

Hampshire Militia:  
1625 – 1640.  
Defaulters, Defaulting  
and Defaults.

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## **ABSTRACT.**

This thesis analyses the occurrence of defaulters, defaulting and defaults in Hampshire's militia during the period 1625-1640 and demonstrates the levels within both the County and its regiments. This is important because it also indicates what the relationship was between individuals and their company and/or regiment, and between the company/regiment and the wider County militia. It is the first thesis to focus exclusively on Hampshire for this period. There will be comparisons of varying defaults relating to the infantry and mounted elements, to ascertain which defaults were most common, where they most frequently occurred and which segment of society was most likely to default. In taking the premise that defaulters, defaulting and defaults, were all at a low level through the period, consideration will be given to their comparatively higher level within the horse. It is this that constitutes the main argument of this thesis, namely, that there were peaks and troughs in defaulting, but that across the period it averaged at a low level. Historians, both of militia and through survey histories, have used a wide range of examples from Hampshire. Some of those will be re-used here, but this thesis uses a greater breadth and depth of the primary material in the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection held at Hampshire Archives as well as other primary and secondary sources.

## **DECLARATION.**

*This thesis is the product of my own work and does not infringe the ethical principles set out in the university's Handbook for Research Ethics.*

*I agree that it may be made available for reference via any and all media by any and all means now known or developed in the future at the discretion of the university.*

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September 2021.

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iii  
**CONTENTS.**

Abstract	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Contents	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Abbreviations	viii
Introduction	1
Historiography	4
Structure and Literature Review	6
Chapter 1. Defaulting	16
Defaulting at Regimental Level	17
Defaulting within the Regiments	29
1626	29
1627	32
1629	35
1633	37
1635	39
1637	41
1639	43
Chapter Conclusion	46
Chapter 2. Defaults	48
The Infantry	48
Absenteeism	49

Furnishers who did not Furnish	49
Absent from Muster	56
Absenting of Selected Men	59
Pikemen (Corslets)	60
Musketeers	67
Chapter Conclusion	80
Chapter 3. Defaults	82
Light Horse	82
Absenteeism	83
Other Light Horse Defaults	106
The Rider	106
The Horse	106
Pistols	112
Lacking and Arms	117
Chapter Conclusion	120
Conclusion	123
Recommendations	128
Appendices	129
Appendix 1. Map 1: The Divisions and Hundreds of Hampshire. 1586	129
Appendix 2. Hampshire Militia Regiments. 1625-1640	132
Appendix 3. Societal Categories	135
Appendix 4. Pikeman	136

Appendix 5. Musketeer	137
Appendix 6. Harquebusier (Light Horseman)	138
Bibliography	139
Primary Sources	139
The National Archives	139
Hampshire Archives	139
Printed Primary Sources	148
Secondary Sources	151

**LIST OF TABLES.**

1.1: Instances of Default by Regiment	18
2.1: Defaults in Pikemen (Courslets). 1625-1640	63
2.2: Defaults in Musketeers. 1625-1640	69
3.1: Defaults in the Light Horse. 1625-1640	106



**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.**

CSPD: Calendar of State Papers Domestic

HA: Hampshire Archives

TNA: The National Archives

## INTRODUCTION.

This thesis will consider defaulting and defaults, drawing in evidence of defaulters throughout the discussion to prove that the physical act of defaulting was at a low level in Hampshire's militia between 1625 and 1640. Defaulting in this context refers to the actions of those who failed to meet their obligation to provide men and/or weapons and/or equipment for the militia; the defaulters. Their defaults would be those individual failings. It is important to know this, because with Hampshire lying on the south coast, it was not only a conduit for troops leaving England for the continent, but also a target for continental powers, as seen throughout the Tudor period.<sup>1</sup> The levels of defaulting, defaulters, and defaults gives us a solid indication of the military preparedness of England, and in this case Hampshire. The pre-1640 militia could trace its lineage back to 1573, with the inception of regular musters of selected men who would be armed and trained at the expense of their localities.<sup>2</sup> From this point the concept of defaulters, defaulting and defaults, among what became known as the trained bands, was an increasing reality. There was a reaction to the loss of the informal gathering, the requirement to carry weapons, and the costs thus incurred.

The Militia Act and accompanying Muster Act of 1558 transferred administration of the militia from the Crown to the County Lieutenancy, in an attempt to ensure that those in the localities met their military obligations, though ultimate

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the Battle of the Solent, between the fleets of Henry VIII and Francis I of France in 1545; and the Spanish Armada of 1588, which involved an action off the Isle of Wight between the fleets of Elizabeth I and Philip II of Spain.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes 1558-1663', in *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield*, eds., P. Clark, A.G.R. Smith and N. Tyacke, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), p.94.

control remained with the former and the Privy Council.<sup>3</sup> This Act made neither provision for regular musters, where the county militia would be inspected and drilled, nor stipulated how these would be paid for.<sup>4</sup> Many people had approved of this “local casually trained militia of the pre-1573 period.”<sup>5</sup> Repealed in 1604, the 1558 Act was replaced by attempts to standardize arms, primarily in 1604, 1621 and 1626, while in 1628 “an Act for ordering of musters and assessing of arms” appeared in draft form.<sup>6</sup>

Musters were organised by order of the king after 1603, who sent instructions down via the Council to the Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, regimental Colonels, Captains and finally the local parish constables, whose role was to notify and ensure attendance at muster. The 1629 general muster in Hampshire took place over 11 days (14-24 September) with a further day set aside for the making up of the certificate.<sup>7</sup> The furnishers were obliged to pay for the militia in proportion to the value/income of/from their property holdings and business interests. 4,208 armed men were noted on Hampshire’s 1629 certificate of muster.<sup>8</sup> Extant muster rolls for the same year list 1,551 militiamen and 1,844 furnishers.<sup>9</sup>

The 1558 Act had “provided the administration to enforce”, what was required

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<sup>3</sup> Lois G. Schworer, “No Standing Armies!” *The antiarmy ideology in seventeenth-century England*, (Baltimore, U.S.A.: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), p.14 at <https://archive.org/details/nostandingarmies0000schw/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 12 June 2020]. C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth’s Army*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp.19-20. Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts*, (London: Merlin Press, 1959), at <https://archive.org/details/englishyeomanund0000camp/page/n15/mode/2p> [accessed 23 September 2020].

<sup>4</sup> Hassell Smith. p.94.

<sup>5</sup> Schworer. p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Hassell Smith. p.102.

<sup>7</sup> Hampshire Archives (hereafter HA) 44M69/G5/30/14. *List of days appointed for General Muster. 1629.*

<sup>8</sup> John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I*, (hereafter CSPD), 1629-1631, (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860), p.130, vol.CLIII, 112, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775407/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2020].

<sup>9</sup> Muster rolls dated 1629 relating to 14 infantry companies and two troops of light horse are held at Hampshire Archives.

of militiamen and those assessed to furnish them. After 1573 the Lord Lieutenants were obliged to ensure that musters took place and that the correct arms were displayed but had no framework for enforcement after 1604.<sup>10</sup> R. Hassell Smith says that “in many cases, no doubt, some sort of rough justice ensued”, as power to coerce had been lost.<sup>11</sup> ‘Obstinate’ defaulters could be summoned to appear before the Deputy Lieutenants, or be sent, or as in 1629 and 1635 be hauled up before the Council.<sup>12</sup> At county level, cases were often passed to the Quarter-Sessions amid concerns that any censure, if deemed excessive by the offender, might be taken to law. Although imprisonment and fines were possible outcomes, offenders were usually let off and able to continue as they pleased.<sup>13</sup>

There was some sympathy towards those being assessed, for example Captain Nevell of Odiham company (Basingstoke regiment) wrote in his 1629 return of defects to the Deputy Lieutenants, that “a musket is charge enough for Mrs Bamham of North Warnborough”, who was assessed at a musket and corslet. Jo. Draper of Rye in the same company, as a ‘poor man’ was deemed to be needing help to meet his assessment.<sup>14</sup>

This apparent absence of censure gave defaulters the levity to default, thus the premise for the study within this thesis. As will be shown, the number of

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<sup>10</sup> Hassell Smith. p.94. Lawson Chase Nagal, *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, (King’s College London, PhD thesis, 1982), at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal> [accessed 4 July 2020].

<sup>11</sup> Hassell Smith. p.97.

<sup>12</sup> HA 44M69/G5/41/4/1. *Defaulter Summons. Andover Extra Company. 1629. f.1r*, for example, which relates to Thomas Bold senior of Tidworth being summoned to appear before Hampshire’s Deputy-Lieutenants at Winchester on 7 October for defaulting on a musket. John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1629-1631*, (London: Longman, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1860), p.130, vol.CLIII, 112, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775407/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2020]. Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865), p.555, vol.CCCIII, 119, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770200/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 8 February 2020].

<sup>13</sup> Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p.28. See example of Edward Heighes in chapter three p.100.

<sup>14</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/12/2. *Odiham Company. Return of Defects. 1629. f.1v*.

defaulters, the act of defaulting and defaults in Hampshire's militia between 1625 and 1640, "were relatively small".<sup>15</sup> This demonstrates that despite peaks of defaulting, especially prior to 1629 when if England was not at war with France or Spain it seemed imminent, and the consistently high level of defaulting in the light horse, the default rate averaged out at a low level.

### **Historiography.**

Seventeenth-century English militia is only occasionally examined by historians beyond its role during the British Civil Wars of 1642 onwards. When mentioned, the militia is often dismissed as a military failure, justifiably so at a national level, when considering the disastrous Scots Wars of 1639 and 1640, for which vast numbers of militiamen were pressed into service. At the local level, particularly in Hampshire, there was a well-organized and numerically strong militia, which was a result of the County's coastal location and vulnerability should France or Spain, go on the military offensive against England. It was not necessarily an 'exact militia', one that would have been well disciplined or schooled in the latest drill techniques and furnished with up-to-date arms and equipment.

There is a body of work that touches on the militia during the first half of the seventeenth-century, but its specificity is variable. Amongst the most comprehensive are Lawson Chase Nagal, Wilfred Embleton and John Adair, who all concentrate on the military campaigns of the London Trained Bands and Auxiliaries of 1642 to 1649 and were all published in the twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> Nagal alone, though only briefly, considers who the militiamen were, where they lived and how they were organized,

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<sup>15</sup> Campbell. p.349.

<sup>16</sup> Lawson Chase Nagal, *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, (University of London, 1982, unpublished PhD thesis), at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/files/29273141403590.pdf> [accessed 11 February 2020]. Wilfred Embleton, *Skippon's Brave Boys*, (Buckingham: Barracuda Press, 1984). John Adair, *Cheriton 1644: the campaign and the battle* (Kineton: Roundwood Press, 1973).

armed and supplied. They do not discuss defaulters, defaulting and defaults as, these are beyond the scope of such campaign histories. Survey histories only briefly mention the militia, usually describing it in negative terms. For example, Richard Cust, when discussing the Scots War of 1639, described them as “pressed levies... with little equipment and no training”.<sup>17</sup> David Cressy described attempts to modernize the militia as having “varied and limited success”.<sup>18</sup> Finally, Roger Lockyer, explained that “performance varied from [one] area to another”.<sup>19</sup>

Some works do relate specifically to the pre-1640 period, but though they may deal with defaulters, defaulting and defaults, they do not appraise Hampshire.

Jonathan Worton undertook a detailed study of Ludlow, Shropshire.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Peter

Leadbetter produced an in-depth account of Leicestershire, which like *The First British Army 1624-1628*, discusses the men and their equipment.<sup>21</sup> My own research,

through a series of transcripts provides comprehensive coverage of Hampshire’s militia 1625-1640, and contains a breadth of detail relating to defaulters, defaulting and defaults.<sup>22</sup> This thesis fits alongside these works in that it adds a specific study of Hampshire to the current literature. It also consists of elements recognizable to these other works, with discussion of men and equipment in relation to defaulters, defaulting, and defaults.

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<sup>17</sup> Richard Cust, *Charles I A Political Life*, (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), p.245.

<sup>18</sup> David Cressy, *Charles I and the People of England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p.131.

<sup>19</sup> Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts a Political History of England 1603-1642*, (London: Longman, 1982), p.270.

<sup>20</sup> Jonathan Worton, ‘Ludlow’s Trained Band: A Story of Militiamen in Early Stuart England’, in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, (London: The Society for Army Historical Research), 91.365.(2013).1, pp.4-23.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Leadbetter, ‘The Leicestershire Trained Bands Before the Great Rebellion’, in Serena Jones, ed., *A New Way of Fighting: Professionalism in the English Civil War*, (Solihull: Helion Books, 2017), pp.17-29. Laurence Spring, *The First British Army 1624-1628 The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion Books, 2016), pp.61-84.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Barnes, *Hampshire Militia Muster Rolls 1622-1642*, (Oxford: Parchment Printers, 2004-current), 32 volumes.

## **Structure and Literature Review.**

The elements of defaulters, defaulting and defaults within Hampshire's militia, have either been overlooked or considered only in passing within previous studies. Defining the level of defaulting necessitates the meeting of other research aims and objectives because this will enable a more rounded and complete discussion and analysis to be undertaken. First, examining who the defaulters were, their social status and analysing which was most likely to default and where.<sup>23</sup> Second, discussing types of default, as attributable to the 'corslets', musketeers', or light horse, which social groups were most likely to offend and the factors that may have influenced their actions.<sup>24</sup> This will support the premise that defaulting was at a low-level in Hampshire through the period.

Much of the primary material used for this thesis was found among the military papers in the *Jervoise of Herriard Collection* at Hampshire Archives.<sup>25</sup> Documents mostly fall into three categories, muster rolls, muster books and defaulter/default lists. Although extensive, extending to 223 items, they do not give full coverage of the period and are far from consistent in their content. The limitations of this source material, how it impacted on this study, how it affected the findings, and how other sources were used to work around these problems are discussed below.

Muster rolls, of which 172 have been identified, give the most comprehensive coverage of the militia through the period. Of these, 67 contain lists of defaulters and

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 3 for a listing of the Societal Categories used throughout this thesis.

<sup>24</sup> 'corslets' is placed in quotation marks here because it is used throughout the documents in the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection in reference to pikemen. The corslet itself was the armour worn by pikemen to protect their upper body.

<sup>25</sup> Hampshire Archives (hereafter HA) 44M69/G5

defaults. The rolls mostly follow a similar format, listing officers, 'corslets' and musketeers, naming the 'furnished', what they were 'furnished' with and by whom.

This is useful for assessing the geographical spread of the militia and who was involved with its varying elements. However, there are variations in how defaulters/defaults were recorded. Where totals for those 'lacking' are recorded, we have an indication of the level of defaulting, which was invariably at a low level. The details of who the defaulters were, what their default was and where they lived, and/or where the property lay for which they were assessed may be found either within a muster roll, or else at the end, or as an appended list. Such lists may have been widespread, expansions of the 'lacking' totals. Despite these variations, the indication throughout is that even with spikes, defaulting, though widespread was low level.

The muster books, in contrast are formulaic and comprise of two parts. The first is effectively an abstract of different troop types within each infantry regiment, broken down into the companies, and each troop of light horse. There is often a number for the men 'lacking' from each type, which is of minimal use when considering who was responsible for the defaults, but is an indicator for the low level of defaulting. This type of book is extant for 1634, 1635 and 1638 and may be used in conjunction with other documents in the collection. For example, there are three muster rolls and a defects list for 1634. More useful are the books that retain their second part, which list the defaulters and defaults, while usually indicating whether they 'reformed' or subsequently met their obligations to the militia. They survive for 1626 and 1627, with the former supported by 11 defaulter/default lists, which give 50% coverage of the New Forest and Portsdown regiments.

Defaulter/default lists are the most useful of these three document types for



identifying defaulters, defaulting, defaults, their geographical spread, and their numerical levels within Hampshire. They are most prolific for 1626 and 1629, which account for 11 and 23 of the 46 lists and are a significant aid to building a pattern and confirming the low levels of defaulting. Overton company (Kingsclere regiment) is a prime example with lists for 1626, 1627, and 1629.<sup>26</sup> This allows cross-referencing and confirmation, for example Robert Hayes appears on the 1626 and 1627 lists as well as in the 1626 muster book.<sup>27</sup> There is coverage for all companies in the Fawley regiment and four of the six in Kingsclere regiment for 1629.

Other primary material adds to the evidence of defaulting. Churchwardens accounts inform us of parish expenditure on the militia, including its arms, armour and moving of troops between parishes. Letters record circumstances of those in default. There is patchy survival, however, with only 11 Hampshire parishes having extant churchwardens accounts for the period and letters, excepting the detailed account of Lady Kingsmill's horses in 1628, primarily relating to the Scots War of 1639.<sup>28</sup> Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury can add background and context to the circumstances amongst some of the 'better sort'. Those proved in Hampshire church courts may well do the same for the lower social strata, but access to these has not been possible.<sup>29</sup>

#### Printed primary sources, such as Lay Subsidies and Hearth Tax

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<sup>26</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/73. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/15. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1627.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629.*

<sup>27</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/73. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/28/15. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1627.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. (Hampshire). Muster Book. 1626.* f.10r.

<sup>28</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/35 *Letter. Bridget Kingesmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628.*

<sup>29</sup> This was due to the Covid 19 restrictions in place at the time research was undertaken.

Assessments, although both out of period, add to an understanding of the location of parish and people in relation to the County Hundreds and Divisions.<sup>30</sup> Calendars of State Papers are important for the minutia of defaulters, as in 1635 with the orders for six defaulters to be brought before the Council and the County wide issues, such as the selection of men to serve in the Scots War of 1639.<sup>31</sup> Implications on the localities and ‘furnishers’ of taxes and subsidies, for example the wider imposition of Ship Money beyond coastal counties from 1635, may be evidenced through *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, as well as the Calendars of State Papers and M.D. Gordon’s *The Collection of Ship Money in the Reign of Charles I*.<sup>32</sup>

Lindsay Boynton’s *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, was described in 2013 as still being “the definitive study of the Elizabethan and early Stuart militia” and this remains the case.<sup>33</sup> It contains many references to and examples of defaulting and defaulters in Hampshire but is not a specific study of the county. Kevin Sharpe’s history of Charles I’s reign again gives many examples relating to Hampshire’s militia, with the author being positive about the reforms towards an ‘Exact Militia’, when he says that “hopes of some long-term improvements were not entirely misplaced”.<sup>34</sup> In many instances, these replicate what Boynton had previously used. The part played by the militia in the formation of the armies for the wars of the 1620s

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<sup>30</sup> C.R. Davey, ed., *The Hampshire Lay Subsidy Rolls 1586*, (Southampton: Hampshire County Council, 1981), Hampshire Record Series, number 4. Elizabeth Hughes and Philippa White, eds., *The Hampshire Hearth Tax Assessment 1665*, (Southampton: Hampshire County Council, 1991), Hampshire Record Series, number 11.

<sup>31</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865), p.555, vol.CCCIII, 119, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924019770200/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 8 February 2020]. Hamilton, ed., *CSPD 1639*, (London: Longman & Co., 1873), p.100, vol.CCCXVIII, 105, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770291/page/n7/mode/2up> [accessed 24 April 2020].

<sup>32</sup> M. Jurkowski, C.L. Smith and D. Crook, *lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, (Chippenham: Public Record Office, 1998), Public Record Office Handbook, number31. M.D. Gordon, ‘The Collection of Ship Money in the Reign of Charles I’, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3.4 (1910), at [https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678388?seq=#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678388?seq=#metadata_info_tab_contents) [accessed 30 April 2021].

<sup>33</sup> Worton. p.5.

<sup>34</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.36, pp.487-506 and 541-544.

is admirably covered by Laurence Spring, who draws on Hampshire, using the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection.<sup>35</sup> The most comprehensive and useful work for locating defaulters and their defaults is the *Hampshire Militia Muster Rolls* series, which gives almost complete coverage of Hampshire's militia regiments.<sup>36</sup>

There are other studies of the militia, which though not relating to Hampshire, would assist any study of the period 1625-1640. Leadbetter has completed an excellent countywide study for Leicestershire, in which he discusses the organisation, men and equipment, training, musters and assessments associated with the militia, before concluding with brief biographies of the officers. Tables are used to effectively show the occupation and age of the men in each company. Worton's study of Ludlow's town militia, contains depth of detail alongside an insight into the mechanics of the militia at local level and the motives of individuals towards mustering and defaulting. Nagal's *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, has a particularly good discussion of militia administration in the 1630s and consequently alludes to factors that would have affected defaulting levels, such as the requirement for an annual muster of county forces, and their re-equipping with modern weapons, for example the musket replacing the caliver. D.P. Carter's article on Lancashire's militia and the 'Exact Militia' policy, considers how the policy was received rather than the policy, against a backdrop where the county lieutenants were not opposed to change.<sup>37</sup>

The following sources have similarities to those above in that they do not specifically cover Hampshire, but discuss things that might influence defaulting and

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<sup>35</sup> Spring, especially Chapter 2, *Rank and File*, pp.30-48.

<sup>36</sup> Barnes. *Hampshire Militia Muster Rolls 1622-1642*.

<sup>37</sup> D.P. Carter, 'The Exact Militia in Lancashire, 1625-1640', in *Northern History*, 11.1. (1976).

defaults in the county.<sup>38</sup> Taxation and its effects on the localities, particularly the ability and inclination of individuals to meet their assessment for the militia, has already been mentioned with regards Ship Money. Hassell-Smith adds to this and an understanding of its effects through his discussion of how the requirement to contribute was disseminated through the societal groups down to individuals at parish level.<sup>39</sup> Such discussions are also undertaken for coat and conduct money, for example, Lois Schwoerer states precisely the attitude in the localities both to the Treasury and Lieutenancy with regards its payment and re-imbusement.<sup>40</sup> The local attitude in Hampshire, and its likely effects upon defaulting is well documented in the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection.

Schwoerer also discusses the almost unacknowledged costs of billeting. Monies raised via a tax on the inhabitants to reimburse those same inhabitants for costs incurred through billeting, invariably ran out, leading to the exaction of free-quarter.<sup>41</sup> The level of billeting and the likely problems with regards meeting militia assessments, may be seen for the Basingstoke area through documents held at Hampshire Archives.<sup>42</sup>

In his discussion of the 'perfect militia' in the 1630s, Henrik Langeluddecke uses Chawton as an extended example in relation to the cleaning and maintenance

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<sup>38</sup> There is no reason for the absence of specific studies relating to Hampshire's militia. However, there is a need for this void to be filled, when the importance of the county's location on the south coast, and its proximity to often hostile European powers is considered. If an invasion occurred, it would be Hampshire's militia that would face the brunt of the initial military action. Therefore, an understanding of defaulters, defaulting, and defaults provides an indication of their readiness through the period.

<sup>39</sup> R. Hassell Smith, 'Militia Rates and Militia Statutes 1558-1663', in *The English Commonwealth 1547-1640: Essays in Politics and Society Presented to Joel Hurstfield*, eds., P. Clark, A.G.R. Smith & N. Tyacke, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), p.107.

<sup>40</sup> Schwoerer. pp.22-23.

<sup>41</sup> Schwoerer. p.21.

<sup>42</sup> For example, see HA 44M69/G5/45/26. *Basingstoke. Receipt for Conduct Money. 17 July 1628.* HA 44M69/G5/50/19. *Accounts of Bailiffs and Constables of Basingstoke Infra Hundred. 24 September to 13 October 1626.*

of arms.<sup>43</sup> This is one of the few sources, including Boynton and Sharpe, which allows reference back through the documents, in this instance churchwardens' accounts.<sup>44</sup> Further to this, cleaning and maintenance of arms is an element that broadens out beyond this one parish through the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection.

Mark Fissel apportions blame for any failure of the militia to modernize firmly with King Charles and the institutions of government. It is his considered opinion that the militia was not at fault, for when men were required for the 1639 campaign against the Scots, they were delivered.<sup>45</sup>

Overall, the thesis which results from this research, is an important study on two levels: it constitutes the first major study of Hampshire's militia, and also discusses defaulters, defaulting and defaults within the County, concluding that these were consistently, despite spikes, at a low level. This will negate, albeit only in the case of Hampshire, the sweeping negative comments about the quality, arming and military capabilities of the militia that have been promulgated in a number of survey histories.<sup>46</sup> Further, its emphasis on defaulters, defaulting and defaults, defines the originality of this thesis and places it in a unique position as the first detailed examination of defaulters, defaulting and defaults as they affected Hampshire's militia between 1625 and 1640.

The assertion that defaulting was at a low-level in Hampshire through the period and its supporting evidence will be presented in three chapters.

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<sup>43</sup> Henrik Langeluddecke, 'The Chiefest Strength and Glory of This Kingdom: Arming and Training the 'Perfect Militia' in the 1630s', in *The English Historical Review*, 118(479), 2003, pp.1272-1273, at [https://watermark-silverchair-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49Oan9kklhW\\_Ercy7DmZL\\_9CF3qFKA\\_c485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKqhKig9wOB1](https://watermark-silverchair-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE49Oan9kklhW_Ercy7DmZL_9CF3qFKA_c485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKqhKig9wOB1) [accessed 29 June 2020].

<sup>44</sup> HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1621-1813*. unfoliated.

<sup>45</sup> Mark Fissel, *The Bishops Wars: Charles I's Campaign against Scotland, 1638-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.263.

<sup>46</sup> See p.5 of this thesis.

Chapter one will consider defaulting, by which those assessed to ‘furnish’ men or arms and in some instances those that were ‘furnished’, failed to meet their obligations to the militia. It will be split into two parts, with the first looking at defaulting at regimental level. Each of the county’s seven infantry regiments, plus the Winchester company, the Southampton companies, and the three troops of light horse, will be compared with one another using the number of defaults.<sup>47</sup> These figures will then be used to give an average per document and per year. This will lead to the regiment most likely to default, whilst re-affirming that defaulting within Hampshire was at a low level. The use of defaults rather than defaulters is crucial to the accuracy in this section when one bears in mind that some individuals were responsible for multiple defaults.

The second part of this chapter will consider defaulting within the infantry regiments and the Winchester and Southampton companies, and aims to determine which was most likely to default in each of seven specific years. Four of these have been included because of England’s involvement in wars with either Spain, France, or Scotland. The influence of such events on the militia and any tendency to increased defaulting will become evident through the discussion and analysis. Despite any spikes in the default rates, which were most likely to occur within companies abutting the south coast, especially during the 1620s it will be demonstrated that overall the default rate remained low.

Defaults within the infantry will be discussed in chapter two. Firstly, absenteeism across the ‘corslets’, (pikemen), and musketeers, will be broken down into three types.<sup>48</sup> First, those involving ‘furnishers’ who failed to furnish, who could

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<sup>47</sup> See Appendix 2 for a full listing of the regiments and companies of foot and the troops of light horse in Hampshire.

<sup>48</sup> See note 24 in this chapter.

be from any of the eleven social groupings used throughout this thesis. Second, those absent from muster, who were often the 'furnished' men, who were usually absent through the default of their 'furnishers'. Third, absenting or running away, which relates to those selected to serve and was especially relevant prior to the wars mentioned above. However, before 1639 it related primarily to the 'lesser sorts', those that had no personal or financial investment in the militia.<sup>49</sup> The total of absentees appear to be large at about 650, but this averages out at under one absentee per company per year. Secondly, 'Corslets' and musketeers will be considered separately from each other, as their types of default differed. The former, with his pike, was more likely to be armoured, while the latter, with his musket, carried powder, match, and lead shot and was therefore less likely to wear armour. The discussion of default types will show which were most prevalent within the various societal groupings. It will also show how numerically low, with an average half that of absenteeism, these defaults were.

The third chapter will consider defaults in the three troops of light horse. It argues that defaulting was often at a much higher level than in the infantry, with absenteeism possibly at 60% in 1629. Aware of this, Charles I made at least two attempts to rectify the situation before settling on further orders to muster and issuing the threat that repeat offenders should be brought before the Council.<sup>50</sup> As a societal problem it will be demonstrated that it was more prevalent among the 'better' and 'middling sorts', rather than named individuals and or misters. This will also be

<sup>49</sup> Campbell. pp.350-351. Schwoerer. pp.10-11.

<sup>50</sup> John Bruce, ed., *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I 1627-1628*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1858), p.513, vol.XC, 72, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775381/page/n6/2up> [accessed 4 February 2020]. (hereafter *CSPD*). Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), pp.253 and 254. Spring. p.174.

apparent with other defaults, for example, the horse as a cavalry mount and especially with pistols, where a supply problem further intensified the level of defaulting. However, with their small number the light horse does not affect the premise that defaulting in Hampshire was low.





## **CHAPTER 1.**

### **DEFAULTING.**

This chapter will investigate the levels of defaulting within Hampshire's militia through the period 1625-1640, to demonstrate that it was at a low level, in order to argue that most individuals either met or attempted to meet the assessment, and that there was cohesion in Hampshire's communities when it came to the militia and issues surrounding its furnishing and maintenance. This will be achieved by considering defaulting both at regimental level and within the regiments. Defaulting at regimental level will compare the seven infantry regiments with one another, together with the Winchester company, the three Southampton companies and the three troops of light horse. The seven main infantry regiments will initially be compared using the number of defaults, then a document comparison, which will reveal average number of defaults per document and the average number of defaults per year, which thus demonstrates the regiment most likely to default. This re-affirms the low level of defaulting through the period, indicating that most of those assessed to provide men and/or arms for the militia, were prepared to do so, until the costs went beyond that to which they were assessed. This point of resistance may also be seen following the 1635 imposition of Ship-Money on inland counties.<sup>1</sup>

Instances of default, rather than individual defaulters, will form the basis of the numerical totals; for example, one person might default on a corslet, musket, light horse, or a combination of the three and over several years. As an example, Mr Rolfe of Avington, who also appears as Wm. Rolfe esquire of Easton (Fawley regiment), proves this by defaulting on one corslet and three muskets in 1627, three

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<sup>1</sup> M. Jurkowski, C.L. Smith and D. Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, (Chippenham: Public Record Office, 1998), Public Record Office Handbook, Number 31, pp.188-190.

muskets in 1629, two light horse in 1635 and pistols for the light horse in 1639; a total of ten defaults. Rolfe accounts for 18% of the defaults in the Fawley infantry regiment.<sup>2</sup>

Each regiment for example, Alton or grouping for example, the Light Horse Will be considered in relation to type of document, primarily muster rolls, muster books and lists of defaults and defaulters. Numerical differences will indicate fluctuations in default rates at regimental level. Muster rolls, though crucial to the statistics relating to numbers in or furnishing the militia, will be shown to not always contain details of defaults, such as Alton, where only eight of 22 do so.

