Buckinghamshire; A Military History

by

Ian F. W. Beckett

Chapter One: Origins to 1603

Although it is generally accepted that a truly national system of defence originated in England with the first militia statutes of 1558, there are continuities with earlier defence arrangements. One Edwardian historian claimed that the origins of the militia lay in the forces gathered by Cassivelaunus to oppose Caesar's second landing in Britain in 54 BC. [1] This stretches credulity but military obligations or, more correctly, common burdens imposed on able bodied freemen do date from the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of the seventh and eight centuries. The supposedly resulting *fyrd* - simply the old English word for army - was not a genuine 'nation in arms' in the way suggested by Victorian historians but much more of a selective force of nobles and followers serving on a rotating basis. [2]

The celebrated Burghal Hidage dating from the reign of Edward the Elder sometime after 914 AD but generally believed to reflect arrangements put in place by Alfred the Great does suggest significant ability to raise manpower at least among the West Saxons for the garrisoning of 30 fortified burghs on the basis of men levied from the acreage apportioned to each burgh. [3] In theory, it is possible that one in every four of all able-bodied men were liable for such garrison service. [4] Equally, while most surviving documentation dates only from

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[1] G. J. Hay, *An Epitomised History of the Militia: The Military Lifebuoy, 54 BC to AD 1905* (London: United Services Gazette, 1905), 10.

[2] Richard Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 1-9, 97-115.

[3] N. P. Brooks, England in the Ninth Century: The Crucible of Defeat', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979), 1-20.

[4] Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), 207.

the fourteenth century, it is clear that the system of warning beacons against invasion had existed much earlier.

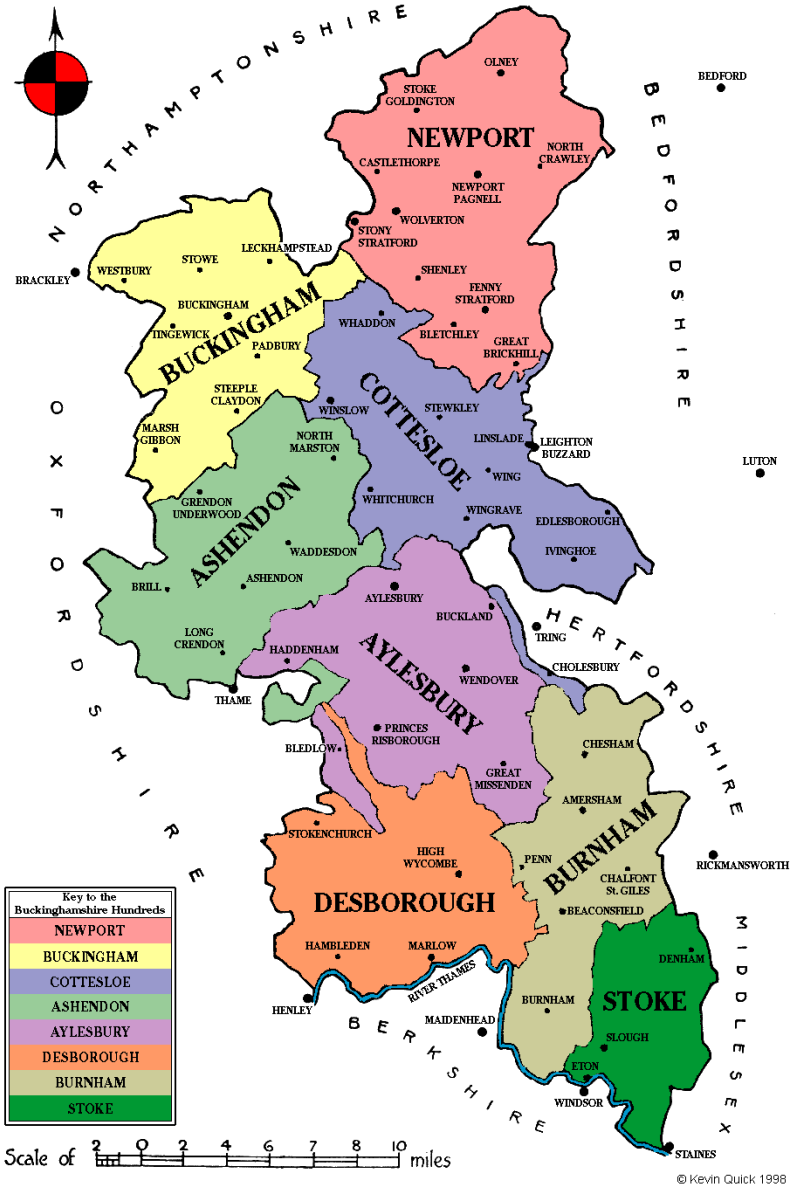
It might be noted that the county of Buckinghamshire itself was effectively a military creation. As recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the burgh of Buckingham and its shire (less the Chiltern Hundreds) was created for the maintenance of two fortresses constructed on either side of the Ouse at Buckingham for Edward the Elder after his capture of the area in 914 and in preparation for the reconquest of the Danelaw. [5] Buckingham is one of two Mercian burghs included in the Burghal Hidage - the other is Oxford - alongside those created by Alfred, which reinforces the dating of the document to after 914. The obligations applied to sea as well as land service and it is suggested that in those counties such as Bucks where five-hide units of assessment were combined into districts of 300 hides - the three hundreds - this may represent 'ship sokes'. These emerged in the late tenth or early eleventh centuries and were intended to produce 60 men for naval service and to pay for the construction and maintenance of the ship thereby manned. [6] Alfred's military system, however, had been abandoned by the end of the eleventh century. [7] It was once suggested that the Domesday Book, created after 1086, illustrated where land as in the three Chiltern Hundreds had lost significant value as a result of damage done by the march of the Norman army after Hastings. This is

[5] James Tait, *The Mediaeval English Borough: Studies on its Origins and Constitutional History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1936), 16; Arnold Baines, 'The Danish Wars and the Establishment of the Borough and County of Buckingham', *Records of Bucks* 26 (1984), 11-27.

[6] C. Warren Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 112.

[7] Richard Abels, 'From Alfred to Harold II: The Military Failure of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in Richard Abels and Bernard Bachrach (eds), *The Normans and Their Adversaries in War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), 15-30.

now discredited, not least as any lines of march are far from clear and there could be many reasons for devaluation over the course of 20 years. [8]



The Hundreds of Buckinghamshire from the 14th cent.
https://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/BKM/hundreds/mhunmap

[8] J. J. N. Palmer, 'The Conqueror's Footprint in Domesday Book', in Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (eds), *The Mediaeval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris,1998),23-44.

After 1066 the Normans introduced two previously unknown features to English military organisation, namely feudal obligation and the castle. Eighteen castles of the motte and bailey type were constructed in Bucks but, with the possible (and doubtful) exception of Whitchurch, none survived long enough to transition from wooden keep and palisade to stone. [9] Feudalism itself was declining by the twelfth century as magnates sought to commute military service, the Crown being persuaded by the following century to accept fractional and reduced quotas. The lords of the manor of Wolverton, for example, provided only two lances (heavy cavalry wearing three-quarter armour) for the Welsh campaign in 1245 when still officially assessed to provide 20 knights in 1250. Only 14 barons owning property wholly in Bucks and a further two partly owning county property were required to send men to Chester for the campaign that year. [10]

It is apparent that feudal obligations imposed by the Normans did not fully replace the *fyrd* until the beginning of the twelfth century. Even then, the principle of military obligations was enshrined in successive mediaeval statutes such as the Assize of Arms in 1181 and its various revisions, and the Statute of Westminster of 1285. The latter laid obligations on the able bodied aged between 16 and 60 to serve under sheriffs when required, as well as defining the arms and equipment required of each. Men worth £10 in land or 20 marks in goods were required to possess a complete set of armour, while those with £15 in land or 40 marks were also required to provide a horse. The horse provisions remained unchanged until 1542, and the remainder were not altered until 1558.

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[9] Michael Reed, *The Buckinghamshire Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979), 117-21.

