The Muster Order: a chance find in an old book

by

Tor Fosnaes, Treasurer, The Sir William Vaughan Trust Incorporated

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Introduction and transcription

On the title page is a digital photograph of the back flyleaf of a book thought to once be owned by William Vaughan, based on the word Torycoed and the date at the bottom. Now owned by Thomas Lloyd, Herald Extraordinary of Wales, the book was shown to The Trust Chairperson Cabot Martin and photographed by The Trust supporter Adrian Cottrill, in March 2014. The book is a 1604 edition of *The Passions of the Mind in Generall* by Thomas Wright.

Transcription[†]	Comments
To the overseers, constables and the churchwardens[1] and ~~other of his Majestie's officers~~ of the parish of Llangerdiren[2], By virtue of [his] Majesty's Lordes of His Majestie's privy [counsaile] [††] Letter to his majesties Justices directed: these are [straightly]	[1] In the Church of England, churchwardens have specific powers to enable them to keep the peace in churchyards; preventing riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour (whether during a service or at any other time); and to control molesting, disturbing, vexing, or troubling, or by any other unlawful means disquieting or misusing clergy. The churchwarden may apprehend a person committing such an offence, and take them before court - wikipedia
To will and command you and [every] of you severally [forthwith] upon receipt hereof to cause all [servants]	
Within your parishe persones [which] are able and fitt to Serve from the age of twelve to threescore and [now] [out]* of service to come before us at a place called The Close[d?th][3] in the parish of Llanarthney on Thursday next being the sixt day of Marche[4] there to be Compelled to serve by the year or as [apprentices] to Hayers notryumm pure English	[2] Llangerdyn is the parish in which Torycoed is located and Vaughan is buried in the churchyard there [3] a farm named Closglas lies .6 miles southeast of Llanarthney; Llanarthney is 12km east of Carmarthen; 13 west of Golden Grove, 14 northeast of Llangerdyn and 10 southwest of LLandeilo; Llangerdyn is about 7 miles from Carmarthen; see image on next page [4] In the Julian calendar 6 March 1605 was a Wednesday
a cues[5] to be there before us, for the most all All sellers [or fellons] by ???? license, drunkardes, riotoures, recusants[6], rogues and all such as be of ill fame and torgher [tougher][7] ? a cion in your said parish ~~to apprehend and bring before us~~	[5] Johnson's Dictionary of 1755 defines "cue" as "Humour; temper of mind: a low word" [6] Recusants were Roman Catholics who were allowed to maintain their faith as long as they attended Church of England services and did not follow edicts from Rome or support priests
the above said place and day and see not that you make not ???? ??? at your Expense ???????? of this our?? Arrand[8] Throughout you[r] severall divisions?] ????.	[7] does this mean the criminal element were to be apprehended and forced into service? Felons were people whose sentence resulted in the loss of property, landless and disinherited men were perhaps ideal recruits; see below for "fellons/sellers" discussion
Dated under our [sealex?] Torycoed ultimo[9] February anno Domini 1605, 1605	[8] errand [9] ultimo refers to the previous month, and calling for "Thursday next" dates it at earliest 01 March. England switched to the Gregorian calendar in 1752; 2 September was followed by 14 September

[†] the inscription was made by Tor Fosnaes and Dr. Roberta Buchanan
*there seems to be a distinction between those "in" service and those "not now in" service
[††] Elizabeth was dead; James was on the throne; there wasn't a standing army, instead the Privy Council and the monarch called for national and regional musters whenever more manpower was needed for military campaigns

Whether the inscription is in William Vaughan's hand is debateable but it is known that he was just returned to England from Vienna in 1604 and he received his LLB from Oxford in June of 1605. It is likely his return and marriage to Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David ap Robert of Llangyndeyrn, was arranged by his brother John of Golden Grove and it is also likely he was appointed a public official of some sort in the bargain. He married, probably in 1604, and took up residence in Torycoed, her home; apparently he was well established there in early 1605. John was High Sherriff of Carmarthenshire in 1605 and was responsible for official musters and other affairs; enlisting or appointing his brother's help would be likely. William was sheriff in 1616.

The word *sheriff* is a contraction of the term *shire reeve*. The term, from the Old English *scīrgerefa*, designated a royal official responsible for keeping the peace (a *reeve*) throughout a shire or county or parish on behalf of the king. The term was preserved in England notwithstanding the Norman Conquest. From the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the term spread to several other regions, at an early point to Scotland, latterly to Ireland and to the United States (from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sheriff#England_and_Wales).

