

Buckinghamshire; A Military History

by

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Chapter Two: 1603-1660

By the end of Elizabeth's reign there were already signs of the growing distaste for the demands being made on counties through the agency of the lieutenancy. Local gentry were not oblivious to the requirements of national defence and of law and order, but the preservation of local harmony remained a priority. Given the nature of government, much reliance had to be placed on the co-operation of all levels of local administration, not least deputy lieutenants. Indeed, it has been suggested that the mid-seventeenth century was to see the peak of the transfer of local power from the dominant noble households of the past to county institutions, in which lieutenancy, shrievalty, justices and even parochial officials played their part in privileging 'county mindedness'.¹

Many of the county's gentry families were already well established. The Bulstrode (Hedgerley), Cheyne (Chesham Bois), Dayrell (Lillingstone Dayrell), Grenville (Wotton Underwood), Hampden (Great Hampden), Ingoldsby (Lenborough), Lee (Quarrendon), Longville (Wolverton and Bradwell), Pigott (Doddershall), Throckmorton (Weston Underwood), Tyrell (Castlethorpe), Tyringham (Tyringham), and Verney (Middle Claydon) families had all been connected to Bucks before 1500. The Andrewes (Lathbury), Borlase (Medmenham and Marlow), Chester (Chicheley), Croke (Chilton), Denton (Hillesden), Digby (Gayhurst), Duncombe (Great Brickhill), Fleetwood (Great Missenden), Fortescue (Salden), Goodwin (Upper Winchendon), and Temple (Stowe) families had been sixteenth century arrivals. Only the Dormer (Ascott, Wing), Drake (Amersham), West (Marsworth), Whitelocke (Fawley) and Winwood (Ditton) families were comparatively new to the county.

¹ John Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 186.

James I and, especially, Charles I generally failed to recognise realities in forcing the pace of change. The lieutenancy and the militia increasingly became significant issues with those duties for which the lieutenancy was primarily responsible - coat and conduct money and billeting - both figuring in the complaints made within the Petition of Right in 1628, as well as martial law.² The House of Commons would investigate complaints against the lieutenancy in December 1640 and condemn militia assessments in the Grand Remonstrance in November 1641. Control of the militia then became a major factor in triggering civil war the following year.

In a sense all began well. Bucks men had joined those from Hertfordshire and Surrey summoned to armed camps around the capital in February 1601 when there seemed likely to be some threat to a peaceful succession.³ With the Queen's actual death on 24 March 1603, the militia all but ceased to exist. Europe was now at peace and only inspections were ordered for the trained bands without training. Indeed, the 1558 statutes were repealed in 1604, leading to considerable confusion as to the legality of more militia assessments. It may be that it was believed that repeal would allow the lieutenancy more flexibility and, potentially, to go beyond previous statutory limits in assessments since the latter were now considered part of the Crown's prerogative rather than deriving from parliamentary statute. The parish rating system introduced by the Relief for the Poor Act (1597) offered some solution but assessments would now be a matter for the deputy lieutenants. The Crown and lieutenancy, however, no longer had the coercive backing of statute and could only pursue defaulters through the common law.⁴

² Lois Schwoerer, *No Standing Armies: The Anti-Army Ideology in Seventeenth Century England* (Baltimore, MD; John Hopkins University Press, 1974), 19-32.

³ *CSPD 1598-1601*, 584.

⁴ Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes', 104.

A more complete muster was ordered for the general militia in 1608 but only Gloucestershire appears to have gone beyond a cursory inspection. Bucks at least had a new lord lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere being appointed in 1607, the first since the death of Grey in 1593. Primarily a Cheshire man, Ellesmere purchased the Ashridge estate in 1604: Ashridge was part of Bucks until 1895. He was created Viscount Brackley in 1616.

There were attempts to replace the repealed statutes not only in 1604 but also in 1621, 1624, 1626 and 1628. All efforts foundered, rendering hollow Charles I's claim in 1640 that the 1558 statutes were still in force. The failure to bring in a new statute or bill also suggested that there was no great desire to reform the lieutenancy per se in ways that might define its powers over the gentry more closely.⁵

Evasion of horse assessments was especially serious and the Privy Council ruling in 1617 to prohibit absentee landlords from claiming exemption through liability elsewhere violated the accepted doctrine that an individual should only pay once. The attempt to bring the clergy under direct control of the lieutenancy for militia assessments in 1608 was largely ignored and a compromise in 1611 that bishops could assess their own clergy proved ineffective. The horse was supplied as before by the gentry and some freeholders and, from 1608, the clergy were also rated. Bucks complained in May 1613 that the horse assessments required reduction.⁶ This appears to have happened. In April 1615, a total of 78 lances, 48 demi-lances and 27 petronells were mustered at

⁵ Victor Stater, 'War and the Structure of Politics: Lieutenancy and the Campaign of 16278', in Mark Fissel (ed.), *War and Government in Britain, 1598-1650* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 87-109, at 103-05.

⁶ Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 228.

Aylesbury.⁷ In musters held in April 1619 and February 1620 the number had declined to 47 lances, 38 light horse and 17 petronells.⁸ Some 22 Bucks gentry including Sir Henry Lee were listed in 1626 as ‘persons as have often times made default of such horse as they are charged’.⁹

With the exception posed to the south-west by Barbary pirates, there appeared no urgency to warrant maintaining the militia until the presence of a large Spanish army in the Low Countries raised concerns in 1613. While the Council was stirred to action, many counties showed little enthusiasm for a militia revival. The outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War (1618-48) did then heighten tensions sufficiently for activity to increase, Englishmen who had served overseas pressing for military modernisation. Surviving evidence from the Buckingham Hundreds suggests increased activity from 1618 onwards. On 24 September 1618 the deputy lieutenants there - Sir Thomas Temple, Sir Francis Fortescue and Sir Thomas Denton - took a detailed general muster of all able-bodied males. Of 1,069 men mustered, only 48 were described as ‘trayned’ although 298 were designated to carry lances, 236 muskets, 179 calivers, and 84 pikes. Unusually for this date, it included an indication of civil occupations.¹⁰

Although patchy for some parishes, it was fairly complete for the town of Buckingham itself and the villages of Bourton, Gawcott and Lenborough. Of the 358 men with known occupations (from a total of 395) listed from Buckingham and the three villages, four were gentlemen and one a ‘barber chirurgian’ (1.3 per cent); 187 merchants, tradesmen, artisans and craftsmen (52.2 per cent); and 166 yeomen, husbandmen, servants, and labourers (46.3 per

⁷ BL, Stowe Mss 801, f 24-26.

⁸ BL, Stowe 801, f. 37; Henry E Huntington Library (hereafter HHL), Stowe, STG Military 1 (1).

⁹ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1(21).

¹⁰ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (7).

cent), of whom 47 were labourers (13.1 per cent).¹¹ The inclusion of labourers defied any pretence that the trained bands should comprise only the more respectable although husbandmen were often encouraged to serve by the Council.

A muster roll of the county as a whole from 6 April 1619 shows that, in common with the end of Elizabeth's reign, 600 men were selected from a total of 5,520 men for the trained bands with four designated for Aylesbury (including part of the Ashendon Hundreds), Buckingham (including part of the Newport Hundreds, Cottesloe (including part of the Ashendon and Buckingham Hundreds) and for the Chiltern Hundreds. An additional 200 men would be used as pioneers. The powder magazines established at Aylesbury, Buckingham, High Wycombe and Newport Pagnell contained 400 muskets, 160 pikes and 40 bills and there were pieces of armour for 944 men.¹² That 400 men were now musketeers marked the progress made since the Council had encouraged more modernisation in 1616. The total of able-bodied males was recorded as 5,520 inclusive of the 600 to be trained with an additional 200 to be 'pioneers'. There was a muster at Aylesbury on 26 February 1620 at which 160 musketeers and 82 pikemen attended.¹³ Those captains present were Sir Anthony Chester from Chicheley for the Newport Hundreds, Simon Bennett from Beachampton for the Cottesloe Hundreds, and John Saunders for the Aylesbury Hundreds.¹⁴

Orders also survive for the summoning of the inhabitants of Shalstone and Turweston in August 1620 and of Leckhamstead in September 1620. These were 'viewings' rather than musters, the intention being to check that equipment

¹¹ John Broad, 'The Changing Face of Employment in Buckingham, 1618-1798', *Records of Bucks* 34 (1992), 46-60, at 57-59.

¹² HHL, Stowe, STG Military 1(1).

¹³ BL, Egerton MS 860, f. 53.

¹⁴ BL, Stowe MS 801, f. 37.

was serviceable.¹⁵ There is an earlier order to view arms issued to the county by the Council in July 1605.¹⁶ In 1624-25, Captain Tyrrell's Trained Band drawn from the Buckingham and Ashendon Hundreds numbered 27 pikemen, 21 musketeers, and 25 men still armed with calivers.¹⁷

Unfortunately, greater lieutenancy efforts provoked fundamental opposition to the assessments being applied. Horse assessments continued to be particularly contentious. Despite the difficulties, there were distinct signs of improvement in the modernisation of militia weaponry and it was also suggested that the social quality of the trained bands had improved. Finding suitable officers was often a problem despite the increasingly fashionable interest in military affairs suggested by the growth in 'military yards' and 'military gardens' in London and other larger towns albeit that military exercises were also social occasions and perhaps provided more spectacle and entertainment than training.

Professional soldiers were determined to modernise and improve the militia yet further in the light of European practice and with the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, there were many thousands of English as well as Welsh, Scots and Irish soldiers in the Dutch, Swedish and even Russian service. The gentry, however, were unwilling to accept the military priorities and ambitions of the Crown. The latter were evident in the new training orders issued in 1623 and the pursuit of a so-called 'exact' or 'perfect' militia as well as the prosecution of renewed war against the Spanish (1625-30) and the French (1627-29). War led to four successive expeditions. That to Flushing in 1624 under the command of the German professional soldier, Count Ernest von Mansfeld, was intended originally to go on to liberate the Palatinate for James I's son-in-law, Frederick V, but it was diverted unsuccessfully to the attempted relief of Breda and then

¹⁵ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (9) and 1 (10).

¹⁶ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (4).

¹⁷ BL, Stowe MS 801, f. 17.

to campaigning in Germany on behalf of the Danish King, Christian IV. The 1625 expedition was intended to seize Cadiz but was abandoned after the defences proved too strong. The equally unsuccessful expeditions to the Ile de Rhé in 1627 - led by the Duke of Buckingham - and to La Rochelle in 1627 were supposed to support French Huguenots.

The promotion of the exact militia and of a more aggressive foreign policy was very much associated with the royal favourite, George Villiers, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Bucks on the resignation of Ellesmere through ill health in 1616. It was one of four lieutenancies Villiers held. While only from minor gentry stock rather than ancient nobility, his soon to be conferred ducal rank - Villiers was created successively Earl, Marquess and Duke of Buckingham between 1617 and 1623 - accorded with the perceived need for a lord lieutenant to have sufficient status. Villiers had been granted the former Grey de Wilton estates at Bletchley, Fenny Stratford and Whaddon. Master of the Horse from 1616 and Lord Admiral from 1619, Buckingham was effectively foreign minister once Charles ascended the throne in 1625.

About 50,000 men were levied for the 1620s expeditions representing perhaps only one per cent of the total population.¹⁸ The demands, however, were over a short period of time and were double the annual rate of compulsion experienced under Elizabeth. The burden of finding men to fill local quotas fell upon the deputy lieutenants and the constables as did the provision of coat and conduct money to sustain the levies until taken in charge by the official conductors. In both 1625 and 1627 the counties rather than the Council appointed their own conductors but this did not prevent abuses in which bribes were taken to release men, or men deserted and conductors replaced them with even poorer quality substitutes. In some counties corrupt practices extended to constables and even

¹⁸ S. J. Stearns, 'Conscription and English Society in the 1620s', *Journal of British Studies* 11 (1972), 1-23, at 5.

to deputy lieutenants.¹⁹ Nor was coat and conduct money always reimbursed to counties promptly.

