

GAZETTEER OF MILITARY LEVIES FROM THE CITY OF LONDON, 1509-1603

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Scope

This gazetteer lists all levies of troops and ships from the city of London from 1509 to 1603, and attempts costings of each levy. It should be read in conjunction with the author's article, 'The Burden of Taxation in Sixteenth-Century London', published in *The Historical Journal*, 44:3 (2001), 599-627, where the methodology is more fully explained. Details given in the gazetteer include the crown's requirements, equipment, administration, and financing. It is of use to historians of the military, local government, and taxation. All comments should be e-mailed to ian.archer@keble.ox.ac.uk

The gazetteer originally appeared on the Keble College website and was subsequently moved to Oxford's VLE (weblearn), but it has proved difficult to establish a stable url. Publication in ORA is intended to provide a stable environment for this resource.

The *HJ* article is available via [JSTOR](#) and [Cambridge Journals online](#) to subscribers.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3133576>

<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?fromPage=online&aid=85589&fileId=S0018246X01001935>

ABBREVIATIONS

APC	<i>Acts of the Privy Council of England</i> , ed. J.R. Dasent (32 vols., 1890-1907)
BL	British Library
CCR	Clothworkers' Company Records
CLRO	Corporation of London Records Office
CM	Court Minutes
CSPD	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, vols I-VIII</i> , ed. R. Lemon and M.A.E. Green (1856-75)
CSPFor.	<i>Calendar of State Papers Foreign</i> , ed. J.S. Stevenson et al (23 vols, 1863-1950)
DCR	Drapers' Company Records

GCR	Goldsmiths' Company Records
GL	Guildhall Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
JCC	Journal of the Court of Common Council
<i>LASPFor.</i>	<i>List and Analysis of State Papers Foreign</i> , ed. R.B. Wernham (in progress, 1964-)
<i>LP</i>	<i>Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547</i> , ed. J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie (24 vols., 1862-1910)
MB	Minute Book
MCR	Mercers' Company Records
MTCR	Merchant Taylors' Company Records
PRO	Public Records Office
QWA	Quarter Wardens' Accounts
Reg.	Register
Rep.	Repertory of the Court of Aldermen
RWA	Renter Wardens' Accounts
WA	Wardens' Accounts

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Tudor Tracts, 1532-1558, ed. A.F. Pollard (1903)

The Vestry Minute Books of the Parish of St Bartholomew Exchange in the City of London, 1567-1676, ed. E. Freshfield (1890)

'The Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham', ed. H.S. Scott, *Camden Miscellany X* (Camden Society, third series, 52, 1936)

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MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Public Records Office

E101 Court of Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Various Accounts
SP11 State Papers Domestic, Mary I
SP12 State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth I

British Library

Harleian Manuscripts
Lansdowne Manuscripts

Corporation of London Records Office (now London Metropolitan Archives)

Repertories of the Court of Aldermen
Journals of the Court of Common Council
Remembrancia
Letter Books

Guildhall Library

Armourers' Company

12065/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1563-1616

Bakers' Company

5174/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1548-86
5174/3 Wardens' Accounts, 1586-1625

Brewers' Company

5442/3 Wardens' Accounts, 1563-8
5442/4 Wardens' Accounts, 1563-81
5442/5 Wardens' Accounts, 1582-1616

Coopers' Company

5606/1 Wardens' Accounts, 1529-71
5606/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1571-1611

Cutlers' Company

7147/1 Wardens' Accounts, 1586-1621

Grocers' Company

11571/3 Wardens' Accounts, 1511-21
11571/5 Wardens' Accounts, 1534-55
11571/6 Wardens' Accounts, 1555-78
11571/7 Wardens' Accounts, 1579-92
11588/1 Court Minutes, 1556-91

Ironmongers' Company

16967/1 Court Minutes, 1555-1602
16988/1 Wardens' Accounts, 1454-1539
16988/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1539-92

Pewterers' Company

7086/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1530-72
7086/3 Wardens' Accounts, 1572-1663

Skinner's Company

30727/3 Wardens' Accounts, 1535-64
30727/4 Wardens' Accounts, 1564-96

Tallow-Chandlers' Company

6152/2 Court Minutes, 1585-1653

Vintners' Company

15333/1 Wardens' Accounts, 1522-82

15333/2 Wardens' Accounts, 1582-1617

Parish records (now at London Metropolitan Archives)