The draught is written haphazardly with strikeouts and carets; seemingly hurriedly written on the only piece of blank paper he had at the time, the flyleaf, possibly while travelling; the assumption being he would have had at home ample paper for his writings and documents.

The inscription is a draught muster order calling for all fit to serve (in the military) to be assembled at a location where they would be "compelled" to serve, if already out of, or not in, service at the time. Certain people were noted but it isn't clear if they were to be forced into service or if they were exempt, including rogues, recusants, drunkards, rioters, and those of ill fame (see discussion later about eligibility).

"Sellers [under] license", if this script is read correctly might refer to small merchants; it would be seen as counterproductive to make them serve and in the process destroy their business; if the word is read as "fellons" is has entirely another meaning. In 17th century England a felon was someone convicted of a crime that involved him losing his property, making such a person ideal for army service, being landless and impecunious, albeit potentially unreliable or of low moral character.

Impressment in the British Navy was an ongoing practice from the time of Edward I but wasn't officially sanctioned until 1664 for a period and again periodically throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. Impressment targeted men between 18 and 45 (unlike the muster ages of 12 to 60 years) and men who had seafaring experience.

The "service" of Vaughan's edict may have been for men to serve in the armies controlling Ireland. The reference to "pure English" may refer to the need for English speaking men as the Ireland-bound Welsh troops were normally under command of English officers. In previous centuries there was military and cultural cooperation between Ireland and Wales when the Anglo-Norman conquerors were the common enemy; this may have been a consideration in choosing conscripts for early 17th century Irish operations to prevent desertion and break the perceived bonds between conquered people; in Ireland by 1600 "the English", no doubt including the Welsh, were the enemy.

Note: *Southwest Wales was often termed "Little England" in this period, because of the influx of English language and settlement. "Pure English" most likely refers to language, although it could also be a reference to English settlers.*
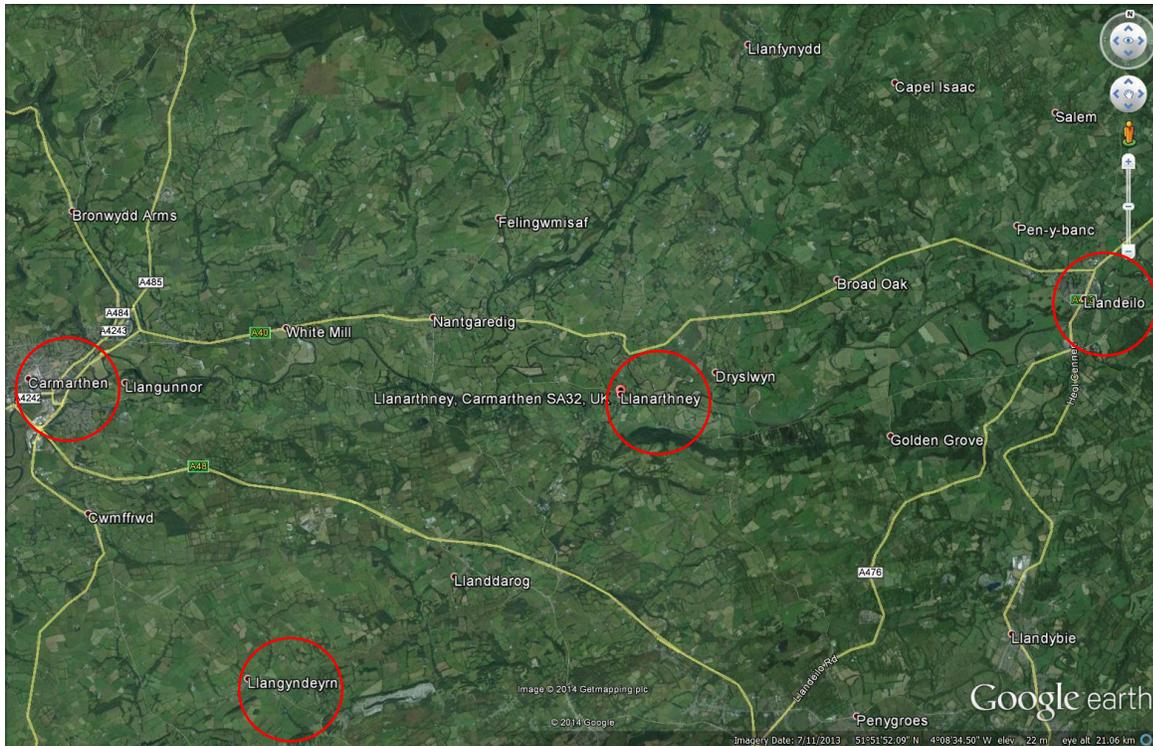
Carmarthen (left edge), Llandeilo (right edge), Llarthney (center) and Llangyndeyrn (lower left; William Vaughan's home Torycoed is near this town); all shown in red circles. From Carmarthen to Llandeilo is about 20km.