[10] Ivor Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England: A Study of the Constitutional and Military Powers of the Barons in Mediaeval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), 40-41, 130-35.

The commission of array introduced by Edward I, by which levies could be raised in the shires by commissioners of array, ran parallel to the ability of the sheriff to call out the *posse comitatus* or civil power of the county to arrest felons or assist in local defence, a power still nominally possible in terms of arresting felons until 1967. The array was not applied equally in that generally only the northern counties were summoned for service against the Scots, midland counties against the Welsh, and southern counties if French invasion was threatened. [11] As an inland county, therefore, Bucks tended to avoid most of the routine demands made of others. Demands on the shires increased substantially in the reign of Edward III. On occasions, inland counties were compelled to reinforce maritime counties in the face of French raids throughout the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453) although it was still also the practice to raise lordly retinues by indenture. The Crown was obliged to pay levies once they crossed the county boundary, a matter of continuing dispute, with the House of Commons wresting the concession in 1352 that no one should be obliged to find soldiers without parliamentary consent. The 'model' commission of array issued by Henry IV in 1402 reaffirmed the right of levies not to leave their counties unless in dire emergency such as incursions by the Scots or Welsh and some internal revolts.

One brief survey of county military history suggests that Agincourt (1415) was Buckinghamshire's 'first battle honour' based on a stanza in Michael Drayton's Agincourt poem, circa 1600, 'The mustered men for Buckingham are gone, Under the Swan, the arms of that old town.' In reality, the swan did not become associated with the county until 1444 at the earliest and with no certainty until

[11] Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 119-25.

1566. [12] It is not entirely improbable that Bucks levies were present. Certainly, Bucks provided men for the stillborn Gascony expedition of 1295, for the campaign against the Scots in 1335, and for the French campaigns in 1338 and 1345. The numbers were limited. Of the 5,621 men levied for the 1335 campaign, Bucks was required to furnish just one *ductores* (commander) and 16 mounted archers. [13] A total of 40 archers were sent from Bucks to Norwich and a further 20 to Portsmouth in 1338, and 22 archers sent from Aylesbury to Sandwich in June 1345 as part of the mobilisation for the campaign that would lead to the Battle of Crecy the following year. The latter received 6d each to sustain themselves en route. [14] Bucks and Bedfordshire together were often administered by the same sheriff in the 1340s and 1350s and the two counties were directed to provide 100 bows and 300 sheaves of arrows in 1341. In 1359 it was 300 bows and 900 sheaves of arrows to be sent to the Tower of London although only 500 sheaves were actually forthcoming. [15]

Men from Bucks as well as Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire were sent to garrison Portsmouth in 1369 during a period of French coastal raids. [16] Feudal contingents were more prevalent, the last feudal levy being that of June 1385

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[12] Henry Gough, 'The Swan of Buckinghamshire', *Records of Bucks* 3 (1870), 249-70, at 263; Philip Hall, *A Short History of the Units Administered by the Bucks Territorial and Auxiliary Forces Association* (London: Reid-Hamilton, 1950), 13.

[13] Ranald Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career, 1327-35* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 252.

[14] Robert Hardy, 'The Longbow' in Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994), 161-81, at 166.

[15] H. J. Hewitt, *The Organisation of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), 42, 49, 64, 66-67.

[16] Michael Hughes, 'The Fourteenth Century French Raids on Hampshire and the Isle of Wight', in Curry and Hughes (eds), *Arms, Armies and Fortifications*, 121-43 at 143.

when a Franco-Scots army threatened to invade the north although it is disputed whether this was intended to raise funds more than manpower. In April that year there was a commission in array in Bucks in view of the imminent danger of French invasion, and this was repeated in both 1387 and in March 1392. [17] The 22 archers sent to London as a result of the 1387 array were sent back without wages or expenses, leading to the commissioners headed by Henry de Grey of Wilton to examine whether there should be restitution of the sums levied.

The detailed examination of all surviving muster rolls and letters of protection certifying absence aboard has revealed a total of 69 names known to be from Bucks serving overseas between 1369 and 1453. Some, however, are duplicated in that they were on several campaigns. Some 13 men at arms and 34 *hobelars* (light cavalry or mounted infantry) were recorded in the Portsmouth garrison in 1369. One - John Braham, an esquire later knighted, served in seven different campaigns as man at arms between 1370 and 1386 and may also have still been active in Ireland in the 1390s. These men, however, were from lordly retinues whereas the majority of men in overseas expeditions were archers levied from the shires. A total of 33 individuals from Bucks received letters of protection between 1369 and 1453, serving variously in France, Germany, Flanders, Scotland, Spain and at sea. Some at least were effectively semi-professionals in that they were chosen to be levied on many occasions. John de Lynford from Sherrington, for example, went first to Brittany in 1374, ending service in a total of seven overseas campaigns at the Roxburgh Castle garrison on the Scottish Marches in 1388. Through the similarity of the name, he may also have been the same man who served at sea in the 1370s and at Calais in the 1380s. [18]

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[17] Leslie Boatwright (ed.), *Inquests and Indictments from Late Fourteenth Century Buckinghamshire* (Bucks Record Society, 1994), 257-58.

[18] Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King and David Simpkin (eds), *The Soldier in Later Mediaeval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 124, 218, 220, 222, 224, 230-

A variety of means were employed in raising troops during the Wars of the Roses including letters under the privy seal or signet, indenture, commissions of array and even the *posse comitatus*. In reality the forces involved were relatively small and it has been suggested that campaigning only occurred for 61 weeks in just ten out of the 30 years of incipient warfare between 1455 and 1485. [19] The conflict had considerably more impact on the nobility than most commoners. After his succession, Henry VII relied primarily upon indenture for his overseas campaigns as well as foreign mercenaries and auxiliaries borrowed from continental allies. Indeed, while Henry VIII abandoned indenture after 1512, recourse to quasi-feudal summonses to leading gentry remained common until the 1540s as well as continued reliance upon foreign mercenaries. Boroughs and the clergy - by way of the spiritual lords and monastic houses - were also routinely included in the quasi-feudal summonses.

Henry's invasion of northern France in 1513 was accomplished largely by indentured retinues although, equally, the threat of French invasion that same year also saw a proclamation to call out all men between 16 and 60 upon an hour's warning. Northern levies then contributed materially to the English victory over the Scots at Flodden in September 1513. [20] Henry's armies for the 1522 and 1543 French campaigns were again raised on the quasi-feudal basis as were those forces raised in the face of the internal rebellion of the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536.

Levies had been used by Henry VII against internal revolts as in 1486 and 1497 or in anticipation of possible invasion. They were found unreliable in the revolts

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31. See also The Soldier in Later Mediaeval England Database at https://www.medievalsoldier.org/dbsearch/

[19] Anthony Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), 214.

[20] James Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution: The Armies of Sixteenth Century Britain and Europe* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 122.

of Henry VIII's reign and again during the troubled reign of Edward VI, which included risings in Bucks and Oxfordshire in 1549. The latter rising was quickly and easily suppressed by the distinguished soldier, William, 13th Lord Grey de Wilton, using mostly German and Swiss mercenaries. Those executed were mostly parish priest and yeomen from Oxfordshire. One ringleader - James Webbe, the vicar of Barford St Michael in Oxfordshire was tried in London but executed at Aylesbury in August 1549. All that is known of the Bucks rebels are the pardons issued to six individuals including Edmund Barton of Little Horwood. [21]

Yet, it was during Henry VIII's reign that the single unified national militia system began to emerge as the King's ambitions led to increasing military efforts to rival continental monarchs. In face of the renewed French invasion threat in 1545, Henry deployed at least 90,000 men south of the Trent amounting to perhaps one in six of the adult males there and between one in three and one in four of the able bodied. Still more men were at Boulogne, fighting the Scots, or serving with the fleet. Henry may even have mobilised proportionally more men than the French or the Spanish. [22] While the majority of Englishmen and Welshmen did not take part in Henry's campaigns, therefore, the demands of war were increasingly felt. Given that most of the manpower used was both local and also amateur, warfare became part of the fabric of national consciousness. [23] One extensive sample of churchwardens' accounts suggests the proportion of parishes recording expenditure on military

[21] A. Vere Woodman, 'The Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire Rising of 1549', *Oxoniensia* 22 (1957), 78-84.