Invariably despite official encouragement for the enlistment of the able and fit, the least productive members of local society were those pressed but while removing some of the surplus male population was generally acceptable, increasing costs were not. Notes on those pressed from the Buckingham Hundreds for the Flushing expedition in November 1524 identify one individual from Adstock as unfit and another at Chetwode as a tythingman ‘who ought to be spared’, tythingmen being elected representatives of a manor court. The deputies arranged with constables for additional levies if quotas were not kept.

²⁰ One man was also excused service as his mother would have no other income.

²¹ Sir Thomas Denton, however, also reported in July 1625 that prisoners had been released from gaol to meet the Bucks quota.²²

Moreover, the billeting of the expeditionary forces was highly unwelcome, especially after 1625 when the Crown often failed to reimburse expenses incurred. The conduct of those levied left much to be desired when they were billeted over much of southern England. The Provost of Eton College petitioned the Duke of Buckingham to remove troops billeted on the college by the deputy lieutenants in 1627 both because he argued that ancient privileges exempted them from billeting but also since ‘the youth and the soldiers do not well

¹⁹ Thomas Barnes, ‘Deputies not Principals, Lieutenants not Captains: The Institutional Failure of Lieutenancy in the 1620s’, in Fissel (ed.), *War and Government*, 58-86.

²⁰ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (13); BA D-X 397/2.

²¹ Laurence Spring, *The First British Army, 1624-28; The Army of the Duke of Buckingham* (Solihull: Helion, 2016), 34.

²² Mark Fissel, *The Bishops’ Wars: Charles I’s Campaigns against Scotland, 1638-40* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 222.

comport, and the town cannot easily remedy misorders'.²³ Likewise, Buckingham's decision to billet half a regiment on the county was met by outright opposition in the Ashendon Hundreds with Brill, Ludgershall, Boarstall and Chearsley all refusing to pay for its upkeep. Eight residents at Chilton cum Easington also refused to pay their proportion of expenses incurred.²⁴ Martial law was proclaimed in many cases and hard pressed deputy lieutenants came under increasing parliamentary attack. A new militia bill failed in 1628.

In the case of Bucks, 500 men were impressed in Bucks and Middlesex for the Flushing expedition, of which Bucks would provide 250 apportioned between the hundreds.²⁵ One indenture directed 200 men from the Buckingham and Newport Hundreds to be collected at Buckingham and Stony Stratford on 22 and 23 November 1624 by the conductor, Michael Michell. A total of 34 men were pressed from the Buckingham Hundreds, 48 from the Newport Hundreds, 40 from Cottesloe, 34 from Aylesbury and 44 from Ashendon.²⁶ In all it would appear that 300 men from Bucks actually went on the 1624 expedition, 100 serving in the Earl of Lincoln's Regiment and 200 in Lord Cromwell's Regiment.²⁷ A further 200 men were levied for transit to Plymouth in May 1625 and a further 150 in August.²⁸

The deputy lieutenants were alarmed at the prospect of possible recusant activity, reporting general concern in the county with rumours of men being

²³ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic of the Reign of Charles I, 1625-49* 23 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858-97), *CSPD* 1627-28, 488.

²⁴ John Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of the Verney family down to the end of the year 1639* (London: Camden Society, 1853), 133-34.

²⁵ BL, Stowe MS 801 f. 41; HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (12).

²⁶ BL, Stowe MS 801, f. 41; BL, Egerton MS 860, f. 90; HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (14).

²⁷ Spring, *First British Army*, 220-21.

²⁸ *CSPD* 1625-26, 26, 87-88, 91.

trained and meal stored by potential dissidents to greater extent than either at the time of the Armada or the 'Gunpowder Treason' in 1605.²⁹ Nevertheless, there was still opposition to the Crown's levy of £3,052 coat and conduct money in October 1625 followed by a demand for half as much again.³⁰ The deputies complained forcibly to the Duke of Buckingham that the 'multiplicite of payments in the maynetaynings of soldiers is very greevius... fallinge out in these times of affliction and dearth'.³¹ In the case of those levied in 1625, 13 of the 100 men were given old coats from county stores with the rest given new ones, Bucks claiming 14s.0d for each coat. Those sent in 1625 wore blue cassocks lined with white.³²

The deputies sought a reduction in the number of levies and reminded Buckingham that the 1624 expedition had cost them £437 in coat and conduct money.³³ A total of 100 men were pressed for delivery to the port of London in March 1627, again in the charge of Michell, and a further 50 were dispatched to Plymouth in September 1627.³⁴ There were disputes between the county's 'hill districts' and the 'vale' over the assessments.³⁵ Under the Elizabethan legislation relating to maimed soldiers, all deserving veterans should have been given a pension but Bucks justices maintained falsely that it had been repealed, leading to several petitions to the Privy Council.³⁶ It is certainly noticeable from the Wing churchwardens' accounts that the expeditions led to increased

²⁹ *CSPD 1625-26*, 119.

³⁰ Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Verney*, 118-19.

³¹ Frances Parthenope Verney and Margaret Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family* 4 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1892), I, 89.

³² Spring, *First British Army*, 50, 260.

³³ *CSPD 1625-26*, 167, 215.

³⁴ Bruce (ed.), *Letters and Papers of Verney*, 127, 289-93; *CSPD 1627-28*, 109, 380.

³⁵ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, I, 89.

³⁶ Spring, *First British Army*, 218.

claims from 'poore' soldiers as in 1626, 1627, 1629, 1631 and, later, from some returning from the First Bishops' War in Scotland in 1639. In the case of Wing, too, impressments were recorded in both 1629 and 1630 with 2s.6d 'geven to a young man yt was prest out of our parish' in the former year and the same sum 'pd to Shilburne that he laid out of his purse to a soger yt was prest out of this towne' in the latter year.³⁷

Deputies were chosen by the lords lieutenant, as were the captains of the trained bands and, in effect, they were jeopardising the patronage bestowed upon them. At the same time, however, it was anticipated that lords lieutenant would perform the delicate balancing act between representing the county's interest to the King and Council while securing compliance with the Council's instructions.³⁸

Adding to the tensions arising from the levying of manpower for the overseas expeditions was the attempt to create the 'exact militia' notwithstanding some perceived threats of invasion, notably in 1626 and 1635. Essentially, the exact militia reforms were aimed at establishing county magazine with modern weapons, ensuring improved efficiency for the horse through regional rather than local musters, and arranging the employment of 'sergeants' - veterans - brought home from the Dutch service in the Low Countries to train the militia. In the case of Bucks, they were retained longer than originally intended.³⁹ An official training manual based on Dutch practices had been published in English in 1623 and this became that officially applied to the trained bands. In 1628 orders were also issued aiming to bring uniform weapon standards through marking individual weapons to correct the long standing problem of arms being

³⁷ BA, PR 234/5/1.

³⁸ Victor Stater, *Noble Government: The Stuart Lord Lieutenancy and the Transformation of English Politics* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 22-29.

³⁹ BL, Egerton MS 860, f. 60.

passed from man to man at viewings or company musters so as to avoid the expense of county or individuals purchasing them.⁴⁰ Bizarrely, there was some nostalgia for older (and cheaper) weapons with the Henrician archery statute actually revived. The butts at Wing were repaired in 1619.⁴¹

Bucks was ordered in April 1628 to send its horse to the regional muster of the City, Home Counties and East Anglian counties on Hounslow Heath although, in the event, it was cancelled due to the Rhé expedition.⁴² Responsibility for finding the horse was still that of the wealthier. Thus, in September 1626 Bucks was tasked with finding sufficient weapons to equip 64 men with cuirasses (breast and back armour plates) and 72 with dragons (cavalry pistols). John Hampden, Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Dormer (not yet elevated to the peerage) were each to supply two cuirasses and Sir Henry Lee to find four.⁴³

The Council did not improve matters by the uneven way in which it tolerated unequal application of assessments in some areas but punished it elsewhere. The actual number of defaulters in Bucks was relatively small but an unfortunate example was set.⁴⁴ In April 1626 John Knight and Thomas Cowden were both reported to the Duke of Buckingham for being contemptuously neglectful in not attending militia training.⁴⁵ More defaulters were reported in September 1626

⁴⁰ Richard Stewart, 'Arms Accountability in the Early Stuart Militia', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 57 (1984), 113-17.

⁴¹ BA, D/BASM/83/1. I am grateful to Dr David Noy for this reference.

⁴² Sophia Napier Higgins, *The Bernards of Abington and Nether Winchendon* 2 vols. (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1903), I, 42-43; BL, Egerton MS 860, f. 102.

⁴³ HHL, Stowe, STT Military Box 1 (20).

⁴⁴ Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 237-38.

⁴⁵ CSPD 1625-26, 303.

for failing to attend while Mrs Elizabeth Hampden and her tenants at Dunton had failed to pay the rate for provision of powder and match.⁴⁶

The cost of professional muster-masters for the exact militia also frequently aroused controversy. Muster-master appointments were in the gift of lords lieutenant, raising charges of venality in some cases. Rates charged for the muster-masters' salaries were also regarded as without legal basis. The problem was compounded by the professionals usually being strangers to a county and able to report on the extent to which deputies were complying with Council demands. Even before he became lord lieutenant, Buckingham contrived to get Clement Cottrell, appointed as muster master for the county.⁴⁷ Another nominee was Edward Moale, appointed in July 1628.⁴⁸ John Fleetwood of Great Missenden, Edward Bulstrode of Chilton, William Penn of Penn and Francis Pope of Chalfont were all reported in November 1631 for failing to pay for the muster-master's 'entertainment'.⁴⁹

The issue of the exact militia personified the Crown's insensitivities to localism and challenged the socio-economic and political influence of the gentry whose self-interest necessitated no erosion of their position. The relentless pace of the changes attempted by the Crown through exploiting discretionary powers and feudal prerogatives alienated many. This was even without the manipulation of opposition to the Crown by the radical, fundamentalist and authoritarian Calvinist Puritan faction including John Hampden and Arthur Goodwin, who sought to subvert the Crown's prerogative powers and seize control of offices of state. Hampden's refusal to pay the 'forced loan' in 1627, for which he was

⁴⁶ *CSPD 1625-26*, 437.

⁴⁷ Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 226.

⁴⁸ BL, Egerton MS 860, f. 61.

⁴⁹ *CSPD 1631-33*, 184.

imprisoned for a year in the Gatehouse in Westminster, and, especially, to pay ‘ship money’ in 1635 is well known.



*John Hampden (1594-1643) attributed to Robert Walker
(Trustees, Port Eliot Estate)*

Given the ambivalence of many deputy lieutenants to the additional burdens of collecting loans and subsidies to sustain Charles’s foreign policy in the 1620s, it is not surprising that ship money was entrusted to sheriffs instead. Originally only demanded of coastal counties, it was extended to all on the basis that all benefitted from naval protection of commerce. As it happened, ship money in

theory also provided a solution to the continuing controversy over militia rates since counties, hundreds and parishes were now given quotas proportioned between inhabitants and occupiers. The problem was that there was insufficient financial information available on which sheriffs (or deputies) could have made equitable assessments. The model was set, however, for parliament's tax gathering assessments in the 1640s.⁵⁰

Bucks was assessed at £4,500 in 1635 and for a further £4,500 in both 1636 and 1637. All but £188.1s.11d was contributed in 1635 but £1,032 was never paid on the 1636 writ nor £852.6s.0d on the 1637 writ. A reduced quota of £1,650 was set in 1638, of which £335.4s.9d was still outstanding in May 1640. Not a single penny of the £4,500 demanded in 1639 had been paid by December 1640.

⁵¹ It was not so much the principle that mattered than the means by which the individual amounts were assessed, these being were left to the sheriffs. The hapless Sir Peter Temple based his 1635 assessments on the valuation of land and goods but this was widely contested. His successor in the shrievalty, Sir Heneage Proby, then blamed his own failure in 1636 on Temple.⁵²

The political use to which the militia might be put was also demonstrated by the revelation by the Laudian visitation to report on proper religious observance in October 1634 that John Hampden was mustering the Bucks trained bands in Beaconsfield churchyard in defiance of the 1604 canons against the profanation of churches and churchyards.⁵³ Hampden apologised to Sir Nathaniel Brent,

⁵⁰ Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes', 107.