A brief history of wars in Ireland from Wikipedia

At https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_wars_1500%E2%80%931799 there are five wars listed (conducted over 29 years) in Ireland between 1569 and 1653 (84 years; spanning the approximate dates of William Vaughan's life 1577-1642). Starting with Tudor England and continuing through to the Commonwealth, Ireland experienced 84 years of defeats and continual garrisoning of Irish lands, which reality lingered over the next three centuries. This summaries of the wars is taken from Wikipedia.

Dates	Name of War	Winners	Losers
1569-1573	First Desmond Rebellion	Kingdom of England Kingdom of Ireland allied Irish clans	Fitz Geralds of Desmond allied Irish clans
1579-1583	Second Desmond Rebellion	Kingdom of England Kingdom of Ireland allied Irish clans	Fitz Geralds of Desmond Spain Papal States allied Irish clans
1594-1603	Nine Years War (Ireland)	Kingdom of England English government in Ireland	Alliance of Irish clans Spain Scottish Gaelic mercenaries
1641-1653	Irish Confederate Wars	Parliamentarians	Irish Catholic Confederation (allied with Royalists 1648-1650) English and Scottish Royalists (allied with Irish Confederates (1648-1650)
1649-1653	Cromwellian conquest of Ireland	English Parliamentarian New Model Army Protestant colonists	Irish Catholic Confederation English Royalists

The Desmond Rebellions occurred in 1569–1573 and 1579–1583 in the Irish province of Munster. They were rebellions by the Earl of Desmond – head of the Fitz Gerald dynasty in Munster – and his followers, the Geraldines and their allies against the threat of the extension of their Anglicised South Welsh Tudor cousins, and Elizabethan English government, over the province. The rebellions were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain the independence of feudal lords from their monarch, but also had an element of religious antagonism between Catholic Geraldines and the Protestant English. The Desmond dynasty was destroyed and the subsequent plantation or colonisation of Munster with English settlers. *Desmond* is the Anglicisation given to the Irish *Deasmumhain*, which translates to *South Munster*.

The Nine Years' War (Irish: Cogadh na Naoi mBliana or *Cogadh Naoi mBlian*) or Tyrone's Rebellion took place in Ireland from 1594 to 1603. It was fought between the forces of Gaelic Irish chieftains Hugh O'Neill of Tír Eoghain, Hugh Roe O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill and their allies, against English rule in Ireland. The war was fought in all parts of the country, but mainly in the northern province of Ulster. It ended in defeat and exile (*Flight of the Earls*) for the Irish chieftains and to the English Plantation of Ulster.

The war against O'Neill and his allies was the largest conflict fought by England in the Elizabethan era. At the height of the conflict (1600–1601) more than 18,000 soldiers were fighting in the English army in Ireland. By contrast, the English army assisting the Dutch during the Eighty Years' War was never more than 12,000 strong at any one time.

The Irish Confederate Wars, also called the **Eleven Years' War** (derived from the Irish language name *Cogadh na hAon Bhliana Déag*), took place in Ireland between 1641 and 1653. It was the Irish theatre of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms – a series of civil wars in the kingdoms of Ireland, England and Scotland (all ruled by Charles I). The conflict in Ireland essentially pitted the native Irish Catholics against English and Scottish Protestant colonists and their supporters. It was both a religious and ethnic conflict – fought over who would govern Ireland, whether it would be governed from England, which ethnic and religious group would own most of the land and which religion would predominate in the country.

The war in Ireland began with the Rebellion of 1641 in Ulster in October, during which thousands of Scots and English Protestant settlers were killed. The rebellion spread throughout the country and at Kilkenny in 1642 the Association of The Confederate Catholics of Ireland was formed to organise the Catholic war effort. The Confederation was essentially an independent state and was a coalition of all shades of Irish Catholic society, both Gaelic and Old English. The Irish Confederates professed to side with the English Cavaliers during the ensuing civil wars, but mostly fought their own war in defence of the Catholic landed class' interests.