[22] Steven Gunn, *The English People at War in the Age of Henry VIII* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 18, 137.

[23] Idem, 134.

equipment in the 1540s increased from one in thirteen to over one in four. [24] The churchwardens' accounts for Wing, which run from 1527 onwards, show no military-related expenditure until 1560 when 6s.8d was lent to the parish 'towards ye furnishing of a sodyor'. There was no other such expenditure during Elizabeth's reign. [25]

One early indication of the demands being made was the great survey of the country's military and financial resources undertaken by Cardinal Wolsey in March 1522 in anticipation of war against the French and Scots, albeit that it was intended more to extract financial than military information. Wolsey may well have calculated that greater financial information would be revealed in an avowedly patriotic cause than otherwise. It did yield, however, a general sense of the number of able-bodied men available and the quantity of weapons and equipment possessed. The returns for Bucks are less complete than for some other counties, lacking the designation of tenants seen elsewhere. There is no military information at all for the Buckingham Hundreds with the exception of one bill recorded at Shalstone. The commissioners, therefore, may not have taken the provision of military information very seriously. On the other hand, the value of lands and goods appears more accurately assessed to the nearest halfpenny where the figures are often rounded up for other counties. The values ascribed to goods and lands for the county were frequently higher than for the subsequent 1524 subsidy. The occasional note as to 'good' bows may indicate prowess with the weapon and the listing of 26 'single' men of whom 20 were able bodied at Beaconsfield may imply their greater utility for service. The lack of information as to tenants, however, would have left the Crown with little real knowledge of the 'power' of the Bucks gentry. Thus, two landowners called to supply men in 1521 and again in 1523 - Sir John Clarke of Shabbington and Sir

[24] Idem, 32.

[25] Buckinghamshire Archives (hereafter BA), PR 234/5/1.

Robert Lee of Quarrendon - did not have their manpower quotas altered as a result of the survey. [26]

The survey [Table 1.1] also demonstrated how few individuals or parishes could fulfil their theoretical military requirements. John Collingbourne of Aylesbury had neither arms nor armour despite being worth £300 per annum. Only Amersham, Chesham, Chicheley, Cold Brayfield, Ellesborough, Eton, Iver, Langley Marish, Lavendon, Newport Pagnell, Ravenstone, Taplow and Wraysbury had any parish communal harness (armour). A full set of harness would usually comprise a jack (a sleeveless leather tunic), splints (armour for the elbows), gorget (throat armour), and sallet (helmet). Even in larger towns such as Aylesbury and Amersham only a third to two thirds of individuals had weapons. Individual harness ranged from one 'jacke' at Little Brickhill to a pair of 'almain rivets' (light armour of overlapping plates for thighs and shoulders) at Marlow, and to a pair of 'brikenders' (body protection of small plates fixed to leather or canvas) at Langley Marish.

Bucks, indeed, was one of the most militarily deficient counties for which returns survive. Excluding the Buckingham Hundreds, there were 2,360 able-bodied men. Only the three Chiltern Hundreds chose to categorise men as good bowmen or good billmen, there being 154 good bowmen and 179 good billmen. Amersham had 22 good bowmen and 11 good billmen while Marlow had eight good bowmen and 18 good billmen, and Little Marlow 16 good billmen. High Wycombe had 18 good bowmen and Penn had 13 good bowmen. The overall percentage of bowmen was slightly higher than the national average but those classed as ordinary billmen were unlikely to be very skilled in the use of arms. One man at Bradwell was a *scotus* (firearm carrier) and Courike Johnson, a Dutchman at Horton, was both a good 'gunner' and a good bowman. However,

[26] Jeremy Goring, 'The General Proscription of 1522', *English Historical Review* 341 (1971), 681-705.

Bartholomew Nutt at Cuddington was the only man in possession of a 'hand gunne' although only those worth more than £100 could own one: he had no figures for the value of land or goods recorded against his name and may well have been a retainer of the wealthy Holymann family. It might be noted that another Dutchman, Galyn Hone, a glass painter at Eton, was a 'good bill'. Only 79 complete or partial sets of harness were available. In any case, there was no mechanism by which armour could be transferred from one man to another, let alone within the county. [27]

Table 1.1

The General Proscription for Bucks, 1522

Hundreds	Bills	Good Bills	Bows	Good Bows	Others	Whole or Part Harness
Ashendon	233		198			3
Aylesbury	212		148		1 hand gunne	20
Buckingham	1					1
Burnham	186	65	72	50		12
Cottesloe	193		161			2
Desborough	183	58	70	57		3
Newport	76		100		1 scrotus	12
Stoke	148	56	47	47	1 gunner	26
Total	1232	179	796	154	3	79

Sources: Chibnall, *Certificate of Musters*, passim

[27] A. C. Chibnall, *The Certificate of Musters for Buckinghamshire in 1522* (London: HMSO for Bucks Record Society, 1973), 1-24. The original is in the Bodleian Library as Ms.Eng.hist.e.187.

On 5 July 1512 Henry VIII had ordered that the Statute of Westminster be more rigorously applied in obliging individuals to take military obligations seriously. In 1513 an archery statute attempted to enforce localities to provide butts and to compel the practice of archery on Sundays and holy days as required since 1363. It is apparent that many towns and villages complied. It could be something of a social occasion with shooting competitions, albeit one with the real possibility of fatal accidents. [28] Butts, usually made of turf, were often near rivers as was the case at Stony Stratford, where they were located between the Ouse and the causeway to the bridge over the river. [29]

In 1515 masters and employers were directed to arm servants and employees and erect butts for their training. Instead of sheriffs and justices as hitherto, commissioners of muster were now to enforce the statutes. The 1522 survey demonstrated just how far individuals had neglected their theoretical obligations and how far parishes had failed to maintain armour for parochial use, a liability dating from the reign of Edward II and re-iterated for villages and hamlets by proclamation in 1509. In the 1540s a bill cost about 1s.3d and bows anything from 1s.8d to 3s.4d while, as part of its regulation of the internal arms market, the Crown decreed in 1544 that a set of almain rivets must cost no more than

[28] Steven Gunn, 'Archery Practice in Early Tudor England', *Past and Present* 209 (2010), 53-81.

[29] Sir Frank Markham, *A History of Milton Keynes and District* 2 vols. (Luton: White Crescent Press, 1973-75), I, 131.

9s.6d. [30] Prices of arms and equipment, however, rose by 20 per cent by the 1560s and by 30 per cent by the 1580s. [31]

Despite the 1522 returns, it is also clear that the Crown was often still working on guesswork and the burden of manpower demands fell unequally. In terms of the use of quasi-feudal summonses, in Bucks a total of 44 individuals were directed to muster tenants and retainers prior to renewed war with France in March 1543. [Table 1.2] Jerome Hampden of Hartwell had been dead for two years while eleven others had no lands and one - John More - neither land nor retainers. At least four of the county's 23 justices were not summoned including George Bulstrode of Chalvey, who had been judged worth £600 per annum in 1522. Seven of those summoned were worth less than £20 while John Hampden of Dinton, worth £30, was not summoned. In the event only 13 men were actually required to provide men for the Boulogne expedition in 1544 together with two who had not been summoned at all in the previous year. Of the 13, two were probably automatic choices in that Sir Edmund Peckham of Denham and Richard Greenway of Dinton were members of the Royal household as Cofferer and Gentleman Usher respectively. Peckham was required to find 111 men to serve on his behalf in 1544 compared to 144 in the previous year. The choice of some of these men defies rational explanation. [32]

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[30] Goring, 'Military Obligations', 213-26; Steven Gunn, David Grummitt and Hans Cools, *War, State and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477-1559* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 290.