⁵¹ Hugh Williamson, *John Hampden: A Life* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1933), 344-45.

⁵² Carol Bonsey and J. G. Jenkins (eds), *Ship Money Papers and Richard Grenville's Notebook* (Bucks Record Society, 1965), ix-xv; Henrik Langelüddecke, "'I finde all men & my officers are soe unwilling'": The Collection of Ship Money, 1635-40', *Journal of British Studies* 46 (2007), 509-42, at 534-41.

⁵³ Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 293.

who was tasked with the visitations, but once it was over the practice resumed. The deputy lieutenants then instituted what might be characterised as a 'witch hunt' to discover who had informed Brent in the first place.⁵⁴ Subsequently, when the First 'Bishops' War' with the Scots forced the King to recall Parliament in April 1640; Hampden raised the issue not only of ship money but also of coat and conduct money. The 'Short Parliament' was dissolved in May 1640 but, following the humiliating Scottish occupation of Newcastle in August and the Treaty of Ripon in October, the 'Long Parliament' convened in November 1640. Hampden returned to the attack on all fronts including the militia. A committee to examine complaints against the lieutenancy and militia assessments was established in December 1640 and coat and conduct money was again attacked in the 'Grand Remonstrance' of November 1641. Hampden would be closely involved in the Commons' militia bill to wrest control of the force from the Crown in the following month

Some lords lieutenant were more diligent than others in so far as the exact militia was concerned. Undoubtedly, the result was mixed so far as improved efficiency of the trained bands was concerned. There were perhaps 90,000 or so men in the trained bands by 1639 and many were in relatively good order. Various figures for Bucks show that there were 79 men (58 musketeers and 21 pikemen) in the Buckingham Hundreds in 1637 and 156 men in Captain Tyringham's band in the Newport Hundreds in 1638. In 1639 Captain Stafford had 74 men in the Buckingham Hundreds, and the Cottesloe Hundreds had 77 trained men.⁵⁵

Matters had been relatively stable so far as the lieutenancy was concerned since the end of the 1620s but the outbreak of the First Bishops' War in 1639 arising

⁵⁴ *CSPD 1634-35*, 250; Williamson, *Hampden*, 181-83; Boynton, *Elizabethan Militia*, 293-94.

⁵⁵ BL, Stowe MS 441, f. 1, 34, 36-41.

from the Crown's attempt to impose a new prayer book on the Church of Scotland resurrected all the previous problems. Not least, the Crown initially envisaged raising 40,000 men. Even the 20,000 or so actually raised was considerably larger than the 12,000 raised for Mansfeld in 1624 and twice the number raised for Rhé and Cadiz.⁵⁶ In 1638, the trained bands had mustered 93,718 foot and 5,239 horse.⁵⁷ But, as was usual, those levied tended to be labourers and untrained. As a member of the Royal household, Sir Edmund Verney of Middle Claydon had been summoned to appear at York 'as a cuirassier in russet armes, with gilded studds or nayles and befittingly horsed, and your servants which shall wayt upon you horst in white armes, after the manner of a hargobusier, in good equipage'.⁵⁸ Verney was unimpressed by the quality of the army: 'if wee fight with these foarces & early in the yeare wee shall have our throats cutt; and to delaye fighting longe wee cannot for want of money to keepe our Army togeather'.⁵⁹

The lieutenancy did well enough in readying the militia against Scottish invasion in the north and finding the men for the army. But there were significant problems in the demobilisation process in June 1639 followed swiftly by orders to begin the process again for the Second Bishops' War in March 1640. Bucks was ordered to levy 300 men from the trained bands in February 1639.⁶⁰ The Crown had now insisted on sending men from the trained bands to the royal army at York although, fatally for the effectiveness of the

⁵⁶ Victor Stater, 'The Lord Lieutenancy on the Eve of the Civil Wars: The Impressment of George Plowright', *Historical Journal* 29 (1986), 279-296, at 281.

⁵⁷ Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 195.

⁵⁸ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, I, 297-98.

⁵⁹ Idem, I, 306.

⁶⁰ *CSPD 1638-39*, 514.

army, substitution was to be allowed as a sop to the trained bands. In fact, only 187 of the Bucks men had reached the army in the north by April.⁶¹

With a recalled parliament in the offing, deputies were reluctant to renew the press when war was resumed and there was opposition to the requisition of the weapons of the trained bands as well as fears that yet more men might be ordered out county. As has been noted generally, the parochialism of the trained bands 'was as much gentry parochialism as anything else'.⁶² A bill addressing the issue of out-county service was introduced to the Short Parliament in April 1640 but lost when it was dissolved in May. Military charges, however, were denounced as illegal.⁶³

Such was the opposition in Bucks and other counties surrounding London to the renewed demands that the Earl of Northumberland reported to the Privy Council in June 1640 that it would be impossible to find recruits to send to the army to be assembled at Newcastle.⁶⁴ Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon reported similarly that there was little chance of finding the draught horses required.⁶⁵ Carnarvon had been appointed lord lieutenant following Buckingham's assassination by a disgruntled army officer at Portsmouth in August 1628 but, as a minor, did not exercise the office until 1640, the post having been held in trust by Carnarvon's father-in-law and guardian, Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *CSPD 1639*, 103.

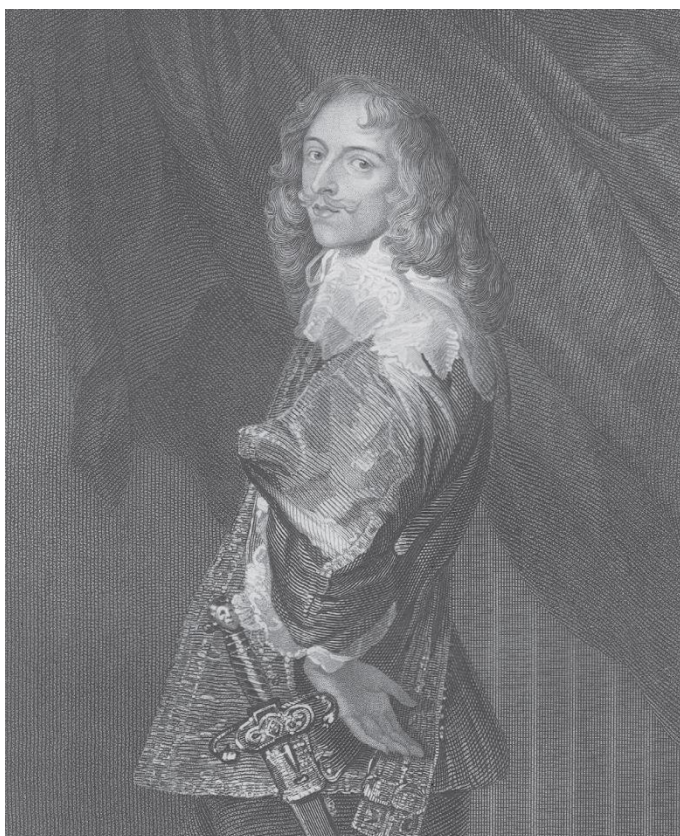
⁶² Peter Newman, 'The Royalist Officer Corps, 1642-60: Army Command as a reflection of the Social Structure', *Historical Journal* 26 (1983), 945-58, at 948.

⁶³ Mark Fissel, 'Scottish War and English Money: The Short Parliament of 1640', in Fissel (ed.), *War and Government*, 192-223.

⁶⁴ *CSPD 1640*, 294; Stater, *Noble Government*, 58.

⁶⁵ *CSPD 1640*, 537.

⁶⁶ *CSPD 1628-29*, 322-23, 337.



Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon (1607-43)

Warrants had been issued twice and Carnarvon had also met with the gentry twice but to no avail. A few small contributions had been made by individuals such as Sir Edmund Verney but the demand for £2,600 coat and conduct money realised only £8.10s.0d, Bucks having been expected to find 500 men.⁶⁷ The levying of coat and conduct money did not rest upon specific statute but had become a matter of custom, with parliament invariably authorising reimbursement. Parliament, however, was in abeyance and the Crown offered no reimbursement.⁶⁸ Matters were not improved when soldiers en route for the north burned down 30 houses in Aylesbury. Edmund Waller of Beaconsfield reported that the Chesham constables not only refused to levy men but also

⁶⁷ Fissel, *Bishops' Wars*, 132, 208.

⁶⁸ Idem, 129-30.

refused to surrender the press money raised for providing victuals and other necessities for the army on the march through England.⁶⁹

The continuing belief that the Crown's discretionary military powers required statutory definition was equally apparent in the controversy over a guard for parliament, which developed into a struggle for control of the militia in 1641-42.⁷⁰ Rumours of royal plots, the presence of disbanded soldiery, and the outbreak of Catholic rebellion in Ireland in October 1641 with the reported massacre of perhaps 200-300,000 Protestants added to the growing unease in Westminster. In October, therefore, parliament arranged for a guard from the City, Middlesex and Surrey trained bands under the command of the Earl of Essex. Returning from Scotland in November, Charles dismissed the guard and appointed his own from the Westminster trained bands under the Earl of Dorset. A clash between the guard and demonstrators led to Charles agreeing to disband it, at which point John Pym moved that parliament again arrange its own guard. At the same time the House of Lords rejected an attempt by the Commons to prevent levies being raised for Ireland. Sir Arthur Haselrig therefore introduced a new militia bill to substitute a lord general nominated by parliament for that of the King.

Charles ordered a new guard on 9 December while Haselrig's bill passed through its second reading on 24 December. Charles refused to allow parliament control of the Westminster guards and the Commons promptly ordered the City trained bands to mount guards throughout the capital. Charles then attempted to arrest the 'five members' including Hampden, Pym and Haselrig on 4 January

⁶⁹ *CSPD 1640*, 498.

⁷⁰ Lois Schwoerer, 'The Fittest Subject for a King's Quarrel: An Essay on the Militia Controversy, 1641-42', *Journal of British Studies* 10 (1971), 45-76; idem, *No Standing Armies*, 33-50; L. V. Nagel, 'The Militia of London, 1641-49', Unpub. PhD, London, 1982, 26-48.

1642. Four days later the Commons authorised the City to raise forces for its defence. The Lords were then persuaded to join the Commons on 1 February in assuming control of the militia through an ordinance of both houses. Charles left London on 7 February although suggesting that he would accept parliament's nomination of militia commanders subject to his veto. On 2 March, however, both houses voted to place the kingdom in a 'posture of defence'.

Bucks had been the first county to petition parliament on Hampden's behalf after the attempt to arrest him.⁷¹ A reputed 5,000 'freeholders' accompanied the petition to Westminster on 11 January 1642. It was then reported that a supposed 1,000 horse had come up from Bucks to offer their services to parliament on 14 January.⁷² On 18 January it was reported that the trained bands had been called to Beaconsfield from the Chiltern Hundreds.⁷³

Edmund Waller's brother-in-law, Nathaniel Thomkins, suggested the Chiltern men had not only obeyed a purely local order but the first that 'hath so come in so many ages not issuing from his Majesty nor his Privy Council'.⁷⁴ Indeed, there appears to have been no case in which any musters had been held in any county since the autumn of 1640 by order of the lieutenancy.⁷⁵

There was still some support for national causes in that £6,000 was subscribed voluntarily by April 1642 for the pacification of Ireland.⁷⁶ In Bucks Hampden

⁷¹ Bucks Archaeological Society (hereafter BAS), 1912.271; BA, D229/3.

⁷² *CSPD 1641-43*, 254.

⁷³ George, Lord Nugent, *Memorials of John Hampden, his Party and his Times* 4th edn. (London: Chapman & Hall, 1860), 241-43; Williamson, *Hampden*, 291-93.