Defaulting within the infantry regiments, including Winchester and Southampton, will be considered for the years 1626, 1627, 1629, 1633, 1635, 1637 and 1639. The level within companies will be discussed to determine which was most likely to default in each of these years. As an example, Brockenhurst in 1626, with 32 defaults, which represents about 10% of those associated with the company, is significant and so the broader discussion will look at possible reasons for this. In 1626, this would have included a reaction to the high casualty rate of the 1625 war as well as concerns that trained militiamen and serviceable arms might be seized for any future army. The latter concern, it will be shown, became reality in 1639, when Charles I demanded that large numbers of trained militia be sent to the army for his campaign against the Scots.

### **Defaulting at Regimental Level.**

There are 260 individual cases of default named in 36 extant documents for

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<sup>2</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1. *Twyford Company. Muster Book. 1627. f.2r (cover)*. HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r*. HA 44M69/G5/35/4/2. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3r*. HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639. f.3r*. The parishes of Avington and Easton are adjacent to each other.

the Kingsclere regiment.<sup>3</sup> Or, as table 1.1 shows, it is 7.2 per document, which equates to 16.25 per year. This is 1.65 defaults per year more than the New Forest regiment, where 233 may be found in 20 documents, at 11.65 per document; the third highest per document count after Andover and Fawley.

% of Defaults in MRs'	2%	2.75%	1.85%	4%	2.8%	6.85%	3%	5.4%	13.5%	21.6%
Number of Names in Muster Rolls	4,813 (22)	6,240 (27)	4,816 (25)	1,184 (5)	9,096 (34)	3,470 (16)	5,293 (20)	1,669 (11)	459 (2)	1,398 (10)
Average Defaults per Year	5.9	10.7	5.5	2.9	16.25	14.6	8.7	5.75	3.9	18.5
Defaults per Document	7.9	12.2	5.9	11.75	7.2	11.65	7.3	30	31	19.7
Number of Documents	12	17	15	4	36	20	19	3	2	15
Number of Defaults	95	171	88	47	260	233	139	92	62	296
Name of Regiment	Alton	Andover	B'stoke	Fawley	Kingsclere	New Forest	Portsdown	So'ton	Winchester	Light Horse

Table 1.1: Instances of Default by Regiment.

B'stoke = Basingstoke

So'ton = Southampton

Document = Any naming at least one Default/Defaulter

Numbers in ( ) = Number of Muster Rolls

Andover and Portsdown regiments show 171 and 139 defaults respectively.

The former's count from 17 documents gives an average of 12.2 per document, or

<sup>3</sup> Documents at Hampshire Archives, the *Jervoise of Herriard Collection*, part of 44M69/G5.

10.7 per year, which is about two thirds that of Kingsclere. The latter, with two documents more than Andover, has an average of 8.7 defaults per year and 7.2 per document.

Alton and Basingstoke regiments list 95 and 88 defaults from 12 and 15 documents respectively. Alton's average is 7.9 per document and 5.9 per year, with Basingstoke's at 5.9 and 5.5. The Fawley regiment recorded 47 defaults across four documents, at an average of 11.75 per document, (the second highest behind Andover), giving by far the lowest average defaults per year at 2.9.

It is logical to believe, therefore, that a higher number of defaults results in a higher average. However, this is tempered by the number of documents, with Fawley's four, for example, averaging 4.55 more per document than Kingsclere, while averaging 13.35 per year less. The figures for the New Forest and Portsdown regiments are taken from just over half as many documents each, than Kingsclere's and five times as many as Fawley's. Many of the variants in the statistics probably occur as a result of the type of source material that has survived and what was being recorded. Muster rolls, for example, do not always include defaults. Indeed, there are none in those for Fawley regiment.<sup>4</sup> It was part of their purpose, though, to record who was responsible for furnishing which arms, who was furnished, and what was either not furnished or sent to muster. Defect/default lists, meanwhile, were more specific and often more detailed, as with those for Fawley regiment in 1629. These lists may have originally been kept as separate documents with the muster rolls. Consequently, there would have been no necessity to include their full content on the rolls. Muster books, in contrast, list defaults but these are often in relation to

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<sup>4</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* ff.1r-3v. In contrast to the muster rolls for Fawley regiment, this example from the Alton regiment lists nineteen defaults, with the relevant defaulters.

the defaulter having conformed or promising to conform. Each regiment will be considered in turn in order to place the defaulters and defaults in their varying localities, which will lead to a more cogent discussion of defaulters, defaulting, and defaults.

There are 22 extant muster rolls for the Alton regiment. Eight give details of defaults and/or defaulters, with one noting a single default and another 19. Three and four are the most recorded totals, both of which appear on two occasions.<sup>5</sup> Invariably, they name the defaulter and their default/s. One document, with 21 entries, splits defaulters and defaults into two distinct sections. The first part lists the defaulters, while the second part goes into much more detail. It states the default or part default and explains the assessment in each instance.<sup>6</sup> A further 17 defaults are recorded in the 1627 muster book, each against the relevant defaulter.<sup>7</sup> One document relates to a single defaulter.<sup>8</sup> This shows that the base numbers from which the Alton statistics are formed come primarily from three documents. Namely one muster roll, a default/defects document, and a muster book; (19, 21, and 17 instances, respectively).<sup>9</sup>

The Jervoise Collection contains 27 muster rolls relating to the Andover regiment, seven of which give details of defaults and/or defaulters. Two give one

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<sup>5</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/4. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* HA 44M69/G5/42/25. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/43/11. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1638.* HA 44M69/G5/35/14. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/35/21. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1635.*

<sup>6</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Alton Infra Company. Defaulters. 1629.*

<sup>7</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Muster Book. 1627.* The Muster Books for 1626, 1635 and 1638, though surviving within the Jervoise collection, do not list defaulters/defaults for the Alton regiment.

<sup>8</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/6/2. *East Meon Company. Defaulter. (undated).*

<sup>9</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Alton Infra Company. Defaulters. Selborne Company. Defects. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Muster Book. 1627.*

name, with two others listing five and four.<sup>10</sup> One roll names 22 individuals and the defects relating to 21 of them.<sup>11</sup> Two others give the defects attributed to 21 and 16 defaulters respectively.<sup>12</sup> Of the four defaulter/defects documents for this regiment, one has 30 entries, or over half the total, and goes into minute detail with regards some of the defaults.<sup>13</sup> Muster books for 1626 and 1627 record 11 and 25 names, respectively.<sup>14</sup> It therefore becomes evident that the statistics for Andover are dominated by three muster rolls, a defaulter/defects list, and the muster books, which list 22, 21, 16, 30, eleven and 25 names, respectively.<sup>15</sup> This demonstrates that only seven muster rolls list defaulters, and that only three name more than 15. Of the ten other documents containing default/defaulter details, only three name more than ten. Collectively, they provide both specific and extensive detail for certain points on the timeline, while contributing to the idea that defaulting in Hampshire was at a low level across the period 1625-1640.

Twenty-five muster rolls survive for the Basingstoke regiment, nine of which give details of defaulters and their defaults. Of these, one names 13, with none of the others containing above six.<sup>16</sup> There are three defaulter lists for this regiment, one, in two parts, gives five names and the other 11. The most prolific listing comes from the 1626 muster book, 27 defaults, which accounts for almost a third of those

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<sup>10</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/2. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/42/14. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/35/5. *Barton Stacey Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/30/3. *Wherwell Company. Muster Roll. Wallops Company. Defaulters. 1629.*

<sup>11</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/1. *Hursley Company. Muster Roll. 1629.*

<sup>12</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/30/4. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1629.*

<sup>13</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Stockbridge Company. Defects. 1629.* Also see Chapter 2 for more on this point.

<sup>14</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Andover Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Andover Regiment. Muster Book. 1627.*

<sup>15</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/1. *Hursley Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/30/4. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Andover Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Andover Regiment. Muster Book. 1627.*

<sup>16</sup> HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638.*

found for the regiment. One undated document relates to Anthony Spittle, who is named not only in several of the documents in the Jervoise Collection, but also in the Calendar of State Papers.<sup>17</sup> It is the muster book that is the most significant, showing a distinct spike in defaulting, at a time when three infantry companies attached to the army, (either bound for or returning from the Ile de Rhe), were billeted in the Basingstoke area.<sup>18</sup> There was a distinct inclination to stay at home and not display militia arms when any part of an army was present.<sup>19</sup>

Fawley regiment has the smallest number of surviving documents in the Collection, with five muster rolls, none of which list defaulters or defaults. There are two documents that do provide details, of which one, in three parts covering the whole regiment, is a default/defaulter list of 36 defaults.<sup>20</sup> The other 11 defaults appear in the 1627 muster book.<sup>21</sup> It should be remembered that although on paper Fawley was a four-company regiment this was only nominal because the colonel's company had no physical strength.<sup>22</sup>

The best documented regiment is without doubt Kingsclere's, for which the relatively good survival rate may be attributed to its colonel, Sir Thomas Jervoise (1626-1643), whose family papers, the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection, is the

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<sup>17</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/107. *Basingstoke Infra Company. Defaulter.* undated. John Bruce, ed., *CSPD. 1638-1639*, (London: Longman & Co., Tubner & Co., 1871), p.83, vol.CCCC, 127, at <https://internetarchive/details/cu31924091770242/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 18 March 2020]. Also see Chapter 2 for case study of Anthony Spittle.

<sup>18</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/19. *Conduct Money. Accounts/Receipts. Billeting. Accounts/Receipts. 1626.* Bundle of fifteen documents. Mostly undated. Three documents in the bundle relate to billeting in the Basingstoke area, and list sixty-five, forty-one and 104 soldiers respectively. Also see page 15 of this study.

<sup>19</sup> The reasons behind this will be discussed in later chapters.

<sup>20</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Netley Company. Defects. 1629.*

<sup>21</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Fawley Regiment. Muster Book. 1627.*

<sup>22</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Fawley Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Fawley Regiment. Muster Book 1627.* HA 44M69/G5/35/8. *Fawley Regiment. Muster Book. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/16/1-3. *Fawley Regiment. Muster Book. 1638.* Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Colonel of the Fawley regiment, was eighty-four or eighty-five years old in 1627, so it is logical that he would not have commanded a physical company; the command was honorary. The regiment was effectively commanded by his third son, also Benjamin, who was the Lieutenant-Colonel. At some point after the Colonel's death in 1629, the regiment began to be listed as consisting of the three physical companies only.



principle resource used for this study.<sup>23</sup> Of the 34 muster rolls, 19 record defaulters and/or defaults, one of which, together with one of the other 15 documents, lists the names of absent pioneers.<sup>24</sup> 16 of the rolls identify ten or less defaulters/defaults, with the other three listing 13, 16 and 23, or about 20% of the regimental defaults for the period.<sup>25</sup> The first of the three latter rolls include details of defaults in relation to the assessment, which will form part of the discussion in chapter two. Of the defaulter and default lists, two jointly contain 32 entries, 13 of which are in a document split into two parts.<sup>26</sup> Muster books for 1626 and 1627 contain 13 and 39 entries apiece.<sup>27</sup>

Of the 16 surviving muster rolls for the New Forest regiment five list defaulters and/or defaults, with only one, undated, containing ten entries.<sup>28</sup> As with Fawley regiment, and as will be seen later with Portsdown regiment, this shows a lack of emphasis in recording defaults on the muster rolls. This might be understood as a coastal response, especially when the land-locked Basingstoke regiment is considered. Four defaulter and/or default lists have more than 20 entries each, at

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<sup>23</sup> The *Jervoise of Herriard* collection is in part comprised of the papers of Sir Thomas Jervoise. Jervoise, (1587-1654), was Member of Parliament for Whitchurch from 1621, a Justice of the Peace from 1616-1642, Deputy Lieutenant of Hampshire from 1625-1638, a Captain of militia 1615-1626 and Colonel 1626-1643. (Whitchurch Company, Kingsclere Regiment). He was heavily involved in matters relating to the militia – Commissioner for disarming Catholics, 1625; martial law 1625-1628; and billeting 1626-1628; as well as being collector of forced loans 1626-1627. He meticulously kept copies of papers that passed through his hands, which included a substantial volume of those relating to the Kingsclere regiment. A full biography of Jervoise may be found at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/jervoise-sir-thomas-1587-1654](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/jervoise-sir-thomas-1587-1654) [accessed 18 February 2021]. The Hampshire Archives on-line catalogue says the following of the military papers in the collection. “These papers were originally sorted by FHT Jervoise, [died 1957] and numbered XX-XLVIII (20-48). The original finding numbers have been retained.” at <https://calm.hants.gov.uk/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=69044%2f7%2f5&pos=2> [accessed 28 July 2021].

<sup>24</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/6. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/45/2/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1640.* Two and three names respectively.

<sup>25</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/17. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628.* HA 44M69/G5/30/10. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628.*

<sup>26</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/1 and HA 44M69/G5/30/21/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629.*

<sup>27</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Kingsclere Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Kingsclere Regiment. Muster Book. 1627.*

<sup>28</sup> HA 44M69/G5/20/101/1-3. *Eling Company. Muster Roll. undated.*

21, 23, 25 and 29, and all date from 1626.<sup>29</sup> All four documents are part of the same bundle. Two other documents containing 12 and five entries respectively, relate to Ringwood and Brockenhurst companies.<sup>30</sup> These documents provide specificity and depth to the instances they record. The final two are described in their opening lines as 'a note' and 'those who refused', and so were most likely intended to be less extensive in their scope, perhaps naming only the most obstinate offenders. The muster book for 1626 accounts for 43 entries across the regiment, with no suggestion, unlike with some other regiments, that the defaults were or would be rectified. The implication is that defaulting was and an ongoing issue. In total, 70% of the entries for defaulters and/or defaults relate to 1626.<sup>31</sup>

There are 20 surviving muster rolls for the Portsdown regiment of which eight contain details of defaulters and/or defaults. Of the 33 individual instances, ten appear within a single roll, which is one of two that includes details of individual assessments, thus following the pattern found in other regiments.<sup>32</sup> The six defaulter and/or default lists arise from four documents. One is in three parts covering over half the regiment for 1626, and accounting for about 35% of the entries for the regiment through the period.<sup>33</sup> Such a high level of recording defaults in 1626, is indicative of a comparative lack of doing so through the rest of the period, but also of a perceived necessity to do so in that year. They tell us that there was a distinct absence of serviceable firearms within the regiment, but it was most probably an

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<sup>29</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/10. *Avon Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.*

<sup>30</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/7. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/1. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.*

<sup>31</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *New Forest Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.*

<sup>32</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/27/18. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1626.*

<sup>33</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.*

attempt to preserve local arms from the attentions of the army assembling for the Ile de Rhe expedition. Muster books for 1626 and 1627 list eight and 29 defaulters and/or defaults respectively, which supports the idea of preserving local arms for militia use. These totals are more than for the muster rolls.<sup>34</sup>

The militia in Winchester was distinct in that it was comprised of a single company. Of the two muster rolls, one (1626) lists 40, or almost two-thirds of the default/defaulters instances that survive for the city in the Jervoise collection.<sup>35</sup> A further twenty-two appear on a single defaulters list in 1629.<sup>36</sup> The latter was undoubtedly influenced by the company captain, Sir Henry Clerck, who failed to attend two private views and the general muster, he did “utterly neglect his company”<sup>37</sup>

Of the 11 extant muster rolls for the three Southampton companies, just one, for Holyrood and St. Lawrence (1631), contains details of defaulters/defaults. This amounts to 32, which is slightly over a third of the city’s defaulters.<sup>38</sup> The majority, over 50, are spread across the companies in the 1627 muster book, with six listed as ‘sparemen’ in 1635.<sup>39</sup> Unusually, amongst the infantry, Southampton’s militia failed to muster in 1629. The Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, (Lord Conway), as he had been by the Council, directed the Deputy Lieutenants to send letters to the militia’s senior officers, stating date and place of muster.<sup>40</sup> The Deputy Lieutenants reported that there had been “improper attendance at muster”, which Kevin Sharpe

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<sup>34</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Portsmouth Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.* HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Portsmouth Regiment. Muster Book. 1627.*

<sup>35</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626.* f.4r.

<sup>36</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>37</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>38</sup> HA 44M69/G5/31/2. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence, (Southampton), Company. Muster Roll. 1631.*

<sup>39</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Southampton Companies. Muster Book. 1627.* HA 44M69/G5/35/25. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence, (Southampton), Company. Sparemen. 1635.*

<sup>40</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/14. *List of days Appointed for General Muster. 1629.*

describes as a refusal to muster.<sup>41</sup> Conway received letters from the Mayor and former Mayors, explaining that procedure had not been followed.<sup>42</sup> They believed the Mayor should have been notified and that it was his responsibility to inform the officers of any forthcoming muster. At this point, the whole Southampton militia would in theory have been in default. However, Conway allowed this to pass without reprimand as the Mayor said he had only heard of the muster on the morning of its occurrence and that the city was in the middle of an election.<sup>43</sup>

Nine of the ten muster rolls for the light horse, which survive in the Jervoise collection, give the details of at least one default/defaulters. There are three rolls for each of the three troops. One for the Basingstoke and Kingsclere troop, has only one entry, with the remainder of the relevant column blank, though a total of 27 is given at the end of the document.<sup>44</sup> Of the 241 defaults/defaulters in the muster rolls, 64 appear in 1629.<sup>45</sup> A further 49 are listed on an undated roll for the Andover, Fawley and New Forest troop.<sup>46</sup> 12 'refuse' and four, who were not in default were 'with the King', suggesting this roll may date from 1639, as this was the first year the militia was obliged to send its trained men to serve the King.<sup>47</sup> Boynton asserts that prior to this "the trained bands were exempt from the press".<sup>48</sup> Stearns adds that in the 1620s the Lord Lieutenants were required to press "able-bodied men, not of the

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<sup>41</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/22. *Deputy Lieutenants to Lord Lieutenant regarding attendance at Muster. 1629.* Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.490.

<sup>42</sup> Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p.270.

<sup>43</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/32. *Lord Lieutenant to Deputy Lieutenants regarding attendance at Muster. 1629.*

<sup>44</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/19. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Troop. Muster Roll. 1633.* ff. 1r and 2v.

<sup>45</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Troop. Muster Roll. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Troop. Muster Roll. 1629.*

<sup>46</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Troop. Muster Roll.* undated.

<sup>47</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Troop. Muster Roll.* undated. ff. 1r, 2r, 2v and 3r.

<sup>48</sup> Boynton. p.245.

trained bands".<sup>49</sup> 22 are listed on rolls from 1637 and 1639.<sup>50</sup>

A single stand-alone defects list for the Andover, Fawley and New Forest troop (1635) has 31 entries, with a further 14 noted for the Basingstoke and Kingsclere troop in 1626 as 'fit to serve'.<sup>51</sup> Three instances appear on each of three documents (1629) relating to hundreds within the Basingstoke and Kingsclere divisions and the reforming of the troop.<sup>52</sup> A similar item appears at the head of the 1629 muster roll, but the three entries have not been counted in the total as they are replicated in the roll and, if used, would have distorted the statistics.<sup>53</sup> These documents show through the numbers recorded that defaulting within the light horse was a problem throughout the period. That the level of defaulting was higher than in the infantry, and that it was considered such a problem not only were these records created; they were retained.

The first part of defaulting at regimental level laid out the number of instances relating to defaulting and/or default within each regiment. These were the base numbers from which other statistics could be calculated. Combined with varying number of extant documents for each, these numerical instances were broken down to defaulters per document and then, perhaps more importantly when considering which regiment was most likely to default, the number of defaulters per regiment per year. However, this only considered the defaulters and/or their defaults.

This was also the case with the second part, where each regiment was looked

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<sup>49</sup> Stephen J. Stearns, 'Corruption and English Society in the 1620s', in *Journal of British Studies*, vol.11, no.2, p.3, May 1972, at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/175073> [accessed 22 March 2021].

<sup>50</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Troop. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Troop. Muster Roll. 1639.*

<sup>51</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Troop. Defects. 1635.*

<sup>52</sup> HA 44M69/G5/19/1. *Holdshott Hundred. Constables Returns. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/20. *Bermondspit Hundred. Constables Returns. 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/18. *Overton Hundred. Constables Returns. 1629.*

<sup>53</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Troop. Muster Roll. 1629.*

at in turn. Analysis of the documents, mostly muster rolls, muster books, and defaulter/default/defect lists, has given an indication of where instances of defaulter and/or default were recorded. It has also, tempered by the date spread of surviving documents, indicated spikes in occurrence. The most notable of these being 1626 for the New Forest and Portsdown regiments, where a substantial volume of instances may be found (70% and 35% respectively). Such spikes, as with the high levels of defaulting/defaulters in the light horse, are indicative of a precise point in the timespan, but should not be viewed as an indicator of which regiment was most likely to default across the period.

Putting the light horse to one side for the moment, it has been shown that numerically, by defaults/defaulters per year, the Kingsclere regiment was most likely to default, followed by New Forest, Andover, Portsdown, Alton, Southampton, Basingstoke, and Winchester. Taken as a default/defaulter rate of the total individuals in all extant muster rolls, a slightly different pattern emerges (see Table 1.1), with Winchester having the highest default/defaulter rate (13.5% of 459) followed by New Forest (6.85% of 3,470); Southampton (5.4% of 1,669); Fawley (4% of 1,184); Portsdown (3% of 5,293); Kingsclere (2.8% of 9,096); Andover (2.75% of 6,240); Alton (2% of 4,813); and Basingstoke (1.85% of 4,816). The difference here is that while using all instances of defaults/defaulters, regardless of the type of document in which they appear, we now use just the muster rolls. However, this also includes the rolls that do not list defaults/defaulters. All defaulters, in theory at least, appear on the rolls, even if they are not listed as being in default. This pattern is more accurate as it removes those documents that would return almost a 100% default/defaulter rate.

### **Defaulting within the Regiments.**

The seven infantry regiments, together with the Winchester and Southampton companies will be considered in relation to 1626, 1627, 1629, 1633, 1635, 1637, and 1639. A discussion of defaults/defaulters in the companies within each regiment, followed by analysis to determine which regiment, and which company, within that regiment was most likely to default in each of the years, is followed by a broader discussion relating to events that may have influenced the levels of defaulting. For example, the failure of the Southampton companies to muster in 1629 on the basis that protocol relating to the issue of orders for mustering had not been adhered to. As will be discussed, this may equally have been a consequence of the financial burden created by having 160 men billeted in the town in 1628 as they awaited embarkation for France, and that resulting from two companies that were left behind. As will become evident, there was less money to pay for the militia, and its assembling would have led to local security voids. These issues affected the whole county to some degree and were prone to re-emerge throughout the period.

#### **1626.**

There were no defaults/defaulters recorded for the Fawley regiment, or the Southampton companies in this year and only one for Alton's regiment, in the Alton Extra company. The Bentworth company of the Basingstoke regiment listed 18. As the only defaulting companies within their regiments, like Winchester's company with its fifteen defaults/defaulters, they were the most likely to default. Being stand-alone figures, they are not satisfactory for determining internal regimental defaulting. Andover is slightly more helpful, with three in the Wallops company and 11 in Romsey, making it the most likely to default. Kingsclere had defaults/defaulters in

four of its companies. Seven each in Overton and Andover Extra, six in Andover Infra, and 22 in Holdshott, making it without doubt the most likely company within the regiment to default. Portsdown had significant numbers doing so within its three companies that named defaulters. 11 in Hambledon and Soberton, 21 in Bishops Waltham and 26 in Gosport and Hayling, the most likely to default. The companies of the New Forest regiment listed by far the greatest number of defaults/defaulters, with seven in New Lymington and 11 in the Borough of Christchurch. There were 18 in Ringwood, 24 in Avon, 26 in Eling and 32 in Brockenhurst, making it the most likely company to default not only in the regiment, but the county.

There are several reasons that may explain the defaulting in 1626. Firstly, it was a reaction to the substantial losses sustained during the Spanish War of 1625, where the casualty rate was 55%.<sup>54</sup> Although the militia had not been required to supply its trained men to the army, the counties were obliged to send men. At parish level men had to be paid as they moved from one to the next, whether that was to get them to their local rendezvous, embarkation at Plymouth, or back to their homes after the campaign.<sup>55</sup> As the army was brought together in the south coast counties, men would have remained stationary and billeted within the communities for days at a time, thus adding to local military expenditure, which, though not on the militia, would have affected the residual income required for that purpose. Likewise, men

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<sup>54</sup> Laurence Spring, *The First British Army. 1624-1628. The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion, 2016), p.169. The army had embarked with about 10,000 men.

<sup>55</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/19. *Accounts of Bailiffs and Constables of Basingstoke Infra Hundred*. f.1r. This account, for the period 24 September to 13 October 1626, states that £29 16s was laid out for "Conducting the soldiers that came from Plymouth". HA 44M69/G5/50/19. *Basingstoke Billets, 1626*. f.1r. In referring to the sum in the preceding document in this bundle, it says that it related to Captain Clapham's company of three officers and sixty-three soldiers, who were billeted in the Basingstoke Infra, Extra and Chuteley hundreds. Spring, p.227, confirms that they had been part of the army sent to Spain. Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1627-1628*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1858), p.109, vol.LVIII, 18, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775381/page/n6/mode/2up> [Accessed 4 February 2020]. Clapham, who was in the Danish service, asked that his company be held in England "... so that he have something to return to ..."



and arms would have been seized in these areas to cover any shortfalls arising in the army. Therefore, a wariness would develop, perhaps evident in the numbers returned for the New Forest and Portsdown regiments, for if arms were absent or listed as faulty, they were unlikely to be taken. In the case of the Avon company, it was already contributing beyond the usual militia commitment, by providing armed men for the garrison at Hurst Castle.<sup>56</sup>

Secondly, in his continued move towards an 'Exact Militia', Charles was increasing the expenditure incurred by those paying for men to be furnished. Boynton identified three strands, namely the introduction of drill sergeants, the continued standardization of arms, and the paying of trained soldiers while attending muster.<sup>57</sup> Drill sergeants were appointed for three months in 1626 to train militia officers "the true modern use of arms and order of soldiers".<sup>58</sup> The King's Council assured itself "that no subject will account the small increase of charge anyway considerable."<sup>59</sup> This cost fell to the local gentry, becoming more a burden when it was deemed that "their allowances ... should be continued."<sup>60</sup> Boynton noted that they were still in the counties in 1629.<sup>61</sup> The continued standardization of arms is seen through the idea of "better arming", or as Nagal says "careful attention to weaponry".<sup>62</sup> This ties in with the idea of "bodies and minds fit for service" and an Act of 1621 "for making the arms of this kingdom more serviceable in times to

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<sup>56</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/6. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* ff. 2r and 3r. The examples in question had served at Hurst Castle prior to 1629, and one, at least, was still serving with the garrison in 1633. See HA 44M69/G5/33/2. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* f.3r.

<sup>57</sup> Boynton. pp.246, 258 and 286. Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), p.198, vol.XIII, 43; p.220, vol.XVIII, 55; p.233, vol.XIX, 38, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775365/page/n1/mode/2up> [accessed 3 February 2020].

<sup>58</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626.* p.220, vol.XVIII, 55.

<sup>59</sup> Bruce ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626.* p.233, vol.XIX, 38.

<sup>60</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626.* p.361, vol.XXX, 62.

<sup>61</sup> Boynton. p.246.

<sup>62</sup> Lawson Chase Nagal, *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, (King's College London, PhD thesis, 1982), p.19, at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal> [accessed 4 July 2020].

come".<sup>63</sup> The paying of trained militiamen, which had been established in 1573, was, by the 1620s, a standard practice and a continual drain on furnishers finances.

The third reason that may explain the defaulting in 1626, is that the trained soldiers might be called upon to muster and serve alongside the remnants of the army that had been recently defeated by the Spanish. This led to a heightened fear of invasion in the localities.<sup>64</sup> Such use of the trained men will be explored further in due course. However, in 1626 and especially 1627, it did become an issue in Hampshire. There is, though, vagueness in the sources surrounding whether those selected to serve in the army were trained militiamen or not. One document, dated 20 August 1627, states 'The places from where 50. men were impressed' and gives no indication of status, if indeed they had any, within the militia.<sup>65</sup> A bundle of documents from the same year is more suggestive of trained men being pressed, with each starting thus, "A list of the mens names Selected out of the Command of".<sup>66</sup> Robert Manninge, (Basingstoke Extra), was pressed for a second time, with the list for Bentworth saying that the men were "out of Sir Edward Cresswells company".<sup>67</sup> Of the eight men named from Overton company, three worked in or were tradesmen and three husbandmen.<sup>68</sup> They would almost certainly have had some status or stake in their community, which would have led them to being assessed for or serving in the militia. Absenteeism would have inevitably increased.

### **1627.**

There are no defaults/defaulters listed for the Winchester company. This is

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<sup>63</sup> Boynton. p.246.

<sup>64</sup> Spring. p.169.

<sup>65</sup> HA 44M69/G5/38/140. *List of Men Impressed at Southampton.* August 1627.

<sup>66</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/116. *Lists of Impressed Men. 23-25 May 1627.* (17 documents)

<sup>67</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/116/9. *List of Men Impressed out of Basingstoke Extra Company.* 44M69/G5/48/116/11. *List of Men Impressed out of Bentworth Company.*

<sup>68</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/116/13. *List of Men Impressed out of Overton Company.*

because there are no extant muster rolls or default/defaulters lists. The muster book does state that 11 corslets and six muskets were 'lacking', but with no detail of the defaulters or specific defaults. For this reason, these and similar occurrences have been omitted from this study.<sup>69</sup> Micheldever company, in the Basingstoke regiment recorded five, while the Twyford company, in the Fawley regiment noted 11. With no other data recorded, they were therefore the most likely companies to default in those regiments. Alton Infra with 11 and Petersfield with five, were the only companies with defaulters in the Alton regiment. There was a similar pattern in the New Forest regiment, where there were eight, or a third of its 1626 total, in the Avon company, and two in Brockenhurst. Defaulting was more widespread in Andover, where the highest count, 16, was in Stockbridge, dropping to three each in Wherwell and Barton Stacey and two in Hursley. There were defaults/defaulters listed for five of the six companies in Kingsclere regiment. There was a single instance in Whitchurch company, five in Kingsclere and six in Overton. Andover Infra and Holdshott had substantially more, with 14 and 15 apiece. The defaulting companies in Portsdown were the same ones as in 1626, with all except Hambledon and Soberton, with 13, recording fewer instances. In Southampton, St. Mary and All Saints company, with a tally of 21, was most likely to default, followed by Holyrood and St. Lawrence, with 17, and St. Michael and St. John with 14. Therefore, it may be said that Southampton was the most likely area in Hampshire to default in 1627.