[31] Roger Vella Bonavita, 'The English Militia, 1558-80: A Study in the Relations between the Crown and the Commissioners of Musters', Unpub. MA, Manchester, 1972, 55.

[32] Jeremy Goring, 'The Military Obligations of the English People, 1511-58', Unpub. PhD, London, 1955, 113-17, 304-07.

Tomb of Sir Edward Peckham (1495-1564) and his wife at Denham

Table 1.2 Military Summonses, 1543

Name	Residence	JP in 1542	Number of able-bodied dependants	Value of lands 1543 (£)	Owner of Out-County land	Lessee of Crown land	Office of Profit under Crown	Men summoned in 1544
Edmund Ashfield			4			Yes		
John Babham	Cookham (Berks)	Yes	52		Yes			
Sir John. Baldwin		Yes	20	110+			Yes	Yes
Richard Blacknell			1					
Toucher Bold	Marlow			22				
Henry Bradshaw	Wendover	Yes	6			Yes	Yes	
Anthony Cave	Tickford	Yes	4					
John Cheyney	Amersham	Yes	2	13				

Robert Cheyney	Chesham Bois	Yes	6	30+				Yes
John Conway	Waddesdon		2					Yes
John Croke	Chilton	Yes	14	20			Yes	
Paul Darell	Lillingstone	Yes	3	46+				
Sir John Daunce	Lower Winchendon	Yes	28			Yes	Yes	
Sir Robert Dormer	Wing	Yes	40	120+				Yes
Thomas Doyly	Hambleden		16	20				
Robert Drury	Chalfont St Peter	Yes	8	47				
William Faulkner	Ashendon		4	18				Yes
George Giffard	Middle Claydon	Yes	4				Yes	Yes
Thomas Giffard	Twyford	Yes	5	103				
John Goodwin	Upper Winchendon	Yes	26	49				
Richard Greenway	Dinton	Yes		51			Yes	Yes
Henry Hampden								
Jerome Hampden	Hartwell			85				
Sir John Hampden	Great Hampden		10	80				
Thomas Hawtrey	Ellesborough		4					
Ralph Lane	Hogshaw		4					
Anthony Lee	Quarrendon	Yes	44	58+				Yes
Benedict Lee			4					
Roger Lee	Ivinghoe		3					
Arthur	Wolverton	Yes	10	42+				Yes

Longville								
Thomas Luatt								
John More				Nil				
Sir Edmund Peckham	Denham	Yes	144	82+			Yes	Yes
Francis Pigott	Stratton (Beds)		6		Yes			Yes
Robert Pigott	Beachampton		2	37				
Thomas Pigott	Doddershall		3					
Leonard Rede	Boarstall		8	68+				Yes
Edward Restwold	Chalfont St Giles		6	68+				
John Rufford	Edlesborough		2	9				
John Sandes			2					
Humphrey Tyrell	Thornton		6	77	Yes			
Sir Ralph Verney	Pendley (Herts)	Yes	40	192				
Richard Willoughby	Stoke Goldington		2	9				Yes
Thomas Woodford	Burnham		2	6				

Sources: Goring, 'Military Obligations', 304; The National Archives (hereafter TNA), SP 1/84, f. 125a-126b; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII* 21 vols. (London: HMSO, 1862-1932), I, 273.

Boulogne proved the apotheosis of the quasi-feudal system although it occasionally appeared thereafter but only as a supplement to a national levy. Some of the great families nation-wide had disappeared by the 1540s as had the

monasteries. Gentry households were getting smaller, equipment costs were rising and tenants were denying they owed military service to landlords. [33] In 1557, for example, the Council sent William Anne of Aylesbury to the Fleet prison for refusing to attend musters ordered by his landlord, Sir Thomas Pakington. Anne was subsequently instructed to 'behave as a tenant ought to do, and to exhorte as moche as lye in him the rest of the tenantes to do the like'. [34]

Only shire forces could realistically provide the manpower required for field armies. Ordinarily during Henry VIII's reign, there had been few professional soldiers available beyond royal guards, the permanent garrisons maintained at key points such as Berwick and Calais, and the gunners at the new coastal fortifications. Increasingly, campaigning in Ireland and the Low Countries - sometimes in the pay of others such as the Dutch - would establish a more significant nucleus of professional officers, albeit with a concomitant martial culture not always conducive to stability. [35] The transition to national levies also reflected increasing continental practice with communal defence seen as a civic duty amid greater confidence in the stability of emerging states.

Thus, strenuous attempts were now to be made to remedy those deficits revealed by the 1522 survey. From 1535 commissioners of muster held inspections of arms and equipment every three years. Exhortation had some

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[33] Jeremy Goring, 'Social Change and Military Decline in Mid Tudor England', *History* 60 (1975), 185-97.

[34] Gunn, *English People at War*, 58.

[35] For the 'swordsmen', from an extensive literature, see David Trim, '"Fighting Jacob's Warres": The Employment of English and Welsh Mercenaries in the European Wars of Religion: France and the Netherlands, 1562-1610', Unpub. PhD, London, 2002; Roger Manning, *An Apprenticeship in Arms: The Origins of the British Army, 1585-1702* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 3-61; Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558-94* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

effect: in 1548 only one parish in the Aylesbury Hundreds lacked harness. [36] There was concern in the 1540s that popular pastimes such as dice and bowls were supposedly undermining manly virtues. Despite increasing interest in martial pursuits in many urban centres the proportion of men designated nationally as archers declined from a third to a quarter between 1522 and 1557. Moreover, in 1557-58 with the impact of depopulating enclosures and outbreaks of plague and the 'sweating sickness', all counties were reporting fewer able-bodied men available than in 1545. In 1535 Hardwick and Weedon returned only eight able-bodied men compared to 28 in 1522. [37] With war against the Scots and the French including Henry's Boulogne expedition in 1544, French landings on the Isle of Wight and at Seaford in 1545, and four major revolts between 1536 and 1558, levies were increasingly summoned.

In common with previous practice, Bucks was reserved for demands for possible action against the French rather than the Scots. [38] In addition to the quasi-feudal summonses, Bucks was required to find 400 men for the Boulogne expedition in 1544 as well as 60 horses and carriages for victuals. [39] In the event, they were not required but levies were provided for the reinforcement of Boulogne in 1546, Bucks finding 300 men under Lord Windsor and Sir Robert Dormer. [40] Bucks was also one of seven counties required to send levies to assist in the protection of Edward VI at Windsor in July 1549. [41] After Edward's death, Sir William Dormer thwarted the attempt to proclaim Lady Jane Grey as

[36] Goring, 'Military Obligations', 39.

[37] Chibnall (ed.), *Certificate of Musters*, 24.

[38] Goring, **'**Military Obligations', 55.

[39] *Calendars of State Papers Domestic of the I reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth and James* 12 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1856-72) (hereafter *CSPD*) *1523*, 131; *CSPD 1544*, 146.

[40] Raymond, *Henry VIII's Military Revolution*, 135.

[41] Goring, 'Military Obligations', 55-58, 110.

Queen in Aylesbury and Sir Edmund Peckham rallied the county for Queen Mary. Aylesbury, Buckingham and High Wycombe were all rewarded for loyalty by incorporation.

The tomb of Sir William Dormer (1514-75) and his wife at Wing

The dominating force in English military organisation had now moved from one end of the social scale to the other, the quasi-feudal system supplanted by the

national levy. [42] The brief reign of Edward VI then saw the appearance of the lieutenancy, the prefix 'lord' deriving from those initially appointed and then becoming as matter of custom. Technically, there was only His or Her Majesty's Lieutenant for a county until 1974 when Lord Lieutenant became the statutory title. Henry VIII had appointed some nobles to command in more than one county, and this was true also of Edward's reign. In 1551, for example, Bucks, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire all came under the Marquess of Northampton while Bucks was among eleven counties placed under the Duke of Norfolk in 1559. [43] Mary reverted to sheriffs and commissioners of muster until renewed war with France in 1557 led to some lieutenants being re-appointed. Elizabeth I increasingly named individuals for single counties after 1558 as temporary expedients in times of internal instability. The beginning of war with Spain, however, necessitated the wider revitalisation of the lieutenancy. Arthur, 14th Lord Grey de Wilton was the first lord lieutenant named solely for Bucks in 1569. He was then re-appointed in September 1586.