1264/1 St Alban Wood Street, Vestry Minutes, 1583-1676
1431/1 St Alphage Cripplegate, Vestry Minutes, 1593-1608
1432/3 St Alphage Cripplegate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1580-1631
4524/1 St Botolph Bishopsgate, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1567-1632
3016/1 St Dunstan in the West, Vestry Minutes, 1588-1663
9680 St Katharine's Precinct, Constables' Accounts, 1598-1706
3907/1 St Lawrence Pountney, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1530-1681
3570/1 St Mary Aldermanbury, Vestry Minutes, 1569-1609
2596/1 St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, Churchwardens' Accounts and Vestry
Minutes, 1518-1606
2895/1 St Michael-le-Querne, Churchwardens' Accounts, 1514-1604

Clothworkers' Company Records

QWA Quarter Wardens' Accounts (each year separately foliated)

Drapers' Company Records

MB1B Minute Book, 1530-42
MB4 Minute Book, 1547-52
MB5 Minute Book, 1552-7
MB8 Minute Book, 1567-74
MB9 Minute Book, 1574-85
WA Wardens' Accounts (bundles for each year separately foliated)
RWA Renter Wardens' Accounts (bundles for each year separately foliated)

Goldsmiths Company Records

Reg. K Court Minutes, 1557-69

Hampshire Record Office

Jervoise Papers

Hatfield House

Cecil MSS

Mercers' Company Records

Register of Writings
Court Minutes, 1560-95

Merchant-Tailors' Company Records

WA Wardens' Accounts (bundles for each year separately foliated)
CM Court Minutes, 1575-1601

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GAZETTEER

001: June 1511

Commissions for musters were issued some time after 20 November 1510, with certification of able-bodied men and harness by Candlemas. No action seems to have been taken in London and, noting that musters had been held everywhere else, on 5 June 1511 it was ordered that the companies should provide 250 men in harness at the Midsummer watches at which the king and queen intended to be present. This was surely a token compliance only. The estimated costs are based on normal expenses of the Midsummer watch on provision of coats (2s), purchases of bows and arrows (5s5d), and two days' wages per man.

Estimated cost: £105

LP, I.i, no. 257 (62); *CLRO*, Rep. 2, fos. 91, 114; *Mercers' Acts of Court*, ed. Lyell and Watney, p. 391.

002: February 1513

Requirement: 300 harnessed men

Lord mayor summoned wardens of companies to prepare 300 soldiers in jackets of white and green with red crosses on front and red roses on back; to be at Greenwich by 15 February. City consented to the levy 'by the good and frewill of the maier and aldermen without any compulsion'. Costs were raised through companies, with any additional expenditure coming from City Chamber. There was also a call for volunteers in the city at this time; all resorting to the Guildhall by 10 February wishing to serve in the wars were to receive harness from the king.

Estimated cost: £419.13s.4d

Sources: CLRO, JCC 11, fos. 1v-2, 2v; Rep. 2, fos. 151, 151v, 152; GL, MS 11571/3, fos. 48-49v, 57v; *Mercers' Acts of Court*, ed. Lyell and Watney, p. 407; *LP*, I.i., nos. 1629, 1661 (p.752).

003: February/March 1514

Requirement: 300 harnessed men

Aldermen appointed Jenyns and Yarford to make arrangements, 7 February; agreed that money should be raised through companies as in previous year, 16 March.

Estimated cost: £420

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 2, fos. 170, 172v; GL, MS 11571/3, fos. 78v-79v, 91; *Mercers' Acts of Court*, ed. Lyell and Watney, pp.417, 418.

004: March/April 1522

Requirement: 100 bowmen

Common council agreed to levy of 100 bowmen to be sent to Greenwich for 10 April, 29 March; at same time it was agreed that a levy of one-and-a-half fifteenths should be made to cover the costs of this levy and of the pageants for the reception of the Emperor Charles V.

Estimated yield: £945.13.03/4 (but not all on troops)

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 5, fos. 280v, 282; JCC 12, fos. 172, 172v, 173v.

005: May 1523

Requirement: 100 harnessed men

King's letter demanding immediate levy, 17 May; delivered, 19 May, and considered at court of aldermen, 21 May. Recorder together with counsel of city attended Wolsey to show the 'article of our Great Charter that the Citezens shall not be compellyd to go or sende into the kinges warres oute of this Cite & besechyng his grace that the same may take effect & stand in force'.