This was the third successive year that Hampshire, like many English counties, had been required to contribute men for an army. On this occasion it was

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<sup>69</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1 (Cover). *Winchester Company. Muster Book. 1627.* f.2v. In the Muster Book as a whole, HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5 with cover, twenty-two of the forty-six infantry companies fall into this category.

to aid the French Protestants at Ile de Rhe.<sup>70</sup> However, of the 200 men to be sent to Portsmouth, only 140 arrived, and only 79 of these were accepted as fit to serve.<sup>71</sup> As in 1626, they were not the trained militiamen, but “such creatures as he [Sir George Blundell] is ashamed to describe.”<sup>72</sup> Many had no shirts or shoes and had received no money, which suggests that either there was little surplus money in the communities, or it was being held back to pay for the ever present requirements, such as the militia. Romsey, though it had listed no defaulters, suffered a heavy financial burden, laying out £319 5s for the billeting of soldiers.<sup>73</sup> It did receive £47 17s 8d, which had been laid out at a rate of 6d per man per day, for conduct money.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the militia, money spent on the army was lost. Weapons were rarely returned, and clothing, unlike that supplied to a militia man, who could potentially wear it to several musters, was permanently gone. The numbers of maimed soldiers, for which the localities were also responsible, was becoming an increasing burden, with Overton laying out 25s compared to 16s 8d the previous year.<sup>75</sup> These payments were described as ‘relief’ and would only have been paid, as required, to give a subsistence standard of living.<sup>76</sup>

The above would have influenced the default/defaulting levels within the militia. In the Portsdown companies, there would have been reluctance to muster in the face of a military presence, which undoubtedly would have been the same for

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<sup>70</sup> See Spring, pp.174-199, for an account of the campaign.

<sup>71</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1627-1628*, p.155, vol.LXI, 68.1.

<sup>72</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1627-1628*, p.155, vol.LXI, 68.1. Sir George Blundell was Sergeant Major, (commanding), the forces at Portsmouth.

<sup>73</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/23/12. *Romsey. Receipt for Billet Money. March 1627.* HA 44M69/G5/45/13/11. *Romsey. Receipt for Billet Money. April 1627.*

<sup>74</sup> HA 44M69/G5/45/10/1. *Romsey. Conduct Money. March 1627.* HA 44M69/G5/50/19. *Romsey. Account of Billet Money. September 1626.*

<sup>75</sup> HA 81M72/PW1. *Overton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1623-1630.* pp.100-101.

<sup>76</sup> HA 81M72/PW1. *Overton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1623-1630.* pp.98-103.

Southampton, which acted as a point of assembly prior to a move to the Portsmouth rendezvous. The fear of impressment would have been heightened in these areas. In addition, heavy rain in early summer, had disrupted the musters.<sup>77</sup> Consequently, any perceived improvement in the quality and attendance of the militia at muster was now deemed to be in reverse.<sup>78</sup>

### **1629.**

There were no defaults/defaulters recorded for the Southampton companies. This may be a direct result of the companies not mustering, and the subsequent absence of documentary evidence. Winchester had 21 defaults/defaulters, which equates to one in five of the furnished men. One company in Alton, Selborne, listed 17, while Hambledon and Soberton in the Portsdown regiment, recorded seven. In Fawley, the Twyford company had 22 defaults/defaulters and Old Alresford had six. The Andover, Basingstoke and Kingsclere regiments recorded defaults/defaulters for all except one company each. In Kingsclere, there were seven in both Overton and Kingsclere, nine in Whitchurch, 12 in Holdshott and 17 in Andover Extra. Basingstoke had two in Basingstoke Infra, three in Hartley Wintney, five in Bentworth and Crondall and Bentley, and ten in Odiham. The widest spread, therefore making it the regiment most likely to default was in Andover's regiment, with four in Barton Stacey, five in Wherwell, eight in Wallops, 16 in Broughton, 21 in Hursley and 25 in Stockbridge. Of the 46 infantry companies, 24 recorded defaults/defaulters in 1629. This does not include the absent Southampton companies.

There are several reasons why defaulting was so widespread across

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<sup>77</sup> Spring. p.174.

<sup>78</sup> Spring. p.174.

Hampshire. 1628 had been the fourth consecutive year that an army had been assembled in the south; this time to assist the French Protestants of La Rochelle.<sup>79</sup> There had been the usual demand for men. The trained militiamen, however, “escaped active duty in the press” as they were exempt from service both outside their home county and overseas.<sup>80</sup> A reluctance to muster and an inclination to default would have been heightened by other demands on the militia’s manpower. In September 1628, Hampshire’s trained men were called upon to set guards and watch the roads, initially around Portsmouth, for deserters.<sup>81</sup> Captain Norton was ordered to send out 12 of his light horse to “seize vagrants and return them to the guards”.<sup>82</sup> The 1629 muster showed his troop with a default rate of 55%.<sup>83</sup> By the end of 1628, with the return of the defeated English army, the Deputy Lieutenants were instructed to put the militia on standby and select 250 men to defend the Channel Islands.<sup>84</sup>

Billeting, especially the cost involved and the presence of large numbers of armed men in the localities, would affect not only inclination, but ability of over 4,000 Hampshire men to leave their homes for the muster, which in September 1629 was poorly attended.<sup>85</sup> 160 soldiers, who had not been paid for 13 weeks, were billeted in Southampton in April 1628, when the Mayor reported to Conway that the

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<sup>79</sup> See Spring, pp.200-212, for an account of the campaign.

<sup>80</sup> Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts*, (London: Merlin Press, 1959), p.352, at <https://archive.org/details/englishyeomanund0000camp/page/n15/mode/2up> [accessed 23 September 2020]. Boynton. p.245. Jonathan Worton, ‘Ludlow’s Trained Band: A Story of Militiamen in Early Stuart England’, in *The Journal for Army Historical Research*, (London: The Society for Army Historical Research), 91.365.(2013).1. p.14.

<sup>81</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1859), p.310, vol.CXVI, 2. p.313, vol.CXVI, 23.1, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775399> [accessed 13 November 2020]

<sup>82</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.314, vol.CXVI, 23.2.

<sup>83</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse Troop. Muster Roll. 1629*. Of the forty-six named on the roll, twenty-six were either absent or showed with a default.

<sup>84</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.409, vol.CXXII, 50. p.411, vol.CXXII, 62.

<sup>85</sup> Sharpe. p.505.

townspeople were “so unable to endure the charge that they must be forced to seek habitation elsewhere.”<sup>86</sup> The latter assured the Mayor, in May, that they would receive their money, but such assurances had also been made in March.<sup>87</sup> There was none until the end of July, when Captain Mason agreed to settle Southampton’s account.<sup>88</sup> However, when the army departed two companies missed embarkation and so were left in Southampton without money or supplies, thus becoming a financial burden upon the inhabitants. Such expended monies were no longer available for maintaining militia arms or paying men to attend muster.<sup>89</sup> The mass absence of 1629 was therefore inevitable. Basingstoke was similarly affected, the town being owed £180 by May 1628. Thereafter, it refused to pay for billeting, as did neighbouring Odiham.<sup>90</sup> Captain Kingsmill complained “of the conduct” of Basingstoke’s militia company, where defaulting had become blatant through 1628 and 1629.<sup>91</sup> It had temporarily lost its cohesion, due to the shortage of money to pay men who were reluctant to attend muster.

### **1633.**

There were no defaults/defaulters listed for Winchester, Southampton, or the Andover and Fawley regiments. There had also been none in Andover the previous year, as well as Basingstoke and the New Forest. The Hartley Wintney company, in the Basingstoke regiment, had a single defaulter in 1633. Avon, in the New Forest, recorded five. In Kingsclere, Overton had six and Andover Extra had ten. Portsdown had the most companies with defaults/defaulters, Bishops Waltham had two, as did

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<sup>86</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.92, vol.CII, 45.

<sup>87</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.96, vol.CIII, 96. p.13, vol. XCV, 68.

<sup>88</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.236, vol.CXI, 24. Captain John Mason was the official paymaster of the army.

<sup>89</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.323, vol.CXVI, 81.

<sup>90</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.111, vol.CIII, 93. p.107, vol.CIII, 64.

<sup>91</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1628-1629*, p.112, vol.CIII, 97. HA 44M69/G5/30/19, *Basingstoke Infra Company. Defaulters. 1629.*

the Fareham and Havant company, while there were four in Hambledon and Soberton. Numerically, Alton was the most likely to default, with 12 in Selborne and 20 in East Meon.

Muster rolls survive for 26 of the companies, with the nine named above returning default/defaulters lists. However, despite what was a minimum muster rate of 55%, the militia was still in a transitional period, one where Charles I sought an 'exact militia', that was well-armed and drilled. This involved considerable expense. Calivers had been prohibited as early as 1618, and within five years "directions for the gradual replacement of weapons as they wore out by new ones of the most modern pattern" were enacted.<sup>92</sup> However, the cost of this was burdened upon the furnishers, resulting in Sir Daniel Norton still having nine, valued at 6s 8d each and ten muskets, valued at 14s each, in his private armoury.<sup>93</sup> A belief that muskets might be used by men of several companies at different musters led to a 1628 proclamation that they be stamped 'CR' and have a mark to show which division they belonged to, but this practice ended in 1633.<sup>94</sup> Instances where the caliver had not been replaced by a musket may have been recorded as defaults, but do not specifically appear in the sources.

Paying the mustering militiamen was a continuing issue, with each entitled to 6d a day while travelling to or at muster; it was another financial burden on the furnishers.<sup>95</sup> In 1629 three men of the Kingsclere company had been owed money

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<sup>92</sup> Boynton. pp.238 and 240.

<sup>93</sup> HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636.* f.11r. Also see Peter Leadbetter, 'Private Armouries of the Nobility and Gentry', in *Arquebusier, Journal of the Pike and Shot Society*, (Witney: Joshua Horgan, 2019), pp.46-48 for account of arms held by 5<sup>th</sup> Marquis of Winchester, John Paulet, at Basing House in 1639.

<sup>94</sup> Boynton. pp.258-259.

<sup>95</sup> Boynton. p.286.



for musters back to 1626, with others listed later in the period.<sup>96</sup> In 1632, following complaints of non-payment of wages, the Deputy Lieutenants made plans to summon the offending furnishers to Winchester.<sup>97</sup> It is likely that some of the absentees in 1633 were a consequence of this.

### **1635.**

The Fawley and New Forest regiments, together with the Winchester company, recorded no defaults/defaulters. The Holyrood and St. Lawrence company in Southampton, listed six. There was one in Odiham and two in Bentworth, from the Basingstoke regiment. Both Alton and Andover had a greater number in two companies apiece. Four each in Selborne and Alton Extra for Alton regiment and eight each in Broughton and Barton Stacey for Andover regiment. Portsdown had defaults/defaulters in three of its companies; Hambledon and Soberton four, Bishops Waltham five and Fareham and Havant six. The regiment most likely to show defaults in this year was Kingsclere, with one in Andover Extra, three in Overton, five in Andover Infra and six each in Holdshott and Kingsclere.

The military standard and general quality within the militia was in decline, though the level of defaulting within the regiments, overall, remained constant. Cruickshank's view that "No-one took the county musters very seriously" after seven years of not being nationally involved militarily in Europe is valid, because any perceived threat of invasion had receded.<sup>98</sup> Langeluddecke says that there was a "belief that military matters required less priority"

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<sup>96</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/21/5. *Kingsclere Company. Defaults. 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/35/27. *Kingsclere Company. Defaulters. 1635.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638.* f.4r.

<sup>97</sup> Boynton. p.286.

<sup>98</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.193.

engendered by the militia being part-time, decentralized and non-professional.<sup>99</sup> It was understood at Court that many retained and marched out with obsolete weapons. In consequence of this apparent malaise, an “unusually sharp muster order” was sent down through the Lieutenancy.<sup>100</sup> Captains were instructed “to see that their arms are complete according to the modern fashion” that their men were “able and sufficient” and that they were capable of mustering at an hour’s notice.<sup>101</sup> In Kingsclere company, this would have involved completely furnishing three pikemen and three musketeers, whose furnishers were refusing to comply.<sup>102</sup> The financial burden would therefore have fallen upon the other furnishers of the company, which might prove counter-productive by increasing instances of default.

“Endeavours... [were] also to be made to increase the numbers” of trained men, to which end all those aged 16 to 60 would be enrolled.<sup>103</sup> In Fareham and Havant, Captain Thomas Badd made a list of men and where they would be fit to serve, giving them two weeks to find arms before attending an August muster.<sup>104</sup> It appears that despite the six muskets being described as an “Increase of Arms”, this was more an attempt to get defaults rectified, as may be seen in the case of Thomas Brocas esquire, who was to be increased by two arms, while being in default for two.<sup>105</sup> If the defaulters did rectify the defaults, and there are no muster rolls or other returns to confirm this, the company roll for 1635 would have shown an increase of

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<sup>99</sup> Henrik Langeluddecke, ‘The Chiefest Strength and Glory of This Kingdom: Arming and Trianing the ‘Perfect Militia’ in the 1630s’, in *The English Historical Review*, 118(479), p.1302, at <https://watermark-silverchair-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE490oan9kklhW Ercy7Dm3ZL 9CF3qFKAc485ysgAAArYw ggKyBgKqhKig9wOBI> [accessed 29 June 2020].

<sup>100</sup> Langeluddecke. p.1266. n.10.

<sup>101</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865), p.46, vol.CCLXXXVII, 55, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924019770200/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 8 February 2020].

<sup>102</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/27. *Kingsclere Company. Defaulters. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>103</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635*, p.46, vol.CCLXXXVII, 55.

<sup>104</sup> HA 44M69/G5/36/15/12. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>105</sup> HA 44M69/G5/32/7. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.2r.*

six when compared to that for 1634. However, with disputes over expenditure being the prime reason for defaulting, it is unlikely that the individuals involved would have been prepared to pay for extra muskets.<sup>106</sup>

### **1637.**

Alton, Andover, and Kingsclere were the only regiments to record defaulters in 1637. In Alton, Alton Extra company named three individuals. There were two companies in Kingsclere, with Overton listing three and Holdshott eight. Andover was the regiment most likely to default, with eight in Broughton, 12 in Barton Stacey, and 15 in Stockbridge, which consequently was not only the company most likely to default in this regiment, but in the whole county.

Muster rolls survive for 21 of the companies, suggesting that defaulting was no more likely to occur than it had in 1633, but was more likely than in 1635. This was most likely the result of one catastrophic event in 1636, an extended outbreak of the smallpox and suspected plague, which undoubtedly instilled an unease in the county with regards assembling large numbers of the populace. The muster was due to take place between 19 August and 1 September, by regiment, at their local muster locations.<sup>107</sup> The Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, (Richard Weston, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Portland), instructed the Deputy Lieutenants on 6 August to “give order to the Colonells Captaines and other Officers to respite the general muster to some more convenient tyme”.<sup>108</sup> By 1 October, following an order to “bee carefull to see all former Defects repaired and Competent provisions made of powder match and

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<sup>106</sup> Cruickshank. p.115. The cost of a new musket at the start of James I's reign was between eighteen and forty shillings.

<sup>107</sup> HA 44M69/G5/41/19. *Muster Locations and Dates. 1636*. See Michael Barnes, ed., *Hampshire Militia Muster Rolls: Micheldever and Holdshott Companies*, (Oxford: Parchment Press, 2017), Number 32, pp.76-77, note 1, for an account of the respite of the 1636 general muster in Hampshire.

<sup>108</sup> HA 44M69/G5/41/17. *Lord Lieutenant to Deputy Lieutenants to respite the general muster. 6 August 1636*.

bullets” they assured him, though no muster had taken place, that the infantry, in relation to numbers and readiness to muster, was on a par with 1635.<sup>109</sup>

Although 1636 had been a year of inactivity for the furnished men, which spared the furnishers the expense of muster pay, there was still substantial expenditure towards the militia which might increase the inclination to default. A key factor was the supply of powder, match, and bullet, the cost of which fell to the furnishers. It had been established that each musketeer should carry two bullets, with sufficient powder, to muster.<sup>110</sup> The “Council stipulated that they should have ready 60 bullets and 6 pounds of powder” a point alluded to in the above quote from Portland.<sup>111</sup> This proved to be a major point of contention, with monies collected countywide for the “formation of a magazine of powder” going missing.<sup>112</sup> The result was no magazine and a petition, asking for the money to be found and returned. In effect, the furnishers had paid twice.

Another on-going financial burden was the muster master, who in Hampshire was paid £80 per year and which was collected via a tax on householders; effectively the furnishers.<sup>113</sup> It was a “needlesse office” and a “greate grievance and oppression” on all who paid.<sup>114</sup> Despite there being no muster in 1636, the muster master still received his money, with Chawton, for example, contributing six

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<sup>109</sup> HA 44M69/G5/41/18. *Deputy Lieutenants to Lord Lieutenant certifying that the trained bands were in readiness. 1 October 1636.*

<sup>110</sup> Boynton. p.267.

<sup>111</sup> Boynton. p.267.

<sup>112</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1636-1637*, (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1867), p.291, vol.CCCXLI, 59, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770218/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 22 February 2020].

<sup>113</sup> Boynton. p.180.

<sup>114</sup> Esther S. Cope, ‘Politics without Parliament: The Dispute about Muster Masters’ Fees in Shropshire in the 1630s’, in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), vol.45, number 4, at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3817089.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A352a86da43c9b94ef81f747c09eb386f> [accessed 21 November 2020].

shillings.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, with resentment thus occurring, the presence and cost of a muster master could only increase any tendency towards defaulting.

### **1639.**

With no surviving muster rolls, for which there is no clear reason, there are no recorded defaults/defaulters for Hampshire in 1639. In the previous year, the Odiham company, (Basingstoke regiment), listed 12 defaulters, who were responsible for nine defaults.<sup>116</sup> There were defaults/defaulters in five of the six companies of the Kingsclere regiment in 1640, though Andover Extra merely recorded absent pioneers.<sup>117</sup> However, there is a record of the Basingstoke and Andover regiments in 1639, which, though primarily listing the number of men in each company as well as the total from each selected to serve with the army bound for Scotland, does also give a total of those 'lacking' in each.<sup>118</sup> There were none in Basingstoke Extra, four in Micheldever, five each in Odiham and Hartley Wintney, seven each in Bentworth and Basingstoke Infra. Crondall and Bentley company, with ten had the most men 'lacking'.<sup>119</sup> In Andover's regiment, there were two 'lacking' in the Hursley company, five in Broughton, eight in Barton Stacey, nine in Romsey, ten in Wallops, 12 in Wherwell, while Stockbridge, with 17, or 17.8% of its 96 'furnished' men, recorded

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<sup>115</sup> HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1621-1813*. Unfoliated. Payments for the muster masters fees are recorded in 1623 and then 1634-1638. Also see HA 37M85/4/AC/5. *Andover Borough Accounts. 1622-1628*, pp. 27 and 31, where payments of 10d are recorded, together with £2 10s paid on 9 September 1626, which is noted as being payment for the year.

<sup>116</sup> HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638*. f.4r.

<sup>117</sup> HA 44M69/G5/45/2/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1640*. f.1v.

<sup>118</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/14. *Basingstoke Regiment. Men Selected. 10 May 1639*. HA 44M69/G5/44/13. *List of Appointment of men in the New Forest, Portsdown and Andover Regiments. 10 May 1639*. This document also includes the Kingsclere regiment, however, the totals of men 'lacking' are only entered for the Andover regiment. The First Scots, or Bishops War, of January-June 1639.

<sup>119</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/14. *Basingstoke Regiment. Men Selected. 10 May 1639*. f.1r. All totals in the document relate to 'furnished' men only.

the highest rate.<sup>120</sup>

Langeluddecke suggests that defaulting and resistance to anything appertaining to the military, and therefore the militia, was due to the “aggregation caused by the Scots War being unpopular.”<sup>121</sup> This was caused by several factors, including “the detested forced recruitment”, the imposition of coat and conduct money, and the requirement to send men armed and supplied with powder, match and bullets.<sup>122</sup>

This was the first time that Charles I required the Counties to provide trained militiamen for an army. There had been an indication the previous year that this might occur, when after two years of re-affirming that only the trained men should be enrolled, it was ordered that “all men from sixteen to sixty were to muster, for active service if necessary.”<sup>123</sup> In February 1639, Hampshire’s Lord Lieutenant was instructed to select 1,000 men, but by April, this had risen to 1,000 infantry and 83 light horse.<sup>124</sup> The ‘furnishers’ primarily sought to avoid their arms or men being sent to the army in three ways. Firstly, they might claim to have been over assessed, as did Edward Pitt, who was let off supplying a horse because “he has contributed towards the present employment”.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, by implying the assessment was not applicable, as with Robert Gough of Woodhay who said “the best part of” a man and arms “is anothers” responsibility.<sup>126</sup> While John Knight claimed that it had not

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<sup>120</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/13. *List of Appointment of men in the New Forest, Portsdown and Andover Regiments. 10 May 1639.* f.2r.

<sup>121</sup> Langeluddecke. p.1303.

<sup>122</sup> Langeluddecke. p.1303. Peter Leadbetter, ‘The Leicestershire Trained Bands Before the Great Rebellion’, in Serena Jones, ed., *A New Way of Fighting: Professionalism in the English Civil War, Proceedings of the 2016 Helion and Company ‘Century of the Soldier’ Conference*, (Solihull: Helion & Co., 2017), p.21.

<sup>123</sup> Boynton. p.295.

<sup>124</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1638-1639*, p.514, vol.CCCCXIII, 111. William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD 1639*, (London: Longman & Co., 1873), p.100, vol.CCCCXVIII, 105, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770291/page/n7/mode/2up> [accessed 24 April 2020].

<sup>125</sup> Hamilton, ed., *CSPD 1639*, p.238, vol.CCCCXXII, 43.

<sup>126</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/55. *Letter. Robert Gough of Woodhay to Thomas Jervoise. 1639.* f.1r.

“previously been suggested he [his servant Thomas Prielie] might be a soldier”.<sup>127</sup>

Thirdly, as in the case of John Aylwyn, a ‘furnished’ man from Basingstoke, who asked directly that he be released from serving with his neighbour’s arms.<sup>128</sup> While the tenant of Hooper’s Mill in Romsey persuaded his friends to vouch for his hard work and that he paid £40 a year rent, suggesting that he was too valuable to the community to be sent away.<sup>129</sup> All the individuals in these cases were on the cusp of defaulting.

Coat and Conduct money, which had become a prominent issue in 1627 as the localities struggled to get repayment, re-emerged in 1639. Its purpose was to cover the cost of clothing, victuals, and transport for pressed soldiers as they moved to their rendezvous, at which point they entered the royal payroll. It was also paid to de-mobilized men during their homeward journey. A levy would then be imposed in the localities to cover re-payment to the parishes. To move the infantry of the county, within the county, would cost £25 per day, but on top of this, if men were marching through from other counties, each would cost an additional six pence per day. Fordingbridge laid out eight shillings to returning soldiers in October, while the Churchwardens of Wootton St. Lawrence paid six pence to two soldiers as they passed through the parish.<sup>130</sup> With these costs and the disruption affecting all land and householders, inclination to default and resistance towards the assessment, could only increase.

The requirements of powder, match, and bullet had been a major expense

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<sup>127</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/50. *Part of Letter. John Knight to Thomas Jervoise. 18 April 1639. f.1r.*

<sup>128</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/51. *Part of Letter. John Aylwyn of Basingstoke to Thomas Jervoise. 19 April 1639. f.1r.*

<sup>129</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/29. *Letter. Edward Hooper on behalf of Steven Sprage to Thomas Jervoise. 22 March 1639. f.1r. Sprage is described as “... tenant at a number of mills in Romsey ...” f.1r.*

<sup>130</sup> HA 24M82/PW1. *Fordingbridge. Churchwardens Accounts. 1639. Unfoliated. HA 75M72/PZ3. Wootton St. Lawrence. Churchwardens Accounts. 1588-1675. Transcripts. p.102.*

from 1636 onwards, but this had been tempered by the thought that it might improve the local trained men. However, each parish was now required to send off each of its selected musketeers with two pounds of powder, six yards of match, and 24 bullets.<sup>131</sup> With no county magazine, it would prove impossible to supply such quantities.

### **Conclusion.**

This chapter has shown that the level of defaulting in Hampshire's militia through the period 1625-1640 was low. The first part compared the seven infantry regiments, as well as the Winchester and Southampton companies, with one another. It also considered the three troops of light horse. Initially, the seven regiments were compared using number of defaults and then documents to give an average number of defaults per document and year. Kingsclere was shown to be most likely to default, averaging 7.2 per document and 16.25 per year, so reinforcing the premise that defaulting was low.

However, there were variations in the statistics. These probably occurred because of the type of source material that has survived and what was recorded. Therefore, each regiment, for example Alton and groupings such as the light horse, was considered in turn. This included a breakdown of each document type – muster rolls, muster books, and defects/defaulters lists – to show not only where instances occurred, but how they were recorded. Spikes, such as in the New Forest and Portsdown regiments in 1626 (70% and 35% of their totals respectively) may be seen as indicative of a point in the timescale, but are not indicators of likelihood to default across the period. Document analysis did not affect the preceding conclusion

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<sup>131</sup> Leadbetter, *Leicestershire Trained Bands...* p.21.



that Kingsclere was the most likely regiment to default and that defaulting was at a low level.

The second part of the chapter considered defaulting within the regiments to determine which company was most likely to default in each of the years 1626, 1627, 1629, 1633, 1635, 1637, and 1639. This did not affect the conclusion that defaulting was at low levels through the period. It is important because it indicates more precisely where and when defaulting was most prevalent, for example the 32 defaults in Brockenhurst in 1626. This led into a broader discussion of why defaulting occurred when it did, which in this instance included as a reaction to the high casualty rate of the 1625 Spanish War and concerns that trained militiamen and serviceable arms might be seized for any future army. As has been shown, this became reality in 1639, when Charles I called for trained men to be sent to the army for the Scots War. In Hampshire, this meant 1,000 foot and 83 horse, all fully equipped and supplied, which had a devastating effect on the ability of the furnishers, the militiamen, and their inclination to muster. Consequently, our understanding of the fluctuation in the default/defaulter rate has been substantially added to, especially regarding factors that influenced the individual acts of default.

## CHAPTER 2.

### DEFAULTS.

#### THE INFANTRY.

Having established who the defaulters were and the geographical spread of defaulting both within Hampshire and its regiments and companies, this chapter considers infantry defaults. It will be split into two parts, namely pikemen (corslets), and musketeers because the defaults in each were often different.<sup>1</sup> This will demonstrate those differences and subsequent levels of default and is necessary to separate them from each other so that cogent analysis may be undertaken. Each part will discuss the types of default and whether any was more prevalent in certain areas or social strata. This will not only tell us the where and who of defaulting within the infantry, but in many instances the what and in some the why. It will add to our understanding of defaulting and defaults, while enhancing our knowledge of what motivated and influenced defaulters when they defaulted.

Absenteeism, because it occurred within both troop types, will be considered for the infantry as a whole. This will involve the following three strands; if furnishers did not furnish, being absent from muster, and absenting or running away if selected for service. This will be followed by defaults specific to the pikemen (corslets) with a countywide approach, which will be presented in tabular form with accompanying analysis, including corslet, part corslet, helmet, pike, sword, belt, 'lacking', and arms. Musketeers will be presented in a similar manner and will include the musket, 'part musket', musket rest, bandoliers, powder, sword, belt, 'lacking', and arms.<sup>2</sup>

Discussion of defaults within the regiments, because most averaged below two per

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction chapter, note 24.

<sup>2</sup> 'Arms', as a word, relates to the weapons and items of equipment used by soldiers. In this respect it is almost shorthand, as it may refer to a single or multiple items.

year, will primarily be restricted to corslets and musketeers.

### **Absenteeism.**

#### **Furnishers who did not Furnish.**

This category invariably contains the largest number of individuals when it is borne in mind that it was responsible not only for equipping the militiamen but also providing consumables, such as powder match and bullet, as well as victuals and pay for men while at muster. In addition, taxes and subsidies imposed to pay for the militia and periodically an army and the navy, led to what might be best described as 'furnishing fatigue', whereby the continual requirement to furnish and pay for the militia might lead to psychological negativity towards furnishing, which in turn could lead to defaulting.<sup>3</sup> 338 instances appear within muster rolls and defaulter lists, with a further ten on an undated document. 299 others appear in two muster books of whom 20 were noted as absent with the remainder, who would either have been absent or in default, marked as 'reformed'.

There were 16 instances of furnishers failing to furnish in the Alton regiment. Thirteen of these were in the Selborne company (1629) and three in the New Alresford company (1632).<sup>4</sup> The limited data therefore indicates that absenteeism through furnishers failing to furnish was most prevalent in Selborne. However, there is a broad spread across the societal strata, with eight relating to named individuals, and another to three named persons, in Selborne, along with one in New Alresford. Besides these, there was a knight, a mister and a doctor in the Selborne company, the latter responsible for two absentees. In New Alresford

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<sup>3</sup> See M. Jurkowski, C.L. Smith and D. Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, (Chippenham: The National Archives, 1998), pp.181-190.

<sup>4</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Selborne Company. Defects. 1629. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/32/14. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.1r.*

there was a Lady and a named woman who failed to furnish. Named individuals were, therefore, the strata most likely not to furnish in the Alton regiment. This may primarily have been due to the number of named individuals compared to all furnishers. In Selborne there were 82 named amongst 131 on the 1633 muster roll, or 63%. This was similar to 1635, when the total was 80 of 129, or 62%. There was an even higher ratio in New Alresford, with 42 of 62, or 65% in 1626.<sup>5</sup>

76 occurrences were spread across five of the seven companies in the Andover regiment. There were four in Wherwell (1629); 12 in Hursley (1629); ten in Wallops (three in 1626, and seven in 1629); 32 in Broughton (16 in 1629 and eight each in 1635, and 1637); and 18 in Barton Stacey (four in 1629, five in 1635, and nine in 1637).<sup>6</sup> Furnishers who did not furnish therefore, were most prevalent in Broughton. It would be logical to believe that this higher number of occurrences would give a wider spread across the social strata. However, eight were assessed on Lord Sandes (1629), and 29 on knights, of which 24, split between 1635 and 1637 were Sir John Hollen's (Broughton), and Sir William Ogle's (Barton Stacey).<sup>7</sup> Of the other 39, one was an un-named professional, 12 were misters, 11 were named, and a twelfth assessed on three individuals, five on tithings, three on parsonages,

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<sup>5</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* HA 44M69/G5/35/14. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/27/7. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1626.*

<sup>6</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/3. *Wherwell Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/1. *Hursley Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.3r.* HA 44M69/37/73. *Wallops Company. Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/3. *Wallops Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/4. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/2. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1635. ff.2r and 2v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/14. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1637. ff.2r and 3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/5. *Barton Stacey Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/42/15/1. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1637. f.2r.*

<sup>7</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/4. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/2. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1635. ff.2r and 2v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/14. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1637. ff.2r and 3r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/5. *Barton Stacey Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/42/15/1. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1637. f.2r.*

two on fathers and one on Rivers farm (Wallops).<sup>8</sup> Knights were therefore the most likely societal strata to show absenteeism through failing to furnish in the Andover regiment. This was significantly influenced by Hollen, with 16 and Ogle with eight defaults. Collectively they accounted for 31% of the absentee defaults within the Andover regiment through the period.