Grey was not a Privy Councillor, unlike many of the lieutenants appointed in the previous year, but he was a zealous Protestant and a significant county magnate with his seat at Whaddon. Additionally, he was an experienced soldier. Grey had participated in the doomed defence of Guînes after the fall of Calais in 1558 under the command of his father. [44] Both father and son became hostages before being ransomed. The £6,000 ransom demanded for his father led to the

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[42] C. G. Cruikshank, *Army Royal: Henry VIII's Invasion of France, 1513* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 204.

[43]Gladys Scott Thomson, *Lords Lieutenants in the Sixteenth Century: A Study in Tudor Local Administration* (London: Longmans, 1923), 31, 47.

[44] David Grummitt, *The Calais Garrison: War and Military Service in England, 1436-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2008), 173-76.

sale of the family's seat at Wilton and left the family in permanent financial difficulties. Grey was involved in a notorious dispute with his neighbour, Sir John Fortescue of Salden, being briefly imprisoned for an attack on Fortescue in Fleet Street in 1573. Grey, however, was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1580 to 1582. Notoriously, he had some 600 Papal and Spanish defenders of Smerwick massacred after their surrender in November 1580 as both a matter of expediency and also as an example to the Irish rebels. In 1587 Grey was one of four members of the Queen's special council to review national defence plans and in the following year he was marshal of the Earl of Leicester's field army. Grey's son, Thomas, 15th Lord Grey de Wilton, followed in the family's military tradition, serving in Ireland and the Low Countries but was attainted, forfeiting titles and honours, in 1603 after involvement in the so-called Bye Plot against James I. He died in the Tower in 1614.

(Left): Portrait thought to be William, 13th Lord Grey de Wilton (1508/09-1562) by Gerlach Flicke (National Gallery of Scotland)
(Right) Image of Arthur, 14th Lord Grey de Wilton (1536-93) from a procession of Garter Knights by Marcus Ghaeraerts the Elder, 1576 (British Library)

After Arthur Grey's death in 1593 the Bucks lieutenancy remained vacant until 1607 with commissioners of muster again administering the system. This was not unusual in the 1590s. At the time of Elizabeth's death in March 1603, there were 18 counties with no lord lieutenant. Deputies or commissioners, however, were perfectly capable of administering the system. In the case of a muster of mounted men in 1595, for example, four counties without a lord lieutenant including Bucks had only seven defects recorded (Bucks had none) whereas 13 counties with lords lieutenant recorded 56 defects. [45] Lords lieutenant, therefore, did not necessarily have a significant impact on military efficiency.

The interval between Henry's death and Elizabeth's succession brought the full coalescence of the quasi-feudal and national systems with the two statutes at the very end of Mary's reign (4&5 Philip and Mary, c.2 and c. 3) that collectively became known as the 1558 Militia Act just a few months before Elizabeth succeeded. The first statute concerned the possession of arms and armour, and the second the holding of musters. All previous legislation still on the statute book such as the Statute of Westminster was repealed and ten classes based upon income established by which individuals' responsibilities and required weaponry were clearly defined. Men worth £5-£10 per annum were required to keep some form of upper body armour, a bill or halberd, a bow, and a helmet. At the other extreme, those worth over £1,000 per annum had to provide 16 horses, 80 sets of upper body armour, 40 pikes, 30 bows, 20 bills or halberds, 20 harquebuses and 50 helmets. The second statute required attendance at general musters with arms and armour on pain of a 40s.0d fine or ten days' imprisonment but without actually making provision for raising funds to cover the expense of training men, of powder and shot, or compensation for lost

[45] Keith Williams, 'The Military Functions of the Office of Lord Lieutenant, 1585 to 1603, with special emphasis on Lord Burghley', Unpub. PhD, Leicester, 2002, 124-25, 243.

wages. The fines were also intended to prevent how previously the 'most ablest and likeliest' had found substitutes at musters 'through friendship or rewards'. [46]

While there is no evidence relating to Bucks, such musters elsewhere became a social as well as a military occasion with refreshments often provided. Boroughs and clergy were now also incorporated into the national system as were 'retainers'. Liability of the Bucks clergy came through the Bishop of Lincoln. In 1588, for example, the vicars of Winslow and Great Horwood both pleaded poverty in furnishing weapons and equipment although Robert Daunce of Winslow did manage to provide a bill. [47]

In a sense the 1558 statutes reasserted the older obligations in a new way with all but larger boroughs incorporated within the system and even the larger boroughs coming under the general jurisdiction of the lieutenancy. Directions to muster would be sent by the Privy Council to lords lieutenant and relayed through deputy lieutenants (where appointed) or commissioners, the high constables of the hundreds and parish petty constables. The latter would often be responsible for the upkeep of armour, which might be kept in churches as suggested by the unique Mendlesham armoury in Suffolk. In June 1570, however, the Council directed Grey to concentrate the Bucks county arms and armour in a suitable place with 'some honnest man appointed to the well keping and taking charge of it'. [48]

The Council would now scrutinise certificates of muster, the musters with some form of military exercise to be held approximately every three years at some

[46] Gunn, Grummitt and Cools, *War, State and Society*, 241.

[47] Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia, 1558-1638* 2nd edn. (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), 35.

[48] *Acts of the Privy Council, 1542-1631* 46 vols. (London: HMSO, 1890-1964) (hereafter *APC*) *1558-70*, 360-61.

convenient time such as Easter, Whitsun or Michaelmas (29 September). There were frequent shortfalls in arms and equipment. The Bucks certificates show that 3,580 men out of 4,302 had no weapons in 1577, 4,143 out of 5,100 in 1580 and 3,497 out of 4,172 in 1587. [49] Following the inspection, individuals had a period of grace in which to remedy equipment deficiencies. In August 1587, Thomas Pigott of Doddershall was required to explain why he and his servants had so far failed to 'repaire to the general musters'. [50]

The obligation of wealthier groups to provide mounted men - those with land worth 100 marks or more had to find light horse and those with land worth £200 or more had to find the medium heavy cavalry known as demi-lances - proved a particular difficulty. In July 1574 Sir William Dormer apologised to the Council for the delay in furnishing the certificate since the muster of the horse had been postponed due to the absence of many gentlemen from the county. A severe reprimand resulted in the horse being both fully equipped and ready in the following year. In 1580, however, Sir Henry Lee was requesting more time on behalf of his fellow commissioners to muster the horse. [51] The nature of the burden on the wealthy can be discerned from the fact that in 1595 Sir Robert Dormer alone was providing six of the county's 20 lances and four of the county's 17 *petronells* (armour less light horse armed with two long-barrelled pistols). [52]