⁷⁴ W. H. Summers, 'Some Documents on the State Papers relating to Beaconsfield', *Records of Bucks* 7 (1892), 97-114, at 113.

⁷⁵ Stater, *Noble Government*, 60.

⁷⁶ BL, Thomason Tracts, 669, f. 513.

gave £1,000 and Goodwin £1,800.⁷⁷ While most people did not give very much - 8,000 individuals contributed £1,098.12s.10½d from the 132 parishes for which records survive - the cumulative total was still generous with a particular response from the north and east of the county.⁷⁸ That same month the county's Grand Jury also appealed to the King to dismiss his army and avoid conflict.⁷⁹

The Militia Ordinance came into force on 5 March, parliament thereby assuming the right to nominate its own lords lieutenant. While nearly all peers, most so named had not served in such a capacity before including William, Lord Paget, who was named as joint lord lieutenant with Carnarvon. Paget held the manors of Marlow and Iver and exercised some degree of control over the choice of MPs for Marlow but he was essentially a Staffordshire man. Son-in-law of the Earl of Holland and with his wife also the niece of the Earl of Warwick, Paget had close links to the radical fundamentalists. He had been one of 12 peers to sign a petition in September 1640 condemning the King's conduct of government, and demanding cessation of the war against the Scots and the recall of parliament. As such nominations were illegal without royal assent a Commons committee was established to justify its actions. Since many members wished to work within familiar frameworks, they seized on the King's offer to vest militia control in parliament for a year only. A bill to this effect was passed on 22 April 1642 but with an amendment to extend parliamentary control to two years and some other changes that the King rejected. Charles was now on his way north and the muster of the City trained bands on 2 May 1642 signalled the intention to apply the militia ordinance.

⁷⁷ John Adair, *A Life of John Hampden The Patriot, 1594-1643* (London: Macdonald & Janes, 1976), 171; Williamson, *Hampden*, 293; BL, Stowe MS 188, f. 7-9.

⁷⁸ John Wilson (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Contributions for Ireland, 1642 and Richard Grenville's Military Accounts, 1642-45* (Bucks Record Society, 1983), x, xii.

⁷⁹ A. M. Johnson, 'Buckinghamshire, 1640-60: A Study in County Politics', Unpub. MA, Wales, 1963, 66-72.

On 11 June Charles issued his own commissions of array to muster the militia. Paget at once implemented the militia ordinance in Bucks: Carnarvon had joined the King. He reported on 23 May 1642 that 150 of the trained bands - a quarter - had mustered together with 160 volunteers; 250 more volunteers were expected at the next muster.⁸⁰ In June when parliament called for plate, money and horses under the Propositions Ordinance, there was a significant response. Sir William Drake of Amersham, for example, gave £200 and his brother, Francis, £100. Goodwin provided four horses and £100 and more horses came from Peregrine Hoby, Thomas Lane, Bulstrode Whitelock and Richard Winwood. Hampden gave eight ounces of plate worth £214.3s.8d as well £100 in coin and three horses. Reputedly, the county gave £30,000 to the parliamentary cause.⁸¹ The surviving blank forms of authority signed by Richard Grenville, Thomas Sanders, Richard Ingoldsby, Thomas Tyrell, Hampden and Goodwin dating from July 1642 may perhaps suggest not all contributions were voluntary.⁸²

There was an underlying assumption that contributions would be made willingly to a just cause, which was not quite the same as contributions being sought entirely voluntary. Goodwin had already requisitioned 40 horses from the King's Grounds at Creslow in June to equip a dragoon troop.⁸³ As sheriff, Grenville applied remaining militia funds and various voluntary contributions to equip 60 horse and 400 foot. A Londoner called Cottesford came down to drill the foot while William Austen from Thame and Edward Pearce of Wotton Underwood helped train the horse.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (23); BL, *Thomason Tracts*, 669, f. 6 (22).

⁸¹ Adair, *Life of Hampden*, 175.

⁸² BL, Stowe MS 188, f. 10.

⁸³ BL, Stowe MS 188, f. 14.

⁸⁴ Wilson (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Contributions*, 112.

The acquisition of horses was particularly important. Hampden, Goodwin, Whitelocke and Winwood were instructed to enact the Propositions for Raising Horse on 5 July 1642. The order was re-iterated on 12 July with 46 individuals now named. Matters were apparently delayed until Thomas Sanders and Thomas Westall were named commissioners to value horses and arms on 9 August. Sufficient horses had been found for four troops of the regiment teased by Goodwin by 13 August. All were from the Newport Hundreds, Westall being from Newport Pagnell. In all 115 horses were forthcoming by 30 September.⁸⁵

Enacting the militia ordinance in counties did not necessarily imply a willingness to fight the King and the situation was sufficiently tense amid rumours of Irish papist intervention in England to justify what seemed precautionary measures in the circumstances. The militia ordinance was also familiar in that it was enacted through lords lieutenant whereas the commission of array (in Latin) harked back to the model array of 1402. The array, however, gave the King the additional advantage of being able to sidestep lords lieutenant of doubtful loyalty and forces raised under array were not subject to the restrictions of out-county service for the militia. It had been tried previously for raising men for Scotland in ten counties in August 1640 without conspicuous success.

In Bucks everything had been thrown into confusion when Paget fled to join the King in 14 June. According to Bulstrode Whitelocke of Fawley Court, Paget had begun ‘to boggle and was unfixed in his resolutions’.⁸⁶ Subsequently, Paget issued the commission of array for the King in Staffordshire, becoming the only

⁸⁵ Gavin Robinson, *Horses, People and Parliament in the English Civil War: Extracting Resources and Constructing Allegiance* 2nd edn. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 53-54, 56.

⁸⁶ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I to the Happy Restoration of Charles II* 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1853), I, 170.

man to issue both ordinance and commission. Shifting alignments were not uncommon and in September 1644 Paget defected back to the parliamentary side.⁸⁷

Paget had issued orders on 26 May for the attendance of the horse from the Buckingham Hundreds at Aylesbury on 10 June and this was presumably the same for the county trained bands as a whole.⁸⁸ A further muster was then arranged for Aylesbury on 17 June, Thomas Tyrell reporting to Grenville that the deputies would press ahead: ‘Ye citizens bring in their money and plate roundly according to ye expositions. Notwithstanding ye Lord Lieutenant is gone, ye meeting holds at Aylesbury on Friday; the deputies are armed with ye power of his Lordship by a new order of Parliament.’⁸⁹ Hampden had informed parliament of Paget’s flight and came down to Aylesbury armed with new authority for the 32 deputies to collect money, levy and train the militia, provide a garrison for Aylesbury, and form a committee. This commission of deputy lieutenants was tasked with administering the county and executing parliamentary ordinances. Five from the 32 members were to be available to make decisions at all times by rota while the commission would muster the Aylesbury garrison at least once a month and assist the defence of the town by ‘raysinge and summoning of the countye for strengtheninge the garrison’.⁹⁰

Of the 32 named deputies, four were also named by the King’s commission of array issued on 16 June, namely Sir Peter Temple, Sir Alexander Denton, Edmund Waller and Sir Richard Pigott. Different members of the Dormer, Verney and Tyringham families also appeared on both lists. The King’s list was

⁸⁷ Andrew Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides during the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 103-04.

⁸⁸ HHL, STT Military 1 (23); BA, D-X 397/6.

⁸⁹ Nugent, *Memorials*, 247-49.

⁹⁰ *Idem*, 398-99.

the more inaccurate and omitted some prominent supporters such as Sir Anthony Chester and Peter Dayrell.⁹¹ By October 1642 the militia ordinance had been enacted in 23 counties and the array in 14 counties: parliament directed on 20 June that anyone trying to effect the commission of array should be arrested.



Sir Edmund Verney (1590-1642) by van Dyck (Claydon House Trust)

The lists also suggest how difficult it was for individuals to choose sides. The dilemma of the Verney family is well known. Sir Edmund Verney and two of his sons - young Edmund ('Mun') and Thomas joined the King - while the eldest son, Ralph sided with parliament. Knight Marshal of England, Sir Edmund Verney had no affinity for the King's principles but felt duty bound to

⁹¹ Johnson, 'Buckinghamshire', 331; Robert Gibbs, *History of Aylesbury* (Aylesbury: Bucks Advertiser and Aylesbury News, 1885), 159.

continue to serve the Crown: ‘I have eaten his bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend.’⁹² A fourth son, Henry, a soldier of fortune in Europe, joined the King in 1643 and was captured at the fall of Hillesden to the parliamentarians in March 1644. The Chester family was also split,⁹³ while some adherents of the parliamentary cause such as Sir William Drake were less than ardent and chose to go abroad, as did Ralph Verney. Drake’s tomb at Amersham contains a Latin inscription that can be roughly translated as ‘at home he escaped by being prudent, and abroad he escaped by being absent’.⁹⁴ Some gentry tried to remain neutral or were far from active in their professed cause. Some changed sides including Edmund Waller, who was implicated in a plot against London in 1643.⁹⁵ In any case, popular allegiance itself was hardly constant.

Between 17 and 24 June 1642 the Bucks trained bands assembled at Aylesbury with possibly 1,000 additional volunteers. The usefulness of the trained bands for either side depended in large part on the degree of reform in each county. Hampden reported that the deputies and the men had performed ‘their parts very well, and besides our trained bands we have many volunteers that have armed themselves at their own charge and formed themselves into bands’. On the other hand, Richard Grenville suggested that long bows, crossbows and bills were to

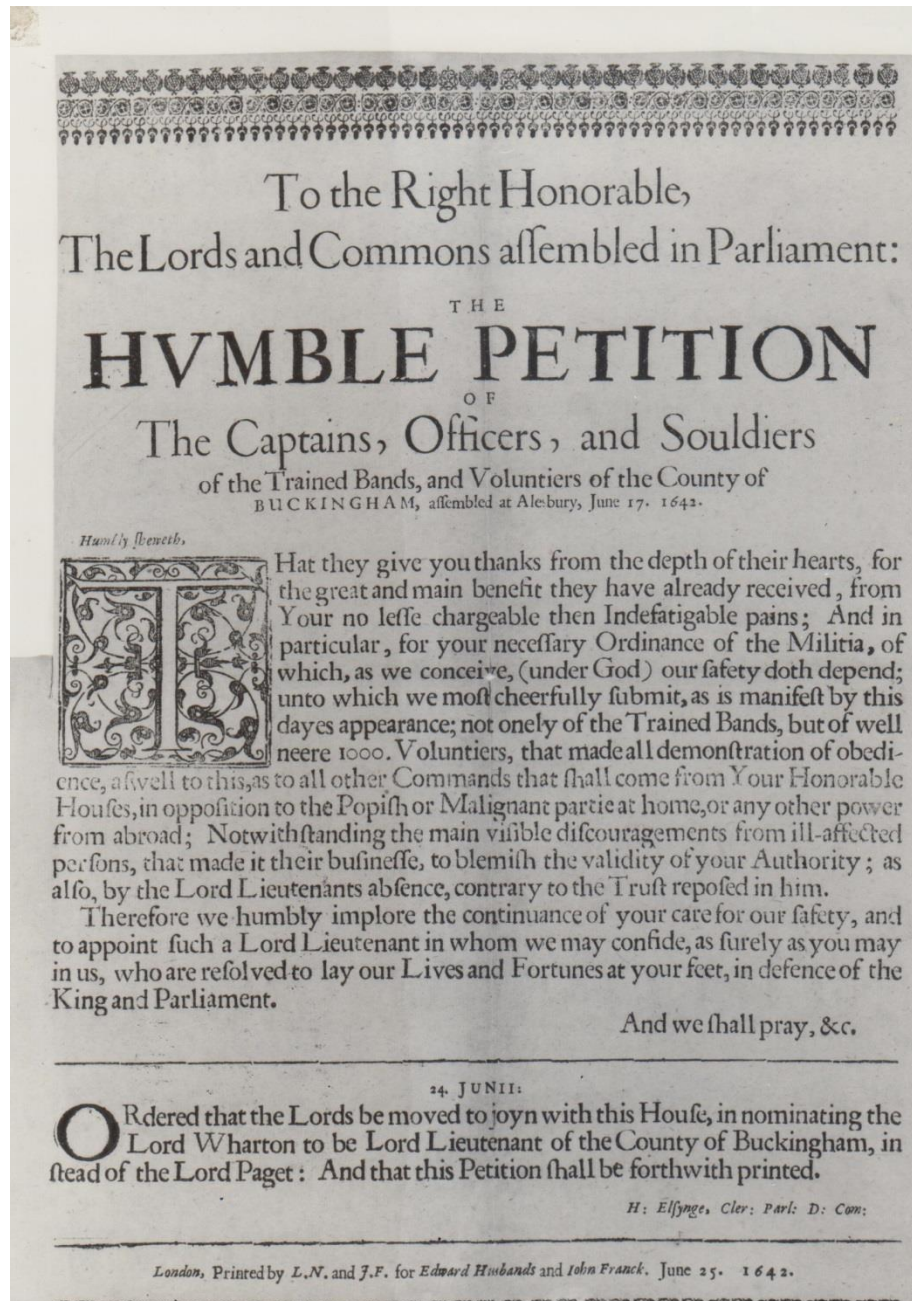
⁹² Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, II, 126.

