources around 1800 highlight this shift. For example, some masters, such as La Boëssière depict their fencers with the hand held at or above the top of the head on the lunge.¹³ In other

¹² De Liancour, *The Master of Arms*, 1686, translated by M.P. Lynch, 2022, Ch. 6. My friend and colleague, Tommy Dragna, pointed out that some masters, such as Giuseppe Pallavicini, saw the ability to make a successful counter-attack as the sign of a superior fencer. One might debate that point, but both masters were correct: Pallavicini was discussing successful use of difficult technique as a sign of skill where de Liancour, assuming his readers were not all so adept, advocated a more conservative approach.

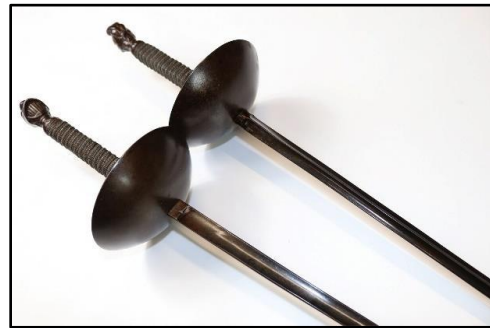
¹³ See M. La Boëssière, *Traité de l’art des armes*, Paris: de l’Imprimerie de Didot, l’ainé, 1818. Often referred to as La Boëssière the Younger, this master was the son of another celebrated master of the same name, author of *Observations sur*

works, both French and Italian, we begin to see less focus on footwork than previously, a clear sign that emphasis was on bladework. This is not to say that masters neglected the sword for combat, but to say that by the mid-19th century the rise of foil-play as a parallel development was well under way.

It is important to note that modern epee, incidentally, owes much to two sources, one of which was an attempt to return “foil” to a combat footing. By the mid-19th century those who chose the sword for duels in France often discovered that their practice in the *salle* ill-prepared them for the reality of actual fighting. In works such as Baron de Bazancourt’s *Secrets of the Sword* (1862) we see this tension—the leitmotif of the entire work is that there should be no distinction between academic fencing and fencing for use on the ground. It was partly in this context that the modern epee was born—it was an attempt to return fencing to the days when one focused less on style and more on self-defense. The second practice that gave rise to modern epee is the survival of what was, more or less, rapier combat in southern Italy.



French foils, Barbasetti Military Sabre, Prague



19th cen. French epees d'combat (Ken Jay)

Late Rapier & Italy

Southern Italian fencing, often referred to as the Roman-Neapolitan school, had long retained arms and methods that had fallen out of favor in most other parts of Europe. Down into the 20th century there was little to separate the rapier of Marcelli and the *spada* of early Olympic champions—the difference was merely that one was sharp, the other rebated for practice. Masaniello Parise, who headed the state military fencing program from 1882-1910, discusses the difference between his tradition and that of the French. In *On the Ground*, he writes

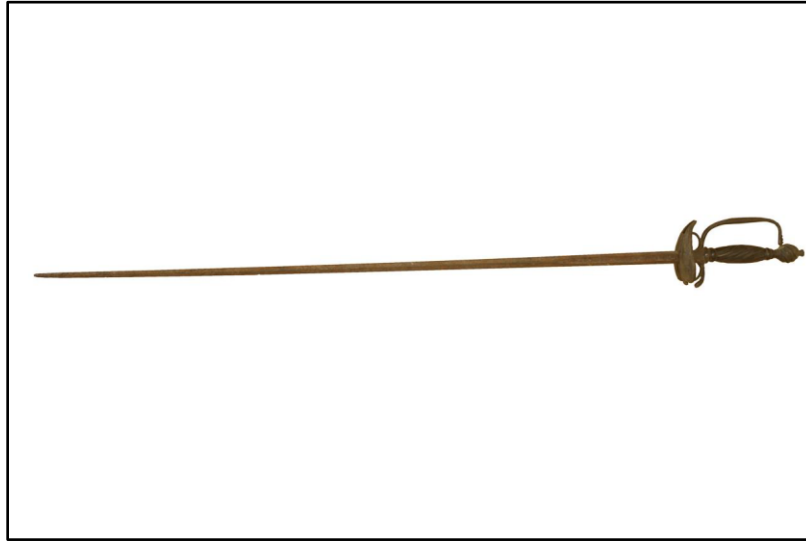
Maitre Laurent, in his proposal, after a study completed in Italy for the “Society for the Encouragement of Fencing,” demonstrated the necessity and observed how the Italian school of fencing, ‘in the *salle* or on the ground, the Italian fencer is served by an identical weapon, the point and guard are the same, only the blade is a little stronger for the dueling sword. Accustomed to using the same weapon or one that serves in the same fashion, the Italian fencer has no other choice to make on the ground than that which he learned to use in the *salle d’armes*.’¹⁴