The Confederates ruled much of Ireland as a *de facto* sovereign state until 1649, and proclaimed their loyalty to Charles I. From 1641 to 1649, the Confederates fought against Scottish Covenanter and English Parliamentarian armies in Ireland. The Confederates, in the context of the English Civil War, were loosely allied with the English Royalists, but were divided over whether to send military help to them in the war there.

The wars ended in the defeat of the Confederates and their English Royalist allies during the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland by the New Model Army under Oliver Cromwell in 1649–53. The wars following the 1641 revolt caused massive loss of life in Ireland, comparable in the country's history only with the Great Famine of the 1840s. The ultimate winner, the English parliament, arranged for the mass confiscation of land owned by Irish Catholics as punishment for the rebellion and to pay for the war.

Although some of this land was returned after 1660 on the Restoration of the monarchy in England, the period marked the effective end of the old Catholic landed class.

The Cromwellian conquest of Ireland or **Cromwellian war in Ireland** (1649–53) refers to the conquest of Ireland by the forces of the English Parliament, led by Oliver Cromwell, during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Cromwell landed in Ireland with his New Model Army on behalf of England's Rump Parliament in August 1649.

Since the Irish Rebellion of 1641, most of Ireland had been under the control of the Irish Catholic Confederation. In early 1649 the Confederates allied with the English Royalists, who had been defeated by the Parliamentarians in the English Civil War. By May 1652, Cromwell's Parliamentarian army had defeated the Confederate and Royalist coalition in Ireland and occupied the country. However, guerrilla warfare continued for another year.

The impact of the war on the Irish population was unquestionably severe, although there is no consensus as to the magnitude of the loss of life. The war resulted in famine, which was worsened by an outbreak of bubonic plague. Estimates of the drop in the Irish population resulting from the Parliamentarian campaign vary from 15–25%, to half and even as much as five-sixths. The Parliamentarians also deported about 50,000 people as indentured labourers.

Later 17th century war in Ireland
It would be remiss to end the Irish wars there; the conflict between Catholic and Protestant claimants to the English throne were to culminate in the 1690's Williamite Wars; these firmly fixed the political and social order of Ireland for 300 years.

The **Williamite War in Ireland** (Irish: *Cogadh an Dá Rí*, meaning *war of the two kings*) was a conflict between Jacobites (supporters of Catholic King James II) and Williamites (supporters of Protestant Prince William of Orange) over who would be King of England, Scotland and Ireland. It is also called the **Jacobite War in Ireland** or the **Williamite–Jacobite War in Ireland**.

The cause of the war was the deposition of James II as King of the Three Kingdoms in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. James was supported by the mostly Catholic *Jacobites* in Ireland and hoped to use the country as a base to regain his Three Kingdoms. He was given military support by France to this end. For this reason, the War became part of a wider European conflict known as the Nine Years' War (or War of the Grand Alliance). Some Protestants of the established Church in Ireland also fought on the side of King James.

James was opposed in Ireland by the mostly Protestant *Williamites*, who were concentrated in the north of the country. William landed a multi-national force in Ireland, composed of English, Scottish, Dutch, Danish and other troops. James left Ireland after losing the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the Irish Jacobites were finally defeated after the Battle of Aughrim in 1691.

William defeated Jacobitism in Ireland and subsequent Jacobite risings were confined to Scotland and England. However, the War was to have a lasting effect on Ireland, confirming British and Protestant rule over the country for over a century. The iconic Williamite victories of the Siege of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne are still celebrated by the (mostly Protestant) Unionist community in Northern Ireland today.

The Battle of the Boyne

took place on 1 July 1690 in the "old style" (Julian) calendar. This was equivalent to 11 July in the "new style" (Gregorian) calendar, although today its commemoration is held on 12 July, on which the decisive Battle of Aughrim was fought a year later. The symbolic importance of this battle has made it one of the best-known battles in the history of the British Isles and a key part of the folklore of the Orange Order.

The Battle of Aughrim

(Irish: *Cath Eachroma*) was the decisive battle of the Williamite War in Ireland. It was fought between the Jacobites and the forces of William III on 12 July 1691 near the village of Aughrim, County Galway. The battle was one of the more bloody recorded fought on Irish soil – over 7,000 people were killed. It meant the effective end of Jacobitism in Ireland, although the city of Limerick held out until the autumn of 1691.