⁹³ Waters, *Genealogical Memoirs*, I, 128-29, 133, 161-62.

⁹⁴ Julian Hunt, *Buckinghamshire’s Favourite Churches* (Bucks Historic Churches Trust, 2007), 31.

⁹⁵ Ian Beckett, *Wanton Troopers: Buckinghamshire in the Civil Wars, 1640-60* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2015), 52-53,

be seen among those who came in from the north of the county.⁹⁶ On 24 June the forces at Aylesbury petitioned for a new lord lieutenant and Philip, Lord Wharton was duly appointed although he did not appear at Aylesbury until July,



The petition of the Bucks Trained Bands for a new Lord Lieutenant, 25 June 1642 (Bucks Archaeological Society)

⁹⁶ Williamson, *Hampden*, 297-98; Nugent, *Memorials*, 254; Eland, *Papers from Iron Chest*, 61-62.

when he issued his own commissions to the deputies.⁹⁷ Other than his property at Wooburn, Wharton owned little in Bucks since he was only the heir to the Goodwin estate at Winchendon by virtue of his marriage to Jane Goodwin.

The King preferred a ‘marching army’ of volunteers with officers prepared to go anywhere and few trained bands regiments were incorporated into royalist armies especially as so few appeared willing to leave their counties. In any case, the militia was often subject to the same fragmentation as the rest of society. Indeed, in the course of the war, those trained bands who became engaged often failed the test of war. The real value of the militia lay in the weapons in county armouries that could be used to arm the ‘marching regiments’.

Parliament, too, raised marching regiments. Of those raised wholly or partly in Bucks the best known is Hampden’s ‘Greencoats’, which had its first muster on 16 September 1642.⁹⁸ Hampden secured the services of an experienced soldier, Joseph Wagstaffe, as his lieutenant colonel and a noted military theorist and the author of *Military Discipline* (1635), William Barriffe, as his major although Wagstaffe later defected to the royalists after being captured by them. Other officers included Richard Ingoldsby, and Thomas Tyrell. It has been argued that officers such as Barriffe, originally from Essex, and Wagstaffe, originally from Warwickshire, as well as others in Hampden’s regiment from London and a Dutch lieutenant, reflected the general absence of real ties of kinship with, or allegiance to, counties in the regiments of the Earl of Essex’s army. Pursuit of national parliamentary strategic aims conflicted with local interests and led to a

⁹⁷ BAS, 1909.298; Whitelocke, *Memorials of English Affairs*, I, 169-71.

⁹⁸ Michael Pearson, ‘The History of a Regiment of Foot in the Earl of Essex’s Army, 1642-45’, Unpub. Cert in Local History, Wales, 1997), 4, 10.

significant decline in the financial and material support emanating from counties by the autumn of 1642.⁹⁹

Traditionally, the Greencoats were said to have been raised from Hampden's tenants and friends although, after the Battle of Edgehill, Oliver Cromwell described it as composed of 'old decayed serving men, and tapsters and such kind of fellows'.¹⁰⁰ Like other such regiments, Hampden's soon lost its county connections in terms of rank and file. By January 1643 Hampden was finding recruits as far afield as Ipswich. Royalist propaganda in June 1643 suggested Hampden had to recruit in London and Guildford as 'he durst not doe it in his owne County... fo feare he should receive a foyle, and finde few followers'.¹⁰¹ Hampden himself was mortally wounded at Chalgrove on 18 June 1643, dying in Thame six days later. Tyrell succeeded to the command of Hampden's regiment while also commanding a regiment in Aylesbury. In turn, he was succeeded by Ingoldsby in October 1644. Regimental strength declined sharply after Hampden's death.¹⁰² Having served with Essex's army at both Battles of Newbury (September 1643 and October 1644), it was disbanded in April 1645 with some officers and men being incorporated into the New Model Army in Ingoldsby's new regiment.

As indicated earlier, Arthur Goodwin similarly raised a regiment of horse and a troop for his son-in-law, Wharton. One of the troops of Goodwin's regiment was said to have been the first from the parliamentary left wing to break at

⁹⁹ Aaron Graham, 'Finance, Localism and Military Representation in the Army of the Earl of Essex, June-December 1642', *Historical Journal* 52 (2009), 879-98, at 889.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Carlyle (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* 3 vols. 2nd edn. (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), III, 64-65.

¹⁰¹ Godfrey Davies, 'The Parliamentary Army under the Earl of Essex, 1642-45', *English Historical Review* 49 (1934), 32-54, at 50.

¹⁰² Pearson, 'History of Regiment of Foot', 32-33.



*Arthur Goodwin (1593/4-1643) by van Dyck
(Devonshire Collection - Chatsworth Settlement Trustees)*

Edgehill on 23 October 1642.¹⁰³ Some detail is known for Goodwin's regiment because of the surviving accounts of Richard Grenville, who commanded a 'harquebuzier' troop in the regiment from July 1642 to March 1645. Some of the equipment came from the county magazine but Grenville also received horses, weapons and saddles from individuals. A total of 58 individuals contributed the 60 horses Grenville needed initially. A further 15 were

¹⁰³ Peter Young, *Edgehill 1642* 2nd edn. (Moreton-in-Marsh: Windrush Press, 1998), 108.

contributed in August 1642, Winwood providing three of them. It cost Grenville £140 to equip and mount himself and £150 to equip and mount his three officers including a notorious Croatian mercenary, Carlo Fanton (or Fantoni), who defected later to the royalists and was then hanged by them at Oxford for ‘ravishing’. According to John Aubrey, Fantoni had proclaimed, ‘I care not for your Cause: I come to fight for your half-crowne, and your handsome woemen’.

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Grenville’s three corporals cost £14 each to mount, his two trumpeters £10 each for horse and trumpet, and his farrier and saddler £8 each. A month’s pay for the troop amounted to £1,494.14s.0d: by way of comparison, a trooper was receiving 2s.6d a day when agricultural labourers earned at most 6s.0d a week. Among those supplying Grenville was a saddler, John Haddinott from High Wycombe. Grenville’s troop often appears to have been at Aylesbury and took part in a failed attack on Brill in January 1643, the siege of Greenlands House in June 1644, and that of Boarstall in July 1644, the latter ironically the former residence of the parliamentary supporter, Lady Penelope Dynham.¹⁰⁵ Other accounts show Grenville acquiring horses from several different parishes in both 1643 and 1644.¹⁰⁶ Grenville was taken prisoner by the royalists during the Earl of Essex’s Lostwithiel campaign in the autumn of 1644 and held at Launceston and then Oxford before being exchanged in February 1645. His troop if not the regiment, therefore, must also have been at Lostwithiel. Goodwin, meanwhile, died of ‘camp fever’ in August 1643.

Wharton’s own regiment was not raised in Bucks since it had been raised previously for service in Ireland in the summer of 1642 although another parliamentary regiment - that of Thomas Ballard, a professional soldier from

¹⁰⁴ Oliver Lawson Dick (ed.), *Aubrey’s Brief Lives* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), 265.

¹⁰⁵ Wilson (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Contributions*, 115-32; Beckett, *Wanton Troopers*, 57-59.

¹⁰⁶ HHL, Stowe, STTM Oversize 1 (3).

Nottinghamshire - was raised in the county. Several of its officers had also been selected for a regiment Ballard was intended to lead to Ireland.¹⁰⁷ Like that of Wharton, Ballard's regiment was all but destroyed at Edgehill. Ballard's was reformed and survived until 1644 but Wharton's never reformed. Having supposedly taken refuge in a saw pit, Wharton was ever after 'Saw Pit' Wharton. However, he did contribute further to the parliamentary cause by converting one of his paper mills (later known as Jackson's Mill) on the Wye at Eghams Green near Wooburn into a gunpowder mill.¹⁰⁸

Temple was a Colonel of Horse by September 1642 and Edmund West held an appointment under the Earl of Bedford. On 21 October 1642 Henry Bulstrode of Hedgerley was authorised to raise a further regiment from the Chiltern Hundreds and he was appointed first governor of Aylesbury on 2 November 1642, following a skirmish outside the town. A scout had been sent out from Aylesbury to Edgehill 'the night after the battle was fought'.¹⁰⁹ Hampden had also written to the deputies from Northampton on 31 October urging them to stand firm in the event of any royalist advance: 'If you disband not, we may be a mutual succour to each other; but if you disperse, you make yourselves and your country a prey.'¹¹⁰

Just as the skirmish has been misrepresented in the past as the 'Battle of Aylesbury' so Bulstrode's regiment was once erroneously and absurdly suggested as marking the origin of the Bucks militia.¹¹¹ Bulstrode also

¹⁰⁷ Davies, 'Parliamentary Army', 33, 48.

¹⁰⁸ *House of Lords Journals*, 42 vols. (London: HMSO, 1767-1830), II, 696; G. F. Trevallyn Jones, *Saw Pit Wharton: The Political Career from 1640 to 1691 of Philip, 4th Lord Wharton* (Sydney: Methuen, 1967), 60, 66.

¹⁰⁹ Wilson (ed.), *Bucks Contributions*, 112.

¹¹⁰ Nugent, *Memorials*, 322.

¹¹¹ *A Short History of the Royal Bucks King's Own Militia* (Warwick, 1892), 3.

commanded a regiment in the Earl of Warwick's 'reserve army', which merged with that of the Earl of Essex over the course of the winter of 1642-43. He remained in command of this latter regiment until it was disbanded in 1643 and died sometime that year. Essex also directed 200 horse for the army to be raised in the county in July 1643 with a call to make up the deficiency being issued in December 1643.¹¹²

By contrast only 11 from 603 identified royalist regimental colonels were from Bucks: Carnarvon; Henry Verney; 'Mun' Verney; Philip Palmer of Dorney; Sir John Tyringham; William Tyringham; William Smyth of Akeley; John Denton of Hillesden; Thomas Stafford of Milton Keynes; Henry Sandys of Latimer; and Thomas Panton, who originally served in Carnarvon's regiment albeit that this was raised in Lancashire. Only 24 'indigent' officers with Bucks connections claimed compensation for their services in 1662-63. Six had served under Smith at Hillesden, one was a Dutch or German professional, and only one, William Lambert, was resident in the county.¹¹³

Carnarvon was killed at the first battle of Newbury in September 1643 while Sandys was mortally wounded at Alresford in March 1644. John Denton was killed at Abingdon in August 1644, while Sir Alexander Denton, captured when Hillesden was stormed, died of fever in the Tower on New Year's Day, 1645. 'Mun' Verney was treacherously killed while unarmed and walking beside Cromwell after being granted quarter at Drogheda in September 1649. Sir John Tyringham died at Oxford in May 1645. Smyth was captured at the fall of Hillesden House, where he commanded the garrison, in March 1644: after briefly escaping from imprisonment in London, he was lodged in the Tower until exchanged in February 1645. Two more prominent royalists also failed to

¹¹² Wilson (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Contributions*, 128-29.