Estimated cost: £140 (conjectural)

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 6, fo. 40.

006: October/November 1523

Requirement: 100 men of which 10 to be mounted

King's letter demanding levy, 31 October; considered by court of aldermen, 10 November; Recorder ordered to explain to Wolsey that the demand contravened city liberties, and also to complain about burdens on city generally.

Estimated cost: £140 (conjectural)

Source: CLRO, Rep. 6, fo. 71v.

007: October 1536

Requirement: 250 men (100 archers, 150 billmen) to serve against the pilgrims; 200 of them to be horsed.

King's instructions for levy received, 10 October; soldiers were to be ready by 1 p.m. on 11 October. King wrote to thank city for diligence, 11 October. Aldermen and recorder were ordered to prepare harness for a second levy of 20 men each on 26 October and on 31 October common hall agreed to have 250 'in readiness if chance shall require'. These additional levies were not sent, and there is little evidence of further expenditure on equipment in the companies.

Aldermen ordered that 5s should be paid for press and conduct money, but soldiers seem to have received about 10s each on their return: an average of 13s6d per man seems to have been spent on press, conduct money and rewards. Coats at 4s per man. Equipment at 16s10d per man for 100 archers and 13s per man for 150 billmen. Wages at 6d per man for two days. Horses were purchased rather than hired, and subsequently sold at a loss, their fodder being provided in the meantime. Average net costs were 29s8d per horse for 200.

Estimated cost: £710

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 9, fos. 199, 199v, 200v, 201, 204v, 205v, 206, 208, 209v, 230v, 233v; GL, MSS 11571/6, fos. 65, 65v, 79v-81v; 16988/1, fo. 171r-v; 15333/1, pp. 132-4; 5606/1, fo. 46; 5174/1, fo. 199v; DCR, MB1B, pp. 535, 536.

008: May 1539

Requirement: Muster of ?15000 citizens

Commission received from crown for view of horsemen and footmen, surveying those over 16 and what armour they possessed was read in court of aldermen, 6 March; precepts issued for execution, 11 March. Commission for musters read, 20 March, and meeting held on the following morning of lord mayor, aldermen, 'all the counsayll of the city, clerks and others that can write' to consider detailed implementation; divers of the most substantial commoners were also involved in planning meetings; and the aldermen

discussed arrangements on 10, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 27 April, 2, 6 May; Thomas Cromwell was heavily involved in the discussions.

The muster was originally intended probably for 23 April, and a preliminary muster was held in the wards on 22 April, but the general muster was deferred until 8 May. The soldiers assembled at Mile End, entered the city through Aldgate, and marched through Cornhill and Cheapside, to Westminster, where they were viewed by the king from the gatehouse of his palace; circling St James' Park, they crossed the fields to Holborn, and returned to the city through Newgate. The troops took six hours to march past the king. They were arranged in three battalions, each comprising gunners, archers, pikemen, and billmen, marching five abreast.

Although a propagandistic account was prepared by Edward Hall, the city's common serjeant, key details of the muster are obscure, and estimates of the costs involved highly provisional. Contemporary estimates of the numbers mustered vary from 15000 to 60000. The most reliable figure is 16500, said to have been derived from the lord chancellor, Thomas Audley, who was in a position to know. This estimate is not inconsistent with the more conservative estimates of the French ambassador, Marillac of 15000, and of Hall who claimed that there were 15000 'besyde wyfflers and other wayters', but it would make this the largest military mobilisation of the sixteenth-century city. Cromwell alone is said to have provided 1000 men, and the muster presumably drew upon the inhabitants of the suburbs.

Contemporary accounts stress not only the military demonstration but also the impression made by the apparel provided for the city elite and officers of the corporation. Estimates of costs have been based on the 'allowances' (not necessarily the full costs) made by the aldermen from the city chamber for the apparel of various officers, and by the livery companies for the velvet coats required for the reception of Anne of Cleves later in the year. Thus the aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, and ex-sheriffs wore coats of black velvet (36 at £3.6s.8d); the chamberlain, swordbearer, legal counsellors, officers of the city courts, and aldermen's deputies wore coats of white damask (62 at 40s); 400 whiffers, 30 minstrels, and 30 drummers wore white silk (460 at 20s); each alderman was accompanied by four halberdiers in white silk, and the lord mayor by 16 (116 at 13s4d); the city's constables were dressed in jerkins of white silk (229 at 13s4d). The total costs of this apparel can be estimated at £933. By contrast the white cotton coats worn by ordinary musterers cost only 2s (total for 15500 residue: £1550). Estimated minimal costs of apparel: £2483.