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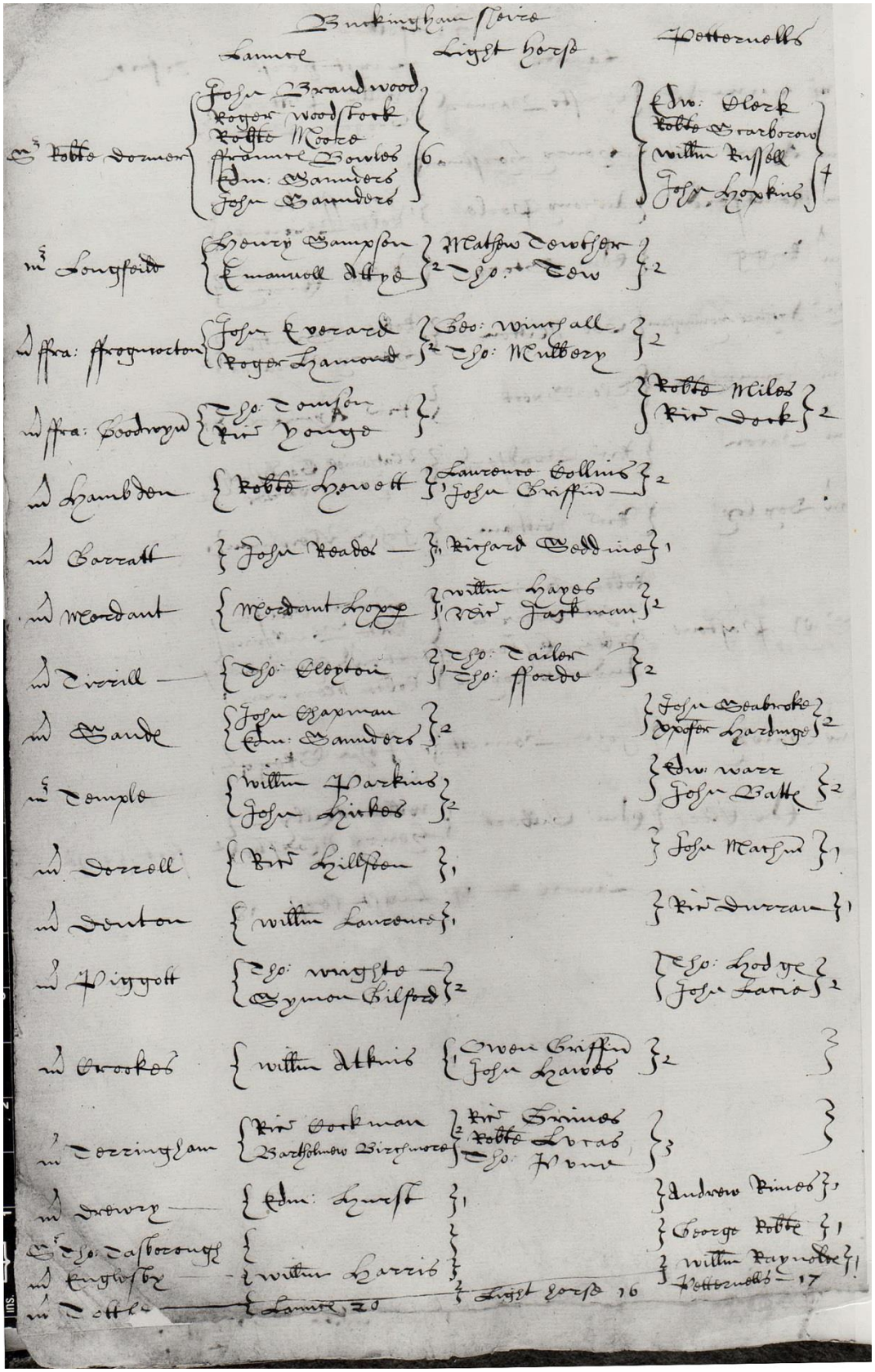
[49] *CSPD 1547-80*, 378; *APC 1558-70*, 361.

[50] George Eland (ed.), *Papers from an Iron Chest at Doddershall, Bucks* (Aylesbury: G. T. de Fraine & Co., 1937), 30-32.

[51] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 79; *CSPD 1547-80*, 483; *APC 1571-75*, 270; *CSPD 1581-90*, 7.

[52] British Library (hereafter BL), Royal Mss 7 CXVI, f. 260b.



Certificate of Muster for the Horse, 1595, the list headed by the obligations of Sir Robert Dormer (1551/2-1616) (British Library).

The problem was compounded by the militia rating system since the 1558 statutes had not actually specified how the value of land and goods was to be assessed. Bucks complained in 1581 of 'harde and somewhat grevous' rates. [53] Commissioners tended to use the parish subsidy books but they took no account of land holdings elsewhere with resulting grievances as to the exact contributions required as equipment costs rose. Larger landowners with multiple land holdings in different counties were often able to escape their true share of the burden. Only in 1597 did the Act for the Relief of the Poor provide any standard guidance as to how a parochial rating system might be applied more generally. [54]

The Privy Council wavered as to whether or not to enforce the subsidy in order to increase the manpower forthcoming but finally resolved in 1580 to specify the number of men expected from each county. The returns were by no means standardised - no model certificate was issued until 1577 and no printed form until 1580 - with the Council often having to enquire as to the reasons for significant variations from one muster to another. In the case of Bucks, a decrease in those mustered between 1573 and 1577 was explained as a result of more careful selection of men, the effects of decline in the local clothing industry at Aylesbury and High Wycombe, and the fear of plague leading to cancellation of musters. [55] The further reduction in numbers certified in 1580 was then explained by yet more rigorous selection since, out of those not lame or old, many were 'not serviceable, some for want of strength, some for want of sprites and Lyvelynes, and some for wrechenes of ther persons'. Thus only

[53] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 75.

[54] A. Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes, 1558-1663', in Peter Clark, A. G. R. Smith, and N. Tyacke (eds), *The English Commonwealth: Essays presented to Joel Hurstfield* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), 93-110.

[55] Bonavita, 'English Militia', 91.

5,100 from 7,400 men could be regarded as able-bodied. [56] Unsurprisingly, with different standards being applied, the Bucks muster certificates displayed considerable variations between 1577 and 1595 notwithstanding any potential population changes. [Table 1.3]

Table 1.3 Certificates of Muster, 1577-95

	1577	1580	1587	1592	1595
Able Men	4302	5100	4172	-	-
Able Men Unfurnished	3580	4143	3497	-	-
Able Men Furnished	722	957	675	760	-
Pikes	93	160	119	-	-
Shot	256	390	255	397	-
Bows	204	270	208	245	-
Bills	103	137	93	118	-
Lances and demi-lances	7	26	14	17	20
Light Horse	43	64	86	74	16
Petronell	-	-	23	17	17
Total of Horse	50	90	123	108	53

Sources: TNA, SP 12/115 (30); SP 12/139 (33); SP 12/204 (51); BL, Harleian Mss 7018, Act 10, f. 69; Royal Mss 7 CXVI. Note that the discrepancy in figures for equipped and able infantry men in 1577 is probably made up from among the additional 85 wheelwrights, 64 smiths, and 647 pioneers and labourers separately listed.

[56] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 46.

At least the certificates of muster show the degree of progress in modernisation in terms of the introduction of modern firearms such as the harquebus and caliver. The proportion of men armed with bows remained steady at between 28 and 32 per cent in Bucks but those armed with caliver or harquebus was always greater at between 35 and 40 per cent. It was now obvious that guns had greater potential. By 1595 with the Council's approval, the Bucks commissioners were phasing out all bows. [57]

Firearms were far more expensive than bows and had become increasingly desirable by the 1550s. Paradoxically, while welcoming the use of firearms the Privy Council also championed the moral value of the bow in wooing the population from pernicious pastimes such as dice and bowls. Bucks was one of the counties to agree to suppress unlawful games and enforce archery on public holidays in 1577. [58] The appearance of the 'trained bands' from 1573 onwards, however, was recognition of failure in that the reform promised to make a smaller proportion of the militia efficient. It also followed the 1569 revolts. The Council then failed to capitalise on the lack of opposition to selective training by not ordering any until it was too late in 1577 to organise. Consequently, the trained bands only really became reality in 1578 and, in many respects, were not fully functional until the mid-1580s. The costs fell entirely on the county, necessitating local taxation.

Thereafter it was customary to muster only trained men, the choice made by deputy lieutenants who increasingly absorbed the work of the commissioners of muster: a few deputies had been appointed in 1550 with far more appointed in 1569. They were not chosen by the lords lieutenant but by the Council. In the case of Bucks, since Grey was a 'country' peer without major court office, no

[57] C. G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 114.