¹¹³ Peter Newman, *The Old Service: Royalist Regimental Colonels and the Civil War, 1642-46* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 250-51, 290, 299-300.

survive the war. A noted professional soldier and major general in the Western Army, Sir John Digby was mortally wounded at Taunton in June 1645. Having gone into battle deliberately without armour or buff coat, Sir Edmund Verney was killed defending the King's Banner Royal at Edgehill in October 1642.

Relatively few ordinary soldiers appear to have been raised in Bucks by the royalists. Sir Peter Temple listed 23 men from the parish of Stowe as having joined the royalist garrison at Brill in January 1643 including Edmund Dayrell and Mr Wyatt as 'Chaplyn to the Band'.¹¹⁴ A former undersheriff, Captain Franks, attempted to raise dragoons around Buckingham in August 1643. Both William Smith and Thomas Stafford, the former captain of the Bucks trained bands, also tried to raise regiments in the vicinity of Buckingham in November that year.¹¹⁵

It was claimed by the parliamentarians that Smith had found only 30 recruits locally for the Hillesden garrison and accounts suggest many of the latter were French or Walloon mercenaries. Two of his captains, however, were Thomas Isham from Hillesden and William Pleydell from Akeley. Around 30 of the garrison were slaughtered after the surrender.¹¹⁶ The proceedings of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents also throws up a number of those who took up arms for the King and were fined such as Thomas Gatts of Great Brickhill, Richard Brugis of Ellesborough, Alexander Frankish of Water Stratford, and Charles Lane of Hanslope.¹¹⁷ Saddlers and harness makers were

¹¹⁴ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (26).

¹¹⁵ I. G. Philip (ed.), *The Journal of Sir Samuel Luke* 3 vols. (Oxfordshire Record Society, 1947, 1950, 1952-53), II, 132; III, 201-02, 217.

¹¹⁶ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, II, 192-97; Rev. H. Roundell, 'Hillesden House in 1644', *Records of Bucks* 2 (1863), 93-98.

¹¹⁷ *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with Delinquents* 5 vols. (London: HMSO, 1889), II, 1071; III, 1977, 1978; IV, 2600.

valued by both sides, the King's official Master Collar Maker, Robert Herring, being based in Buckingham.¹¹⁸

There were no great battles in the county although several took place just beyond the boundaries. The movement of large armies through the county was also limited. The London Trained Bands and other elements of the parliamentary army marched through in August 1642 en route for Edgehill, doing significant damage.¹¹⁹ Not least was the destruction wrought on Sir Richard Minshull's house at Bourton a week before the King formally raised his standard at Nottingham.¹²⁰ It was an event that helped bring many to the King's side.

In August 1643 the Earl of Essex's army marched from Beaconsfield to Brackley via Aylesbury on its way to the relief of Gloucester: 400 men from each of the Aylesbury and Newport Pagnell garrisons were ordered to join the march.¹²¹ Draught horses were widely requisitioned by Essex's army, many never to be returned. Thomas Aris of Water Stratford, for example, had two horses seized although he did manage to retrieve one by journeying himself 40 miles to get it back. Wing lost eight 'horses & harnis when my lord general went to relieve gloster and carters wages to [th]e val[ue] of [£]34'. Rather similarly, two horses and a wagon seized from Ivinghoe by a Swedish

¹¹⁸ Peter Edwards, *Dealing in Death: The Arms Trade and the British Civil Wars, 1638-52* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2000), 171.

¹¹⁹ Stephen Ede-Borrett (ed.), *The Letters of Nehemiah Wharton* (Wollaston: Tercio Publications, 1983), 7-10.

¹²⁰ George Lipscombe, *History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* 4 vols. (Privately printed, 1847), II, 588-90.

¹²¹ *CSPD 1644*, 59-61.



The burning of Sir Richard Minshull's house at Bourton, 18 August 1642 from Mercurius Rusticus

quartermaster in Essex's army in 1644 ended up being lost in Cornwall when Essex was compelled to surrender his army at Lostwithiel.¹²² In June 1643 twelve horses were taken from Chicheley for parliamentary forces and in August the Buckingham Hundreds alone were directed to find 200 horses for the Aylesbury garrison.¹²³ Parliament imposed a quota of 200 horses in Bucks in July 1643, the County Committee having to fulfil it by whatever means they could.¹²⁴

The King's Oxford army moved through Buckingham in June 1644 and on to the battle of Cropredy Bridge in Northamptonshire, a council of war being held at Castle House in Buckingham. The New Model Army then passed through the north of the county in June 1645 prior to the battle of Naseby. Great battles,

¹²² Robinson, *Horses, People and Parliament*, 127-28.

¹²³ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (27 and 28).

¹²⁴ Robinson, *Horses, People and Parliament*, 167-68.

however, were a rarity. It has been calculated that there were probably in the region of 84,000 deaths from combat between 1642 and 1645, of which 47 per cent occurred in skirmishes of less than 200 dead.¹²⁵ Accuracy in judging the actual number of men under arms is impossible but 120,000 each year is not unlikely even with fleeting (and often unwilling) military service. That would amount to about 2.4 per cent of total population in England.¹²⁶

The county was a constant battleground, however, because of its strategic position astride the routes from London to the north and west. Moreover, once the King established his headquarters at Oxford in October 1642, it increased the significance of the parliamentary garrison at Aylesbury and that established subsequently at Newport Pagnell in October 1643, the latter's fortifications laid out by the Dutch military engineer, Cornelius van den Boom.¹²⁷ Ironically, Lord Saye and Sele had decided to abandon Oxford in September 1642 after it was initially captured by forces from Bucks led by Arthur Goodwin and the royalists abandoned Newport Pagnell through a misunderstanding earlier in October 1643. As part of the outer fortifications of Oxford, the royalists occupied Brill from late 1642 to April 1643; Hillesden House from February to March 1644, when it was taken by a force led by Oliver Cromwell and the

¹²⁵ Charles Carlton, 'The Impact of the Fighting', in John Morrill (ed.), *The Impact of the English Civil War* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), 17-31, at 18; idem, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638-51* (London: Routledge, 1992), 204-07.

¹²⁶ Barbara Donagan, *War in England, 1642-49* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 216.

¹²⁷ Rev. H. Roundell, 'The Garrison of Newport Pagnell during the Civil War', *Records of Bucks* 2 (1863), 206-16, 227-41, 299-312, 354-73. For a description of what remains, see Jack Reynolds, *Newport Pagnell: Cromwell's Garrison Town* (Milton Keynes: Mercury Books, 2013), 52-61. A contemporary plan of the fortifications from 1644 is in Bodleian, Ms. Top. Bucks. b6.

parliamentary governor of Newport Pagnell, Sir Samuel Luke; and Boarstall from February 1644 to May 1644, and then again from June 1644 to June 1646.



The defences of Newport Pagnell, 1644 (Bodleian Library)

To improve the field of fire from the manor house at Boarstall, the royalists demolished the church and much of the village. As the inhabitants put it, they could not adequately summarise their losses ‘by reason our houses with writings have beene consumed with fyer [and] we dispersed soe that we are alltogether in a confusion’. ¹²⁸ Passing with royalist forces in August 1645, Richard Symonds described Boarstall as having a ‘pallazado or rather a stockado without the graffe [moat]; a deepe graffe and wide, full of water; a palizado above the false bray [slope], and another six, or seven foot above that, neare the top of the curten [wall]’. That same morning on the way to Boarstall a royalist

¹²⁸ Stephen Porter, ‘The Civil War Destruction of Boarstall’, *Records of Bucks* 26 (1984), 86-91, at 90.

soldier was hanged from a tree in Wing for stealing the communion plate. The King had spent the night at Carnarvon's former house at Ascott.¹²⁹

Boarstall surrendered after an eight week siege, in which forces from Aylesbury took part. Governed by a Kentish royalist, William Campion, Boarstall repulsed one major attack by Sir Thomas Fairfax on 5 June 1645, Fairfax then moving by way of Newport Pagnell towards the battlefield of Naseby. There was a high degree of courtesy in the subsequent exchanges between Campion and Henry Bulstrode's son, Thomas, who was now governor of Aylesbury.

Correspondence continued between Campion and Fairfax, who took over direction of the siege in March 1646, often through the intermediary of Thomas Shelborne, of whom more later. The surrender on 10 June was accomplished through negotiation once it was clear that Oxford would soon also surrender.¹³⁰

Greenlands House on the Thames was also held by the royalists from December 1643 to June 1644 when it was captured after an artillery bombardment that reduced it to ruins. The presence of the garrisons meant frequent raid and counter-raid as well as forced contributions of money, livestock, victuals and labour.¹³¹ Sir Richard Piggott's steward at Grendon Underwood was paying contributions to both Aylesbury and Boarstall in 1644-45.¹³²

Major raids by the royalists included the alleged 'battle of Aylesbury' on 1 November 1642.¹³³ The royalists circled Aylesbury in both December 1642 and March 1643. They raided Winslow in May 1643, High Wycombe in June 1643, and Wendover and High Wycombe again in April 1644. Inhabitants at Steeple

¹²⁹ C. E. Long (ed.), *Richard Symonds's Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army* 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 231.

¹³⁰ Porter, 'Civil War Destruction of Boarstall', 86-91; Donagan, *War in England*, 293-311.

¹³¹ *CSPD 1644*, 187.

¹³² Eland (ed.), *Papers from Iron Chest*, 65-66.

¹³³ For a discussion of the myth, see Beckett, *Wanton Troopers*, 137-39.

Claydon in May 1643 and at Chesham in January 1644 drove off royalist raiding parties.¹³⁴ The last major raid on the county was in November 1645 with the very last on Hanslope in January 1646. There were also unsuccessful royalist attempts to subvert the Aylesbury garrison in the course of 1643-44, the last in January 1644 resulting in additional cannon, shot and powder being sent to the town.¹³⁵

Apart from lives lost, damage was done to gentry houses and to estates. Hampden and Goodwin plundered Carnarvon's house at Wing in November



Parliamentary propaganda sheet describing the supposed 'Battle of Aylesbury' on 1 November 1642 (Bucks Archaeological Society)

¹³⁴ Philip (ed.), *Journal of Luke*, I, 71; HMC, *Mss of the Duke of Portland* 8 vols. (London: HMSO, 1891-1901), I, 106.

¹³⁵ George Lamb, 'Aylesbury in the Civil War', *Records of Bucks* 41 (2001), 183-89; *CSPD 1651*, 143-47.

1642 and royalists plundered Bulstrode Whitelock's Fawley Court that same month. Royalists also plundered Sir Peter Temple's house at Biddlesden in November 1643 while Luke's Newport Pagnell garrison plundered Sir Anthony Chester's Chicheley house in the autumn of 1645. Sir Peter Temple made no profits at all from his estates between 1642 and 1647 while the Verneys lost an estimated 20-30 per cent of normal income between 1643 and 1647.¹³⁶ With the war lost, royalists suffered sequestration and compounding of estates. Sir John Pakington, the lord of the manor at Aylesbury, lost anything between £10,000 and £20,000 in income as well as being fined £13,395 in 1651 after taking up arms for the King again during the Second Civil War. Despite his support for parliament, Sir Ralph Verney, who had declined to sign the Covenant and gone overseas in 1643, also found his lands sequestered.¹³⁷

For ordinary people, there were also the financial contributions levied by both sides and the substantial increase in parliamentary taxation: propositions, 'loans', weekly taxes, 'fifth and twentieth', the excise and so on were far more onerous than anything Charles I had ever attempted prior to 1642.¹³⁸ Bucks was assessed by parliament at £425 per week in February 1643, a sum reduced to £400 in June 1644.¹³⁹ The King assessed the county at £1,200 a week in 1642 but had little opportunity for any systematic collection except when the garrisons were active at Hillesden (briefly) and at Boarstall. Sir Samuel Luke

¹³⁶ Edwin Gay, 'The Temples of Stowe and their Debts', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2 (1938-30), 425-38, at 433; John Broad, 'Gentry Finances and the Civil War: The Case of the Buckinghamshire Verneys', *Economic History Review* 22 (1979), 183-200, at 188.