le traité de l’art des armes, 1766. The Younger La Boëssière’s text is one of the most complete manuals for teaching fencing ever written, so concludes Gaugler, and though it retains combat-ready maneuvers it also indicates the changes as fencing became more of a pastime and sport. See also Gaugler, *History of Fencing*, 93-102.

¹⁴ Masaniello Parise, “On the Ground,” in *The Roman-Neapolitan School of Fencing: The Collected Works of Masaniello Parise*, trans. by and edited by Christopher A. Holzman, Wichita, KS: Lulu Press, 2015, 295.

In the north of Italy, which had been under the control of Napoleon, French methods were more influential.¹⁵ Moreover, the duel survived in Italy, as well as in France, far longer than it did anywhere else, so there was a practical need to drive teaching in a way far less academic than in most other areas. In fact, the popularity of the duel among the French did much to reinvigorate the practice among Italians.¹⁶

In the north we see the development of hilt forms such as the “Albertina” which recall small sword design, though this unique guard was more common on spadroons. The same “boatshell” guard, however, can be found on some north Italian small swords:



Italian small sword, ca. 1845-1855¹⁷

¹⁵ The Italian Wars (1494-1559) pitted the French against Spain for control of Italy, though other nations became embroiled as well. Spanish influence in Naples and Sicily does much to explain the impact of Spanish fencing sources on authors like Pallavicini and Marcelli. Centuries later, Napoleon’s revolutionary army found strong support among many Italians, but the various governments, naturally, were less favorable toward foreign incursion or domestic rebellion. At least one southern Italian source, Rosaroll & Grisetti’s *Science of Fencing* (1803), in addition to being a thorough examination of fencing to date, was also a call to arms for Italians to shake off foreign ideas and look to their own, long tradition of fencing. See Giuseppe Rosaroll & Pietro Grisetti, *The Science of Fencing*, 1803. Trans. by Christopher A. Holzman, Wichita, KS: Lulu Press, 2018, xxxv ff., “Preface: To the Italian Youth.”

¹⁶ See Gregory Hanlon, *The Twilight of a Military Tradition: Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560-1800*, New York, NY: Routledge, 1998; Steven C. Hughes, *Politics of the Sword: Dueling, Honor, and Masculinity in Modern Italy*, Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University, 2007; see also Bert Gevaert, “Pour l’honneur” Dueling in the army of Napoleon,” in *Acta Periodica Duellatorum* 6: 2 (2018): 39-75; Robert A. Nye, “Fencing, the Duel and Republican Manhood in the Third Republic,” in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 25: 2/3 (1990): 365-377.

¹⁷ Source: : <https://catalogo.beniculturali.it/detail/HistoricOrArtisticProperty/0901107059>



1833 Albertina hilt

Small sword never took root in the south of Italy as it had in the north, and so the traditional late period rapier continued to dominate instruction. Even into the early 20th century there was little to differentiate the training tool from its business companion.



Smarra, Italy, 19th cen.



Italian foil/spada, 19th cen.



Neapolitan rapier, ca. 1650-1675 (Met)

The connection between the Neapolitan rapier depicted here and later *smarra* and foil is clear. Blades of different widths were in use in Naples and Sicily in the 17th cen., but even there thinner blades, which were lighter and more nimble, were growing in popularity.

Development of the Small Sword as Weapon

The Smallsword Project provides some indication of the evolution of the small sword from rapier, to “transitional” rapier, to “Cavalier” hilt, and so on, but it is important to note that this was not a straight line.¹⁸ Rapier continued to be in the mix and some of these swords, while their hilt styles reflect what we see with later smallsword, were also reflective of fashion. As articles of dress, swords were just as prone to changes in style as hats, coats, and shoes. Oakeshott’s *European Weapons and Armour from the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution* and especially Norman’s impressive *The Rapier and Small-Sword 1460-1820* provide significantly more detail and explanation as well as attempts to classify hilt types by year.