Welsh presence in Irish affairs

Rhys Morgan's 2011 thesis, *FROM SOLDIER TO SETTLER: THE WELSH IN IRELAND, 1558-1641*, outlines the medieval connections between Scot, Welsh and Irish Celts bordering the Irish Sea throughout the 11th and 12th centuries, after which the Welsh succumbed to Anglo-Norman advances, becoming in effect English themselves, the Anglo-Norman conquerors, in obscurity and isolation in Ireland, became more and more Irish. A perfect example is that of the Earl of Desmond whose Welsh-Norman ancestors invaded Ireland in the 12th and 13th centuries (see page 13 note on the Fitz Geralds).

By Tudor times the Catholic-Protestant division became the basis for conquering Ireland, it was too great a threat to have that many Catholics so close to Protestant England. This is demonstrated by the Spanish and Papal States participation up to 1603. Wales was already mostly Protestant and with the strong Tudor connection, the Welsh were an important, and near to Ireland, source of manpower.

Morgan also indicates that Welsh settlement of Ireland was just a short boat ride away, presumably being able to take over existing infrastructure and Irish labour versus building anew as was required in the New World, was easily proposed by gentry wishing to expand their holdings. This attitude was one which Vaughan might have encountered when trying to recruit for his plantation of Newfoundland in 1615. "New English" refers to the 16th century English settlers; "old Irish" to the previous Anglo-Norman conquerors who were, by then, well settled into their Irish homelands.

Morgan explains:

> *The military was the heart of the Anglo-Welsh presence in Ireland between 1558 and 1641. Before 1603 the overwhelming majority of the English and Welsh in Ireland were soldiers. Even after this point, and despite the arrival of thousands of settlers, soldiers remained a large and influential part of the New English community*

and

> *Welsh officers formed the core of the Welsh presence in the Irish administration, made up the majority of Welsh landowners in Ireland and were vital to the formation of a Welsh community there. Welsh soldiers meanwhile made up a significant proportion of the Welsh-born tenants in the Irish plantations and had a strong influence on how the Welsh were perceived by the rest of the New English in early modem Ireland.*

As to the character of Welsh levies in Ireland, Morgan says:

> *By characterising the Welsh soldiers as "fine" men, Jeffrey was also challenging the negative image of the pressed soldier that has influenced their representation down to the present day. The second section of this chapter challenges this traditional characterisation of levied soldiers as criminals and vagrants. Through intensive use of material from Welsh archives it is shown that between the first Elizabethan levy in 1561 and the only Caroline levy of 1625, Wales sent many economically useful and socially respectable men to fight in Ireland. This chapter also discusses the effect that this large scale levying of able men had on Wales. It argues that impressment took a serious toll on the local Welsh economy.*

As to what constituted the Irish levies, whether voluntary or impressed (Morgan uses this term), he writes:

> *Wales was a major source of the men sent to Ireland, primarily due to the logistical convenience of sending soldiers from the principality. The chapter also challenges orthodox understandings of the kind of men who were sent to fight in Ireland by the English and Welsh counties, arguing that our image of common soldiers in the Irish army rests too heavily on negative stereotypes supported by flawed evidence. By utilising the unusually detailed evidence relating to levies that survives for parts of Wales, the chapter maintains that the Welsh soldiers sent to Ireland were normally respectable and economically productive individuals. It is thus argued that these levies not only created a large Welsh presence in Ireland, but that they had seriously detrimental social and economic effects on Welsh counties which have been underestimated by historians.*

and

> *The common soldier in Ireland has not fared well in the opinions of modem historians. It has generally been argued that the authorities levied beggars, criminals and vagabonds as soldiers. By drawing on recent research by military historians, however, this section argues that this conclusion relies too heavily on the complaints of government officials, which exaggerated the soldiers' deficiencies. It is instead suggested that most of those sent from Wales were fit men, largely rural labourers and village artisans. The bulk of the Welsh presence in Ireland was thus made up of ordinary Welshmen and not the dregs of society. This is supported by the fact that they generally made good soldiers in Ireland and, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, many progressed to become settled members of the New English community there.*

Morgan discusses the types of men sent to Ireland and deprecates the current and even recent takes that they were criminals, vagabonds, rioters, thieves, etc. The records show, instead, they were honest farm labourers and artisans who would have been better served if allowed to remain at home. Vaughan's complaints about the generally poor state of manpower and low employment perhaps results from this stripping of Welsh manpower and perhaps to the incompetence, as described by Whitbourne, demonstrated by his first Newfoundland colonists.