¹³⁷ John Broad, 'The Verneys and the Sequestrators in the Civil Wars, 1642-56', *Records of Bucks* 27 (1985), 1-9

¹³⁸ For an overview of parliamentary taxation, see James Scott Wheeler, *The Making of a World Power: War and the Military Revolution in Seventeenth Century England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 120-96.

¹³⁹ Bonsey and Jenkins (eds), *Ship Money Papers*, 106-07.

noted that when royalist forces passed through Buckingham in the summer of 1643 they laid double the taxes on the inhabitants previously imposed by parliament.¹⁴⁰ In the case of Boarstall, other royalist forces were directed that what could be obtained from the Ashendon, Buckingham and Cottesloe Hundreds was all to be reserved for Boarstall's garrison.¹⁴¹

The costs of the Aylesbury and Newport Pagnell garrisons swallowed much of the income of the County Committee so that between July 1644 and February 1646 there was only £7,472 left once the cost of the two garrisons and the committee's own salaries and allowances were deducted.¹⁴² While Bucks was nominally part of parliament's East Midlands Association and, from 1644, the South Midlands Association, Newport Pagnell was sufficiently important to receive substantial financial and material support from the Eastern Association. Indeed, the Eastern Association found the garrison, the Green Regiment of the London Trained Bands initially holding the town until the new force was raised in January 1644.¹⁴³ In much the same way, the Eastern Association directed the Hertfordshire County Committee to find troops for Aylesbury in April 1643, the Hertfordshire 'Orange' Regiment arriving under the command of Sir John Wittewronge of Stantonbury, who had more substantial property in Hertfordshire than Bucks.¹⁴⁴

Pay at both Aylesbury and Newport Pagnell was invariably in arrears leading to discontent not only among the soldiers but also among local inhabitants who went unpaid for supplies or services rendered. By February 1645 Luke's garrison at Newport Pagnell was so desperate that he reported that 'we have

¹⁴⁰ Philip (ed.), *Journal of Luke*, II, 129, 132.

¹⁴¹ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (30).

¹⁴² Johnson, 'Buckinghamshire', 146, 333.

¹⁴³ Nagel, 'Militia of London', 155-58.

¹⁴⁴ Beckett, *Wanton Troopers*, 108.



Sir Samuel Luke (1603-70) by unknown artist (Trustees of Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford)

been forced to eat up the inhabitants in these three hundreds that neither have horsemeat for any, or corn for themselves to sow'.¹⁴⁵ In one of Luke's companies that same month, two men had only one pair of breeches between them 'so that when one was up, the other must upon necessity be in his bed'.¹⁴⁶ Mutiny was a constant fear.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the governor of Aylesbury, Henry Marten, had feared in May 1644 that his garrison would disband itself.¹⁴⁸ Want of money meant that the fortifications of Aylesbury were also 'in great decay'

¹⁴⁵ H. G. Tibbutt (ed.), *The Letter Books of Sir Samuel Luke, 1644-45* (London: HMSO, 1963), 135.

¹⁴⁶ *Idem*, 122.

¹⁴⁷ *Idem*, 129, 154-55.

¹⁴⁸ *CSPD 1644*, 168.

by March 1644 while Luke had to issue warrants for men from Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire to assist in repairing collapsed fortifications at Newport Pagnell in October 1644 and March 1645.¹⁴⁹

Underlining the frequent impact of the presence and passage of troops, on one occasion Richard Martin of Drayton Beauchamp had one of his draught horses ‘cutt out of his harness att plowe upon noe necessitie’ by a trooper from the Earl of Manchester’s parliamentary army. Three were similarly taken by a regiment in Sir William Waller’s parliamentary army from William Fountain of Cheddington while he was ploughing.¹⁵⁰ The surviving returns of 38 parishes show that 566 horses were taken permanently with 32 released only after paying bribes and a further 81 lost while on ‘cart service’. That suggests the county may have lost at least 1,500 altogether.¹⁵¹ From the same returns, it is also estimated that ‘free quarter’ demanded by parliamentary forces amounted to £65,000-70,000 in Bucks by the end of 1646.¹⁵² At Haddenham, it was calculated that £117 worth of free quarter had been given troops from the Aylesbury garrison between May 1644 and June 1645.¹⁵³ The Marlow account submitted in October 1646 amounted to £1, 4678.10s.0d.¹⁵⁴

All this when added to the collapse of such measures as poor relief in the localities, economic dislocation, and the usual natural disasters of failed harvests and disease meant significant disruption and deprivation. Normal life expectancy among even the nobility averaged under 30 years of age for males

¹⁴⁹ Wilson (ed.), *Buckinghamshire Contributions*, 129; Tibbutt (ed.), *Letter Books of Luke*, 41, 200-01.

¹⁵⁰ Robinson, *Horses, People and Parliament*, 139.

¹⁵¹ Idem, 162.

¹⁵² Johnson, ‘Buckinghamshire’, 142-45.

¹⁵³ ‘Haddenham during the Civil War’, *Records of Bucks* 12 (1927-33), 73-80.

¹⁵⁴ TNA, SP 28/149/Pt4, E51.

between 1650 and 1675. Disease may have carried off over 100,000 people in England between 1640 and 1652.¹⁵⁵ Small wonder that Bucks petitioned for the removal of the Aylesbury garrison in June 1646 on the day after the surrender of Boarstall, and against free quarter in September 1647.¹⁵⁶ In fact, some significant repair work was carried out on the Aylesbury fortifications as late as June 1646 by William Delafield of Waddesdon, who was characterised as the ‘overseer’ of the fortifications.¹⁵⁷ Radical groups such as the Levellers and Diggers were active in the county between 1647 and 1650, gaining support for opposition to taxation, tithes, enclosure and military depredations.

So far as the militia was concerned, control in parliamentary areas like Bucks fell into the hands of the county committees. The county committee formally replaced the commission of deputy lieutenants in Bucks in January 1643. Some of the original members such as Sir Alexander Denton named to the commission were instantly disqualified as royalists. Others were generally absent with the army or at Westminster including Hampden, Goodwin, Tyrell, Ingoldsby, Grenville, Temple, and Whitelocke. Hampden, Goodwin and Bulstrode were all dead by the end of 1643 and it was only at the end of 1644 that Tyrell returned from the army after handing command of Hampden’s former regiment to Ingoldsby. Despite his efforts, Tyrell was unable to re-assert influence, failing to get on the committee and subsequently failing in 1645 either to succeed Luke as governor of Newport Pagnell or to get elected to parliament. Tellingly, Luke wrote of the county committee in May 1645, ‘Take away Mr. [John] Lane’s name and I am confident you would not have found

¹⁵⁵ Taylor Downing and Maggie Millman, *Civil War* (London: Collins & Brown, 1991), 22; Ian Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638-52* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), 436.

¹⁵⁶ BL, Thomason Tracts, E 407 (29).

¹⁵⁷ Lamb, ‘Aylesbury in Civil War’, 187.

any of them Committee men if Colonel Hampden or Colonel Goodwin had lived.’¹⁵⁸ Not only did Luke quarrel with the committee but so did Major General Lawrence Crawford, second in command of the army of the Eastern Association, who levied a local rate to make up for the pay deficiencies of the Aylesbury garrison. The committee denounced him as ‘the sole plunderer and oppressor of the County’ while he replied, they were ‘fooles’.¹⁵⁹

The small nucleus of the county committee comprised Henry Beke from a minor gentry family at Haddenham; Christopher Egleton from an equally minor gentry family at Grove near Ellesborough; William Russell, a small farmer from Chalfont St Giles; John Deverell, who owned a windmill at Swanbourne; and Christopher Henn, an Aylesbury butcher and grazier. Others who became associated with the committee were Thomas Scott, a London brewer turned Aylesbury lawyer, and Simon Mayne, Beke’s half-brother and a minor landowner from Dinton. John Lane, a lawyer and the brother of the MP for High Wycombe in the Long Parliament, resumed his legal career in December 1645.¹⁶⁰ Such men were often radicals. Scott and Mayne were both elected MPs and were among the county’s six regicides in 1649. The other regicides were Ingoldsby, Adrian Scrope from Wormsley, Thomas Chaloner from Steeple Claydon, and George Fleetwood of the Vache.

Beke, Deverell, Egleton, Russell, and Lane had been named on the commission of deputy lieutenancy in June 1642 and Beke, Deverell and Egleton were militia captains under Tyrell’s command at Aylesbury by October 1642. Another commissioner and occasional associate of the future committee, Thomas Theed, was Tyrell’s sergeant major. Others commanding troops or companies in

¹⁵⁸ Tibbutt (ed.), *Letter Books of Luke*, 274-75.

¹⁵⁹ Clive Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 148.

¹⁶⁰ Johnson, ‘Buckinghamshire’, 101-08.

October 1642 were Ingoldsby's brother, Francis; Bulstrode's brother, Henry; Lane's MP brother, Thomas; Edmund West of Marsworth; and George Fleetwood, who was the son of Sir George Fleetwood.

Many of these men dropped away and between 1643 and 1645 the permanent commanders were Deverell, Robert Aldridge, Edmund Phipps, and Thomas Shelborne. Aldridge from Woodlands, Chalfont St Giles had raised a troop of horse in 1643. Phipps was a paper manufacturer from Horton who had been prosecuted in 1635 for running the mills seven days a week, held responsible for spreading plague in rags in 1636, and had been the subject of a petition heard by Hampden and other justices accusing him of pollution, causing flooding, closing his mills to force down prices, and throwing employees on poor relief.¹⁶¹

Phipps transferred to the army and died of wounds in Ireland in 1656. As for Shelborne, he was said to have been Hampden's former shepherd, 'better able to conduct sheepe than Dragoones' according to the royalist broadsheet, *Mercurius Aulicus*. This may well have been true, even Sir Samuel Luke describing him as a pasture keeper and 'one of the meaner ranks of men'.¹⁶² In a classic example of wartime social mobility, Shelborne later commanded one half of Cromwell's double regiment, dying of 'flux' in Ireland in April 1651.

Eggleton also served briefly with the main parliamentary army in 1647 but was certainly back with the militia in 1650, as was Deverell, Theed, Aldridge and George Baldwin, who had acted as the county committee's treasurer between 1645 and 1647. By this time, George Fleetwood had taken command of the militia. Having raised a troop of horse for parliament in 1643 at the age of just 21, he was a colonel within three years, later twice serving as MP for Bucks

¹⁶¹ Williamson, *Hampden*, 173-74.

¹⁶² *Mercurius Aulicus* 17 Feb. 1644; Tibbutt (ed.), *Letter Books of Luke*, 291.

before being elevated to Cromwell's upper house and serving on the Council of State.¹⁶³



George Fleetwood (1622-64) by Samuel Cooper (National Portrait Gallery)

In July 1644 two ordinances placed the responsibility for paying for the militia on property owners with land of goods worth £100 per annum or more. The new rates were the first formally set since the repeal of the Marian statutes in 1604. There was also a remaining political significance. Parliamentary peace proposals presented at Uxbridge in February 1645 as well as the Newcastle Propositions of July 1646 and the New Model Army's 'heads of proposals' in July 1647, all set proposed periods of parliamentary control of the militia at seven, 20 and 10 years respectively. Charles accepted the latter in 1648.

¹⁶³ Sir Charles Firth and Godfrey Davies, *The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), II, 403-04.