Basingstoke regiment had 37 instances of furnishers who failed to furnish noted in the muster rolls. There were five in Basingstoke Extra (1634); two in Basingstoke Infra (1629); five in Bentworth (1629); 19 in Odiham (ten in 1629, one each in 1633 and 1635, and seven in 1638); three in Micheldever (1629); and three in Hartley Wintney (1625).<sup>9</sup> Accounting for half the instances default by this type of absenteeism was most prevalent in Odiham. Three of the instances were attributed to knights, one of which, for Long Sutton parsonage (Hartley Wintney), was the responsibility of Sir William Pitts and Sir Thomas Drew.<sup>10</sup> One was assessed to a gentleman and another to a professional (clerk), though he was a joint furnisher with two named individuals.<sup>11</sup> Of 11 assessed on misters, Mr Beane accounted for five (Basingstoke Extra); Mr Welch one with Mrs Knight and Thomas Cooper (Odiham); one on Mr Samborne and Thomas Cooper (Odiham); and the remainder on

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<sup>8</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/3. *Wallops Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.3r.*

<sup>9</sup> HA 44M69/G5/34/1. *Basingstoke Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1634. ff.2r and 3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/19. *Basingstoke Infra Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/8. *Bentworth Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/12/1. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1629. ff.1v and 2r-2v.* HA 44M69/G5/30/12/2. *Odiham Company. A Return of Defects. 1629. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/33/23. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/18. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/19. *Micheldever Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/26/4. *Hartley Wintney Company. Muster Roll. 1625. f.7r.*

<sup>10</sup> HA 44M69/G5/26/4. *Hartley Wintney Company. Muster Roll. 1625. f.7r.* Although its men mustered with the Hartley Wintney company, Long Sutton was in Odiham Hundred.

<sup>11</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/8. *Bentworth Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638. f.4r.*

individuals.<sup>12</sup> 12 had been assessed on named individuals. The assessment of eight others fell to women, one to Lady Woolveridge (Odiham), and the others to Mrs. Of these, two (Odiham 1633 and 1635) were to be furnished by Mrs Samborne and Thomas Cooper.<sup>13</sup> Women as furnishers were not unusual. Primarily widows, regardless of their societal grouping they inherited property upon the decease of their husbands which in most instances was for the duration of their widowhood. Named individuals was the category of furnishers most likely not to furnish, closely followed by misters.

The numerical similarity of default by absenteeism for named individuals and misters in the Basingstoke regiment is not reflective of their numbers on the muster rolls. In Odiham company, for example, 81% and 87% of furnishers were named individuals in 1633 and 1635, respectively. The figure for misters was under 2% in each year.<sup>14</sup> On this basis, there should have been far fewer misters defaulting in this way. There are no discernible reasons in the muster rolls for either the closeness of the defaulting totals or the disparity in the percentages within the societal categories. It is possible that the number of misters defaulting is indicative of their financial failings as they aspired towards a higher social standing.

20 instances were recorded for two of the companies in Fawley regiment, all in 1629. There were eight in Old Alresford company and 12 in Twyford, so furnishers failing to furnish were most prevalent in the latter.<sup>15</sup> There is an absence

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<sup>12</sup> HA 44M69/G5/34/1. *Basingstoke Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1634.* ff.2r and 3r. HA 44M69/G5/30/12/2. *Odiham Company. A Return of Defects. 1629.* f.1v. HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638.* f.4r.

<sup>13</sup> HA 44M69/G5/43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638.* f.4r. HA 44M69/G5/33/23. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* f.3r. HA 44M69/G5/35/18. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.2r.

<sup>14</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/23. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* HA 44M69/G5/35/18. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1635.*

<sup>15</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Old Alresford Company. Defects. 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629.* f.2r.

of corroborating evidence, such as may have been found in muster rolls and the muster book. The extant lists of defects show a broad spread among the societal groupings. Sir Henry Myldmay defaulted on four, while Mr Pargentes and Roff did so on eight between them.<sup>16</sup> A named individual failed to furnish two, as did Lady Seymar.<sup>17</sup> Three others should have been furnished by parsonages and one by “Mylles land of Old alresford”.<sup>18</sup>

Kingsclere is the best documented infantry regiment (see Table 2:1) with 141 instances of furnishers who failed to furnish. There were eight in Whitchurch (1629); 19 in Overton (three in 1626, five in 1627, one in 1628, four in 1633 and three each in 1635 and 1637); 20 in Kingsclere (eight in 1628, seven in 1629 and five in 1635); 31 in Andover Extra (28 in 1628 and three in 1633); 54 in Holdshott (17 in 1628, 15 in 1629, nine in 1632, six in 1635 and seven in 1637); and nine in Andover Infra (four in 1634 and five in 1635).<sup>19</sup> Therefore, furnishers failing to furnish were most prevalent in Holdshott. Knights accounted for 21 instances, four of which were

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<sup>16</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Old Alresford Company. Defects. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>17</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>18</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>19</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/12. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1629. ff.2r-2v, 3v and 4r.* HA 44M69/G5/37/73. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/28/15. *Overton Company. Defaulters. 1627. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/29/13. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/33/3. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/3. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/10. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.3v.* HA 44M69/G5/29/15. *Kingsclere Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/5. *Kingsclere Company. Defects. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/27. *Kingsclere Company. Defaulters. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628. ff.4r and 6v.* HA 44M69/G5/50/58/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1633. ff.2r and 3v.* HA 44M69/G5/29/17. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/1. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/50/65. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1632. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/42/8/1. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/34/2. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1634. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/35/30. *Andover Infra Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1634. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/50/58/3. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1635. ff.2v, 3v and 4r.*

assessed on a farm held by Sir Francis Popham at Silchester.<sup>20</sup> Three of the six in the gentlemen grouping, were the responsibility of Edward Pitt esquire. (One in 1635 and two in 1637).<sup>21</sup> Three of the four occurrences amongst professionals were accounted for by Richard Crosse of Heckfield parsonage, Holdshott.<sup>22</sup> Of the 55 to be furnished by misters, eight were assessed on Mr William Wither between 1633 and 1637 for lands held at Wootton St. Lawrence and Worting.<sup>23</sup> 34 were listed against one or several named individuals. The 13 in the 'other' category were to be furnished by tithings, farms and Captains' Carrick and Creswell.<sup>24</sup> There were also eight instances of women failing to furnish, two of which were by Lady Kingsmill (Whitchurch), two by Lady South (Holdshott), three by those categorized as Mrs and one by the mother of Edward Puckeridge.<sup>25</sup> As with the women in the Basingstoke area, they would mostly have been widows. 'Mother' Puckeridge, who is defined by her son Edward, a trained militiaman, would quite probably also have been a widow.<sup>26</sup> Misters were therefore the societal category wherein furnishers were most likely not to furnish.

Only Eling, of the eight companies in the New Forest regiment, has any data

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<sup>20</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/21/1. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/50/65. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1632. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>21</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/42/8/1. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1r.*

<sup>22</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/17. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/1. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>23</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/3. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/3. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/10. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.3v.*

<sup>24</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/8/1. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1r.*

<sup>25</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/12. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>26</sup> Due to the Covid restrictions in place when research for this project was undertaken, it has not been possible to access any Will evidence that may have assisted with this point. The Hampshire Archives on-line catalogue does display the following, which may have been of use: HA 1617AD/073. *Inventory of Nicholas Puckeridge of Heckfield. 1617.*



relating to furnishers who failed to furnish. Ten instances include three by misters, three by named individuals, and two by several named males, one of which was partially to be furnished by the militiaman. The other two were assessed on widows, one of whom was responsible in conjunction with a named individual.<sup>27</sup> This can in part be attributed to the terminology, with 'lacking' and 'defective', both of which may hide failures to furnish, being commonly used elsewhere.

In the Portsdown regiment, seven failed to furnish in the Bishops Waltham company (1626); 25 in the Hambledon and Soberton company (six in 1626, seven in 1629 and four each in 1632, 1633 and 1635); and ten in Fareham and Havant (three in 1632, one in 1633, and six in 1635).<sup>28</sup> So, absenteeism through furnishers failing to furnish was most prevalent in the Hambledon and Soberton company. This is undoubtedly a result of document survival, as there are five for this company as opposed to one for Bishops Waltham and three for Fareham and Havant. Of the 44 instances, 24 are attributable to Lord Harvie.<sup>29</sup> Four to gentlemen, two to professionals, four to misters, nine to named individuals, and four to 'others', including the town arms of Fareham.<sup>30</sup> Lady Sands failed to furnish one man.<sup>31</sup> Lords

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<sup>27</sup> HA 44M69/G5/20/101/1-3. *Eling Company. Muster Roll.* (undated). This document is in three parts, hence its reference ... /101/1-3. See ... /101/1. ff.2r-2v and ... 101/3. ff.1r-2v.

<sup>28</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1626. f.2r. HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1626. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/30/24. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1629. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/32/10. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1632. ff.1v and 2v. HA 44M69/G5/33/18. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1633. ff.2v and 3v. HA 44M69/G5/35/7. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1635. ff.2v-3r. HA 44M69/G5/32/7. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll.* 1632. ff.2v and 3v. HA 44M69/G5/33/25. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll.* 1633. f.4r. HA 44M69/G5/35/15/2. *Fareham and Havant Company. Increase of Arms.* 1635. f.1r.

<sup>29</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1626. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/30/24. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1629. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/32/10. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1632. ff.1v and 2v. HA 44M69/G5/33/18. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1633. ff.2v and 3v. HA 44M69/G5/35/7. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Muster Roll.* 1635. ff.2v-3r.

<sup>30</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/15/2. *Fareham and Havant Company. Increase of Arms.* 1635. f.1r.

<sup>31</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters.* 1626. f.1r.

were the most likely group, through Lord Harvie, to fail to furnish men for the militia.

There are no documents in the Jervoise of Herriard collection naming furnishers who failed to furnish in the Southampton companies. For Winchester there is a single document relating to defaulters which lists ten instances. One relates to Sir William Ogle, three to gentlemen, five to named individuals and one to the widow Eleanor Savage.<sup>32</sup>

It has been demonstrated that Holdshott (Kingsclere regiment) was the company in which the furnishers were most likely to fail to furnish, followed by Broughton (Andover regiment), and Hambledon and Soberton (Portsmouth regiment). All three have clusters of names in or before 1629, suggesting 'furnishing fatigue', caused by the pressure to provide men, money, and equipment for the continual foreign wars. Of the societal groupings where they were most likely to fail to furnish, and/or in which companies they were the most likely to fail, misters are followed by knights; Holdshott and Broughton respectively. Proportions through number of document survival may in part be responsible for this, as might the aspirational drive within the misters, coupled with the financial burdens of becoming and maintaining the status of knight.

### **Absent from Muster.**

This relates to the militiamen themselves who failed to attend muster, of whom there are 61 recorded through the period. Most were simply noted as 'absent', such as the seven from Alton Infra, eight from Porchester and Titchfield, and nine from Eling in 1629.<sup>33</sup> 17 others, also in 1629, were scattered across the

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<sup>32</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>33</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Alton Infra Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/5. *Porchester and Titchfield Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/22. *Eling Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

County. Two of these were said to have "... hated service ...", one of whom, Thomas Cook from Twyford, was described as 'pardoned'.<sup>34</sup> There had been a single instance in 1628, involving the tithingman of Quarley (Andover Extra), and as it was his responsibility to transport locally assessed arms to muster there may have been coincidental absenteeism.<sup>35</sup>

A small spike in 1626 involved two from Andover Infra and six from Winchester, four of whom would have served with the arms from the Dean and Chapter.<sup>36</sup> It appears, therefore, that absenteeism had reached a peak in 1629, with all three Southampton companies also failing to muster, as discussed above, as well as twenty-one individuals from Winchester. Many were probably as a direct reaction to Captain Henry Clerck attending neither the muster nor the view days.<sup>37</sup> This detracts from Boynton's assertion that the Winchester company did not muster, for they are described as defects, and accounted for about one sixth of its field strength.<sup>38</sup> A muster roll for 1629 would have provided a definitive answer here. For Boynton to be correct, however, the strength of Winchester's company would need to have fallen by over one hundred between 1626 and 1629. Such a decline would have been unprecedented in Hampshire.

An element of 'furnishing fatigue' may have occurred amongst the furnished men by 1629. Though not necessarily exposed to the levels of taxation that befell the

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<sup>34</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>35</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.4r.* Quarley's assessment was for five corslets, two of which were described as 'tithing', and four muskets. John Pitman was charged with failing to transport a musket to muster, though he is not named as a 'furnisher' or 'furnished' on the muster roll. The Pitmans were responsible for furnishing one third of Quarley's arms. Mr. Pitman a corslet and Hugh and Edward a musket each.

<sup>36</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>37</sup> See p.26 for Southampton. HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>38</sup> Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p.284. The strength of Winchester's company is taken from HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626.*

furnishers, they did have to attend musters and private views in good military order. The spike in absentees from the muster at the end of July 1626, followed a rumour spread by the Privy Council that a Spanish invasion was imminent.<sup>39</sup> This was in response to the belief that Spanish land forces were massing at Dunkirk, Neuport, and Ostend, and a report from the Venetian ambassador that Spain was preparing an invasion fleet.<sup>40</sup> Of more immediate concern, was the threat to press trained militiamen, if the forced loan of October was not paid.<sup>41</sup> The furnished would suffer the consequences of the furnishers' failings. Such concerns undoubtedly influenced the absentee levels of 1629. The furnished might absent themselves through fear of being pressed into the army, while the furnishers might withhold arms over concerns of seeing them requisitioned, along with their ablest men. Both would have been reluctant to leave family and property exposed to the whims of pressed men moving towards Southampton and Portsmouth for embarkation.

There was a single instance in 1633 (Andover Extra) and three in 1635 (Avon).<sup>42</sup> This paucity of absent men between 1630 and 1636, may be attributable to the extended period of relative peace. In 1637, three companies recorded men absent from muster. There was one each in Barton Stacey and Holdshott, and two in Andover Infra.<sup>43</sup> However, the latter, brothers Anthony and Richard West, were pioneers.<sup>44</sup> There is no evidence of any wider level of men absenting themselves, and all are noted as 'absent'. It is possible that either the smallpox or plague of 1636

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<sup>39</sup> Jurkowski, Smith and Crook. *Lay Taxes*. pp.182-183.

<sup>40</sup> Laurence Spring, *The First British Army, 1624-1628: The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion, 2016), p.169.

<sup>41</sup> Jurkowski, Smith and Crook. *Lay Taxes*. pp.183-184.

<sup>42</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1633*. f.2v. HA 44M69/G5/35/29. *Avon Company. Defaulters. 1635*. f.1r.

<sup>43</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/15/1. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1637*. f.2r. HA 44M69/G5/42/8/1. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1637*. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/42/6. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1637*. f.4r.

<sup>44</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/6. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1637*. f.4r.

had resurfaced, or that there was an inherent fear of it doing so.

Although there is little evidence of the furnished being absent from muster in 1639 and 1640, perhaps due to the survival of only a few muster rolls, it is likely that there would have been an increase in those doing so. Three pioneers of the Andover Extra company, are described as being 'absent' from muster in October 1640.<sup>45</sup> The Scots Wars, unlike earlier rumours of invasion from Spain or France, were more real in every sense. Financial contributions were demanded by the Crown, as were large numbers of trained militiamen.<sup>46</sup> Unlike the 1620s, the companies would be stripped of men and equipment, and wealthier parishioners of the means with which to replace them.

#### **Absenting of Selected Men.**

The strongest evidence for this relates to 1627. Of 200 men due to be sent to Portsmouth by the Deputy Lieutenants of Hampshire in April, only 140 arrived, suggesting that 60 had either run away or had not been pressed.<sup>47</sup> Those that did arrive were the dregs, "men from the lowest reaches of society", vagabonds, misfits and prisoners, who were "without money, clothes, shirts or shoes".<sup>48</sup> It was recorded that Philip Shanke had returned home by April 23<sup>rd</sup>, and that by August, William Lambe had 'fled'.<sup>49</sup> The situation was considered severe enough for the Deputy

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<sup>45</sup> HA 44M69/G5/45/2/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1640.* f.1v.

<sup>46</sup> Jurkowski, Smith and Crook. *Lay Taxes.* pp.189-190. "... Contributions towards the defence of the kingdom, 1639 Aug 20 ..." See p.54, n.201 of this thesis.

<sup>47</sup> John Bruce. *CSPD, 1627-1628*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), p.155, vol.LXI, 68.1, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775381/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 4 February 2020].

<sup>48</sup> Lois G. Schwoerer, "*No Standing Armies!*" *The antiarmy ideology in seventeenth-century England*, (Baltimore U.S.A.: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), p.11 at <https://archive.org/details/nostandingarmies0000schw/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 12 June 2020]. Bruce. *CSPD, 1627-1628.* p.155, vol.LXI, 68.1. Stephen J. Stearns, 'Conscription and English Society in the 1620s', in *Journal of British Studies*, vol.11, no.2, May 1972, at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/175073> discusses the pressing of prisoners into the army during the 1620s.

<sup>49</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/116/17. *Holdshott Company. List of Impressed Men 1627.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/38/140. *Romsey Company. List of Impressed Men. 1627.* f.1r.

Lieutenants to be ordered on May 4<sup>th</sup> to replace the absentee and defective men “with persons of able bodies”.<sup>50</sup>

Lists of men to serve in the army for the 1639 Scots war, give numbers selected, the company strengths and totals for those described as ‘lacking’.<sup>51</sup> The latter may have absented themselves once selected or may equally have been absent from muster. What is certain is that this “forced recruitment of villagers” was “detested”.<sup>52</sup> In 1640, Hampshire was required to provide 50 horses and 17 carters for the artillery train. The Deputy Lieutenants wrote that those who showed demanded money for their horses before handing them over.<sup>53</sup> The implication here is that some of those selected had absented themselves.

### **Pikemen (Courslets)**

The most common default relating to the pikeman occurred with the corslet. The corslet, in broad terms, was the armour protecting a soldier’s torso.<sup>54</sup> This may cause confusion when considering Hampshire’s militia, because the pikemen are universally described as ‘courslets’. However, it undoubtedly indicates the continued importance of upper body armour in the first half of the seventeenth century. Further evidence comes from the 162 recorded defaults and two, part defaults.<sup>55</sup> The majority, 142 happened between 1625 and 1629. Of these, three were in 1625, 56 in 1626, 60 in 1627, two in 1628 and 21 in 1629. There were occasional occurrences

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<sup>50</sup> Bruce. *CSPD, 1627-1628*. p.164, vol.LXII, 44.

<sup>51</sup> See p.43, n.118 of this thesis.

<sup>52</sup> Henrik Langeluddecke, ‘The Chiefest Strength & Glory of This Kingdom: Arming and Training the ‘Perfect Militia’ in the 1630s’ in the *English Historical Review*, 118(479) p.1303, 2003, at [https://watermarsilverchair.com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE490oan9kklIW\\_Ercy7DM3ZL\\_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKghKig9w0B1](https://watermarsilverchair.com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE490oan9kklIW_Ercy7DM3ZL_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKghKig9w0B1) [accessed 29 June 2020].

<sup>53</sup> William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD, 1640*, (London: Longman & Co., 1880), p.467, vol.CCCCLIX, 80, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770267/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 30 April 2020].

<sup>54</sup> See Introduction chapter, p.14, and appendix 4.

<sup>55</sup> Brockenhurst company, (New Forest regiment), in HA44M69/G5/27/1. *Muster Book. 1626*. f.11v. HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626*. f.4r.

between 1631 and 1633, then 14 in 1637.

Five regiments plus Winchester recorded this default in 1626. It was most prevalent in Bentworth (Basingstoke) with 13 instances, followed by Holdshott (Kingsclere) with eight.<sup>56</sup> In the south of the County, there were smaller numbers at Eling (New Forest) with four, and Bishops Waltham, and Hambledon and Soberton (Portsdown) with three apiece.<sup>57</sup> The following year saw it more widespread, with all seven regiments and one Southampton company noting the default. Ten or more occurred in four of the regiments, with ten in Alton, 11 in Andover, 14 in Portsdown and 15 in Kingsclere. Three companies were prominent for a second year, with seven in Holdshott, five in Bishops Waltham and nine in Hambledon and Soberton.<sup>58</sup> In 1629, five regiments listed the default, though only Hambledon and Soberton (Portsdown) with four remained prominent. Of these, three were by the same two people throughout.<sup>59</sup> All 14 in 1637 were in the Andover regiment, eight being in Stockbridge company, and six in Barton Stacey.<sup>60</sup>

The large clusters of this default up to 1629 most probably occurred as a result of financial and other pressures, as explained above.<sup>61</sup> There is wide coverage for 1626 and 1627 because countywide muster books have survived. Indeed, all 60 for the latter year are listed in this source. This suggests that if full muster books were available for 1625, 1628, and 1629, the default level for

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<sup>56</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Muster Book. 1626.* f.8v. HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Muster Book. 1626.* f.10r.

<sup>57</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626.* f.10r. HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Muster Book. 1626.* f.11v. HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.10r.

<sup>58</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Muster Book. 1627.* Bishops Waltham and Hambledon and Soberton f.2r (cover). ... /28/1. *Holdshott Company.* f.2v.

<sup>59</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/24. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>60</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.5r. HA 44M69/G5/42/15/1. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1637.* f.2v.

<sup>61</sup> See pp.30-32 of this Thesis.

corslets would be considerably higher.<sup>62</sup> The basis for this suggestion is the number of corslet defaults in the 1626 and 1627 muster books, where 35 and 60 are recorded respectively. Muster rolls and other documents record 21 and zero for the same years and three for 1625, two for 1628 and 21 for 1629. Unlike these documents, the muster books contain details of all the infantry companies. With five extant muster rolls for 1625, 25 for 1626, zero for 1627, five for 1628 and 13 for 1629, many of the gaps in the data might be filled. At the very least, it would confirm that the level of defaulting was much higher in these years than can at present be proved. The total for 1637 would also have the potential to be larger, bearing in mind that the 14 instances occurred within two companies. These later defaults may have been a consequence of the preceding year's smallpox and plague.<sup>63</sup>

The helmet, pike, sword, and belt as defaults relating to the corslets, are widely recorded up to 1629. Six of the 18 helmet defaults occurred in 1626, with four in the Brockenhurst and two in the Ringwood company (both New Forest regiment).<sup>64</sup> This default was more widely spread across the County in 1629, with three at Odiham (Basingstoke regiment) two at Brockenhurst (New Forest regiment), and one each at Stockbridge and Overton (Andover and Kingsclere regiments respectively).<sup>65</sup> Lady Woolveridge was responsible for those at Odiham, as was John Waterman for one at Brockenhurst, as he had been in 1626, while one

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<sup>62</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1629-1631*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), p.130, vol.CLIII, 112, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775407/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2020]. Abstract of totals for corslets, muskets, pioneers and horse, that would have appeared in the Muster Book of 1629.

<sup>63</sup> See p.41 of this Thesis.

<sup>64</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>65</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/12/2. *Odiham Company. A Return of Defects. 1629. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/30/13. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Stockbridge Company. Defects. 1629. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.*



formed part of Tadley tithing's (Overton company) assessment.<sup>66</sup> The three occurring in Southampton (Holyrood and St. Lawrence company) in 1631 were noted against a gentleman, a named individual and an alderman, Peter Pryanix.<sup>67</sup> Single instances were recorded in 1634 and 1637.

Type of Default	Total of this Default
Corslet	162
Part-Corslet	2
Helmet	18
Pike	16
Sword	11
Belt	13
Lacking	47
Arms	17
Repair of Corslet	4

Table 2.1: Defaults in Pikemen. (Corslets). 1625-1640.<sup>68</sup>

There were 16 pike defaults, with three of the six defaulters in 1626, Humphrey Belbin of Ringwood company (New Forest regiment), and John Waterman with John Benger of Brockenhurst company (New Forest regiment) also being responsible for helmet defaults.<sup>69</sup> The five noted in 1627 appear to have been one off defaults. One, in 1628, which should have been carried by Gosling, is described as 'wanting', so may have been a default by absenteeism as much as through need of repair.<sup>70</sup> Of the two in 1629, default was again put against Waterman and his pike.<sup>71</sup> There were single instances in 1633, 1634, and 1635, with

<sup>66</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/12/2. *Odiham Company. A Return of Defects. 1629. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/30/13. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>67</sup> HA 44M69/G5/31/2. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence, (Southampton), Company. Muster Roll. 1631. f.2r.*

<sup>68</sup> The following defaults have not been separately tabulated. Tassets – 1; Gorget – 1. They are included in lacking.

<sup>69</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>70</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.4r.*

<sup>71</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/13. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629.*

the first and last jointly involving John Chamberlaine and William Friend of Durley, Bishops Waltham company (Portsdown regiment) who were responsible for the pike only.<sup>72</sup>

Defaults of corslet swords are only recorded for 1626, and of the 11, five were in the Holdshott company (Kingsclere regiment) and of these, one was to be furnished by a widow Gunnell with Thomas Staire and Michael Scott.<sup>73</sup> They were also responsible for an absent belt, as were three other furnishers in this company. Their entry, concluding “except the head piece”, suggests that they had either defaulted on this previously, or that it was not theirs to default on.<sup>74</sup> Of the others, three were in Hambledon and Soberton company (Portsdown regiment) and three in the New Forest regiment. Of these, Tristram Alsop and Philip Salter of Liss Abbas (Hambledon and Soberton company) were likewise responsible for a belt.<sup>75</sup> A further five belts were absent from the Brockenhurst company (New Forest regiment).<sup>76</sup> Two others were recorded as absent in 1629 and 1634.

As with the corslet itself, the helmet, pike, sword, and belt as defaults would have been affected by the financial pressures of the period 1625 to 1629. There had been no standardization of armour and equipment prior to 1626, when it was deemed that pikemen should have a gorget, corslet, helmet, sword, girdle and

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<sup>72</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/15. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* f.2v. HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.3r.

<sup>73</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r.

<sup>74</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r.

<sup>75</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r.

HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r.

<sup>76</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626.* f.1r.

hangers.<sup>77</sup> This implies that some of these items were absent prior to this date. The sudden enforced demand would have inevitably caused default as domestic supply was outstripped. It is likely that this was the case with helmets, especially with the added requirement to equip pressed soldiers.<sup>78</sup> Pikes were becoming increasingly expensive, costing two to three shillings each before 1600, four shillings by 1636, edging up to four shillings and six pence in 1639.<sup>79</sup> Pike length and local pricing could be variable until 1631, when a standard length of 16 foot was introduced.<sup>80</sup> Swords, though essential to pikemen for close quarter combat, may, as their secondary weapon, and again as large numbers were required prior to 1629, not have been recorded when the militia mustered.

The defaults listed as 'lacking' and arms are both very vague, numerous and appear throughout the period. 'Lacking' appears on 47 occasions, and is suggestive of failure to meet the required standard, which was the case with a single corslet in Andover Extra company (Kingsclere regiment) between 1629 and 1640.<sup>81</sup> There are usual pre-1629 clusters, with four at Micheldever (Basingstoke) in 1625; 13 in 1626, of which six were at Bishops Waltham (Portsdown), five at

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<sup>77</sup> Anon, *Instructions for the Musters and Armes And the use thereof: By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsaile* (London: Norton and Bill, 1626), p.9, at <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc.ac.uk/glos.idm.oclc.org/view?publd=ebbo-ocn16338072e&terms=instructions%20for%20Musters%20and%20Arms&pageld=> [accessed 15 June 2020]

<sup>78</sup> The army for the Spanish War would have required almost 10,000 each of helmets and swords for its infantry. There was a maximum, 6,000 of each, if every militiaman was furnished with a helmet and sword in Hampshire. It was impossible to meet the required number through requests to the counties and purchase from dealers. See Laurence Spring, *The First British Army, 1624-1628: The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion, 2016), pp.63 and 158 for discussion of and numbers of helmets and swords supplied to the English army.

<sup>79</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.115. HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636*. f.11r. William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD, 1639-1640*, (London: Longman & Co., 1877), p.135, vol.CCCCXXXIII, 42, at, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770259/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 29 April 2020].

<sup>80</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1629-1631*, pp.529-530, vol.CLXXXVI, 47.

<sup>81</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/10. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1629*. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/35/22. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1635*. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/45/2/2. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1640*. f.2v.

Eling (New Forest), and two at Chuteley, in Overton company (Kingsclere regiment).<sup>82</sup> Six in 1628 were all noted against the Kingsclere regiment, with one in Overton and five in Andover Extra companies.<sup>83</sup> Of five in 1629, one is mentioned above, another was in Alton Infra company (Alton regiment), and the other three in Stockbridge (Andover regiment).<sup>84</sup> There was a significant spike in the Alton regiment in 1633, with three in Selborne and ten in East Meon companies.<sup>85</sup> One of the four in 1635 is mentioned above under Andover Extra, with the other three being in Selborne, of which two had appeared in 1633.<sup>86</sup>

'Lacking' was also entered against John Wiseman of Ringwood company (New Forest regiment) in 1626 relating to his corslet, but more specifically the gorget.<sup>87</sup> Nicholas Foster was cited in 1632 (New Alresford, in Alton regiment), for his tassets.<sup>88</sup> This is scant evidence of their use, for though they were mentioned in a 1631 drill manual, and as Foster's default shows, the latter was still deemed to be part of the pikeman's armour in 1632, no other specific instances of these defaults have been found for Hampshire.

Repair of corslet was occasionally recorded as a default, mostly up until 1629. In 1626 Mr Bromfield's was described as "want a mending", while in 1628 Andover

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<sup>82</sup> HA 44M69/G5/26/2. *Micheldever Company. Muster Roll. 1625. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/18. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/25. *Eling Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/11. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.5v.*

<sup>83</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/13. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.2r.*

<sup>84</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Alton Infra Company. Defects. 1629. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Stockbridge Company. Defects. 1629. f.4r.*

<sup>85</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633. ff.1r-2r.*

<sup>86</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/14. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.2r.*

<sup>87</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>88</sup> HA 44M69/G5/32/14. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.1r.*

Borough paid for “making clean the [Town] Corslett and Reveting”.<sup>89</sup> The tithingmen of Faringdon, Newton Valence, and Hawkley, all part of the Selborne company (Alton regiment) “being required to repair the tithing Corslet refuseth so to do” in 1629.<sup>90</sup>

Arms is a more suggestive term relating to the pike and/or sword, though one of the three instances in 1626, at South Baddesley, Brockenhurst (New Forest) also describes them as “tithing furnitures”.<sup>91</sup> The six in 1629 were split evenly between Stockbridge (Andover), and Overton (Kingsclere).<sup>92</sup> There were two each in 1634, 1635, 1637 and, 1638. The first were in Andover Infra company (Kingsclere regiment), and the others were in Alton Extra company (Alton regiment), and were all noted against Dr Styward.<sup>93</sup>

### **Musketeers.**

The most common form of default among musketeers was undoubtedly the musket itself, and what is often described as ‘part musket’, where the musket was financed by several individuals.<sup>94</sup> There were 319 combined instances, of which 275 are described as musket. Of the total, 195, (154 muskets and 41 part-muskets), were in 1626 and 93, (muskets), were in 1627. This is indicative of the burgeoning importance of the musket, and reflective of a scarcity on the open market. 28 other musket defaults occurred thus; two in 1628, seven in 1629, one in 1631, six in 1632, four in 1633, one in 1635 and seven in 1637. Part-musket defaults also appeared in

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<sup>89</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.2r.* HA 37M85/4/AC/5. *Andover Borough Accounts. 1622-1628. p.34.*

<sup>90</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/18. *Selborne Company. Defects. 1629. f.4r.*

<sup>91</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>92</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Stockbridge Company. Defects. 1629. f.4r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>93</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/30. *Andover Infra Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1634. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/21. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/25. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/43/11. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1638. f.1v.*

<sup>94</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/7. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.* “... Henry Pitt a fifth pt of a musket ...” for example.