> *Rogues and criminals were certainly levied and sent to Ireland in the early modem period, but these were a minority.*

In his detailed lists of Welsh contingents in Ireland, and their officers, Morgan notes for 1605:

These figures also do not include captains who served as volunteers under the two Earls of Essex in their expeditions of 1574 and 1599, which included a large number of Welshmen such as Sir William Morgan and Sir Gelly Meyrick. The table gives figures for foot captains at roughly five year intervals, with annual figures for the period between 1595 and 1605, which saw a high turnover of men and captains necessitated by the Tyrone rebellion and its aftermath.

Between 1561 and 1625 more than 55,000 men were impressed and nearly 20% were Welsh making the proportional burden on Welsh counties dis-proportional to other Western England counties, averaging just below 5% of the Welsh population. Desertion was common, especially desertion before shipping out. The Breconshire levy of 1618 shows 6100 out of a possible 7000 men (between 15 and 60) attended the muster. Categories who were not impressed, he says, were:

the sick, disabled, clergymen, nobles and members of the trained bands [local militia] *who could not be levied.*

Morgan documents how there were many complaints about losing so many men to Ireland and how this posed a threat to the regions from which they were taken and, he notes, many levies were cancelled as political or military threats were raised and then quickly dissipated.

Regarding the discussion of the flyleaf text note about "pure English", Morgan adds this:

To be led by a stranger was a greater problem for Welsh soldiers than their English counterparts. At least nine out of ten early modern Welshmen could not speak English and an English-speaking captain leading a largely monoglot Welsh company was an acknowledged problem in the English army.

In 1605 many Captains were dismissed, times were peaceful and opportunities lay elsewhere. Morgan illustrates how Irish-Welsh ties were strengthened by those who stayed behind or were not dismissed from service:

As has been seen, there was a significant reduction in the size of the Irish army after 1603. While soldiers were usually sent back to their home counties on disbandment, captains often remained. Post-war Ireland thus contained a large number of idle captains in receipt of government pensions. In lord deputies Chichester (1604-16) and St John (1616-21), however, these captains had sympathetic patrons. Chichester in particular felt that officers needed to be rewarded for their service. He dramatically increased the opportunities available to captains in the administration by expanding the number of constables and provost marshals. These new posts were ostensibly designed to maintain peace, particularly around Ulster, but they also gave captains a regular wage and the opportunity to establish themselves among the Irish landed elite. Small numbers of Welshmen, such as Robert Mostyn and Sir William Morgan, had held similar positions during the early Elizabethan period, but unlike their seventeenth-century counterparts they rarely went on to build administrative careers.

Fortunately for the Welsh captains in Ireland, both Chichester and St John had kinship connections to Wales and were on good terms with leading Welsh soldiers. In 1605 Chichester married Lettice, daughter of Sir John Perrot and widow of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire.

The Chichester-Perrot connection within a few years was to lead to a connection with the Salusbury family, according to Morgan; Henry Salusbury married Lettice's daughter Elizabeth (presumably from her marriage to Rowland Laughorne), William Vaughan's step-sister. Other sources have Henry marrying Elizabeth Vaughan, a daughter of John Vaughan, and therefore William's niece; either way it was a strong connection between the Vaughan and Salusbury families; the leading families of north and south Wales at the time.

Morgan demonstrates that while a large proportion of soldiers in Ireland were Welsh, the officers were mostly English with a smattering of Welsh nobility, all firmly English as they saw themselves, thereby also identified by the long-suffering Irish as English interlopers. Many settled into Irish affairs and were accepted as constables, sheriffs, landowners, and leaders; some maintained an Irish identity and allied with the Irish Confederates in the struggles of 1641-1653. Their English counterparts went on to Continental and New World adventures, where the profit and glory opportunities were greater, leaving behind the rancor of the Irish. The historical and cultural commonalities of the Irish-Welsh relationship allowed them to settle into Irish affairs, even though as overlords and in authority.

In his Appendices, Morgan tabulates the number of men from various English and Welsh counties raised for Irish service; there were two levies in 1602 and the next one listed is for 1608; perhaps we can assume that if Vaughan's 1605 muster went ahead it was cancelled.

The muster
Morgan uses G.G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's army* (Oxford, 1966; pp.29 and 290-291) especially in regard to numbers of levies from England and Wales through the Tudor period. Of greater interest, however, to the discussion herein are Cruickshank's descriptions of the muster process and who was involved.