Compared to the small permanent forces maintained by Charles prior to 1642, parliament's New Model Army in February 1645 was fixed at 22,000 men exclusive of supernumeraries and provincial forces. The New Model effectively won the war, the last royalist field force surrendering at Stow-on-the-Wold on 20 March 1646 followed by the surrender of Oxford on 24 June. The radicalism and militancy of the New Model Army - as well as its grievances such as arrears of pay, demands for indemnity for acts undertaken under orders, the end of impressment and parliamentary attempts to reduce it substantially - brought about the effective collapse of parliament with the army taking full control of the capital in August 1647.¹⁶⁴ This followed the attempt by parliament's Presbyterian faction - those favouring a strict uniformity of Puritan faith on the Scottish model but also a negotiated settlement with the King - to take back control of the City trained bands from the Independent faction. The latter favoured the sovereignty of individual congregations but were also far more radical politically and sympathetic to the army.

At this point the militia began to take on the appearance of a 'constitutional force', a citizen alternative to a standing army that threatened political liberties. After the army's seizure of the King in June 1647, he was briefly held at Stoke Poges. Some of the negotiations between army and parliament took place at the Catherine Wheel Inn at High Wycombe in July 1647. Bucks was little involved in the Second Civil War in 1648 although Shelborne did take a troop of horse to Windsor in July 1648 in response to an attempt by the Second Duke of Buckingham to concentrate forces at Kingston-on-Thames. Troops were also briefly sent back into Newport Pagnell: its garrison had been removed in August 1646 but the fortifications had not been slighted and the ordnance remained

¹⁶⁴ Morrill, *Nature of English Revolution*, 307-31.

there until 1649.¹⁶⁵ An army that numbered over 46,000 in 1649 was reduced significantly in the 1650s, not least by 12,000 being sent to Ireland, but market towns close to London including Aylesbury still had troops quartered on them.

¹⁶⁶ In theory, only innkeepers and victuallers should have had soldiers quartered on them without consent as a result of legislation in December 1647 but invariably there were insufficient places available to avoid such practices.

Notwithstanding the abortive royalist risings, parliament voted to revive its militia powers in May and passed a new militia ordinance on 2 December 1648 vesting control in the hands of the Presbyterians. Deputy lieutenants were replaced with militia commissioners but four days later ‘Pride’s Purge’ excluded all but a ‘Rump’ of MPs sympathetic to the army and the new ordinance was promptly repealed. It was the Rump that set up the court that tried and executed the King in January 1649. The office of lord lieutenant was also abolished.

The Rump’s own militia bill in July 1650 vested control of the militia in the hands of commissioners likely to view it more as a supplement to the army than a counterweight. The commissioners were empowered to disarm and detain dissidents, search premises, administer oaths, and patrol the shires. All those serving in the militia had to take the Oath of Engagement to the Commonwealth, thereby expressing approval of the King’s execution, and the abolition of the monarchy and of the House of Lords. The militia assessment fell on all with an annual income of £100 or property worth £200. The measures were extended to May 1651 and then revived in August as a result of the Scottish invasion of the north, this Third Civil War following the Scottish

¹⁶⁵ *CSPD 1648-49*, 60-61; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Interregnum* 13 vols. (London: HMSO, 1875-86), *CSPD 1649-50*, 294, 450.

¹⁶⁶ Henry Reece, *The Army in Cromwellian England, 1649-60* 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 86.

proclamation of Charles II as King. Those forces raised were allowed to lapse at the end of the Worcester campaign and the legislation expired in December 1651. Horse and dragoons had been raised from the militia for six months' service with the army in April 1651 since the Rump was prepared to sanction militia being used well outside its counties if necessary. About a third of the parliamentary army at Worcester in September 1651 comprised militiamen.¹⁶⁷

The Bucks militia itself had been fixed in February 1650 as two troops of horse of 60 men each and seven companies of foot of 100 men each.¹⁶⁸ Command of the horse went to Deverell and Aldridge while Fleetwood was colonel of the foot with Theed as lieutenant colonel and Egleton as major. In December 1650 the horse was reduced to one troop of 100 men.¹⁶⁹ The Scottish invasion resulted in a call for 1,000 men but it is not clear whether any had been raised by the time Cromwell's victory over the Scots at Worcester in September 1651 ended the threat although the militia was called out.¹⁷⁰

With the immediate crisis over, the first parliament of the Protectorate demanded a reduction in the army but it was dissolved in January 1655 without passing any militia bills. Rumours of fresh royalist conspiracies resulted in the appointment of the so-called major generals in October 1655 to control local administration. The lieutenancy for all its faults had been accepted as an informal means of mediation between government and locality but it has been argued that the major generals were 'outsiders imposed upon local communities'.¹⁷¹ Equally, it has been argued that there had been a degree of

¹⁶⁷ J. G. A. Ive, 'The Local Dimensions of Defence: The Standing Army and Militia in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, 1649-60', Unpub. PhD, Cambridge, 1986, 213.

¹⁶⁸ *CSPD 1649-50*, 521.

¹⁶⁹ *CSPD 1650*, 474, 509.

¹⁷⁰ *CSPD 1651*, 317-18, 348.

¹⁷¹ Stater, *Noble Government*, 3.

low-key military involvement in local government already and that the major generals were resented because they empowered local cliques of radical Puritans.¹⁷²

Bucks was one of eight counties entrusted to Major General Charles Fleetwood, a second cousin of George Fleetwood.¹⁷³ Indeed, George Fleetwood acted as one of two deputies for Bucks in 1656.¹⁷⁴ Henn, Deverell, Eggleton and Mayne were all appointed deputy commissioners, as were Ingoldsby, Cornelius Holland, and Beke's son, Richard. A radical zealot, Holland, who was from London and had sat as MP for New Windsor in the Long Parliament, had farmed the King's grounds at Creslow as a tenant and had now become their owner. A 'select militia' of 6,200 horse and 200 foot was raised, these all being volunteers - usually ex-soldiers - who were paid £8 per annum and maintained by a 'decimation' tax. This was paid only by 'malignants', being levied on royalist estates worth over £100 per annum and on personal property worth over £1,500 per annum. They would be mustered four times per annum but, as a mounted gendarmerie - not much more than one troop per county - it was also available for service anywhere on 48 hours' notice. In the case of Bucks, just one troop of 80 men was raised,¹⁷⁵ the commissioners claiming that the decimation tax was not needed for 'an extraction of vitals' but for the correction of 'distempered humours'.¹⁷⁶ Sir Ralph Verney was one of those summoned to appear and, despite having petitioned Cromwell twice and proven that he had no charges against him was subjected to the tax, as were others such as William

¹⁷² Christopher Durston, *Cromwell's Major-Generals: Godly Government during the English Revolution* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 230-32.

¹⁷³ *CSPD 1655*, 275.

¹⁷⁴ *CSPD 1655-56*, 164.

¹⁷⁵ *CSPD 1655-56*, 200.

¹⁷⁶ Ruth Spalding (ed.), *The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605-1705* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 69.

Smyth. A total of 40 gentry were summoned and 26 inhabitants of the county were kept under surveillance.¹⁷⁷

The full decimation assessment list for the county has not survived but the county's approved militia expenditure was set at £1,189.13.0d for 1655-56 and at £913.13.0d for 1656-57.¹⁷⁸ Cromwell personally approved all select militia officers.¹⁷⁹ At one point, George Fleetwood was directed to remove an innkeeper as a militia lieutenant lest it compromise the militia's ideological purity.¹⁸⁰

When parliament reassembled in September 1656 the major generals, the select militia and the decimation tax all came under attack with yet more airing of the advantages of a genuine citizen militia as a guarantee of liberty. Indeed, the select militia broke the previous link between those who paid for the militia and those who served on their behalf. Given the uneven distribution of 'malignants' across the country, the select militia had often to be subsidised locally from other funds. The select militia lapsed altogether when a bill to renew the decimation tax failed in 1657. In any case, it may have had only a paper existence in most counties after 1656. The Rump re-embodied the select militia in May and June 1659 but it was finally disbanded in September 1659. Fleetwood had also raised a troop of 'well affected Volunteers'.¹⁸¹

The Rump again tried to revive parliamentary control of the militia in July 1659. At the same time, legislation was brought in to list all weapons in private

¹⁷⁷ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, III, 265-83.

¹⁷⁸ J. T. Cliffe, 'The Cromwellian Decimation Tax of 1655: The Assessment Units', *Camden Miscellany* 33 (1996), 403-92, at 425.

¹⁷⁹ Reece, *Army in Cromwellian England*, 43.

¹⁸⁰ Durston, *Cromwell's Major Generals*, 144.

¹⁸¹ *CSPD 1659-60*, 565.

hands and, if necessary, to confiscate them.¹⁸² In the case of the Verneys, Henry was advised strongly to comply by sending in a list of his horses while Sir Ralph compiled a list of the arms surrendered in August 1659: one ‘birding peece’ and four swords.¹⁸³

Sir George Booth’s attempted rebellion in the North West - he was arrested disguised as a woman at Newport Pagnell in August 1659 - saw a cessation of hostilities between army and parliament.¹⁸⁴ Militia and volunteer forces were hastily expanded. Once the crisis was over, parliament was dissolved. Financial troubles had also arisen through the delay since 1651 in the authorities reimbursing the month’s pay that could be demanded in advance of embodiment from those liable to raise the militia.

In December 1659 the Rump dissolved all forces it had not authorised. When formerly excluded members were readmitted in February 1660, however, a new militia bill was passed disbanding all local forces raised by the Rump and appointing new militia commissioners. The Committee for Settling the Militia in the county met as early as 22 March 1660, fixing the strength at two troops of horse and a regiment of foot.¹⁸⁵ Edmund Verney, the eldest son of Sir Ralph, was one of the new commissioners.¹⁸⁶ Much work had been done by the second meeting on 5 April with Sir Richard Temple nominated to command the foot with William Bowyer as lieutenant colonel, Mr Groom as major, and companies under Francis Ingoldsby, Robert Lovett, William Burrlare, William Penn and Thomas Saunders. The horse troops would be commanded by Henry Andrewes

¹⁸² Joyce Lee Malcolm, *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right* (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1994), 24-29.

¹⁸³ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, III, 448-49.

¹⁸⁴ *CSPD 1659-60*, 145; BL, Thomason Tracts, E.995 (4).

¹⁸⁵ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (34).

¹⁸⁶ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, III, 471.

and Richard Hampden. It was agreed that the names of those enlisted should be provided by 5 April or, failing that, at least the numbers enlisted.¹⁸⁷

The reappearance of excluded MPs fitted into a pattern of a gentry revival. Government opponents such as Sir Richard Pigott and Richard Grenville had been elected to the Protectorate Parliaments while the Bucks militia committees of 1659 and 1660 saw many formerly excluded Presbyterians and neo-royalists appointed. They brought out the militia when John Lambert was sent to oppose George Monck's march southwards from Scotland to London. Lambert's army disintegrated as Monck advanced, Bucks gentry meeting Monck at Stony Stratford in January 1660 to call for the return of excluded MPs.¹⁸⁸

The fracturing and rapid collapse of an army that had so dominated politics since 1647-48 following Oliver Cromwell's death in September 1658 remains a matter of debate.¹⁸⁹ In great part it may relate to changes in command and personnel. In much the same way, some of the original members of the Bucks county committee like Henry Beke and William Russell had died while those still alive were seeking accommodation with reiving conservatism or disappeared. William Tyringham, Sir Richard Temple, John Dormer and Thomas Tyrell were all elected to the Convention Parliament in April 1660. Bucks was also one of the first counties to send its congratulations to Charles II in May 1660.

George Monck approved the new militia bill despite army opposition. The gentry thus reasserted control over the militia, signifying the institution's status as counter to a standing army. Nonetheless, while parliament now surrendered

¹⁸⁷ HHL, Stowe, STT Military 1 (35), (36).

¹⁸⁸ BL, Thomason Tracts, 667, f. 23 (24).

¹⁸⁹ For a summary, see Malcolm Wanklyn, 'The New Model Army and the End of the English Republic', in Serena Jones (ed.), *A New Way of Fighting: Professionalism in the English Civil War* (Solihull: Helion, 2017), 108-16.

command of the militia to the Crown through the royal prerogative, the Restoration militia statutes were to accept much of the interregnum financial basis for militia assessment.