Portraiture is one of our best sources for changes in hilt design. Where a specific portrait might contain some anachronism, looked at *in toto* it is possible to gain a fair sense of these trends. North points out that around 1635 we stop seeing portraits with both rapier and dagger, and by 1640 start seeing more of them with “scarf swords.”¹⁹ These weapons, normally with a simple cross, ring, and a pommel matching the terminals of the quillons, were often worn in a sash or scarf, thus the name.

¹⁸ Cf. <https://smallswordproject.com/timeline-text/>

¹⁹ Anthony North, “From Rapier to Smallsword,” 65-66.

Within the period of 1640 to 1660 swords with a double shell, and a blade passing through the aperture, become common. It is this manner of guard that in part defines the smallsword.

Below I have shared a few examples of weapons from the Met Museum that help illustrate the elements that came to define small sword. For example, the cup-hilt rapier's guard gave rise to a smaller version often called a dish-hilt. Likewise, the pas d'âne one sees on swept-hilt rapiers shrank to become the annulets common on early small swords.²⁰ The quillons, generally long on rapiers to catch and trap the opposing steel, also diminish and become nearly vestigial on small swords.

HILTS



German, ca. 1630-1640 (Met Museum)



Spanish, ca. 1650 (Met)

²⁰ It's important to note that there were a variety of suggested grips for rapier and smallsword, most of which reflect the author's experience and context. The size of the annulets on most smallswords, coupled with observations by masters such as Sir William Hope, argue strongly that one was *not* to insert the fingers through the annulets. With rapier, however, not only was there more room for the fingers, but masters advocated using the fingers in such a way for grip. Pallavicini, for example, claimed that the Sicilians used two fingers inside the *incasio*/pas d'âne, the Italians one, and the rest of Europe none. Whether he is correct or not, type of grip was determined by the nature of the weapon and its use. This is an obvious statement, but important because even within a weapon style there was variation.



"Transitional Rapier," Spanish, ca. 1625-1650 (Met)



German, 1700-1742 (Met)



Smallsword, British, 1689-90; blade 1674 (Met)



Smallsword, French, 1736 (Met)

These hilts should demonstrate not only the variety, artistic expression, and regional styles, but also the close affinity between rapiers and small swords.

BLADES

Early blades tended to be narrower, shorter versions of rapier blades. Some were hexagonal, others four-sided, and they ranged considerably in length. Anthony North's *European Swords* includes

examples 71cm (28") and others nearly 97 cm (38"). One of the more interesting blade types, which enjoyed a brief popularity, was the "Colichmarde" blade, generally cited as in vogue 1675 to circa 1720. These blades were wider at the forte, thinner along the middle and foible, and are easily recognizable. This style of blade, according to Aylward, survived among some English military officers to about 1730. There were double-edged blades, triple-edged blades, oval blades, and diamond shaped ones. The triple-edged version, often called "triangular" or in older parlance "hollow blades," are what most people think of as the quintessential small sword blade, but again, there was considerably variety and the buyer tended to pick what was fashionable and/or what they preferred. The epee, double-wide epee, and "musketeer" blades available today emulate this triangular style.

WEARING A SMALLSWORD

Angelo's plates provide some excellent examples of one way people wore smallswords, but we also see other options. One such is the sword belt clip:



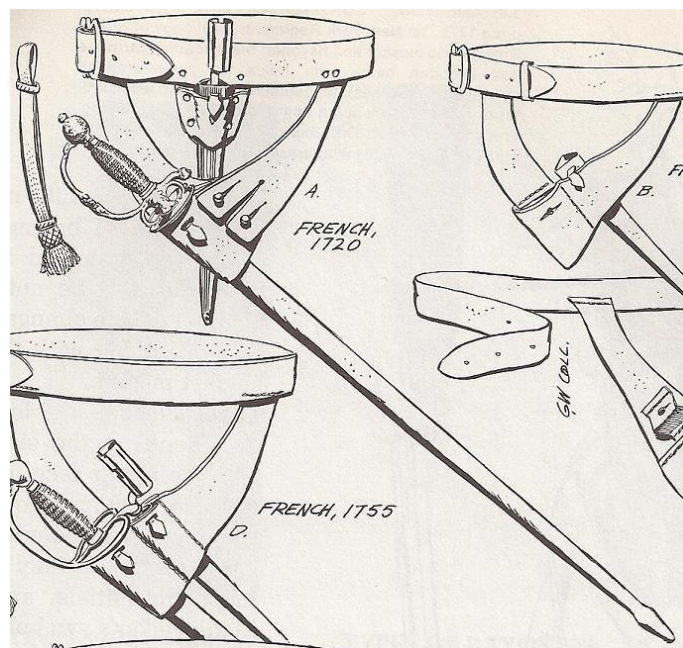
The clip attached to a belt and the chains on the clip to the scabbard. Here is an image from Jesse Belsky, a sword-maker in Washington DC:



From Angelo:



In the plate from Angelo one can see another popular method. Jesse Belsky provides the following modern illustration:



Scabbards, while useful to keep a weapon free from dirt and ensure that no one was injured while wearing one, had long been recognized as potential hazards in combat. In this plate from *The Art of Fencing* (1730), we see the two combatants have left their scabbards on the ground:



Proper caution is vital when evaluating period illustrations, but corroborating evidence strengthens a supposition. If nothing else, many images of people engaged with small swords do not show them wearing a scabbard. In some cases, even their wigs on the floor. This said, the popular motif in film of men removing their coats to fight might, based on 17th and 18th century illustrations and engravings, be less likely to have happened than one believes. In many, but certainly not all depictions, the normal coat and waistcoat worn by men in the 18th century are on the combatants. The presence or absence of these article of clothing in images are less sure a guide to practice than what the masters might have to say, if anything, on the topic.

Legacy

The story of the small sword parallels the story of the duel. As the extralegal process of personal justice disappeared thanks to more effective legislation and cultural change, the primary use for the small sword disappeared. Arguably, one could start the clock at the time when men began leaving swords at home rather than wearing them in public. How this happened in England is well-documented. Aylward shares several literary nuggets that highlight the transition from going about armed to a time when wearing a sword might cause alarm. For the former, he cites Smollet's *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) wherein Jackson, surgeon's mate in the royal navy, becomes dismayed at having to leave his silver-hilted sword behind and worries how he shall present without

this vital accessory.²¹ For the latter, Sheridan's Captain Absolute in "The Rivals" (1774) views seeing a sword worn in public as likely to scare passersby.²² As a final example from Aylward, there is Horace Walpole who, in a letter to a friend, complained of having to wear a sword to receive Queen Charlotte and his fears that he might trip over it.²³ On its own, the fear of an old man about falling would read as normal concern, but we know from additional evidence that the sword as gentleman's accessory was on the wane.²⁴

It was the foil that took up the mantle of its deadly exemplar and became a fixture of training halls and the stage. Until recently, foil was almost always the weapon a new fencer started with and it is easy to see why: the fundamentals of all swordplay can be learned in its study. The precision one learns with the point lends itself well in later study of epee and even of sabre (traditionally). Despite significant changes to the weapon, in rule-sets, and even in the techniques governing its use, the redoubtable small sword trainer, the foil, remains the best introduction to its predecessor's methodology. This said, the historical fencing community, slowly, seems to be warming to the small sword as a viable, attractive area of study, and we can hope that in time more of us with a background in traditional fencing will mine the corpus and advance the study of this subtle weapon.

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²¹ Aylward, *The Small-Sword in England*, 19; Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random*, 1748, Ch. 35: "Next day, our commander being happily recovered, gave orders that none of the lieutenants should appear upon deck without a wig, sword, and ruffles; nor any midshipman, or other petty officer, be seen with a check shirt or dirty linen. He also prohibited any person whatever, except Simper and his own servants, from coming into the great cabin without first sending in to obtain leave. These singular regulations did not prepossess the ship's company in his favour: but, on the contrary, gave scandal an opportunity to be very busy with his character, and accuse him of maintaining a correspondence with his surgeon not fit to be named." <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/4085/pg4085-images.html>

²² Aylward, *The Small-Sword in England*, 19-20; Richard Brinsley Sheridan, "The Rivals," 1774, Act V, Sc. II, "A sword seen in the streets of Bath would raise as great an alarm as a mad dog." cf. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/24761/24761.txt>

²³ Aylward, *The Small-Sword in England*, 20; Horace Walpole, "To Conway, Thursday 2 July 1795," in Vol. 39 of *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Yale Edition, The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale, CT: <https://libsvcs-1.its.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/page.asp?vol=39&page=510>

²⁴ See especially Norman, *The Rapier and Small-Sword 1460-1820*, 29-31.

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