1629 (two), and 1632 (one). As the 1630s progressed there may have been less resistance towards using the musket from the militia. The furnishers would have believed that it was safer to send their weapons to muster as the threat of seizure had receded.

There is no evidence that the musket was in default in 1625, however, by 1626 it showed as such in five of the regiments and the Winchester company. It was most prolific in the New Forest regiment, where six of the seven companies with a physical strength recorded a total of 76 instances. There were 19 Ringwood, 18 in Eling, thirteen in Avon and Brockenhurst, 11 in the Borough of Christchurch, and two in New Lymington.<sup>95</sup> 28 instances of this default were noted in the Portsdown regiment, with one in Bishops Waltham and the remainder in Gosport and Hayling.<sup>96</sup> This is again reflective of the musket's importance and possible scarcity, but it is also a result of these areas being in south Hampshire, where troops were concentrated prior to embarkation, and where if weapons were shown at muster there was a likelihood that they would be seized for the army. Kingsclere listed 16, 13 of which were in Holdshott, two in Overton and one in Andover Infra.<sup>97</sup> The same number occurred in Basingstoke regiment (ten in Micheldever and six in Bentworth) while there were ten in Winchester, and eight in Romsey, Andover.<sup>98</sup>

The part-musket as a default was also most prevalent in the New Forest regiment, with Avon showing 13 instances, Ringwood 11, Brockenhurst nine and Eling five.<sup>99</sup> There were two occurrences in Winchester and one in Gosport and

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<sup>95</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. ff.11r-11v.*

<sup>96</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. f.11v.*

<sup>97</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. f.10r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/13. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.3r.*

<sup>98</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. f.8v.* HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.4v.* HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Andover Regiment. Muster Book. 1626. f.10v.*

<sup>99</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. ff.11r-11v.*

Hayling company (Portsdown).<sup>100</sup>

Type of Default	Total of this Default
Musket	275
Part-Musket	44
Musket Rest	8
Powder	10
Sword	8
Belt	16
Lacking	53
Arms	5

Table 2.2: Defaults in Musketeers. 1625-1640.<sup>101</sup>

As a default, the musket was spread across all Hampshire except for Winchester in 1627. Five regiments, (Alton, Andover, Basingstoke, Fawley, and New Forest) recorded less than ten, with just one in Hartley Wintney, Basingstoke.<sup>102</sup> There were 14 in Portsdown regiment, including seven at Gosport and Hayling, four at Hambledon and Soberton, and three at Bishops Waltham.<sup>103</sup> Four companies in Kingsclere regiment noted the default, with nine in Andover Extra, eight in Holdshott, three in Kingsclere itself, and one in Whitchurch.<sup>104</sup> Southampton recorded 43 across its three companies. St. Michael and St. John had 12, while St. Mary and All Saints had 17, six of which were marked down as ‘absent’ rather than ‘default’; eight of the 14 in Holyrood and St. Lawrence were noted likewise.<sup>105</sup>

Of the other 28 musket defaults across the period two-thirds occurred in regiments that in part abutted the coast. The New Forest’s Avon company had six in 1629, five in 1632 and four in 1633, while there was one each in Ringwood company

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<sup>100</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.4v.* HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *County. Muster Book. 1626. f.11v.*

<sup>101</sup> The following defaults have not been tabulated. Repair/maintenance of musket – 3; Bandoliers – 2; Bullets – 1; Match – 1; Helmet – 1.

<sup>102</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1. *Basingstoke Regiment. Muster Book. 1627. f.2r.*

<sup>103</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1-5. *Portsdown Regiment. Muster Book. 1627. f.2r (cover).*

<sup>104</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1. *Kingsclere Regiment. Muster Book. 1627. ff.2r-2v.*

<sup>105</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/1/5. *Southampton. Muster Book. 1627. f.1r.*

(New Forest) in 1629; Holyrood company (Southampton) in 1631; and Bishops Waltham company (Portsdown) in 1635.<sup>106</sup> The landlocked regiments accounted for ten, with two in Kingsclere's Andover Infra company in 1628, one in Alton's New Alresford company in 1632, and seven in Andover's Stockbridge company in 1637.<sup>107</sup> There were also three further part-musket defaults in the period, being two in Fawley regiment's Twyford company (1629) and one in Alton's New Alresford company (1632).<sup>108</sup>

The high level of muskets in default, during 1626 and 1627, would in part have been a result of the level of taxation, like the corslets, to pay for the armies destined for Spain and France.<sup>109</sup> Such weapons could be immune to the threat of seizure, because, according to the muster roll entries of 'default' they may not have existed.<sup>110</sup> Defaults on part-muskets could be even more problematical in this situation, for example, the eight such defaults in Brockenhurst company in 1626 all related to the musket stock, while John Warrick was in default for "p[ar]t of a Musk[et]".<sup>111</sup>

Crucially, epitomizing Charles' drive towards an 'Exact Militia', the musket was a weapon of that transition. It was described as a weapon of "more curious practice"

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<sup>106</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/6. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/32/9. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/33/2. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.3r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/7. *Ringwood Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/31/2. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence Company, (Southampton). Muster Roll. 1631. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.4v.*

<sup>107</sup> HA 44M69/G5/29/14. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1628. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/32/14. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.5r.*

<sup>108</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Twyford Company. Defects. 1629. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/32/14. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1632. f.1r.*

<sup>109</sup> See Spring pp.157-212, for discussion of the Spanish and French wars.

<sup>110</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629. f.1r.* Mr. William Wyther of Wootton St. Lawrence was first recorded here as being in default for a musket. Any ambiguity surrounding the existence of this weapon is cleared up in HA 44M69/G5/42/10. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.3v,* whereas Mr. Wm. Wither, he 'wanted' a musket.

<sup>111</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Brockenhurst Company. Muster Book. 1626. f.11v.*



in 1625, when the standard requirements of 1621 were reiterated.<sup>112</sup> This may have led to default through misunderstanding when one considers that individuals were recorded as having been assessed for a musket. Previously, and certainly up to 1618, the caliver had been the militia's firearm, and prior to this the bow. It is logical to believe that if an individual already owned a caliver, they would be reticent in committing to the expense of purchasing a musket.<sup>113</sup> The former was lightweight and less cumbersome than the musket and was certainly still being used in 1627.<sup>114</sup> Likewise, the bow, which had been considered outdated as early as 1559, was still listed on the roll for Whitchurch company in 1626, before appearing a final time in 1632, when they "were let fall" from the muster.<sup>115</sup> In 1634, the Earl of Newport informed the king "that many of the trained bands still retained obsolete weapons".<sup>116</sup>

The number of default muskets is significant for Avon company (New Forest regiment), in 1629, 1632, and 1633, and ordinarily it could be said that this was a

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<sup>112</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), p.198, vol.XIII, 43, at, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775365/page/n1/mode/2up> [accessed 3 February 2020]. Spring. pp.64-65. Referring to the 1621 *Act for making the arms of the Kingdom more serviceable*, wherein it was ordered that muskets should have a barrel length of four foot, and be five foot two inches, with the barrel and capable of firing musket balls of eleven to the pound, rolling in. The *CSPD, 1625, 1626*, puts this figure at twelve to the pound.

<sup>113</sup> Spring. p.65. The cost of a musket in 1627 was 18s. 6d. In 1636, see HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636*. f.11r, muskets were valued at 14s. each.

<sup>114</sup> Spring. p.68. HA 44M69/G5/27/10. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1626*. ff.9v and 11v.. Twenty-three calivers are listed as unfurnished in this company, and were not carried by the trained men, amongst whom were ninety musketeers.

<sup>115</sup> Lawson-Chase Nagal, *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, (King's College, London, PhD thesis, 1982), p.8, at, <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal> [accessed 4 July 2020]. HA 44M69/G5/27/10. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1626*. f.7v, where twenty archers are listed. HA 44M69/G5/29/12. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1629*. f.4v, where nineteen archers are listed. HA 44M69/G5/32/4. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1632*. f.5v, where nineteen archers are listed.

<sup>116</sup> Boynton. p.259. Mountjoy Blount was created 1<sup>st</sup> Earl Newport, 27 July 1628 and appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, 31 August 1634, a post that he held until his death in 1661. Biographical detail from, Leslie Stephen, *Dictionary of National Biography*, (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886), vol.5, Bicheno-Bottisham, pp.249-250, at <https://archive.org/details/dictionaryofnatiO5stepuoft/page/250/mode/2up> [accessed 25 January 2021].

consequence of document survival.<sup>117</sup> However, other factors were undoubtedly at play, not least that Avon had to provide armed men for the garrison at Hurst Castle, making a knowledge of who in the company had serviceable muskets more important, which also, in the case of those furnishers wanting to remain possessed of their muskets, could increase the level of default. This company was also unusual in that recusants who furnished were recorded, though there is no evidence to suggest that they were responsible for any of the defaults.<sup>118</sup>

Stockbridge (Andover regiment) with its seven musket defaults in 1637, was most likely a response to the previous year's smallpox outbreak.<sup>119</sup> This would have been reflective of the corslet defaults within this company, and those in the adjacent company, Barton Stacey.<sup>120</sup>

The musket rest appears as a default just eight times through the period, five of which are noted in 1626. Brockenhurst (New Forest), listed two assessed on Thomas Whettingstall and the tithing of Pilley as defective.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Richard Bie and Mr Staverton of Holdshott (Kingsclere) were recorded as having defective rests, while the former's musket and the latter's sword and belt were likewise noted.<sup>122</sup> Thomas Smith of Hayling (Gosport and Hayling, New Forest), also had a

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<sup>117</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/6. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.3r. HA 44M69/G5/32/9. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1632.* f.3r. HA 44M69/G5/33/2. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* f.3r.

<sup>118</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/6. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.2v, where Widow Good and William Lockyer, (corslets), are listed at Hurn, and f.4r where William Lockyer of Hurn is listed for a musket. HA 44M69/G5/32/9. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1632.* ff.2v and 4r, where Good and Lockyer are listed as per 1629. HA 44M69/G5/33/2. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* f.2v, where John Good and William Lockyer, (corslets), are listed at Hurn, and f.4r where William Lockyer of Hurn is listed for a musket. HA 44M69/G5/42/16. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.3r, where Lockyer is no longer described as a recusant. John Good is not on this muster roll. Also see p.29, note 56 of this Thesis.

<sup>119</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.5r.

<sup>120</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.5r. HA 44M69/G5/42/15/1. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1637.* f.2r.

<sup>121</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects 1626.* f.1r.

<sup>122</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.1r. Bie and Staverton were from the parishes of Silchester and Eversley respectively.

defective rest, as well as belt and bandoliers.<sup>123</sup> This default appears twice more in 1629, when Sir Anthony Wilmott of Old Alresford (Fawley) was described as “wanting one arms and a musket cleft”, and as ‘wanting’ in Brockenhurst (New Forest), which was said to be Lady Seasers default.<sup>124</sup> Finally, in 1631 Edward Milberye of Southampton (Holyrood and St. Lawrence), was said to have ‘wanted’ a rest at muster.<sup>125</sup>

As an essential part of the musketeer’s equipment, it was almost impossible to achieve a steady aim without it as the weapon was over five foot in length, and being comparatively cheap, it is logical to believe that the musket rest would not have been defaulted on to any great degree.<sup>126</sup> This is supported by the evidence above. However, there is a distinct pattern. All five in 1626 were described as ‘defective’, so they most likely existed within the militia, having not been taken for the army. It is plausible to suggest that they may have been inadequate substitutes, taken to muster to preserve those that were more serviceable. Indeed, the army’s insatiable need for equipment might have led to a shortage of musket rests amongst the militia.

The increasing presence of firearms, (almost 2,400 muskets were in use within Hampshire’s militia in 1629), led to increasing prices and at times shortages of gunpowder.<sup>127</sup> This is not necessarily reflected in the ten instances, eight of which involved named individuals, where the default is specifically mentioned. In 1625,

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<sup>123</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Gosport and Hayling Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.4r.*

<sup>124</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Old Alresford Company. Defects. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/13. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>125</sup> HA 44M69/G5/31/2. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence (Southampton) Company. Muster Roll. 1631. f.2r.*

<sup>126</sup> William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD, 1639-1640*, (London: Longman & Co., 1877), p.135, vol.CCCCXXXIII, 42, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770259/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 29 April 2020]. This entry, dated 30 November 1639, says that John Edwards and Robert Thacker, (pike-makers), supplied musket rests at a cost of 1s – 1s 1d each.

<sup>127</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1629-1631. p.130, vol.CLIII,112.*

Colonel Wallop wrote that there was no money to buy arms for the Basingstoke Extra company, which being the case, would suggest that there was also no means for purchasing powder.<sup>128</sup> Perhaps in response to this and similar issues across the militia in general, each man was “told to bring two bullets and a reasonable quantity of powder” to musters.<sup>129</sup> Boynton adds that “for a time Hampshire was without powder” in 1627.<sup>130</sup> A single instance may be attributable to Boynton’s comment. Walter Bachiler, a ‘furnished’ man complained in 1629 “that he have had neyther pay nor powder this 3 or foure yeares”. However, though he is listed as a defaulter, the actual default, according to his comment was that of Richard and Thomas Dicker.<sup>131</sup> The implication is that they were serial defaulters, and, therefore, it may not have been a direct result of any shortage.

Richard Goddard esquire and Edward Rainger were jointly cited “for not providing powder for Philip Strides musket” in 1626.<sup>132</sup> This appears to have been a one-off offence, unlike Mrs Stanton and Tho. Campion who jointly failed “to finde powder” for Jo. Stubbington of Durley.<sup>133</sup> They became repeat offenders in 1635, when Mrs Stanton was now described as ‘widow’.<sup>134</sup> This may have represented a failure in local supply, like that alluded to in the case of Basingstoke Extra above. Two instances, where David Hamon failed to supply powder to Rich. Wells and William Croucher, of Upham, appear to support this.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> HA 44M69/G5/26/1. *Basingstoke Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1625. f.5r.*

<sup>129</sup> Boynton. p.267.

<sup>130</sup> Boynton. pp.260-261.

<sup>131</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/21/5. *Kingsclere Company. Defects. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Netley Company. Defects. 1629. f.3r.* William Coram and Thomas Rowt both refused to find powder in 1629.

<sup>132</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/1. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>133</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/18. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.4v.*

<sup>134</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.4v.*

<sup>135</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635. f.4v.* In the case of Rich. Wells, Hamon was jointly responsible with widow Helyar, and they were also responsible for the musket and bullets. In the case of William Croucher, Hamon was jointly responsible with Henry Leekeblade, and they were also responsible for the musket and match.

There is no evidence of the Scots Wars causing a shortage of powder.<sup>136</sup> Some, like Daniel Norton kept a small supply, in his case “Tenn pound of gunpowder... In the ould Armory” in 1636.<sup>137</sup> In 1639 the Deputy Lieutenants certified those they thought fit to receive and sell powder delivered out of the king’s stores at Portsmouth.<sup>138</sup> The implication is that at worst the supply was adequate. Certainly, there is no record of defaults involving powder after 1635.

Although the sword, belt, and helmet were all described as part of “The Armes of a Muskettier” in 1626, they are only recorded 25 times as defaults through the period.<sup>139</sup> Of these, only three appear after 1629. One, attributed to William Woollgar of New Alresford in 1632, was for his belt, while the other two, for a belt and sword, related to Rich. Wells of Bishops Waltham in 1635.<sup>140</sup> There is a distinct pattern to when the majority occurred, in that 20 were in 1626 and just two, a belt and the one recorded helmet in 1629.<sup>141</sup> It may be coincidental that *Instructions for Musters and Armes, and the use thereof: By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsaile* was printed in 1626.<sup>142</sup> However, there

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<sup>136</sup> The Scots Wars, otherwise known as the Bishops Wars of 1639 and 1640, were borne from Scottish opposition to the imposition of church reform by King Charles along the lines of the Laudian reforms implemented in England.

<sup>137</sup> HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636.* f.7v. There is no indication as to the quality or efficacy of this powder, which was valued at 1s per pound weight.

<sup>138</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1638-1639.* p.577, vol.CCCCXIV, 135. The price of powder, as issued, was set at 1s 6d to 1s 7d per pound weight. Such powder was to be sold on to those furnishing the Hampshire militiamen selected to join the army for the Scots War.

<sup>139</sup> Anon. *Instructions for Musters and Armes, and the use thereof: By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsaile*, (London: Norton and Bill, 1626), p.9 at <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc.ac-uk.glos.idm.oclc.org/view?publd=ebbo-ocn16338072e&terms=instructions%20for%20Musters%20and%20Arms&pageld=> [accessed 15 June 2020].

<sup>140</sup> HA 44M69/G5/32/14. *New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1632.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.4v.

<sup>141</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/13. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects/defaulters. 1629.* f.1r. “... Belt Defect. William Etheridge his Defaulte ...” HA 44M69/G5/30/3. *Wallops Company. Defaulters. 1629.* f.2v. “... Roger Sherfield his helmet ...”

<sup>142</sup> Anon. *Instructions for Musters and Armes, and the use thereof: By order from the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsaile*, (London: Norton and Bill, 1626), at <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc.ac-uk.glos.oclc.org/view?publd=ebbo-ocn6338072e&terms=instructions%20for%20Musters%20Arms&pageld=> [accessed 15 June 2020] Reprint of 1623 1<sup>st</sup> edition, see Boynton p.240.

would undoubtedly have been some reaction within the militia to a letter of 1625 from Council to the Lord Lieutenants charging them “to take care for the better arming and training of the militia.”<sup>143</sup> In January 1626 it was said that they should put in “execution the rules sent down to them in printed books.”<sup>144</sup> This would have set some precedent for careful observation and recording of what appeared at muster. The listing of seven swords and 13 belts, therefore, could have resulted from this.

However, the geographical spread of these defaults in 1626 suggest they may have been affected by wider concerns in the localities relating to the militia and military matters. It is possible, as it is in the north of the County, to leave Holdshott company, where Mr Hews and Mr Staverton were both described as having defect swords and belts, out of the equation.<sup>145</sup> They do though represent half the defaults recorded against their societal grouping. The southern half of Hampshire, where most pressure was exerted for the procurement of these as with other military items, is of most interest. These defaults occurred in six companies, of which Winchester has one identifiable belt defect.<sup>146</sup> There was also a single instance in Hayling, where Thomas Smith’s musket rest and bandoliers were also said to be defective.<sup>147</sup> The largest concentration was in the New Forest regiment. Of belt defaults, three each were in Eling and Brockenhurst companies, two in Avon, and one in Ringwood.<sup>148</sup> Six were by named individuals, including one by Nicholas Hooker ‘with

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<sup>143</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626*. p.198, vol.XIII, 43.

<sup>144</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1625, 1626*. p.220, vol.XVIII, 55.

<sup>145</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/12. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626*. f.1r.

<sup>146</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/14. *Winchester Company*. f.4r. “... Robert Tolfrie his belt and the stock of his musket ...”

<sup>147</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Gosport and Hayling Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626*. f.4r.

<sup>148</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626*. f.10r. HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626*. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/10. *Avon Company. Defects/Defaulters. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626*. f.1r.

others'.<sup>149</sup> Of the misters, Dowse in Eling also had a defective musket stock, and Babington of Brockenhurst a defective sword and musket stock.<sup>150</sup> Widow Perry, of Minstead (Eling), also had a defective musket.<sup>151</sup> All sword defaults not previously mentioned occurred in Brockenhurst, and except that listed against Richard Knowles, gentleman, were attributed to named individuals.<sup>152</sup>

All the defaults/defects relating to swords and belts were the responsibility, except in the case of Knowles, of those in the lower echelons of the societal groupings. Coupled with the volume of multiple defaults this would suggest a level of poverty in relation to fulfilling their obligations. This may be seen with Dowse and Babington, whose equipment was not only defective, but merely amounted to part of a musket.<sup>153</sup> James Jurdan (Eling) might have had a case for pleading poverty as he only had an "old belt".<sup>154</sup> However, he may have worn an everyday belt to muster, or, as with so many pre-1629 instances, he may have been ensuring that his was not taken for use by the army.

As with corslets, the terms 'lacking' and arms, when applied to musketeers are extremely vague, with the former term again suggesting a failure to meet the required standard. Of the 29 instances recorded before 1630, four were in 1625 within Micheldever company (Basingstoke), and were spread across two social strata, with three noted against two named individuals, and the other an esquire.<sup>155</sup> In 1626 the default was spread across the County, in the Kingsclere, New

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<sup>149</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>150</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626. f.10r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>151</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626. f.10r.*

<sup>152</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>153</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626. f.10r.* HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/5. *Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>154</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3. *Eling Company. Defects. 1626. f.10r.*

<sup>155</sup> HA 44M69/G5/26/2. *Micheldever Company. Muster Roll. 1625. f.2r.*

Forest, and Portsdown regiments. They were also spread across the societal groupings, with Dr Kercher (Eling, New Forest), Mr Mills twice (Bishops Waltham, Portsdown), and Mr Strowder and Mrs Riggs, (Andover Extra, Kingsclere).<sup>156</sup> One instance, involving the parish of Chuteley (Overton, Kingsclere), has been placed under 'other'.<sup>157</sup> Three of 20 in 1629 relate to specified farms, and another is noted against Upper Clatford tithing (Andover Extra, Kingsclere).<sup>158</sup> There is no indication of who the individual or individuals were in these cases.

There is another distinct spike in 1633 of those described as 'lacking', which involved 17 instances. As with that in the corslets, it occurred in the Selborne and East Meon companies (Alton).<sup>159</sup> Five relate to farms or parcels of land and one to the parsonage of Hawkley (Selborne).<sup>160</sup> The others are spread between misters and named individuals, and five of these involved more than one person. In some cases, all those involved are named, such as Wm. Carter and Richard Winter of Newton Valence (Selborne), while Thomas Booker of Froxfield (East Meon) was named with 'others', and Mr Nicholas Yonge, who was also the militiaman, with his father (Ambersham, East Meon).<sup>161</sup> Of the remainder, Mr Styward, who was first recorded in 1635, became a repeat offender in 1637 and 1638 as Dr Styward.<sup>162</sup>

Though there are no specific reasons beyond 'lacking' entered against any of the above, those pre-1630 were most likely a result of the pressure on the militia, its

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<sup>156</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/25. *Eling Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.3v.* HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/50/58/1. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.4r.*

<sup>157</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/11. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1626. f.5v.*

<sup>158</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/10. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2v.*

<sup>159</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633. ff.2v-3r.* HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633. ff.2r-3v.*

<sup>160</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.2v.*

<sup>161</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon. Muster Roll. 1633. ff.3r and 3v.*

<sup>162</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/21. *Alton Extra. Muster Roll. 1635. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/42/25. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1637. f.2v.* HA 44M69/G5/43/11. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1638. f.2v.*



arms, and its finances as discussed at length elsewhere. Those in 1633 may have resulted from the reduced interest in the militia and military matters during the early 1630s, or, in the case of Selborne and East Meon, been due to the company clerks' precision to detail, or the chance survival of these muster rolls.<sup>163</sup>

Arms, as a term relating to default is far more suggestive than 'lacking'. There are only five recorded occurrences through the period. Of these, one, relating to Dr Styward of Hartley Mauditt (Alton Extra) in 1637 appears above under 'lacking'.<sup>164</sup> The others are pre-1630, with two at Bishops Waltham (Portsdown) in 1626, and two at Overton (Kingsclere) in 1629.<sup>165</sup> Edw. Markes (Bishops Waltham) had a legitimate reason for his "absent Arms for that his soldier is gone". The most likely reasons for this are that he had either been pressed, or had absented himself from the area to avoid attending muster and the risk that he might be pressed. The implication is that his whereabouts were unknown and that Markes, though still in possession of the arms, had no trained militiaman to carry them to muster.<sup>166</sup> Lieutenant Palmes of Overton, meanwhile, commented on the list of defaulters he returned to Captain Oxenbregge "I doubt not... [they] will be supplied and amended without... trouble".<sup>167</sup>

The repairing, cleaning, and maintaining of muskets, as with other weapons and armour, was an on-going process, which mostly appears as a default between 1626 and 1629. In 1626, Edward Wilmott, gentleman, "did maintain" a musket, however, this was more about it being part of his assessment, rather than any

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<sup>163</sup> HA 44M69/G5/33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633.* HA 44M69/G5/33/11. *East Meon. Muster Roll. 1633.*

<sup>164</sup> HA 44M69/G5/42/25. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.2v.

<sup>165</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.2r. HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>166</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/20/2. *Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.* f.2r.

<sup>167</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629.* f.1r.

obligation to keep it in serviceable order.<sup>168</sup> It is described as “decayed by reason that... [he] departed from us, and has carried the same with him”.<sup>169</sup> It was no longer part of the weaponry available to the Ringwood company. In 1629, Thomas Hinckes of Netley (Fawley regiment) refused to pay for his arms to be cleaned.<sup>170</sup> While Robert Raines musket which “broke the first shot”, should have perhaps been repaired by Powell, who supplied it, but he refused to do this, leaving Raines to “humbly desire” Captain Tutt to see that he was provided with a replacement.<sup>171</sup> It may be that Hinckes was either short of money or did not appreciate the necessity of keeping his musket clean and serviceable. Raines, however, would have paid anything up to about fifteen shillings, had nothing to show, yet was still required to muster with a musket.<sup>172</sup> The Borough of Andover, alternatively, was attentive in keeping its town arms in good order, paying to have a musket cleaned and repaired in 1628 and repaired again in 1638.<sup>173</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

Overall, the research findings and analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that furnishers were more likely to default until the Scots Wars of 1639 and 1640, when the furnished were more likely to do so. This is important because it was influenced by a change in policy that allowed trained militiamen to be pressed. Further to this, there is much evidence that the furnishers were reacting to the increasing tax burden imposed throughout the period to finance military expeditions

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<sup>168</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>169</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/27/3/6. *Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>170</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/20. *Netley Company. Defects. 1629. f.3r.*

<sup>171</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/23/2. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>172</sup> HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636. f.11r.* The ten muskets in Norton’s armoury were valued at fourteen shillings each. Cruickshank, in *Elizabeth’s Army*, puts the cost of a new musket, which Raines obviously was not, at anything from eighteen to forty shillings.

<sup>173</sup> HA 37M85/4/AC/5. *Andover Borough Accounts. 1622-1628. p.34. 1628.* HA 37M85/4/AC/7. *Andover Borough Accounts. 1638-1651. f.1r. [22 May] 1638.*

in Europe. It adds to our knowledge of which societal groupings were required to furnish men for the militia, and how this and other factors influenced their likelihood to default.

Defaults, other than absenteeism, primarily appeared in clusters up to 1629, with the analysis indicating that the pikeman was reliant on his body armour, the corslet, but that instances of it as a default were lower than for the musket. Analysis proved that the missile armed element of the militia was slow to embrace the musket, an evolving technology that was imposed upon it by law as it possessed the caliver, and in one case retained the bow which had long been considered outdated into the 1630s.

Other defaults, such as the sword, helmet, and belt which were common to both the pikeman and musketeer, also appeared in clusters up to 1629. These defaults were more prevalent among the lower strata of society. Exceptions were found, as evidenced by the case of lady Woolveridge, who like other women was constrained in her widowhood by the land tenure terms laid out in her late husband's will.

Above all, this chapter adds to our knowledge an understanding of how low the levels of both defaulting and individual defaults were in Hampshire's militia infantry between 1625 and 1640.

## **CHAPTER 3.**

### **DEFAULTS.**

#### **LIGHT HORSE.**

This chapter will build on the findings of the previous chapters, with an analysis of the light horse. Although a similar format to that used for the infantry has been applied the light horse needs to be analysed separately because not only was it armed differently, it also required a supply of mounts for its troopers. Therefore, the light horse succumbed to different defaults, for example pistols rather than pike or musket. So, evaluation will be made of the defaults to show their level within each troop and the light horse, while establishing in which geographical areas and within which social strata each was most prevalent. Defaulting will be shown to have occurred as a greater proportion within the light horse than the infantry. However, with only 170 of the 4,608 militiamen being light horsemen in 1629, for example, it will need to be remembered that the over-riding default level in Hampshire's militia remained low.<sup>1</sup>

Absenteeism will be considered for the light horse as a whole, but unlike with the infantry only those furnishers who did not furnish and absentees from muster will be used. Absenting or running away once selected to serve is not recorded as a problem. It will be shown to have been at a high level throughout the period, amounting to about 40% in three years and being as high as 60% in 1626, though the muster and default lists to corroborate the latter are not extant. Analysis will encompass the occurrence of absenteeism through geographical areas and societal groupings. As with other defaults, such as those relating to the horse and/or rider,

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<sup>1</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD, 1629-1631*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860), p.130, vol.CLIII, 112, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775407/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2020].

pistols, 'lacking' and arms, it will be presented in tabular form. With just three troops of light horse in the County, there will be scope to analyse each default type in greater depth.

### **Absenteeism.**

As a default, absenteeism accounted for 215 of the 311 defaults relating to Hampshire's light horse through the period. There is scant documentary evidence for the years 1625, 1627, 1630-1634, 1636, 1638, and 1640. 1636 stands out as an exception, where one would not expect to find lists of defaults, with the musters cancelled because of the smallpox and suspected plague.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence that in 1632 Richard Crosse of Heckfield parsonage, Holdshott, who defaulted on a 'corslet', had previously defaulted by absenteeism on "half a light horse that his predecessor did find".<sup>3</sup> He certainly failed to meet his assessment in 1629 when in failing to answer a summons, he claimed that his living was poor.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps attempting to get a more favourable assessment and/or delaying having to meet his current assessment, he wrote to the Deputy Lieutenants "it is no neglect, much less any contempt at all of your worships commands."<sup>5</sup>

The first direct reference to this default is in 1626, with a single document, *Those fit to serve, but did not*, dated October, which relates to the Basingstoke and Kingsclere troop.<sup>6</sup> Lindsay Boynton says that prior to this, the only troop to attend a

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<sup>2</sup> Michael Barnes, ed., *Hampshire Militia Muster Rolls: Micheldever and Holdshott Companies*, (Oxford: Parchment Press, 2017), number 32, pp.76-77, n1. An account of the respite of the 1636 general muster in Hampshire.