Cruikshank starts by noting there wasn't an organized system of raising troops in the early 1500's; the feudal army was fading away since a century before, "it would have in any case died a natural death" and "The rights of the Crown and the duties of the citizens were not fully defined in the statute book when Elizabeth came to the throne."

"The older militia – the people's army – still held" but was reserved for local use and defense of the Kingdom unless it specifically volunteered for foreign duty. Participating in the local militia exempted one from service in foreign "overseas or in Scotland" affairs. This may be the reference on the flyleaf draft to "those not now in service". There were three methods of raising troops – mercenaries, enlistment by commission of array (the levy or muster), and recruitment by indentures whereby an obligation for men and supplies could be substituted by money (p. 5).

Elizabeth raised three bills between 1588 and 1597 in attempts to organize a nationwide troop recruitment process; all failed to pass Parliament and so her reign resorted to the traditional levying on a county by county basis. Her reign wasn't particularly warlike, although it did contain some of the greatest military and naval actions of English history.

In 36 years she raised troops 10 times (pp. 14-16): for action in Scotland (1560); an expeditionary force to France to re-capture Calais and support the Protestant French Huguenots (1562); strengthening the garrisons of Ireland at the time of Shane O'Neill's rebellion (1567) with 3500 casualties; the Rebellion in the North (1569-1570); a force of 300 volunteers to the Low Countries to help the Dutch overthrow their Spanish overlords; later supplemented by 1200 men under Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1572-1573); the

Desmond rebellion (1579); a defensive expeditionary force to France (1589); army of 20,000 (half recruits and half veterans of the Low Countries) to France to control Spain on the French coast and with the Earl of Essex to hold and defend Normandy (1591); Tyrone's rebellion (1595); and, 6000 (half veterans of the Low Countries) to France (1596).

> *The government's main struggle, however, was not with the French, the Spaniards, or the rebels in occupied Ireland. It was against its own citizens, whose enthusiasms for military service, never great, diminished in direct proportion to the demands made on them.*

The pattern of contribution in Elizabeth's reign was established by Mary and it was based on income.

> *The county was the administrative unit for military affairs, as it was for general purposes. The Crown's representative there was the key figure in running the militia and in organizing troops for foreign service* (p. 18).

Justices of the peace and constables were the working mechanisms of musters but between them and Captains there was a fair amount of corruption and bribery allowing people to "buy" their way out of service (p. 21). Apparently suitability for service was second to expediency for men between 16 and 60 (why the flyleaf says 12 to 60 isn't clear).

Certain groups were exempt from appearing at a muster: Lords of Parliament and their servants; members of the Privy Council; clergymen and justices of the peace (but they were financially responsible); recusants were "considered poor risks and had to contribute cash and not serve time in prison" (p. 24).

"Trained bands" refers to militiamen and the militia became refuges for men who didn't want to serve overseas; only occasionally, and if volunteers, did militia units serve in foreign service (p. 26).

> *The conscripts were of two sorts. On the one hand, honest men taken away from steady employment; and on the other, the unemployed, rogues, and vagabonds who menaced the peace of the countryside and were a good riddance* (p. 26).

Prisoners were not enlisted except in one or two cases of dire emergency. Enlistment of rogues and vagabonds, "disreputable men who probably ought to have been in prison – was quite common" (p.26). In 1597, 700 thieves identified in London and its environs were rounded up to serve in Picardy (p. 28).

In Ireland, Irish recruits and levies posed two aspects; while they were likely to desert and join the rebels they served for cheaper wages (p. 34).

Cruickshank's chapter 8 (pp. 130-142) – Musters – gives a good account of how corruption was rife in the muster rolls process; from muster masters on the take, to Captains whose sole purpose was to enrich themselves at the cost of recruits and Crown. An example given of an Ireland muster; most of the men bought their way out of service by paying the Captain who went to Ireland with a portion of the muster, got soldiers and civilians to "stand in" for the count and then billed the Crown for the full complement's wages, supplies, etc. According to Cruickshank merchants and suppliers were in on the game as well as county and military officials.

Corruption at most levels was penalized by hanging but

> *All of this was the theory, evolved in Whitehall, and promulgated to the army with admirable clarity. Indeed, the regulations governing the muster office could not have been better drafted. Had no more than one of the links in the chain of responsibilities which they embraced been dishonest, it would have been glaringly revealed. The Privy Council could have dealt with the offender in isolation. But when the whole of the chain was corrupt – the muster officials, the treasurer-at-war, the captains, the company clerk, the auditor, as well as those on the fringe, the clothing and food contractors – it was quite impossible to run the machine efficiently* (p. 136).