[58] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 66.

deputies were appointed during Elizabeth's reign, the work being undertaken by the muster commissioners. [59] In practice, where appointed, deputies like commissioners were drawn from the ranks of the justices and, like deputies they were appointed by the Council. They were trusted Protestants and, invariably, also seen by the Council as likely to be capable and diligent. [60] A muster roll for the Aylesbury Hundreds, for example, was submitted to the Council in February 1548 by Sir Arthur Lee, William Dormer, Richard Greenway, and John Babham. Commissioners in 1577 included Sir John Fortescue, Myles Sandys and Joseph Goodwin while those in 1580 included Edmund Verney, Robert Dormer, and Myles Sandys again. Sir Henry Lee replied to the Council on behalf of the county commissioners in February 1581. [61]

Sir Henry Lee (1533-1611) of Quarrendon and Ditchley (Oxon.) by Antonis Mor, 156

[59] Neil Younger, *War and Politics in the Elizabethan Counties* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 28.

[60] Idem, 32-35, 40.

[61] TNA, SP 10/3 (8); *CSPD 1547-48*, 6; TNA, SP 12/139 (33); SP 12/115 (30); *CSPD 1581-90*, 7.

The four captains for the trained bands appointed for 1587 were Alexander Hampden, Edmund Tyrell, Thomas Pigott and William Gainsfrey. Captains invariably possessed local social status although they were usually amateurs in military matters with the professional muster masters supervising the training. Initially paid by the Council, the cost of these professionals also subsequently fell on the counties. A former soldier, Thomas Tucker, was admitted as one of the Poor Knights of Windsor in July 1597 after both hands were maimed in a gunpowder accident whilst training men in Bucks. [62]

Commissioners or deputies also took much of the responsibility for the warning beacon system, the Privy Council instructions to set the beacons being relayed to them through the lords lieutenant and by them, in turn, down to the justices and the head constables of hundreds. Justices would select reliable men from each parish who would do duty in turns, usually from March to October. In Bucks, 'Beacon Hill' in the Aylesbury Hundreds lies behind Chequers, another 'Beacon Hill' at Poundon in the Buckingham Hundreds, 'Beacon Farm' in Desborough Hundred north west of Marlow, and Penn Beacon in Burnham Hundred. The sites of beacons in Stoke Hundred, and the Newport and Ashendon Hundreds have not been identified. [63] In the case of Ivinghoe Beacon in the Cottesloe Hundreds, the iron frame was recorded as being still in the church in 1862. [64]

Of the 722 men certified as able and equipped in Bucks in 1577 from the 4,302 considered available, only 200 were chosen to be trained. With the increasing danger, a total of 600 men were trained in 1587, comprising 120 pikemen, 240

[62] *CSPD 1595-97*, 450.

[63] Frank Kitchen, 'Beacons in the Home Counties', Unpub. Mss, 1988.

[64] James Sheahan, *History and Topography of Buckinghamshire* (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1862), 695.

with calivers, 180 bowman and 60 bill-men, and representing virtually all those certified as able and equipped. [Table 1.4] Like firearms, pikes required more careful co-ordination between men rather than individual prowess with the bills and halberds of old; hence the additional training afforded those with firearms and pikes within the trained bands. How militarily effective the trained bands - let alone the bulk of the untrained militia - might have been, of course, is a matter of speculation.

Table 1.4 The Bucks Trained Bands, 1577 and 1587

Hundreds	Number selected 1577	Number selected 1580
Ashendon	22	78
Aylesbury	28	86
Buckingham	22	72
Cottesloe	22	78
Newport	44	136
Burnham, Desborough and Stoke	62	150
Total	200	600

Sources: TNA, SP 12/115; SP 12/204.

In common with the practice elsewhere, a mustered man now received 8d a day in lieu of lost wages. However, little can be discerned of the ordinary members of the Bucks trained bands. The Council wanted householders, farmers, yeoman and their sons to fill the ranks because they could afford better weapons and were deemed more politically reliable. It has been suggested that the trained bands may have included more of the ‘middling sort’ than usually assumed but the evidence is mixed. There were likely to be considerable variations from one

county to another. [65] Most levies certainly tended to be 'masterless men', who were more expendable than the skilled and able-bodied given the high casualty rates expected, not least from disease. Bucks levies for Ireland in October 1598 were characterised as 'bothe the worste men and worste apparelled of all'. [66]

The muster-masters would train the men for a total of ten days per annum, four usually following Easter, four following Whitsun and the remaining two days at Michaelmas. Since the cost of men, powder and shot was high, counties attempted to train the men less frequently if they could. Bucks estimated that training each man for the 10 days' required would cost it 13s.0½d per man in terms of the munitions used and wages. [67] In 1578 training nationally was reduced to two days at Whit and two between Bartholomewtide (24 August) and Michaelmas.

Greater urgency prevailed with the increasing threat from Spain in 1583, the whole country being divided into six classes of county for training purposes with intensified training ordered for southern maritime shires in early 1587. Bucks was classed in the fourth category of readiness requiring a muster to be kept, those with firearms to be trained, able men selected, captains appointed, and muster master corporals to be nominated to have charge of firearms. [68] Overall, the 1587 returns suggested that approximately 132,000 were available in England and Wales, 44,000 of them from the trained bands and the remainder able-bodied men from the general musters. [69] At least it proved the system capable of producing an army whatever its actual quality. Veterans were also recalled from service in the Netherlands.

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[65] Younger, *War and Politics*, 132-36.

[66] Mark Fissel, *English Warfare, 1511-1642* (London: Routledge, 2001), 99.

[67] Bonavita, 'English Militia', 210.

[68] Thomson, *Lords Lieutenants*, 163.

[69] John Nolan, 'The Muster of 1588', *Albion* 23 (1991), 387-407 at 391.

The militia was ordered on alert in April 1588 and placed on an hour's notice in mid-June. Four general defence groups were envisaged with northern forces watching the Tyne and the Scots; southern maritime forces shadowing the Armada as it sailed up the Channel before its men progressively reinforced the army in London; an army initially of 28,900 militia and 45,000 others - the last real appearance of the quasi-feudal levy - under the command of Lord Hunsdon to protect the Queen; and a field army under the command of the Earl of Leicester. A single county might contribute to several different groups. In the case of Bucks, contingents joined both the Queen's army at Brentford and Leicester's at Stratford the Bow. Additionally, Anthony Chester of Chicheley is said to have raised a troop of volunteer horse at his own expense to join the Queen. Chester acquired a baronetcy in 1620.[70]

The monument to Sir Anthony Chester (1566-1635) and his wife at Chicheley

[70] Robert Chester Waters, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Extinct Family of Chester of Chicheley* 2 vols. (London: Robson & Sons, 1878), I, 111.

Militia mobilisation was ordered on 23 July 1588 - no firing of beacons was required as orders were sent out by courier - although the beacons were then fired on first sight of the Armada on 30 July. Bucks was reported in April 1588 as having 2,850 able men of whom 600 were trained and furnished and, in addition, 18 lances, 83 light horse and 60 petronells. [71] On 23 July Bucks furnished its 18 lances and 83 light horse for the Queen's army and 500 foot were ordered to join Leicester's army by 6 August. [72] Some 49 gentry, two widows, and three armiger (bearers of heraldic arms) from Bucks contributed £1,477 to the 'voluntary' loan in 1588. [73]

Inland counties were directed to hold back the foot on 3 August as they would have passed on to government expense once they joined the army. With the end of the immediate danger, Leicester's army was also disbanded between 5 and 10 August although the noble contingents remained for a fortnight to indulge in military reviews. How effective the militia might have proved in the face of veteran Spanish troops is a matter of debate. [74]

The defeat of the Armada did not end the threat of invasion and there were renewed scares in the 1590s, notably in 1597 and 1599, the size and duration of mobilisation in the latter year exceeding that of 1588. [75] Bucks was directed to send 100 volunteer horse under the command of Francis Cheney to the army being gathered at Brentford against a potential invasion threat in August 1599 together with 500 foot under Thomas Piggott, Alexander Hampden and William

[71] Hay, *Epitomised History,* 92.

[72] Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (hereafter HMC) *Mss of the Right Honourable F.J. Savile Foljambe of Osberton* (London: HMSO, 1897), 38, 48.

[73] *The Names of the Nobility, Gentry and Others who contributed to the defence of this country at the time of the Spanish Invasion in 1588* (London, 1798), 4-6.