<sup>3</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/65. *Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1632. f.1r.*

<sup>4</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/24. *Holdshott. Letter Regarding Arms Levied on Heckfield Vicarage. 6 October 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>5</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/24. *Holdshott. Letter Regarding Arms Levied on Heckfield Vicarage. 6 October 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>6</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/117. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Those fit to serve, but did not. 17 October 1626. Hereafter, 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, in text.*

muster held on 10 August, was Richard Norton's Alton and Portsdown troop.<sup>7</sup> Richard Gifford, of the Andover, Fawley and New Forest troop, claimed that he had not received a commission.<sup>8</sup> While George Kingsmill (3<sup>rd</sup> troop) was ill, which "apparently excused his men".<sup>9</sup> If Norton's troop had achieved 100% attendance, which is highly unlikely, the absentee rate across the light horse would have been 60%. This would represent the lowest possible absentee rate. It is more likely that it would have been above 75%, or more than 130 troopers, which would have effectively meant that Hampshire had no functioning body of light horse as part of its militia in 1626.

There had been a move in mid-July to 'reform' the light horse. The Deputy Lieutenants had sent letters to the captains, instructing them to attend muster at 8 a.m., on 10 August, with their whole troop, including officers, "well horsed and furnished".<sup>10</sup> Muster returns have not survived, but the existence of *Those fit to serve* would suggest that absenteeism in Kingsmill's troop extended beyond any personal illness. 12 individuals were responsible for 14 absentee light horse, being three from the Kingsclere and 11 from the Basingstoke Division. Half of the total occurred in Holdshott Hundred (Basingstoke); two each by two knights, and one each by an esquire, mister and a named individual, Thomas Glascock, of Silchester. Two were named, one from Micheldever Hundred and Thomas Cole of Liss Turney in Odiham Hundred. Of the others, one each was noted against a knight from Odiham, and one an individual in Micheldever Hundred. While in Kingsclere Division,

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<sup>7</sup> Hereafter, 1<sup>st</sup> Troop in text. Lindsay Boynton, *The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), pp.251-252. Also see Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.28.

<sup>8</sup> Hereafter, 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop in text. Boynton. pp.251-252.

<sup>9</sup> Boynton. pp.251-252.

<sup>10</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/56. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Reformation of Troop. 13 July 1626. f.1v.*

two were recorded against esquires in Overton Hundred, and one against a mister in Kingsclere.<sup>11</sup>

On 21 October, four days after *Those fit to serve* were recorded, a warrant was issued for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop to muster on 26 October at Rooks Down, near Basingstoke. It states, “there Can be no excuse admitted but every man must performe the service”. However, there was an expectation of absenteeism, with the added instruction that those who defaulted should provide a signed statement giving their reasons.<sup>12</sup>

Dr Love refused to send a second light horse to muster in 1627, on the grounds that in November 1625 the Deputy Lieutenants had agreed “the Ferme of Crondall”, property of the College of Winchester, “should finde and furnish one light horse only”. Captain Kingsmill had “called upon him” to furnish a second horse.<sup>13</sup> The assessment of 1625 was honoured by the Deputy Lieutenants. However, a muster roll for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, dated 21 February 1628, states “Mr Dr Love absent”.<sup>14</sup> Kingsmill may have asked for a second horse to secure the presence of the one assessed for, while Love, in entering a protracted discussion, avoided the expense of providing either. At the point where he got the 1625 agreement confirmed, he chose absenteeism.

Any increase in attendance at muster of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop in October 1626 had evaporated by February 1628, when 25 absentees were recorded. The majority, 20, occurred in Basingstoke Division, five of which were in Holdshott Hundred, all

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<sup>11</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/117. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Those fit to serve, but did not. 17 October 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>12</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/120. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Warrant for Mustering Troop. 21 October 1626. ff.1r-2v.*

<sup>13</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/119/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Furnishing a Light Horse. Crondall. 6 July 1627. ff.1r-2v.*

<sup>14</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

assessed on misters. There were six instances in Odiham Hundred, where three were against two knights, so an increase in this hundred, but a decrease overall from 1626, and three against misters. Dr Love of Crondall has already been mentioned, while the remaining five were misters, split two each in Basingstoke Extra and Micheldever Hundreds and one in Crondall. All five in Kingsclere Division are listed against misters, with two each in Kingsclere and Overton Hundreds, and one furnished collectively by three misters, in Chuteley Hundred.<sup>15</sup> This demonstrates that this default was still most prevalent in the Basingstoke area, and that it was increasing within the troop.

However, instances within the societal groupings had changed. It was falling in the knights, and increasing among the misters, who now accounted for 80% of the total. Esquires no longer appear on the muster roll, but some, such as Tilney from Odiham Hundred, who had appeared in 1626 as esquire, was now recorded as mister.<sup>16</sup> There are two primary reasons why this may have occurred. They were now either less aspirational, or had experienced a decline in income; hence the listing in a lower societal grouping. The only documented indication for the change is in 1626 with “the names of such gentlemen”, while there is a full muster roll for 1628.<sup>17</sup> Certainly, they would have felt poorer, because of the constant financial costs of providing militiamen, the continual taxation for foreign wars and the fear that their arms and horses might be taken for the army.

Extant documents in the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection might imply that absenteeism was only evident in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop. Captain Gifford (2<sup>nd</sup> Troop) was

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<sup>15</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628.*

<sup>16</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/117. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Those fit to serve, but did not. 17 October 1626. f.1r. 44M69/G5/28/2. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>17</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/117. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Those fit to serve, but did not. 17 October 1626. f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/28/2. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628.*



instructed by Lord Conway in 1628 to take “care that the troop under his command may not be deficient”.<sup>18</sup> It is probable that this default was endemic throughout the militia horse, for Charles “directed that the troops of horse of that [Hampshire] and other counties be mustered before him”.<sup>19</sup> Due to take place on Hounslow Heath on 21 April, it was cancelled in favour of continued county musters. Laurence Spring argues that this was “because it ‘might have been very chargeable to the country’ which is compelling for a time when finance was always short.”<sup>20</sup> Boynton, however, while saying that this was the official reason, argues that it was not possible for the light horse to be absent from the County while it struggled to cope with the men back from France.<sup>21</sup> This is evidenced by accounts and receipts relating to conduct money for Romsey (2<sup>nd</sup> Troop) and Basingstoke and Basing (3<sup>rd</sup> Troop).<sup>22</sup> It may be added, that those who were absent from local musters, were no more likely to have attended Hounslow. It had become part of the psyche within the light horse, and the militia more generally, that official instructions would be ignored and at best avoided. Consequently, individuals in the localities were able to justify to themselves their retention of tax and subsidy monies as well as their laxity in meeting assessments and attending musters.

There was a peak in absenteeism within Hampshire in 1629, with evidence of its occurring in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Troops. 19 defaults, recorded as absentee, were

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<sup>18</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1627-1628*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1858), p.513, vol.XC, 72, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775381/page/n6/2up> [accessed 4 February 2020].

<sup>19</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1627-1628*, p.513, vol.XC, 72. Boynton. p.253. Laurence Spring, *The First British Army. 1624-1628: The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion, 2016), p.174.

<sup>20</sup> Spring. p.174.

<sup>21</sup> Boynton. p.253.

<sup>22</sup> HA 44M69/G5/45/31. *Romsey. Receipt for Conduct Money. 11 August 1628*. HA 44M69/G5/40/16. *Basingstoke. Account of Conduct Money. 16 January – 30 April 1628*. HA 44M69/G5/45/26. *Basingstoke. Receipt for Conduct Money. 17 July 1628*. HA 44M69/G5/50/40/17. *Basing. Account of Conduct Money. 18 July 1628*. HA 44M69/G5/45/27. *Basing. Receipt for Conduct Money. 18 July 1628*.

listed against 16 defaulters on a muster roll for the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop.<sup>23</sup> Of these, seven were noted against knights; one to John Jephson of Alton Hundred and two each to Thomas Neale, William Uvedale, and Daniel Norton (resident at Southwick Priory) of Portsdown Division.<sup>24</sup> One each was against Colmer and Newton farms, which were in Finchdean, and Selborne Hundreds (Alton Division). The other ten fell evenly between misters and parsonages, with three of the latter being for those of two parishes.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop recorded 34 absentees in 1629. Primarily they may be found on the muster roll, with additional names and more detail relating to the defaults appearing on returns made by the constables of four Hundreds in the Basingstoke Division.<sup>25</sup> There was a wider spread across the societal groupings in this troop than the 1<sup>st</sup>. In part this may be attributed to the large number of absentees, almost double, which leads to the conclusion that the societal spread would be broader. It would also have been influenced by the diversity of societal groupings within population centres, such as Basingstoke. Six were the responsibility of four knights, three of whom were from Bermondspit, Holdshott, and Odiham Hundreds in Basingstoke Division. The fourth, Robert Oxenbregge of Evingar Hundred, like Edward South of Holdshott, had been assessed at two light horse. Lady Bridget Kingsmill of Kingsclere had two absent, as did Lady Lucie of Evingar

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<sup>23</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1v.*

<sup>24</sup> Anon. *Biography of Sir Daniel Norton 1568-1636*, at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/norton-sir-daniel-1568-1636](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/norton-sir-daniel-1568-1636) [accessed 16 March 2021].

<sup>25</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll with Constables Return for Micheldever Hundred. 26 September 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/19/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Holdshott Hundred. 14 September 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/19/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Holdshott Hundred. 21 September 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/18. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Overton Hundred. 21 September 1629.* HA 44M69/G5/40/20. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Bermondspit Hundred. 21 September 1629.*

Hundred. Other absentee defaults included Doctor Love, Captain Lambert, Corporal Kinge, three Mrs, two parsonages and 16 misters. The latter could be found in all areas providing men for the troop except Evingar.

The recording of absentee was most prevalent against misters, with 21 across the two Troops. This was followed by knights with 13, parsonages with seven and Ladies with four. In all, the absentee rate for these two troops represented 25% of the total strength of Hampshire's light horse. Sharpe was understating the truth when he wrote that the 1629 musters were poorly attended.<sup>26</sup> Boynton says that the horse was "Beyond question the least satisfactory section of the militia".<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Charles announced in April another attempt to hold a grand review. Set for October, as with that of 1628, it came to nought.<sup>28</sup> This may have, as in 1628, been because the cost would have been an added financial burden on the localities, where the Lieutenancy had experienced an increasing reluctance to paying towards the militia.<sup>29</sup> There was also a continued likelihood that those failing to attend local musters would not present themselves at a review. Due to their long record of absenteeism and defaulting, the idea of furnishing fatigue cannot be applied to the light horse.

Mister would inevitably have a higher rate of absenteeism, because among the male furnishers it was the lowest societal grouping, the most numerous, and the least wealthy, who, by being aspirational of gentry status, were liable to over-extend their finances.<sup>30</sup> The constables' returns' give us some insight into this. Thomas

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<sup>26</sup> Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p.505.

<sup>27</sup> Boynton. p.227.

<sup>28</sup> Boynton. p.253.

<sup>29</sup> Lois G. Schwoerer, *"No Standing Armies!" The antiarmy ideology in seventeenth-century England*, (Baltimore, U.S.A.: John Hopkins University Press, 1974), p.20, at <https://archive.org/details/nostandingarmies0000schw/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 12 June 2020].

<sup>30</sup> Jonathan Worton, 'Ludlow's Trained Band: A Story of Militiamen in Early Stuart England', in *The Journal for Army Historical Research*, (London: The Society for Army Historical Research), 91.365.(2013).1. p.14.

White was absent at Farnham, as reported to a constable of Bermondspit by his servant.<sup>31</sup> Stafferton, of Holdshott, was also absent from Hampshire, and saw it as his tenants' responsibility to meet the assessment, but when pressed on the issue on 26 September, muster day, he refused to provide a light horse, so becoming obstinate.<sup>32</sup> Others, including Willis of Overton and Chandler of Micheldever, said they would answer to the Deputy Lieutenants on 6 October as required by warrants to comply.<sup>33</sup> With no evidence of financial hardship they appear to be instances of delay and avoidance. Mister Moore, of Micheldever, described as both absent and refusing, answered the summons, saying "he is hardly Charged wth. foote Armes and therefore doth hope he may very well be excused for shewing any light horse".<sup>34</sup> He stands out as the only mister claiming a degree of poverty. In 1625 he had defaulted on his full assessment of two corslets and two muskets and was still defaulting on the latter in 1626.<sup>35</sup>

Among the knights, there were legitimate grounds for some to feel aggrieved at being recorded as absent. Sir William Uvedale would have considered himself excused, for though "noe person is to excuse himselfe of what degree or quallitye soever", he was a servant of the Crown, which gave exemption.<sup>36</sup> Sir

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<sup>31</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/20. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Bermondspit Hundred. 21 September 1629.* ff.1r and 1v.

<sup>32</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/19/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Holdshott Hundred. 14 September 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 29 September 1629.* f.2r.

<sup>33</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/18. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Overton Hundred. 21 September 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll with Constables Return for Micheldever Hundred. 26 September 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>34</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll with Constables Return for Micheldever Hundred. 26 September 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>35</sup> HA 44M69/G5/26/2. *Micheldever Company. Muster Roll. 1625.* ff.1v and 2r. HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *Muster Book. (County). 1626.* f.8v.

<sup>36</sup> Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts*, (London: Merlin Press, 1959), p.349, at <https://archive.org/details/englishyeomanund0000camp/page/n15/mode/2up> [accessed 23 September 2020]. Lawson Chase Nagal, *The Militia of London 1641-1649*, (King's College London, PhD thesis, 1982), at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal> [accessed 4 July 2020].

Edward South, in his reply conveyed by a servant to the constables of Holdshott, claimed that he was over assessed on his property and subsequently not only were his two light horse absent, but also the assessed for musketeer. It is most likely that he was avoiding personal expenditure.<sup>37</sup> Sir Robert Oxenbregge, like Uvedale, had good reason, he was comparatively poor. By 1630 he was in debt, so had no ready cash to finance the two horses for which he was assessed, and by 1636 had sold his estate at Hurstbourne Priors.<sup>38</sup> Sir Daniel Norton was a blatant avoider, who of all the knights noted here was most capable of meeting the assessment of two light horse. He held at least five sets of horse arms in his private armoury, two of which, in his will inventory, are described as being in use.<sup>39</sup>

1629 is the first year that absenteeism among light horse assessed on parsonages is substantially definable. It had become inevitable after 1608, when the clergy was first assessed by the County Lieutenancy rather than the Bishops.<sup>40</sup> The clergy may not have been obliged to attend musters in person, but “They had their horses and their servants, so it was appropriate for them to equip cavalymen”.<sup>41</sup> However, having been answerable to their Bishops in the Church hierarchy, some resented the demands made of them by members of the laity; for example, Richard Crosse of Heckfield.<sup>42</sup> There is muster roll evidence that some parsonages may have been poor, especially when two were combined to furnish one

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<sup>37</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/19/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Constables Return. Holdshott Hundred. 14 September 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/29/17. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628.* f.5r, where it says that he was assessed for a farm at Bramshill. HA 44M69/G5/30/21/1. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>38</sup> Anon. *Biography of Sir Robert Oxenbridge 1595-1638*, at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/oxenbridge-sir-robert-ii-1595-1638](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/oxenbridge-sir-robert-ii-1595-1638) [accessed 16 March 2021].

<sup>39</sup> HA 5M50/373. *Inventory of the goods of Sir Daniel Norton. July 1636.* f.11r.

<sup>40</sup> Boynton. p.222.

<sup>41</sup> C.G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p.30.

<sup>42</sup> Boynton. p.275.

horse, such as Faringdon and Bentworth, near Alton.<sup>43</sup> This also reflects the shortage of money throughout the societal groupings following the continual expenditure on the military through the preceding part of the decade. Essentially, the absenteeism here was a result of whether laity should have power over the Church in militia matters, and a combination of inherent local poverty, and a probable temporary shortage of money, caused by the recent supplying and passage of men for the army. Taxation would also have had an effect with the five subsidies granted by Parliament to Charles in June 1628 due to be paid between July 1628, and March 1629 “charged [at] 2s 8d per pound for moveable goods worth £3 or more, and 4s per pound for land worth 20s or more per annum”, for each instalment.<sup>44</sup> In the case of land, this meant the full value of its income would be payable over a nine-month period.

Lady Bridget Kingsmill and Lady Constance Lucy were both wealthy widows and should therefore have been capable of meeting the costs of each providing two light horse. The former had spent £24 in 1627 to bring her horse up to the required standard, yet still they became absentees.<sup>45</sup> The latter, in her will, said she had already passed her demesne land to her son so the responsibility for the assessment was his, but the default was still recorded as hers.<sup>46</sup> It might be argued that in their widowhood they were custodians of the family property and that in this they were more constrained in their expenditure than their late husbands had been. They could not avoid taxes and loans, or their share of coat and conduct money, but

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<sup>43</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1v*

<sup>44</sup> M. Jurkowski, C.L. Smith, and D. Crook, *Lay Taxes in England and Wales 1188-1688*, (Chippenham: Public Record Office, 1998), Public Record Office Handbook 31, p.186.

<sup>45</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/35. *Letter. Bridget Kingsmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Provision of Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628. ff.1r and 2v.*

<sup>46</sup> TNA PROB 11/174/426. *Will of Lady Constance Lucy. 27 June 1637. (dated 15 May 1635).*

they could avoid, or at least defer the militia assessment. In this regard, wealth and societal standing became irrelevant.

Absenteeism occurred in all three troops of light horse in 1635. Of 168 horse due to muster, 15 from the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, 18 from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, and 17 from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, or 30% of the listed strength failed to muster, though Sharpe says that no more than half turned out.<sup>47</sup> Seven gentlemen and esquires were responsible for nine of those in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop. Of these, Thomas Neale gentleman, who was described as a knight in 1629 defaulted on two, as did Rich. Cotton esquire; both were from Portsdown Division.<sup>48</sup> The other six were spread across five societal categories, with two against Dr Steward (Alton Hundred and Division), and one each against a knight, mister, named individual, and the parsonages of Faringdon and Bentworth.<sup>49</sup>

In the other two troops absentees were more evenly spread through the societal groupings. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop had four knights, who defaulted on six horse. Of these, Sir John Holland and Sir John Compton of Andover Division, were cited for two and one respectively. The others, from Fawley Division were recorded thus, two against Sir Henry Myldmay, and one against Sir Henry Knowles. Four each were recorded in relation to gentlemen and misters, of which William Rolf esquire absented two. Dr Lucie, and the Master of St. Cross Hospital were responsible for one each, as were the parsonages of Old Alresford, and St. Mary's (Southampton).<sup>50</sup>

Within the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, misters accounted for eight absentees, or half the number noted in 1629, of whom only Mr Moore of Micheldever appears in both

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<sup>47</sup> Sharpe. p.544.

<sup>48</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>49</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>50</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.* The Hampshire Archives catalogue incorrectly dates this document as 1636.

years. Sir Wm. Pitt, Holdshott Hundred, and Sir Robert Oxenbregge, Evingar Hundred, defaulted on two each, with the latter being recorded for a second time.<sup>51</sup> Of the others, two each were the responsibility of Thos. Brocas esquire, Basingstoke Extra, and Wm. Kingsmyll esquire, Kingsclere Hundred, and one Waltham and Ash parsonages.<sup>52</sup>

Absentee as a default was most noted in the case of gentlemen and esquires, with 17 in 1635. This was followed by misters with 13, knights 11, four against professionals, one a named individual and four parsonages. The light horse had therefore not improved its attendance levels at muster since 1629. Those that did attend were “for the most part base and unserviceable jades”.<sup>53</sup> However, though “defects were still acknowledged to persist”, numbers on the rolls may have increased, suggesting, as they were similar, that the total on the muster books may have fallen in the interim.<sup>54</sup> In an effort to curtail this problem, at least three furnishers of light horse in Hampshire were summoned to appear before the Council, which “discussed propositions for sending pursuivants to musters to haul defaulters directly back to Whitehall”.<sup>55</sup>

Gentlemen and esquires had the highest level of absenteeism in 1635. In part this was because their societal grouping held “the belief that military matters required less priority”, with any direct, or perceived military threat to England having receded

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<sup>51</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>52</sup> HA44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* ff.1r and 1v.

<sup>53</sup> Sharpe. p.544.

<sup>54</sup> Sharpe. p.545.

<sup>55</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865), p.555, vol.CCCIII, 119, at <https://srchive.org/details/cu31924019770200/page/n5/mode/2up> [accessed 8 February 2020]. Sharpe. p.487.



since the 1620s.<sup>56</sup> As a result, though they identified with the militia, they “regularly evaded their military responsibilities”.<sup>57</sup> To compound this, it was the responsibility of parish constables to ensure that the furnished attended musters, and to distribute any subsequent summons. It is reasonable to surmise that the gentry would be unwilling or at least recalcitrant in taking instructions from those they considered as socially beneath them.

Of the 12 furnishers in this category, five were responsible for two absentees each. Of these, two may be described as serial defaulters, individuals who deliberately avoided the assessment. It is possible that both had suffered financial hardship since 1629 as each had been in a different societal grouping. Thomas Brocas, (Brokas in 1629), of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, had been a mister responsible for one light horse, on which he defaulted.<sup>58</sup> Thos. Neale, of the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, had been described as ‘knight’, so had moved socially downwards.<sup>59</sup>

Others, such as Henry Champion and Richard Cotton of the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop may have had good reason to be disappointed at being listed as in default. Both could have argued that the assessment was not theirs to fulfil and should have fallen respectively to “the occupiers of ye farme and land late of” and “occupiers of the land late”.<sup>60</sup> John Avington claimed that he only met the assessment on behalf of his tenants through fear of not receiving their rent, adding that he could not be held responsible for any assessment on land he had recently sold at Hursley, even

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<sup>56</sup> Henrik Langeluddecke, ‘The Chiefest Strength & Glory of This Kingdom: Arming and Training the ‘Perfect Militia’ in the 1630s’, in the *English Historical Review*, 118(479), p.1266 note 10, (2003), at [https://watermark-silverchair-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE490oan9kkhlW\\_Ercy7Dm3ZL\\_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKqhKig9w0B1](https://watermark-silverchair-com.glos.idm.oclc.org/4791264.pdf?token=AQECAHi208BE490oan9kkhlW_Ercy7Dm3ZL_9Cf3qfKAc485ysgAAArYwggKyBgKqhKig9w0B1) [accessed 29 June 2020].

<sup>57</sup> Schwoerer. p.15.

<sup>58</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>59</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1v.*

<sup>60</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

though he was being assessed on subsequent investments.<sup>61</sup> In consequence of what he saw as a generous action towards his tenants he was claiming poverty. However, his troop captain, Gifford of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, was not convinced because Avington admitted that land he settled on his son at marriage was assessed to a total of ten muskets.<sup>62</sup>

John Knight of Alton, by comparison, appears to have been a poor 'esquire' who absented one of his two horse from the July muster.<sup>63</sup> By December, he had neither reformed the second horse, nor sent acceptable reason for its absence to the Deputy Lieutenants. On 12 December the Council issued an order for him to appear in person to explain his default.<sup>64</sup> Two years later, this assessment was the responsibility of Richard Knight, who also defaulted.<sup>65</sup> There is implication here, that the Knights' assessment was consistently above what they could afford.

Absenteeism as a default among misters had fallen by 1635. The 13 instances were the responsibility of 13 individuals, for whom there is no evidence relating to societal aspirations. Of the four who also defaulted in 1629 all maintained their standing as 'mister'. It is possible that there was some inherent poverty here, for example, Mr Bale was still assessed for Colmer Farm in Finchdeane Hundred, on which he would default again in 1637.<sup>66</sup> Of the others from 1629, Mr Robert Wright was now described as Robert Wright and the default noted against "The occupyers of ht farme late of Robt Wright", so it was no longer

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<sup>61</sup> Boynton. pp.275, and 278-279.

<sup>62</sup> Boynton. p.279.

<sup>63</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>64</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635.* p.555, vol.CCCIII, 119.

<sup>65</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>66</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

considered his to rectify.<sup>67</sup> Mostly, they do not re-appear, confirming that in all likelihood, their default had been a result of the financial pressures of the mid-1620s. Such pressures did continue, for example, the requirement to pay towards the muster masters fees, which though only a few shillings per parish, would have affected the misters, being men of lesser means, more acutely.<sup>68</sup>

There was less absenteeism among the knights than in the 1620s, with just Sir Edmond Plowden in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, two each against Sir William Pitt and Sir Robert Oxenbregge in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop; with Sir Henry Myldmay and Sir John Holland responsible for two, and Sir John Compton and Sir Henry Knowles one apiece in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop.<sup>69</sup> Poverty as a reason for default has already been explored in the case of Oxenbregge. They are all described as 'absent' in the muster rolls, but there is evidence of repeat offending, and multiple offences across the light horse and infantry. Sir Henry Knowles of Nursling, 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, though there are no rolls prior to 1635 for this troop, defaulted on a corslet and musket in 1629.<sup>70</sup> Sir John Holland, sometimes Hollen, of Mottisfont in the same troop, was prolific, defaulting on four corslets and four muskets in 1635 and 1637.<sup>71</sup> He was undoubtedly avoiding his assessment, and if he had been of a lower societal grouping, would most likely have been recorded as 'obstinate'.<sup>72</sup> Sir Edward Plowden of Wanstead, 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, absented his light horse from the muster on 27 July 1635 and subsequently failed to

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<sup>67</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>68</sup> HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts.* (unfoliated). Chawton contributed 5s 10d towards the Muster Master's fee in 1635. This sum had increased by 2d in 1637 to 6s.

<sup>69</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.*

<sup>70</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/1. *Hursley Company. Muster Roll. 1629.* ff.1r and 3r.

<sup>71</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/2. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1635.* ff.2r and 2v.

<sup>72</sup> Sharpe. p.490. Some of those in the higher social groupings were not listed as defaulters on the lists sent to Council, in case their acts of default were seen as a bad example.

meet the assessment. On 12 December Council issued an order that “John Penniall messenger” should be sent down into Hampshire to escort him and others to appear before them.<sup>73</sup> A draft entry in the Council Register, dated 23 December 1635, states that Plowden was discharged on submission.<sup>74</sup> In 1637 he fulfilled his assessment, which had increased to two light horse.<sup>75</sup>

Absenteeism is only evident for the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop of light horse in 1637, due to the paucity of primary material. Of the 16 instances, one, relating to Mr Bale of Colmer Farm has already been discussed. Seven were the responsibility of gentlemen or esquires. Five, categorized as ‘other’, related to parsonages, and three to named individuals.<sup>76</sup> The level of this default within this troop was similar to that of 1635. However, it was still about one third of the troop strength, which if mirrored across the whole of Hampshire’s light horse would mean that about 60 would have defaulted through absenteeism. The smallpox and suspected plague of the previous year appear to have had little or no effect on the numbers.

Nationally the militia horse was described as “altogether out of frame and unserviceable”, suggesting that orders to reform, proposed regional musters, and the summoning of defaulters to appear before the Council had at best had a limited effect by 1637.<sup>77</sup> A group of officers and gentlemen, whose credentials indicated that they were experienced in war on the continent, said they could train the horse “according to the best discipline then in use”.<sup>78</sup> They asked for a list of furnishers, and adequate salaries. Though their proposals were sent to the Council in 1638

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<sup>73</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.2v. Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635.* p.555, vol.CCCIII, 119.

<sup>74</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1635.* p.591, vol.CCCV, 9.

<sup>75</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>76</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* ff.1r-1v.

<sup>77</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1637-1638.* p.250, vol.CCCXXXII, 2.

<sup>78</sup> Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1637-1638.* p.81, vol.CCCLXXVI, 64.

there was a flaw in that to be achieved a further tax would be required in the localities, where money was already laid out to the muster masters, in part for this purpose.<sup>79</sup> If pursued, it would have thereby increased the inclination to default.

Of the seven recorded instances of absenteeism among gentlemen and esquires of the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop in 1637, four were in the Portsdown Division, with two against John Parkinson esquire, of Titchfield Hundred, and one each against Richard Cotton esquire of Bosmere Hundred and Thomas Badd gentleman of Fareham.<sup>80</sup> For Parkinson, this is the only occasion he is noted as a defaulter. Cotton, who was also an absentee in 1635, defaulted on his living, and so was now more likely responsible for the default than previously. However, he had defaulted in some form since 1629 so was almost certainly attempting to avoid his assessment and the consequential financial, and physical expenditure of sending a horse and arms to muster. Badd, though avoiding his personal assessment, was typical of his societal grouping in associating with the militia; as a captain of foot.<sup>81</sup> Richard Knight of Alton Division and Hundred has already been discussed. Henry Hooke esquire, of the same, absented one of his two horse, but there is no evidence to suggest anything other than avoidance on his part.<sup>82</sup>

Edward Heighes esquire, also of Alton Hundred, fits the profile of a blatant repeat offender, being absent in 1629, 1635, and 1637.<sup>83</sup> Heighes may have been summoned to appear before the Deputy-Lieutenants at Winchester, as were other

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<sup>79</sup> HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts.* (unfoliated) Chawton paid 6s in both 1637 and 1638 towards the Muster Masters fees. Also see note 68 above.

<sup>80</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1v.

<sup>81</sup> Sharpe. p.544. Captain Badd, of the Fareham and Havant infantry company, listed his sparemen and gave them two weeks to find what he deemed to be suitable arms.

<sup>82</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>83</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

defaulters of the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, as evidenced for Bosmere Hundred. Thomas Long, constable of Bosmere, had “received order from the right worte Sir Richard Norton Knight for the warning of such persons” whose light horse were defective or absent from the general muster to appear.<sup>84</sup> Though no evidence has been found in relation to Heighes, failure to comply could result in an appearance at the Quarter-Sessions, or before the Council. In the case of those who continued to be ‘obstinate’, fines might be imposed, and ultimately imprisonment until defaults were rectified. Whatever the sanction, if there was one, it appears to have had no long-term effect on Heighes inclination to default. There is no evidence to suggest poverty, with the onerous financial demands for the armies of the 1620s mostly absent at this point in the 1630s.