Musters were generally to be held annually with a week or two of training and involved both people in service (militia men) and those not in service. The idea was to keep accurate count of future army soldiers, wages, supplies, arms, etc. Practically, this was onerous on the counties, two weeks of non-productive activity meant economies were threatened, commerce interrupted, and other goods and services were delayed; by late 1500's national musters reverted to a four year cycle with local, county preparedness and activities taking place in between (p. 131). Other musters, as needed in times of trouble, were conducted as needed and in counties most like to provide the necessary manpower and funds.

Conclusion

Taken in the contexts provided by Morgan and Cruickshank the draft muster on Vaughan's book flyleaf appears innocent and very *provincial*. It wasn't a part of a general national muster, at least no one else references such an event, so it was probably planned as a normal part of the responsibility of county officials to maintain the records of serviceable men and supplies, in this case the county being Carmarthen and the official John Vaughan. Both Morgan and Cruickshank illuminate the flyleaf text regarding rogues, rioters, recusants, drunks and those of ill-fame and the responsibilities of overseers, constables, and churchwardens in creating the muster roll; Interestingly, the "other of his majesty's officers" is struck out of the draft, implying, perhaps, there weren't any active "officers" in the parish.

Also of interest is that Vaughan control over Carmarthen was waning after the ascension of James I to the throne and these sort of musters might have been a final attempt to demonstrate authority as the Crown's representative on the local scene.

John Vaughan, Lord Carberry, while an important Tudor representative in Wales, became a *made man* in the Irish conflicts serving under Essex and again after the Essex rebellion. He was exonerated by Elizabeth for his association with Essex's debacle in Ireland and the rebellion, presumably because of his value as an important, and rich, Welsh representative of the Crown. He received his knighthood in service with Essex and Carberry is a title of the Irish Peerage.

Cruickshank's original question as to why the English never created a unified, organized national army, he answers in his conclusion. After explaining that the corruption of the army system as it developed meant the army was mostly a fiction and a way for people to make money at all levels of the organization he wrote:

> *Had a major campaign been fought within England the picture might have been difference. The deceits and stratagems practiced at all levels in military organizations might have been swept away; and the manifest need to fight for survival might have created an efficient and honest*

army. But as it turned out, no Englishman was ever required to give his life 'for his sacred sovereign and dear country' on an English beach. Elizabeth's army was not to be tempered in the fires of total invasion. The opportunity of a finest hour never came (p. 289).

While raising armies was difficult, the Crown was plagued even more by soldiers returning from service. Most lost their jobs when they were conscripted and here were no pension plans. Morgan and Cruickshank discuss the problems of unemployed men, veterans, recently come home to little or nothing.

In North America, soldiers and officers were offered grants or land and premises to remain in the new world and make their fortunes after their service; presumably the award was greater than could be expected on return to England on a pension. In Newfoundland, the victorious campaigns of the late 1700's resulted in thousands of military personnel remaining behind with their families.

The Fitz Gerald family of Wales and Ireland

Maurice Fitz Gerald, Lord of Maynooth, Naas, and Llanstephan (c. 1105 – September 1177) was a medieval Cambro-Norman baron and a major figure in the Norman invasion of Ireland.

A Welsh Marcher Lord, Llanstephan fought under Robert Fitz Martin at the Battle of Crug Mawr in Wales 1136.

Diarmait Mac Murchada (Dermot MacMurrough), the deposed King of Leinster, who had been exiled by the High King of Ireland, sought Cambro-Norman assistance to regain his throne. Llanstephan participated in the resulting 1169 Norman invasion of Ireland. He assisted his younger half-brother Robert Fitz Stephen in the Siege of Wexford (1169). His nephew, Raymond, was Strongbow's second in command and had the chief share both in the capture of Waterford and in the successful assault on Dublin in 1171. Llanstephan and his son also fought in this battle.

Fitz Gerald was the second son of Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke Castle by his wife, Nest ferch Rhys, Princess of Deheubarth and a member of the Welsh royal House of Dinefwr.

Gerald of Wales, the 12th century travel writer was a nephew of Maurice Fitz Gerald and accompanied his uncle to Ireland resulting is his 1185 book on Irish customs and geography.

Llanstephan is a village on the west bank of the Towy estuary about 20 miles south of Carmarthen. It was fortified by the Fitz Geralds about 1100 as part of their conquest of Wales.