[74] Geoffrey Parker, 'If the Armada had landed', *History* 61 (1976), 358-68.

[75] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 198-205.

Borlase. [76] Even more pressing was the need to meet demands for overseas expeditionary forces as the Queen was persuaded to carry the war to the Spanish and their allies. These greater demands came at a time of outbreaks of plague and a run of bad harvests in the mid-1590s. Men were to be levied regularly for Elizabethan campaigns in Brittany, Normandy, the Low Countries, Ireland and, in 1589, in Portugal. There was a desire to retain trained men in the counties with those sent overseas frequently the most undesirable elements of the population, the choice being made usually by constables. In any case, the trained bands were supposedly exempt and could not be raided for overseas expeditions. Moreover, under the 1402 statue, men from the militia were not liable to serve out of their own counties unless in the case of invasion. Nonetheless, the Council resorted to conscription of whole companies of the trained bands to serve in the Channel Islands in 1589 and 1590. Contingents from the trained bands also served in France in 1589, 1591, 1592 and 1593. [77] Troops were also raised through captains given individual commissions, the kind of privatised contracts common in Europe.

There was evasion, delay and default in the face of heavy demands for manpower in 1586, 1591 and 1599. One response was to compare one's own military burden with that of others: Bedfordshire complained in 1596 that its quota was the same as Bucks when 'Buckinghamsheere is better of abilitye by towe partes then this countrye, and yet our chardge is now full out as great as theirs.' [78] When the means of encouragement and persuasion available to the state through the Council, the lieutenancy and the gentry failed, however, there was recourse to enforcement.

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[76] *APC 1598-99*, 740; HMC, *Foljambe*, 92, 104, 150, 200.

[77] R. B. Wernham, *After the Armada: Elizabethan England and the Struggle for Western Europe, 1585-95* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 152, 281, 381, 463.

[78] Younger, *War and Politics*, 75.

Far less notice was now taken of proximity of a county to the campaign in question although the southern counties were not required to send men to the Rouen campaign in 1590 due to invasion fears. Deploying the militia to Europe also tended to release veterans for service in Ireland. Figures cannot be exact and the Council often aborted or changed the number of levies demanded. Possibly between 37,000 and 44,000 men were levied for Ireland between 1585 and 1602 for Ireland, equating to perhaps between 14.9 and 18.6 per cent of all able bodied males in England and Wales. Similarly, at least 49,000 went to the continent, the total number of males eligible for military service probably between 200,000 and 250,000. [79]

Such levies would be paid 'coat and conduct' money at ½d a mile for the journey to embarkation port: Chester was reckoned as eleven days' journey from Buckingham. [80] Each group would be led by a nominated 'conductor', who was usually paid 8d per man per day. One half of an 'indenture' was retained by the conductor and the other half forwarded to the Council. Typically, the daily march would involve a break for bread and ale with nightly lodgings at some convenient hostelry. Many examples of the indentures - actually receipts to prove the Council's orders had been obeyed - survive for Bucks such as that for 47 men levied for Ireland in September 1596 and signed for the county by Edmund Tyrell, Robert Dormer and Francis Goodwin. Another 100 men were levied in August 1598, 94 men in September 1598, 150

[79] John McGurk, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: The Burdens of the 1590s Crisis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 64; Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 24, 290-91; Paul Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars: War, Government and Society in Tudor England, 1544-1604* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 245-46; Younger, *War and Politics*, 162, 246-48.

[80] Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 62.

in February 1599, and 200 in June 1599. [81] Abuses were not unknown, several Bucks levies complaining to the Council in January 1587 that Captain William Gray had not paid them their coat and conduct. [82] Indeed, conductors often defrauded the Crown by accepting bribes to release men and, as they were responsible for making good losses, drafting in others including vagrants and prisoners. [83] Some of those who went overseas, however, were volunteers. In June 1586, for example, 100 men levied from Bucks and Bedfordshire for the Low Countries were all volunteers. [84]

Unusually Bucks had earlier sent 18 lances and 10 light horse 'to the north parts' against the Scots in 1570. Another 100 men were levied for service in Jersey in 1590. Ireland and France, however, were the most common destinations for Bucks levies as in the case of 100 men sent to Ireland in May 1581, and in April 1586 the commissions were issued to Robert Hitchcock and George Digbie in April 1586 to find 140 and 300 men respectively for the Low Countries. [85] In 1593 the county was congratulated for sending all 50 of its levies for an expedition to Dieppe fully furnished with arms and equipment. [86]

Bucks had a population of perhaps 30,000 in the 1590s. Overall, 1,691 Bucks men were levied for expeditions between 1585 and 1602: 636 for Ireland, 380 for France and 675 for the Netherlands. The total was exceeded by only the City

[81] *APC 1597-98*, 588; *APC 1598-99*, 118; TNA, E101/65/15; *CSPD 1598-99*, 96, 158, 576, 735.

[82] *APC 1587-88*, 338.

[83] McGurk, *Elizabethan Conquest*, 34-35.

[84] *CSPD 1580-1625 Addenda*, 179.

[85] TNA, SP 12/167, f. 91-92; *CSPD 1547-80*, 368; *APC 1581-82*, 45; *APC 1586-87*, 80; *APC 1590-91*, 204, 363; Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 166-67.

[86] Wernham, *After Armada*, 467.

of London and 13 other counties. [87] Bucks came in at 25th on the list of counties required to send men to Ireland but tenth of those sending men to the continent. In addition to the infantry levies, 20 horse were also levied from Bucks for Ireland between 1598 and 1601. [88]

It is difficult to assess how many such men returned to their counties. Of 3,400 men levied for Normandy in 1591 including 100 from Bucks only 800 returned home. [89] Those who did would often be taken up again for further levies. From 1593 disabled veterans were recognised as deserving of assistance from a parish rate for 'maimed and impotent' soldiers but it was not unknown for the justices to try and pass men off elsewhere. Bucks was unique in establishing a hospital for maimed ex-soldiers at Buckingham in January 1598 to cater for 36 unmarried men residing within the town or the Buckingham Hundreds. Land could be purchased for the maintenance of the establishment providing that no more than £200 per annum was spent on such purchases. [90] Christ's Hospital existed in Buckingham in 1666, then caring for seven 'antient' women. [91] Like much else the application of the vagrancy laws also fell to the lieutenancy, a once institution of expediency translated into administrative necessity.

Training dropped to two days in 1601 with the lessening threat although it partly reflected the Council's failure to promote what has been called a 'bourgeois militia'. [92] It was also the case that a fully formed national system

[87] Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 290-91. McGurk gives the higher figure of 1,722 men with 669 sent to Ireland and 1,055 elsewhere: McGurk, *Elizabethan Conquest*, 55.

[88] McGurk, *Elizabethan Conquest*, 65

[89] Thomson, *Lords Lieutenants*, 111-12.

[90] *CSPD 1598-1601*, 13; Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 182.

[91] Muriel Vernon and Desmond Bonner, *Buckingham* (Buckingham: Privately published, 1969), 48.

[92] Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 107-13; McGurk, 'Recruitment', 68-70.

raised a sense of grievance and resentment against the more rigid impositions of military obligations in the 1590s. Substantial military costs had been transferred from the Crown to the boroughs and counties at the same time that the Council had increasingly dictated policy in setting quotas and targets. [93] It was understandable, too, if there was a degree of war weariness after 18 years' continuous warfare from 1585 until the Queen's death. Military matters had only been rivalled by the maintenance of social order in terms of the time they consumed so far as local administration was concerned. War affected more people than any other aspect of government. [94] Essentially, the system had worked far better than usually assumed. [95] Given the continuing reliance of the state on the efforts of local gentry to facilitate governance, however, the militia was to become a highly significant issue in the confrontation between Crown and Parliament under the Stuarts.

[93] Hammer, *Elizabeth's Wars*, 249-52.

[94] Younger, *War and Politics*, 4.

[95] John Nolan, 'The Militarisation of the Elizabethan State', *Journal of Military History* 58 (1994), 391-420.