The category of ‘other’, though being five instances, was the responsibility of eight parsonages. Of the three in the Alton Division, Faringdon and Bentworth has already been mentioned, with one noted against Buriton in Finchdeane Hundred, and one against Bighton and Hinton Ampner.<sup>85</sup> The other two were in the Portsdown Division, being Meonstoke, and Alverstoke with Warblington in Bosmere Hundred.<sup>86</sup> All, except Buriton and Bighton with Hinton Ampner, also defaulted in 1629, and their continued appearance is suggestive either of sustained inherent poverty or the re-emergence of a faction within the clergy unwilling to follow orders from the laity.<sup>87</sup>

Of the three named individuals, all from the Alton Division, Robert Wright was now noted as deceased so although he still appears on the muster roll, the

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<sup>84</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>85</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1r.*

<sup>86</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1v.*

<sup>87</sup> Boynton. p.275.

assessment was now the responsibility of “The occupiers of the farme of Robert Wright deceased”. It is probable that a will would have passed his horse and arms out of the property, so creating an absence when the new occupiers were required to show the same at muster.<sup>88</sup> This did occur in the case of Richard Knight of Chawton who in 1642 bequeathed to his “soone Richard my warlike armes wth the musketts guns pikes and all my munition and artillery that is about my house”, but not the house itself, which he left to his wife Elizabeth for the duration of her widowhood.<sup>89</sup> Newton Palmer and Anthony Holden, though both appearing on the default list, were not wholly responsible, indeed the former’s assessment is ascribed to his tenants and the latter to his tenants and the living he acquired from their tenancy.<sup>90</sup> There is the implication that if the tenants could not meet the assessment, then the landholders would.

Absenteeism as a default was at a high level in 1639. Although evidence in the *Jervoise of Herriard* collection relates only to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, which had an absentee rate of 26% on 2 April, and 42%, with 35 of its’ 84 men not showing at a second muster, it is probable that similar rates occurred in the other two troops.<sup>91</sup> Langeluddecke identifies two reasons for this default rate, namely aggravation caused by the unpopularity of the 1639 and subsequent 1640 wars with Scotland, and “the detested forced recruitment of villagers”, men of the trained militia, who had

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<sup>88</sup> Due to the Covid 19 restrictions in place at time this project was researched, it has not been possible to establish whether there is an extant will and/or inventory for Robert Wright at Hampshire Archives.

<sup>89</sup> TNA PROB 11/189/366. *Will of Richard Knight. 17 June 1642.* (dated 14 January 1642). Knight’s only son and heir had been born on 21 November 1639, and inherited the family property at Chawton in 1660. For biography of Richard Knight junior see, Anon. *Biography of Sir Richard Knight 1639-1679*, at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/knight-sir-richard-1639-79](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1660-1690/member/knight-sir-richard-1639-79) [accessed 24 March 2021].

<sup>90</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>91</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.*

HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated. probably 1639).

previously been exempt from impressment.<sup>92</sup> One might add to this the uncertainty of

how many men would be required. Indeed, in February it was only known that members of the light horse would be required to serve.<sup>93</sup> It was ordered that the horse “with their horsemen completely armed you are to cause to be put in readiness and weekly exercised, so as they might be in good equipage and ready to march”.<sup>94</sup> In April, 83, or almost 50% were required to be “chosen and listed”.<sup>95</sup>

There was also concern regarding coat and conduct money, especially the rate at which it would be set in the localities, considering the number of men that would be in transit. Hampshire’s Lord Lieutenant wrote to the Council in April suggesting that letters be sent out to the Justices of the Peace to “assist in that service”.<sup>96</sup> Evidence relating to Wootton St. Lawrence (3<sup>rd</sup> Troop) indicates that 6d was given to two soldiers, but these were probably infantry, considering the rate for a horseman was 1s 6d per day in the early 1630s.<sup>97</sup> Chawton (1<sup>st</sup> Troop) paid 12s in 1640, specifically as coat and conduct money to move soldiers to a rendezvous at Winchester.<sup>98</sup>

Of the 44 instances across the two musters in 1639 14 were the responsibility of ten knights. The Gentlemen and esquires had nine instances recorded against them. Ten were noted against misters, and seven against ‘other’, primarily

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<sup>92</sup> Langeluddecke. p.1303.

<sup>93</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1638-1639*. (London: Longman & Co., & Tubner & Co., 1871), p.514, vol.CCCCXIII, 111, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770242/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 18 March 2020].

<sup>94</sup> Bruce. *CSPD. 1638-1639*. p.514, vol.CCCCXIII, 111.

<sup>95</sup> William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD 1639*, (London: Longman & Co., 1873), p.100, vol.CCCCXVIII, 105, at <https://archive.org/details/31924091770291/page/n7/mode/2up> [accessed 24 April 2020].

<sup>96</sup> Hamilton. *CSPD 1639*. p.101, vol.CCCCXVIII, 105. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl Portland, Jerome Weston was Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, 1635-1642. For biography of Portland, see Anon. *Biography of Jerome Weston 1605-1663*, at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/weston-jerome-1605-1663](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/weston-jerome-1605-1663) [accessed 26 March 2021].

<sup>97</sup> HA 75M72/PZ3. *Wootton St. Lawrence. Churchwardens Accounts*. p.102.

<sup>98</sup> HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts*. [unfoliated].



parsonages. Lady Beconsole had one absentee, as did Mrs Fleminge.

Three knights accounted for four absentees in Fawley Division, of which two, assessed on Henry Mildmay, were noted at both musters.<sup>99</sup> John Chapman also appeared on both, while William Ogle only did so in April. Richard Lucie and John Blackgrove, of the New Forest Division, appear on both rolls.<sup>100</sup> The other eight were all from the Andover Division. John Holland, John Compton, and Robert Payne had an absentee each in April.<sup>101</sup> Payne was not absent from the second muster, with Holland absenting two and Compton three, while Jarrard Fleetwood and Charles Smith now had one each.<sup>102</sup> These figures indicate that the April muster came first, with the other taking place after those to be selected had been chosen. There were now 12 instances as opposed to nine in April, and of these, three, Mildmay's two and Fleetwood's were "with the king".<sup>103</sup> The others, by being absent, were saving furnishers the expense of turning them out at muster, while delaying the loss of men, arms and horses to the press.

Among the gentlemen and esquires, absentees are only found in the Fawley and New Forest Divisions. William Paulet, Thomas Mills, and "Mr High Sheriff" were absentees from Fawley in April.<sup>104</sup> Paulet was at the later muster, unlike Mills and the High Sheriff, who was now recorded as James Hunt esquire.<sup>105</sup> They were joined

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<sup>99</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.3r.  
HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.1r.

<sup>100</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.3r.  
HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.1r.

<sup>101</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.2r.

<sup>102</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). ff.1r and 3r.

<sup>103</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.1r.

<sup>104</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.3r.

<sup>105</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.2r.

in default by Jarrard Nash, William Rolfe, and Mr Coram esquire, who appeared in April as Mr Coram.<sup>106</sup> Of the three in the New Forest, John Button and William Abarrow were infantry captains, while Thomas Lee was “with the king”.<sup>107</sup> As with the knights the increased absenteeism at the second muster was probably an attempt to avoid losing local men, horses and arms to the army being mustered near York. Besides this, there was the on-going problem of raising the coat and conduct money, which as in previous years was deemed to be the responsibility of those in the localities, those with property, land and an income, primarily the furnishers.<sup>108</sup>

Mister’s Coram and Tutt of Fawley and Button of New Forest all absented their light horse from the April muster.<sup>109</sup> Coram and Button were recorded as esquires at the second muster.<sup>110</sup> Henry Fillpot, Foyle, Godfree and Withers, from the Andover Division, were all recorded in April.<sup>111</sup> Only Fillpot is on the later roll, where he shows as Henry Philpott and is assessed at two rather than one light horse.<sup>112</sup> There is no specific evidence of poverty among this societal grouping in 1639. They would have been subject to the financial demands affecting other groups which would have influenced their inclination to default. Coram and Button may have perceived themselves as being of higher social standing as the year progressed, though Button had been styled as ‘esquire’ on the muster rolls since at

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<sup>106</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.1r.

<sup>107</sup> HA 44M69/G5/43/9. *New Lymington Company. Muster Roll. 1638.* HA 44M69/G5/42/16. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.2v.

<sup>108</sup> William Douglas Hamilton, ed., *CSPD 1639.* p.100, vol.CCCXVIII, 105. Schoerer. pp.22-23. Includes discussion of the view that coat and conduct money was a loan from the localities, repayable from the Treasury by application through the Lieutenancy.

<sup>109</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.3r.

<sup>110</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). ff.1r and 2v.

<sup>111</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639.* f.3r.

<sup>112</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.3r.

least 1632. This did not dissuade them from defaulting.<sup>113</sup> Withers, of the misters, was the most persistent and 'obstinate' defaulter, it being noted in April that he "never sends arms".<sup>114</sup>

Of those categorized as 'other', two un-named parsons are listed against the parsonages at Weyhill (Andover), and Old Alresford (Fawley) in April.<sup>115</sup> Four parsonages, including Old Alresford appear on the second roll, as do the Dean and College of Winchester.<sup>116</sup> Beyond the reasons discussed above, there is no evidence

to suggest, with regards absenteeism from muster, that circumstances had changed for parsonages.

Lady Beconsawe's light horse was absent from both musters.<sup>117</sup> Her late husband, Sir White Beconsawe, had only made his will, which was proved on 22 October 1638, on 20 August 1638, in which he bequeathed her about one quarter of his property for life.<sup>118</sup> In consequence of this she could have made a case for poverty, as she was assessed at up three times above the value of her estate. Therefore, with a reduced income, and possibly no arms or armour, it was inevitable that Lady Edith Beconsawe's light horse would be absent from muster.

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<sup>113</sup> HA 44M69/G5/32/17. *New Lymington Company. Muster Roll. 1632.*

<sup>114</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639. f.1r.*

<sup>115</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 2 April 1639. f.1r.*

<sup>116</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). ff.1r and 2r.*

<sup>117</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639. f.1r.*

HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). f.2v.*

<sup>118</sup> TNA PROB 11/178/155. *Will of White Beconsawe. 20 October 1638. Dated 20 August 1638.*

Type of Default	Total of this Default
Absent	215
Relating to Rider	2
Relating to Horse	30
Pistols	45
Lacking	9
Arms	10

Table 3.1: Defaults in the Light Horse. 1625-1640.<sup>119</sup>

### **Other Light Horse Defaults.**

#### **The Rider.**

There are only two recorded instances of default relating to ‘the rider’, but they are important because both are specifically said to have been ‘defective’. One, in 1628 from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, was Mr Cottell’s man from Basingstoke Extra Hundred, and as will be seen later Cottell also defaulted on his horse.<sup>120</sup> The other, in 1639 from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, was North Stoneham parsonage in Fawley Division, where ‘the rider’ was John Carter.<sup>121</sup> Sending ‘defective’ men may have been a ploy to make their horse less desirable for the army. The men themselves would probably not wish to default, certainly up to the point of being pressed, as they were entitled to 1s 6d a day whilst in arms.<sup>122</sup>

#### **The Horse.**

30 instances of default relating to horses are recorded in the muster rolls and default/defaulters lists. It first appears in 1628 within the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, with three in the

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<sup>119</sup> The following defaults have not been tabulated: Relating to saddle – 1; Furnisher claimed to have been discharged from assessment – 2; Furnisher hoped to be discharged – 1; certified absent – 1; pleaded privilege – 1; Furnisher ‘delapidated’ (old) – 1.

<sup>120</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>121</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). f.1r.*

<sup>122</sup> Boynton. p.286.

Basingstoke Division, of which one was in Bermondspit Hundred and two in Basingstoke Extra Hundred; and three in Evingar Hundred, Kingsclere Division. All were said to be 'defective', except for Sir Robert Oxenbrig's, which was 'absent'.<sup>123</sup> Besides these, Lady Kingsmill, who had two absentees in 1627, said she would not accept the constables' warrants, which gave a further five defaults in Kingsclere Hundred.<sup>124</sup> This limited evidence shows, and it is only in regards the Basingstoke and Kingsclere Divisions, or 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, that this default was most prevalent in the Kingsclere Hundred.

It was undoubtedly a default of the 'better sort' in 1628, with Sir John Hall and Sir Robert Oxenbrig being responsible for one apiece. Lady Lucie defaulted on two, and while Lady Kingsmill is not recorded as defaulting, she did so in 1627 and 1629.<sup>125</sup> Oxenbrig's 'absent', (see above), probably relates to his increasing poverty in the later 1620s. This may also apply to Lucy, whose 'defective' horses were said to be 'absent' the following year.<sup>126</sup> Kingsmill, by her own admission, owned at least two suitable horses.<sup>127</sup>

Both the misters, Cottell and Moore, of Basingstoke Extra Hundred, may have been victims of societal aspiration. Moore had sent his horse to the 1627 muster, but it was now 'defective'.<sup>128</sup> While Cottell had been recorded as an esquire, assessed for two light horse, one of which was absent in 1623.<sup>129</sup> His assessment had

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<sup>123</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>124</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/119/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1627. f.1v.*

HA 44M69/F4/15/35. *Letter. Bridget Kingsmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Provision of Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>125</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.* Historic conservation work has been carried out on this document. Some names near its foot are incomplete, while others are missing. It is possible that Lady Kingsmill is amongst the latter.

<sup>126</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2v.*

<sup>127</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/35. *Letter. Bridget Kingsmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Provision of Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>128</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>129</sup> HA 44M69/G5/36/12. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1623. f.1r.*

reduced, yet he still could not meet it. As with other furnishers in the Basingstoke area, they may have been required to contribute towards the 150 coats made locally for the army in May and June 1627 at a cost of £75 19s 5d.<sup>130</sup> They would also have had to contribute to coat and conduct money, which for three parishes of the Basingstoke Extra Hundred, for the period 18 July to 15 August, amounted to £3 00s 2d.<sup>131</sup> Consequently, there would have been less money available to cover their requirements for the trained militia and to maintain their social status.

Of nine defaults relating to horses in 1629 two were in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop. One, recorded as 'a horse', was noted against Sir Robert Oxenbridge of Evingar Hundred.<sup>132</sup> Seven are listed in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, with two assessed on Mr Cotton of Portsdown Division, and five in Alton Division, two of which were in Alton Hundred.<sup>133</sup>

All seven are recorded as 'horse' or 'a horse'. This default was therefore most prevalent in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop in 1629. Within the troop, it was most common in Alton Division and Hundred, where instances were noted against Sir John Jephson and Mr Knight.<sup>134</sup>

In 1629 this default was most prolific among the misters, who accounted for six, or two-thirds of the instances. Neither of those appearing in 1628 were reported as in default. Robert Ball was in default on this one occasion, but his horse was 'defective' in 1635.<sup>135</sup> It is reasonable to believe that Ball, from Holdshott Hundred,

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<sup>130</sup> HA 44M69/G5/48/93. *Basingstoke. Bill for Coat Money. (150 Coats). May/June. 1627.* ff.1r and 2v.

<sup>131</sup> HA 44M69/G5/45/27. *Basing. Receipt for Conduct Money. 18 July 1628.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/45/30. *Nateley Scures. Receipt for Conduct Money. 5 August 1628.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/45/32. *Newnham. Receipt for Conduct Money. 15 August 1628.* f.1r.

<sup>132</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.2v.

<sup>133</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* ff.1r-1v.

<sup>134</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.1r.

<sup>135</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.2r. HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

may have been affected by the financial pressures of the previous year in the Basingstoke area. He was certainly an 'obstinate' defaulter, being one of those listed by Captain Kingsmill in an order of 21 September for re-assembling the 3rd Troop who failed to appear at the muster on 26 September. Cotton saw a change in his societal standing and level of assessment. He would be described as esquire by 1635, and in 1629 was required to supply two light horse rather than one, both of which he defaulted on. Like Ball, he can be described as 'obstinate', because he refused to conform or give the constables any answer other than that he would explain himself to the Deputy Lieutenants. There can be little doubt that he was avoiding his obligations to the militia, a situation that would only continue, when it is considered that by not showing the horses, he could not be instructed of what needed rectifying, and that it being late in the season, there would be little chance of his being required to show them before the spring, at which point the process of avoidance could resume.

The misters in the Alton Division of the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop defaulted on their horses for several reasons. As discussed under absenteeism, Knight may have done so because of consistent over assessment. Bold, for whom this was the only occasion he was in default, had probably suffered financially from the levels of taxation for the military through the 1620s, so was either unable or chose not to furnish a horse. It is also possible that he had no suitable horse to furnish. Poverty, if looking at 1629 in isolation, appears to be behind the default of "Mr Love and his mother".<sup>136</sup> However, later in the period, Love is recorded as a gentleman, who still defaults with the widow Love on one horse, so despite his financial situation and ability or inclination to meet the assessment having not changed, he had distanced himself from his mother and

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<sup>136</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.*

become aspirational.<sup>137</sup>

Of the knights, Oxenbridge's increasing poverty has already been covered above. Personal absence may be ascribed to Sir John Jephson for the horse assessed for his property at Froyle, near Alton.<sup>138</sup> This default continued throughout the period, and there is no suggestion of any tenants at Froyle becoming liable. From Jephson's point of view, he was not in the country, was unlikely to be summoned, as a knight, and if he was, the process would take months, so he could fulfil his obligations as he saw fit.

Recorded defaults relating to the horse in 1635, though the same as 1629, were now evenly spread across all three troops. Of those in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop two were in Alton Division, and one in Portsdown. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop two, a vicarage and a parsonage were in Andover Division, and a third was Sir Henry Clarke's.<sup>139</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop had one from Basingstoke Extra Hundred, and two in the Kingsclere Hundred. As a default, the horse is not prevalent in one troop but is slightly more evident in the Alton, Andover, and Kingsclere Hundreds.

The horse as a default was present in most societal groupings in 1635, with one knight, two gentlemen/esquires, two against one lady, one mister, one named individual and two 'other'. Sir Henry Clarke, had one 'defect horse' amongst the two for which he was assessed.<sup>140</sup> As Captain of the Winchester infantry company, he had a record of absenteeism from 1629.<sup>141</sup> Lady Lucie's two horses were described

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<sup>137</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>138</sup> Jephson was primarily resident at his Irish estate and was in England between 1627 and 1629. For a full biography of Sir John Jephson see, Anon. *Biography of Sir John Jephson*, at [www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/Jephson-sir-john-1579-1638](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/Jephson-sir-john-1579-1638) [accessed 15 March 2021].

<sup>139</sup> Sir Henry Clarke was Captain of the Winchester infantry company. See HA 44M69/G5/27/14 and HA 44M69/G5/30/25.

<sup>140</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/2. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.3r.*

<sup>141</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629.*



as 'absent', seeing her return to her default level of 1628.<sup>142</sup> Most of the others are described as 'defective', while William Pownd esquire was required to 'provide a horse'.<sup>143</sup> Representing about 5% of the light horse strength, their defaulting would undoubtedly have been influenced by factors discussed under absenteeism. There are two distinct exceptions, in Thomas Chace and Mr Cuffouled. Chace, like Clarke, had a record of defaulting, his horse having been 'defective' in 1629.<sup>144</sup> It is possible that it was not robust enough to carry an armed trooper, and that he may not have had the income to remedy this. As a member of the lowest societal male grouping, he might have suffered from genuine ongoing poverty, leading to an inclination to allow the default to continue. Cuffouled, on the other hand, was most likely an 'obstinate', deliberate avoider of the assessment, as he had 'refused' to accept it in 1629.<sup>145</sup>

There were only two defaults relating to the horse in 1637, both of which were in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop and both relating to parsonages.<sup>146</sup> Of four in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop in 1639, three were in Fawley Division and one in Andover.<sup>147</sup> Mr Wells, who had been absent in 1635, now had a 'defective' horse.<sup>148</sup> Cheriton parsonage had what was described as an 'evil horse'.<sup>149</sup> Dr Mason, of Weyhill parsonage, as had been the case in 1635, was 'wilfully absent' with regards his horse, which suggests that his

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<sup>142</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628. f.1r.*

## 110

<sup>143</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.2r.*

<sup>144</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>145</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>146</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.*

<sup>147</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). ff.1r, 2r and 3r-3v.*

<sup>148</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). f.1r.*

<sup>149</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639). f.2r.*

actions were deliberate, and perhaps even a malicious attempt to avoid the assessment over a sustained period.<sup>150</sup> The instances involving Mr Wells and Cheriton parsonage are indicative of attempts to prove how unsuitable their horses would be as cavalry mounts.

### **Pistols.**

The pistol, which is recorded 45 times as a default, first appears in Hampshire's militia records in 1628. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop it is described as 'defective' in relation to a brace assessed on Mr Moore of Chineham (Basingstoke Extra Hundred), and two brace against Lady Lucie of Evingar Hundred.<sup>151</sup> However, there was undoubtedly a wider level of defaulting in the Basingstoke/Kingsclere area, because following the July muster of 1626 the light horse was ordered to rectify all defaults and re-muster on 10 August.<sup>152</sup> The pistol, as a default, was not rectified. As early as 11 August the Deputy Lieutenants informed Lord Conway that the shortage could be made good if "he would procure them, as he had promised, 40 ...pairs of pistols from the Low Countries".<sup>153</sup> By 12 October Thomas Jervoise was assured that twenty brace would soon arrive.<sup>154</sup> Boynton states, "he also took steps to obtain Dutch pistols", a move that Conway described as un-necessary as "I shall bee able to furnish you wth what you want".<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.2r.

<sup>151</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628.* f.1r.

<sup>152</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/56. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Reformation of Troop. 13 July 1626.* f.1v.

<sup>153</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1625, 1626*, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858), p.400, vol.XXXIII, 75, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775365/page/n1/mode/2up> [accessed 3 February 2020].

<sup>154</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/110. *Covering Letter. W. Bigland to Sir Thomas Jervoise. Despatch of Arms. 12 October 1626.* f.1r.

<sup>155</sup> Boynton. p.252. HA 44M69/G5/37/119. *Letter. Lord Lieutenant (Conway) to Sir Thomas Jervoise. Arms for Horse and pay for billets. 17 October 1626.* f.1r.

A warrant was issued on 21 October for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop to muster in which Jervoise reminded Captain Kingsmill that at the previous muster “divers owners of horses, did excuse their defects, pretendinge that they Could get noe armes nor pistols for their mony whereby the troope lay holy unfurnished”.<sup>156</sup> He warned that such excuses would not be accepted at the muster on 26 October, “and you are to give warning to those that wante armes that if they repaire to Heriard they may have pistols... at reasonable rates delivered unto them”.<sup>157</sup> Boynton notes that they were available for those that needed them.<sup>158</sup> Bridget Kingsmill took up this offer, though she requested that they be kept, on her behalf, in Jervoise’s armoury until her horses were ready to muster.<sup>159</sup> It is likely that most did so when one considers that there were only three such defaults in 1628.

There were seven occurrences in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop in 1629. The troop captains were told that if such defaults were not corrected offenders would be summoned to Winchester.<sup>160</sup> There were two instances in Alton and one each in Bishops Sutton, and Finchdeane Hundreds, Alton Division. While there were two in Bosmere and one in Titchfield Hundreds in Portsdown Division.<sup>161</sup> Sir John Jephson of Froyle, Alton Hundred, who has been discussed above, defaulted on two brace through the period.<sup>162</sup> Misters account for four instances, of whom Cotton from Bosmere

<sup>156</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/120. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Warrant for Mustering Troop. 21 October 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>157</sup> HA 44M69/G5/37/120. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Warrant for Mustering Troop. 21 October 1626. f.1r.*

<sup>158</sup> Boynton. p.252.

<sup>159</sup> HA 44M69/F4/15/35. *Letter. Bridget Kingesmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Provision of Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628. f.1r.*

<sup>160</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/18. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Overton Hundred. Constables Returns. 1629. f.1r.* Informs us that a re-muster was scheduled for 26 September, and that those summoned would be due to appear before the Deputy Lieutenants at Winchester on 7 October.

<sup>161</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. ff.1r-1v.*

<sup>162</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.* HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1r.*

Hundred defaulted on two brace, with Bold of Finchdene and Hensloe of Titchfield Hundreds doing so on one apiece.<sup>163</sup> Cotton and Bold have also been discussed previously. Hensloe was a mister with societal aspirations, for though there is no evidence of increased wealth, he is recorded as Henslet esquire in 1635, when his horse and pistols were noted as absent.<sup>164</sup> In 1637, as Henslowe esquire, he fulfilled his assessment.<sup>165</sup> The initial default is indicative of avoidance or holding back of arms to retain possession. However, as he met the later assessment, the long-term implication is that he suffered a degree of poverty, almost certainly caused by the financial demands for the army through the 1620s, that left him unwilling or unable to fulfil his assessment until 1637.

14 instances were spread across all three troops in 1635. It was most prevalent in the Andover Division of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, where it was recorded against two misters, two parsonages and the prebend of Wherwell.<sup>166</sup> It appears once each in Fawley and New Forest Divisions, assessed on knights.<sup>167</sup> It was noted three times in the Kingsclere Division of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, two of which, as in 1628, were against Lady Lucie, and the other, a mister.<sup>168</sup> While of the four in the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, two were Sir John Jephson's repeat offence, with one noted against a widow in East Meon and one a named individual of Selborne Hundred.<sup>169</sup>

Of the four instances against knights, other than Jephson, Thomas Stewkley

<sup>163</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* ff.1r and 1v.

<sup>164</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.2r.

<sup>165</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>166</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>167</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>168</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* ff.1r and 1v.

<sup>169</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

of Fawley and William Doddington of New Forest Division were each responsible for one. For Stewkley, this was the only time he defaulted and it was only his pistols that were 'defective', which suggests he was unable to obtain serviceable weapons, especially when one considers that he met this part of his assessment in 1639.<sup>170</sup> Doddington, though this is also the only recorded instance of him being in default, also with 'defective' pistols, had more military and social standing within the militia, having been Colonel of the New Forest infantry regiment since at least 1626.<sup>171</sup> In both these instances, 'defective' might refer to possession of pistols not meeting the 1630 pattern change.<sup>172</sup>

The misters in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, Edmonds and Blake, like the knights, are described as having 'defective' pistols. Aylife of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, who was 'absent' between 1627 and 1629, was noted as having one 'defective'.<sup>173</sup> This implies that he had one good pistol, which met the prescribed standard. Due to his societal standing, and the effects of earlier taxation, he may only now have recovered enough, financially, to be able to almost meet his assessment.

Other than Jephson, there were two instances of 'defect' pistols within the 1<sup>st</sup> Troop in 1637, both listed against Dr Steward.<sup>174</sup> This default only appears for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop in 1639, with 17 instances. As with 1635, it was recorded mostly in Andover Division with eight occurrences, of which two were assessed on knights, three on esquires and one each on a mister, a named individual, and a vicarage.<sup>175</sup> Pistol

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<sup>170</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.  
HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.1r.

<sup>171</sup> HA 44M69/G5/27/1. *New Forest Regiment. Muster Book. 1626.*

<sup>172</sup> Boynton. p.259. John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1629-1631*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860), p.433, vol.CLXXIX, 25, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091775407/page/n6/mode/2up> [accessed 5 February 2020].

<sup>173</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.  
HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1v.

<sup>174</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.1r.

<sup>175</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639.* f.3r.

defaults in Fawley Division increased to seven, assessed on a knight, a lady, a mister, a named individual, two parsonages and the Master of St. Cross Hospital.<sup>176</sup> The other two, in New Forest Division, were assessed on Baronet Mills.<sup>177</sup>

The societal group most likely to default on pistols in 1639 was the knight, with five assessed on four individuals. Of these, Sir Robert Payne had not previously appeared on the muster rolls, while Sir Francis Dowse and Baronet Mills had met their assessment in 1635.<sup>178</sup> For Sir Henry Clarke, whose horse was absent in 1635, this was another in a long record of defaulting which was becoming increasingly deliberate. If he had been of lower social standing, he would undoubtedly have been described as 'obstinate'.<sup>179</sup> Clarke was not reacting to the selection of light horse to serve in the Scottish campaign, unlike Baronet Mills and Sir Francis Dowse who had previously met their assessment. Both had 'defective' pistols, suggesting they did not meet the required standard. Although the list of those to serve had been made in April, it would be logical for the sub-standard to still be displayed at the July muster, to reinforce an air of poverty. Equally, there may have been a genuine shortage of pistols, due to the requirement for those selected to be fully equipped.<sup>180</sup>

Of the esquires, John Foyle appears on the April 1639 muster roll as 'Mr Foyle', whose whole assessment was absent. Perhaps having succumbed to

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HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). ff.3r-3v.

<sup>176</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639.* f.3r.

HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse, Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). ff.1r and 2r.

<sup>177</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.2v.

<sup>178</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll.* (undated probably 1639). f.3r. HA 44M69/G5/35/4/3. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* ff.2v and 3r.

<sup>179</sup> Boynton. pp.279-280.

<sup>180</sup> John Bruce, ed., *CSPD 1638-1639*, (London: Longman & Co. & Tubner & Co., 1871), p.514, vol.CCCIII, 111, at <https://archive.org/details/cu31924091770242/page/n8/mode/2up> [accessed 18 March 2020].

aspirations of gentility his later default related only to pistols.<sup>181</sup> The other esquires, Dunch, Whithead and St. John, had met their assessment in 1635.<sup>182</sup> There may have been an outward show of poverty on their part, that might have been genuine, when one considers that the 1638 Ship Money had been collected as recently as March, that there would be another tranche due for 1639 and that coat and conduct and billeting payments were still required of the localities.<sup>183</sup>

These taxes and financial impediments would have been equally if not more onerous on the misters and named individuals, those both slightly down the social hierarchy and likely to have smaller excess income with which to fund their light horse. Edmonds and Blake had already shown 'defective' pistols in 1635, while Rolfe's horse had been 'absent'.<sup>184</sup> The consistency of the pistol as a default, notwithstanding its probable shortage, is indicative of the inherent monetary shortfall within this group for financing the light horse.

### **Lacking and Arms.**

The defaults listed as 'lacking' and arms are very vague, as with the infantry, but in the light horse are comparatively uncommon. Lacking appears on nine occasions and is suggestive of failure to meet the required standard. It is first evident in 1629 within the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, where three instances are recorded. Of these, one,

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<sup>181</sup> HA 44M69/G5/44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639. f.3r.*

<sup>182</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. ff.2r and 2v.*

<sup>183</sup> Jurkowski, Smith and Crook. pp.185-189. Ship Money, a tax on coastal counties to raise money for the navy in times of crisis, had become an annual tax in 1634 and was imposed on all counties from 1635. Hampshire was assessed at £1,950 in 1638 and £6,000 for each other year between 1635 and 1639. See M.D. Gordon, 'The Collection of Ship Money in the Reign of Charles I', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3<sup>rd</sup> series, number IV, (1910), p.158, at [https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678388?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3678388?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents) [accessed 30 April 2021].

<sup>184</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

noted in the margin of the muster roll, is a reminder for Kingsmill that a Cornet needed to be appointed. Sir Edward Creswell of Odiham Hundred was 'lacking armes', which at least suggests he had a serviceable horse. While Mr More of Micheldever Hundred refused to supply a 'lacking' light horse.<sup>185</sup> Following a summons for him to appear at muster, the constables wrote "his answer is he is hardly Charged with foote Armes and therefore doth hope he may very well be excused for shewing any light horse".<sup>186</sup> The 'hard charge' was a musket, on which he also defaulted.<sup>187</sup> If he had met one part of the assessment, perhaps his argument would have been credible, however, failing on both, especially the refusal, suggests avoidance, and a deliberate attempt to delay his having to meet the assessment.

Six instances in 1635 are spread across the three troops. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Troops account for one each, and both relate to parsonages. Alverstoke and Warblington in the Portsdown Division, 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, was 'lacking in total' having been described as 'absent' in 1629, as it would again in 1637.<sup>188</sup> That the two were assessed together for a single horse, is indicative that neither generated a substantial income. Broughton, in the Andover Division, 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, probably suffered a temporary shortage of money in 1635, for though it was also 'lacking in total', this was its only instance of default, with its horse attending the 1639 muster.<sup>189</sup> Of the four occurrences in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop, two each were in the Basingstoke and Kingsclere

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<sup>185</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>186</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>187</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/19. *Micheldever Company. Defaulters. 1629. f.1r.*

<sup>188</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.2r.* HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.1v.* HA 44M69/G5/50/80. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1637. f.1v.*

<sup>189</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639) f.3v.*



Divisions.<sup>190</sup> Within Basingstoke, Mr Thomas Cole of Odiham had refused to send his horse in 1629 and was now 'lacking', so he may have attempted to meet the assessment, following an earlier period of endeavouring to retain what he had paid for.<sup>191</sup> Previous arguments surrounding excess taxation are relevant, unlike with Mr Withers of Manydown, who can be seen as little other than an obstinate, repeat defaulter.<sup>192</sup> Though he was 'lacking' in relation to part of a light horse, it is well documented that he defaulted on 'corslets' and musketeers throughout the period.<sup>193</sup> In Kingsclere Henry Ludlowe esquire was 'lacking' his part of a light horse, but showed the commitment of his societal grouping to the militia as captain of the Overton infantry company.<sup>194</sup> Robert Ball of Holdshott Hundred, who had been summoned in relation to a light horse in 1629, was 'lacking'.<sup>195</sup>

Arms as a default is more suggestive than 'lacking', as seen above with Creswell who was 'lacking armes'. His is one of the ten instances through the period and one of four before 1630. Sir John Hall of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop had 'defective' arms in 1628, which, according to one of his tenants, could not be carried to muster in 1629 because Hall and a servant were at Court and had taken the horse with them. In this instance, Hall could claim the privilege of exemption that being at Court afforded him.<sup>196</sup> This was not the case for Mr Knight of Alton Hundred, 1<sup>st</sup> Troop, whose 'lacking' horse would go on to be absent throughout the period.<sup>197</sup> As was discussed

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<sup>190</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>191</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.2r. HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>192</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>193</sup> See for example HA 44M69/G5/42/10. *Overton Company. Muster Roll. 1637.* f.3v.

<sup>194</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>195</sup> HA 44M69/G5/40/19/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Holdshott Hundred. Constables Returns. 21 September 1629.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635.* f.1r.

<sup>196</sup> HA 44M69/G5/28/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628.* f.1r. HA 44M69/G5/40/20. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Bermondspit Hundred. Constables Returns. 21 September 1629.* ff.1r and 1v.

<sup>197</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629.* f.1v.

above he could be looked upon as a 'poor' esquire.

There is no evidence to suggest why in 1635 the parsonage at Longparish, 2<sup>nd</sup> Troop, had 'defective' arms, unlike Weyhill's, in the same troop, where Dr Mason's arms were said to be 'wilfully defective'.<sup>198</sup> Mason's actions appear to have been both conscious and malicious. There is no evidence to suggest that his living at Weyhill was inadequate or otherwise. Mrs Looker of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Troop can be looked upon as a poor widow whose light horse arms were 'defective'.<sup>199</sup> At some point after 1629, her husband having absented his light horse from muster, she was widowed. He had refused to rectify the default for which he was summoned to appear before the Deputy Lieutenants.<sup>200</sup> This undoubtedly left Mrs Looker unable to meet the assessment, for as indicated above, she possibly had no serviceable arms and likewise no means with which to improve them.

Of three arms in default in 1639, the instance of Mr Withers of Longparish was discussed under absenteeism. Those of Henry St. Barbe esquire, also of Andover Division, are described as 'defect', and as it is the only occasion he appears in default, he was perhaps attempting to prevent losing his arms to the army.<sup>201</sup> The parsonage of Longparish may have been suffering financial problems for its arms were still 'defective', and it was assessed to find them in conjunction with Grateley parsonage.<sup>202</sup>

### **Conclusion.**

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<sup>198</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>199</sup> HA 44M69/G5/35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635. f.1r.*

<sup>200</sup> HA 44M69/G5/30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629. f.2r.*

<sup>201</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639) f.3r.*

<sup>202</sup> HA 44M69/G5/50/58/11. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. (undated probably 1639) f.3r.*

Defaults within the light horse were broken down into two main categories for this chapter. The first of these was absenteeism, which though accounting for 215 of the 311 defaults and potentially being 60% of the light horsemen in 1626, does not alter the premise that defaulting in the militia was low. Of the 4,608 militiamen in 1629 only 170 were light horse. It has been demonstrated that absenteeism through furnishers failing to furnish was at a high level among the light horse throughout the period. As with the infantry there were clusters, but unlike the infantry, these were evidenced from a small number of surviving documents.

The defaulters have been identified as being primarily of the 'better sort', unlike the infantry, where the greater proportion came from the 'middling sort'. The importance of this is the pre-disposition of those from higher social groupings to default as they were more likely to hold government office and were therefore exempt from the militia assessment. Despite this, some were quick to join Charles' army at York when summoned for the campaign against the Scots in 1639. This adds to our knowledge of which societal groupings were responsible for raising and maintaining the light horse, their motivations to default, and in some instances their inherent loyalty and/or obligation to the king.

The second category was defaults relating to weapons and equipment among the light horse, which as with the infantry appeared in clusters. The default level was highest for pistols, which as firearms allows them to be categorized with muskets, except that the default was caused by a supply problem rather than a slowness to embrace the latest technology. The shortage is well documented and almost disappears after the re-supply of 1626. The horse, as a cavalry mount, was also defaulted on, but as has been proved it was a problem associated with the poorer of the 'better sort' and the 'middling sort'. There were usually enough horses sent to

muster, even if their quality, like that of the rider, proved at times to be dubious.

The analysis indicates where the defaults occurred, when they occurred, and how the furnishers reacted as seen with the re-supply of pistols and the intervention from above. This chapter adds to our understanding that although levels of defaulting were often high in the context of the light horse because its numbers within the militia were low, the premise and subsequent conclusion that defaulting and individual defaults in Hampshire's militia between 1625 and 1640 were low, are not affected.



## **CONCLUSION.**

The research presented in this thesis has demonstrated that defaulting, defaulters and defaults were at a low level in Hampshire throughout the period 1625-1640, when measured against the total number of militiamen and their furnishers. This conclusion chapter will summarise the findings of this research and offer conclusions in respect of each stated objective. There will be an outline of recommendations for future research.

The first objective was to demonstrate that defaulting was at a low level and that most furnishers attempted to meet their assessment. This was achieved through looking at defaulting at regimental level and within the regiments. The latter was restricted to seven specific years.

Findings at regimental level came from six strands of data. Firstly, percentage of defaults in the muster rolls; secondly, the number of names in the muster rolls; thirdly, the average number of defaults per year; fourthly, defaults per document; fifthly, number of documents, and finally the number of defaults. Each strand indicated different levels of defaulting, and therefore that each regiment was capable of being most likely to default, though of the infantry this was Kingsclere which fell short on several counts of the light horse.

Conclusions from this include that a higher number of defaults did not equate to a higher average default rate. This was tempered by the number of documents listing defaulters, and the inclusion of defaulter lists. These specific lists distorted the figures. Spikes are indicative of a point in the timescale, and are not reflective of which regiment was most likely to default or have the highest average default rate across the period. Overall, Kingsclere was the infantry regiment most likely to

default, and this confirmed the low level of defaulting in Hampshire.

Findings proved that there was no consistency as to which regiment or company within each regiment was most likely to default in any given year. Coastal regiments were most likely to in 1626 and 1627, and up county regiments in 1633 and 1635. The only pattern occurs in 1629, 1637, and 1639 when Stockbridge company (Andover regiment) was most likely to default.

Conclusions can be drawn with regards defaulting in specific years, but these do not relate to the companies most likely to default, except Stockbridge in 1637 which was possibly a reaction to the smallpox of 1636. Financial pressures, particularly those caused by billeting and coat and conduct money were proved to have had most effect. Within this it can be concluded that south Hampshire was most affected up to 1629, but that by 1639 it affected the whole county. Finally, although the discussion did lead to an indication of where and when defaulting was most prevalent and numerous, it did not affect the conclusion that it was, overall, at a low level in Hampshire throughout the period.

The historiography through an absence of examples and any depth of discussion surrounding defaulting is suggestive of it being at a low level. The exceptions to this are Boynton and Sharpe, but their use of, at times, the same examples, is further indication and vindication of my conclusion that defaulting was at a low level in Hampshire across the period 1625 to 1640.

Having established the geographical spread of defaulting in Hampshire and within its regiments, the second objective of this thesis was to analyse infantry defaults. Number of instances were used to determine default occurrence and spread to prove that defaulting was at a low level in the county throughout the

period.

Findings established that absenteeism through furnishers failing to furnish was high and that it was highest in Kingsclere regiment among the misters and widows from across the female strata. The occurrence of absenteeism across the Andover regiment indicated that it would also occur across the social strata. The corslet was the most prolific default among the pikemen, with its prevalence shifting from the north of the county in 1626, to the south in 1627. The musket, meanwhile, was found as a default in all social strata, but was more prevalent among the 'lesser sort'.

The following conclusions can be drawn from these findings. The level of absenteeism in Kingsclere was a result of half the overall number in the county coming from that regiment, and Andover's. The higher numbers reflected through to the level of misters and widows who defaulted through absenteeism. It can be concluded that the spread across the social strata in Andover regiment is illusory and misleading, with 10% of the regiment's instances being attributable to Lord Sandes. It is not possible to conclude which weapons were affected by absenteeism, or whether they actually existed as they had not been seen. There is strong evidence that furnishers were attempting to retain possession of their weapons, while endeavouring to avoid the double expenditure that would be necessitated should their weapons be seized.

It is conclusive that the corslet was the most common default of those furnishing pikemen, so confirming the continued reliance on body armour. Furnishers were attempting to keep possession, an indication not only of its importance, but also its cost and probable difficulty of securing replacements. A shift in the highest level of



instances from the north to the south of the county, it can be concluded, was a result of billeting and confirms the point regarding retaining possession.

The level of musket defaulting it can be concluded resulted from the retention of the caliver and to a lesser extent the bow after 1618. Furnishers were endeavouring to keep expenditure down in the face of increasing taxation. Defaults on part-muskets created further defaults, and protected those that did present their part at muster from having it seized.

It has been evident throughout this conclusion, with regards defaults in the infantry, that in Hampshire between 1625 and 1640 they were overall at a low level. There were certainly spikes as in 1626 and 1627, but the highest numbers, absenteeism through defaulters who failed to furnish, returned an average of just under half an instance per company per year.

The third objective of this thesis was to analyse defaults in Hampshire's light horse. Number of instances were used to determine default occurrence and spread across the county to prove that it was at a low level throughout the period.

Findings demonstrated that absenteeism through furnishers failing to furnish was at an exceptionally high level. It was 26% of the muster roll strength in February 1639, and at least 60% of the 1626 strength. Overall, this default represented two-thirds of all those that occurred in the light horse. It was more prominent among the 'better sort', including knights and Ladies, although there were clusters among the misters, such as the twenty-five in 1628. The horse, as a mount, appeared as a default, but the pistol accounted for almost half the defaults not recorded as absenteeism.

The following conclusions can be drawn from these findings. Levels of

absenteeism among the light horse cannot be described as low. Its 1626 level is attributable to the approach of the Troop captains, who showed a distinct reluctance to be involved in military matters. Richard Gifford (2<sup>nd</sup> Troop) made an excuse to stay at home, with George Kingsmill (3<sup>rd</sup> Troop) being obliged to, which allowed their trooper to avoid the muster, and the furnishers to ignore their assessment. The 1639 level was a reaction to half the light horse being selected to serve in the campaign against the Scots. Some, who joined the army, were noted as absent on the muster roll. Absenteeism was more prominent among the 'better sort', who, being more likely to hold government office, were also more likely to default as it gave them exemption from the assessment. Ladies suffered comparative poverty, caused by the conditions imposed on their tenure of land held by their late husbands. Clusters relating to misters could result from their aspirations to gentry status, and the subsequent failure of their income to meet the added expenditure required for the militia and other taxation.

It can be further concluded that the horse, as a cavalry mount, was a default among the poorer of the 'better sort', and it often related to the quality, as was also the case with some riders, rather than any absence from muster. Pistol defaults resulted from a supply problem because their number dwindled dramatically once a re-supply had been secured.

As a final concluding thought, absenteeism in the light horse was high throughout the period as it was across Hampshire, and most of the societal categories. However, when considered as part of the whole militia within the county, it does not alter the premise, argument, and conclusion that the level of defaulters, defaulting and defaults in Hampshire's militia was low between 1625 and 1640.

With regards the historiography, the level of defaulters, defaulting and defaults had minimal effect on its interpretation of Charles policy to create an 'exact' or 'perfect militia'. This is partly because discussion and use of examples is low, but also because it is more concerned with the policy and how it was implemented, not the issue it was intended to address. That issue was the military modernization of the militia; defaulting, primarily, was a minor part of this and influenced by other factors, as discussed throughout this thesis.

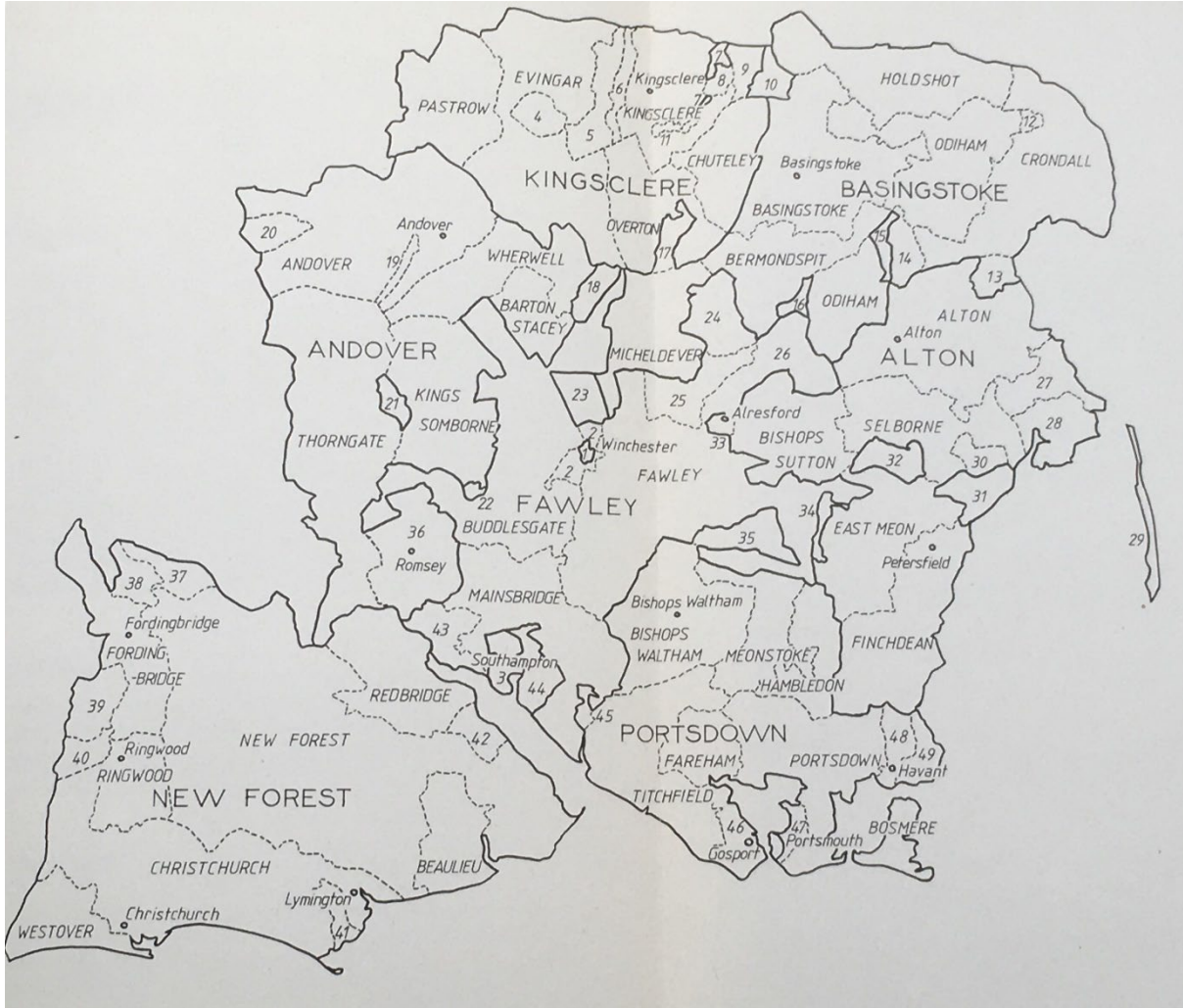
### **Recommendations.**

Three areas of research have thus far been identified to take the study of Hampshire's militia forward. First, wills proved in the local church courts. As well as identifying arms and part arms held by individuals, they would provide detail of the financial position of the deceased furnishers at the time their wills were written, how their heirs might have been affected financially, and especially their widows and their ability to furnish men for the militia. Second, manorial records. These would allow correlation between furnishers defaulting, landholding in relation to assessment within the parishes and provide insight into the why of defaulting. Third, Quarter-Session records may allow persistent and summoned defaulters to be located and placed in context within their parish and militia companies.

Word Count: 30,896

## APPENDICES.

### Appendix: 1.



Map 1: The Divisions and Hundreds of Hampshire. 1586.

Key to Map 1:

1. City of Winchester
2. Soke of Winchester
3. City of Southampton
4. Part of Pastrow Hundred
5. Part of Kingsclere Hundred

- 6 and 8. Part of Evingar Hundred
- 7, 10, 23 and 32. Part of Barton Stacey Hundred (Andover Division)
9. Part of Overton Hundred
11. Part of Chuteley Hundred
12. Part of Holdshott Hundred
13. Bentley Liberty
14. Part of Bermondspit Hundred
15. Part of Fawley Hundred (Fawley Division)
16. Part of Overton Hundred (Kingsclere Division)
17. Part of Basingstoke Hundred
18. Part of Micheldever Hundred (Basingstoke Division)
19. Part of Wherwell Hundred
20. Part of Thorngate Hundred
21. Part of Buddlesgate Hundred (Fawley Division)
22. Part of Micheldever Hundred (Basingstoke Division)
24. Mainsborough Hundred
25. Bountisborough Hundred
26. Part of Fawley Hundred
27. Part of Bishops Sutton Hundred
- 28 and 30. Part of Alton Hundred
29. Part of East Meon Hundred (Alton Division)
31. Part of Odiham Hundred (Basingstoke Division) and Meonstoke Hundred  
(Portsdown Division)
33. Borough of New Alresford

- 34 and 35. Part of Meonstoke Hundred (Portsdown Division)
- 36. Part of Kings Somborne Hundred
- 37. Part of Fordingbridge Hundred
- 38. Breamore Liberty
- 39 and 41. Part of Ringwood Hundred
- 40. Part of Westover Liberty
- 42. Dibden Liberty
- 43. Part of Buddlesgate Hundred
- 44. Part of Bishops Waltham Hundred (Portsdown Division)
- 45. Part of Bishops Waltham Hundred
- 46. Alverstoke and Gosport Liberty
- 47. Portsmouth Liberty
- 48. Havant Liberty
- 49. Part of Bosmere Hundred<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C.R. Davey, ed., *The Hampshire Lay Subsidy Rolls, 1586*, (Southampton: Hampshire County Council, 1981), Hampshire Record Series, vol.4, p.12 with map facing.

**Appendix: 2.**

**Hampshire Militia Regiments: 1625-1640.**

**Infantry.**

Alton Regiment	Alton Infra Company
	Selborne Company
	Alton Extra Company
	New Alresford and Bishops Sutton Company
	East Meon Company
	Petersfield Company
Andover Regiment	Wherwell Company
	Hursley Company
	Stockbridge Company
	Romsey Company
	Wallops Company
	Broughton Company
Basingstoke Regiment	Barton Stacey Company
	Basingstoke Extra Company
	Crondall and Bentley Company
	Basingstoke Infra Company
	Bentworth Company
	Odiham Company
Fawley Regiment	Hartley Wintney Company
	Micheldever Company
	No physical company

	Old Alresford Company
	Netley Company
	Twyford Company
Kingsclere Regiment	Whitchurch Company
	Overton Company
	Kingsclere Company
	Andover Extra Company
	Holdshott Company
	Andover Infra Company
New Forest Regiment	No physical company
	Fordingbridge and Breamore Company
	New Lymington Company
	Eling Company
	Christchurch Borough Company
	Avon Company
	Ringwood Company
	Brockenhurst Company
Portsmouth Regiment	Porchester and Titchfield Company
	Bishops Waltham Company
	Gosport and Hayling Company
	Hambledon and Soberton Company
	Fareham and Havant Company
Southampton	Holyrood and St. Lawrence Company
	St. Mary's and All Saints Company



St. Michael and St. John's Company

Winchester

Winchester Company

**Light Horse.**

Alton and Portsdown Troop

Andover, Fawley and New Forest Troop

Basingstoke and Kingsclere Troop

### Appendix: 3.

#### Societal Categories.

1. Lords
2. Sirs. Includes those recorded as Knight and/or Baronet
3. Gentlemen. Includes those recorded as Esquire
4. Professional. Includes those recorded as Dr, Clerk, Dean, Vicar, Parson, Mayor  
or High Sheriff
5. Misters
6. Named Individuals. Male
7. Other. Includes those recorded as Tithing, Parsonage, Tithing and Parsonage,  
Town, Rockley, Hanger, College, Prebend, Vicarage, Coldre Farm, Newton  
Farm, The Farm or Tithingman
8. Furnished. Serving members of the militia
9. Ladies. As designated by title of Lady. Widows of Lords and Sirs
10. Widows. Those recorded as Widow. Sometimes fall in this and category eleven,  
for example "Mrs South widow"<sup>2</sup>
11. Named Individuals. Women

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<sup>2</sup> HA 44M69/G5/34/2. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1634. f.2v.*

Appendix: 4.



Pikeman.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Anon. *The Exercise of the English, the Militia of the Kingdome of England*, (London, 1642), p.1 at <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc-ac-uk.glos.idm.oclc.org/view?publd=eebo-99872119e&terms=drill&20manuals> [accessed 10 May 2021].

Appendix: 5.



Musketeer.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Anon. *The Exercise of the English, the Militia of the Kingdome of England*, (London, 1642), p.1 at <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc-ac-uk.glos.idm.oclc.org/view?publd=ebo-99872119e&terms=drill&20manuals> [accessed 10 May 2021].

Appendix: 6.



Harquebusier (Light Horseman).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Laurence Spring, *The First British Army. 1624-1628. The Army of the Duke of Buckingham*, (Solihull: Helion, 2016), p.76, from Martin Philippson, *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieg*, (Berlin: Historischer Verlag Baumgarten, n.d. c.1900).

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HA 37M85/4/AC/7. *Andover Borough Accounts. 1638-1651*

HA 5M50/1954 *Southampton Letter and Memoranda Book. 1588-1628*

HA W/E1/125/130 *Winchester Chamberlains Account Rolls 1627-1640*

#### **Churchwardens Accounts**

HA 1M70/PW1. *Chawton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1621-1813*

HA 24M82/PW1. *Fordingbridge. Churchwardens Accounts. 1639*

HA 81M72/PW1. *Overton. Churchwardens Accounts. 1623-1630*

HA 75M72/PZ3. *Wotton St. Lawrence. Churchwardens Accounts. 1588-1675*

Jervoise of Herriard Collection

HA 44M69/F4/15/29 *Letter. Edward Hooper on behalf of Steven Sprage to Thomas Jervoise. 22 March 1639*

HA 44M69/F4/15/35 *Letter. Bridget Kingesmill at Sydmonton to Thomas Jervoise. Provision of Horses for the Muster. 3 March 1628*

HA 44M69/F4/15/40 *Letter. Lieutenant William Payne to Captain Henry Ludlow, Heckfield Heath to TJ (Thomas Jervoise). Mr Edward Crasswell of Bramshill will not pay money towards the muster costs in his parish nor provide arms for the Ks (King's) service. 29 June 1632*

HA 44M69/F4/15/50 *Part of Letter. John Knight to Thomas Jervoise. 18 April 1639*

HA 44M69/F4/15/51 *Part of Letter. John Aylwyn of Basingstoke to Thomas Jervoise. 19 April 1639*

HA 44M69/F4/15/55 *Letter. Robert Gough of Woodhay to Thomas Jervoise. 1639*

HA 44M69/G3/174. *Letter from Deputy Lieutenants of Hampshire, for the Disarming of Catholics. 20 October 1625*

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... /27/1. County. (Hampshire). Muster Book. 1626

... /27/4. Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/6/2. East Meon Company. Defaulter [Mr. Joy]. Undated

... /27/7. New Alresford Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/12. Holdshott Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626

... /27/13. Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/14. Winchester Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/17. Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628

... /27/18. Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/20/2. Bishops Waltham Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.

*Gosport and Hayling Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626.*

*Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626*

... /27/25. Eling Company. Muster Roll. 1626

... /27/27/3. Eling Company. Defects. 1626

... /27/27/3/1. Brockenhurst Company. Defects. 1626

... /27/27/3/5. Brockenhurst Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626

... /27/27/3/6. Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626

... /27/27/3/7. Ringwood Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626

... /27/27/3/10. Avon Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1626

... /28/1-5. County. (Hampshire). Muster Book. 1627

... /28/2. Basingstoke & Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1628

... /28/15. Overton Company. Defaulters. 1627



... /29/12. *Whitchurch Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /29/14. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1628*

... /29/15. *Kingsclere Company. Muster Roll. 1628*

... /29/16. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1628*

... /29/17. *Holdshott Company. Muster Roll. 1628*

... /30/1. *Hursley Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/3. *Wherwell Company. Muster Roll. 1629. Wallops Company.  
Defaulters. 1629*

... /30/4. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/5. *Porchester and Titchfield Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/6. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/7. *Ringwood Company. Defaults. 1629*

... /30/8. *Bentworth Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/10. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/12/1. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/12/2. *Odiham Company. Defects. 1629*

... /30/14. *List of days Appointed for General Muster. 1629*

... /30/16. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/17. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/18. *Selborne Company. Defects. 1629*

... /30/19. *Micheldever Company. Defaulters. 1629*

... /30/20. *Twyford Company. Muster Roll. 1629*

... /30/21/1. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629*

... /30/21/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629*

... /30/21/3. *Overton Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1629*

... /30/21/5. *Kingsclere Company. Defects. 1629*

... /30/23/2. *Barton Stacey Company. Defaulters. 1629. Stockbridge Company. Defects. 1629*

... /30/24. *Hambledon and Soberton Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1629*

... /30/25. *Winchester Company. Defaulters. 1629*

... /31/2. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence (Southampton) Company. Muster Roll. 1631*

... /32/7. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll. 1632*

... /32/9. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1632*

... /32/14. *New Alresford and Bishops Sutton Company. Muster Roll. 1632*

... /32/17. *New Lymington Company. Muster Roll. 1632*

... /33/2. *Avon Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/11. *East Meon Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/15. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/17. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/19. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/23. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /33/25. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll. 1633*

... /34/1. *Basingstoke Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1634*

... /34/2. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1634*

... /35/1. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/2. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/4/1. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/4/2. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/4/3. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/5. *Barton Stacey Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/6. *Alton and Portsdown Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/8. *County. (Hampshire). Muster Book. 1635*

... /35/10/2. *Holdshott Company. Defaulters/Absentees. 1635*

... /35/14. *Selborne Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/15/2. *Fareham and Havant Company. Increase of Arms. 1635*

... /35/18. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/20. *Bishops Waltham Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/21. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/22. *Andover Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/25. *Holyrood and St. Lawrence (Southampton) Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /35/27. *Kingsclere Company. Defaulters. 1635*

... /35/30. *Andover Infra Company. Defects/Defaulters. 1634*

... /36/15/12. *Fareham and Havant Company. Muster Roll. 1635*

... /37/56. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Reformation of Troop.*

*13 July 1626*

- ... /37/73. Overton Company. Defaulters. 1626*
- ... /37/110. Covering Letter. W. Bigland to Sir Thomas Jervoise. Despatch of Arms. 12 October 1626*
- ... /37/117. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Those fit to serve, but did not. 17 October 1626*
- ... /37/119. Letter. Lord Lieutenant (Conway) to Sir Thomas Jervoise. Arms for Horse and pay for Billets. 17 October 1626*
- ... /37/120. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Warrant for Mustering Troop. 21 October 1626*
- ... /40/16. Basingstoke. Account of Conduct Money. 16 January-30 April 1628*
- ... /40/17. Basing. Account of Conduct Money. 18 July 1628*
- ... /40/18. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Overton Hundred. Constables Returns. 1629*
- ... /40/19/1. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Holdshott Hundred. Constables Returns. 14 September 1629*
- ... /40/19/2. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Holdshott Hundred. Constables Returns. 21 September 1629*
- ... /40/20. Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Bermondspit Hundred. Constables Returns. 21 September 1629*
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... /40/24. *Holdshott Company. Letter regarding Arms Levied on Heckfield Vicarage. 1629*

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... /41/13-14 and /41/17-18 *Correspondence relating to the smallpox outbreak and the muster of 1636*

... /41/19. *Muster Locations and Dates. 1636*

... /42/6. *Andover Infra Company. Muster Roll. 1637*

... /42/11. *Stockbridge Company. Muster Roll. 1637*

... /42/13. *Wallops Company. Muster Roll. 1634*

... /42/14. *Broughton Company. Muster Roll. 1637*

... /42/25. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1637*

... /43/11. *Alton Extra Company. Muster Roll. 1638*

... /43/17. *Odiham Company. Muster Roll. 1638*

... /44/8. *Andover, Fawley and New Forest Light Horse. Muster Roll. 1639*

... /44/13. *List of Appointment of men in the New Forest, Portsdown and Andover Regiments. 10 May 1639*

... /44/14. *Basingstoke Regiment. Men Selected. 10 May 1639*

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... /45/13/11. *Romsey. Receipt for Billet Money. April 1627*

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- ... /45/32. *Newnham. Receipt for Conduct Money. 15 August 1628*
- ... /48/23/12. *Romsey. Receipt for Billet Money. March 1627*
- ... /48/93. *Basingstoke. Bill for Coat Money. (150 Coats). May/June 1627*
- ... /48/119/2. *Basingstoke and Kingsclere Light Horse. Furnishing a Light Horse. Crondall. 6 July 1627*
- ... /50/19. *Accounts of Bailiffs and Constables of Basingstoke Infra Hundred. 24 September to 13 October 1626*
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