There are no returns extant from which we can estimate the equipment available in private hands and company stores, but probably as in later musters some was loaned from the Tower. There was an active market in armour in 1539, almain rivets being available at 9-10s apiece. But, as the armour so purchased would have remained available after the muster, the estimates have been made on the basis of costs of hire and repair of armour at about 2s6d per man. Estimated minimal costs of equipment: £2063.

The bill for wages, meat and drink has been estimated at 1s per man. Estimated minimal costs: £825.

Estimated cost (minimum): £5371

Sources: T. Lott, 'Account of the Muster of Citizens of London in the Thirty-First Year of the Reign of Henry VIII', *Archaeologia*, 32 (1847), 30-37; E. Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1550), fos. 235-6; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I.95-7; *LP*, XIV.i, nos. 399, 400, 769, 770, 813, 837, 877, 879, 908, 921, 940, 941, 967, 988, 989; XIV.ii, nos. 782 (pp. 341-3); app. no. 27; *CLRO*, Rep. 10, fos. 85v, 86v, 88, 88v, 89v, 90r-v, 91v, 92, 92v, 93v, 94r-v, 95, 95v, 96v, 97, 97v, 98, 99, 99v, 103, 145; *JCC* 14, fos. 137v, 138v, 139, 139v, 142v, 143, 147, 166-8; *GL*, MSS 16988/2, fos. 2v, 3, 3v; 30727/3, accts. for 1538-9 and 1539-40; 5174/1, fo. 211v; 15333/1, p. 147; 5606/1, fo. 55r-v; *DCR*, WA, 1539-40, fos. 181v-3, 191-2; *CCR*, QWA, 1538-9, fo. 7v; QWA, 1539-40, fo. 8v; (note livery company accounts have been used for both expenses on muster and the expenses of apparel at reception of Anne of Cleves). For hire of harness cf. *DCR*, MB1A, pp. 198, 265.

009: June 1543

Requirement: 100 (70 billmen, 30 archers) for defence of Calais and Guisnes.

King requests 'a good nombre of chosen and piked fotemen', 4 June; to be at Dover by 14 June. Levy approved by common council 6 June. Troops raised through companies, and went towards Dover on 12 June.

Press at 1s per man. Coat money (at 4s per man) and conduct money (at 2s6d) reimbursed by crown, but coats cost 5s8d (Pewterers), 9s2d (Drapers), 9s4d (Clothworkers) 12s6d (Grocers); average 10s per man. Equipment at 17s3d per man, although companies seem to use harness 'by fore longyng to owr hawlle'. Wages for 3-4 days at 4d per day.

Estimated cost: £127

Sources: *APC*, I. 142; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I. 142; *CLRO*, Rep. 10, fo. 337; *JCC* 15, fos. 32r-v, 48r-v; *GL*, MSS 11571/5, fos. 204v; 16988/2, fo. 21v; 7086/2, fo. 85v; *DCR*, MB1B, p.732; WA, 1542-3 acct., fos. 236v-7; *CCR*, QWA, 1542-3, fo. 10v.

010: May 1544

Requirement: request for 500-600 for France; 500 raised (100 archers, 400 billmen; 300 to be in duke of Norfolk's colours, 200 in those of Lord Privy Seal John Russell)

Common council granted no more than 600 but requested that aldermen lobby for reduction, 24 May. Order for levy of 500, 26 May; to be ready by 2 June. Troops raised through companies.

Press varied from 1s to 2s6d (average 2s) per man. Coat money (at 4s per man) and conduct money (at 2s6d per man) was reimbursed, but coats, hose doublets, and caps averaged 14s8d per man. Equipment at 17s3d per man. Dinners for two days at 4d per day, but no wages paid by companies.

Estimated cost: £764

Sources: *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I. 148; CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 71v, 72r-v; JCC 15, fos. 94, 219; GL, MSS 5606/1, fos. 87, 93v; 7086/2, fo. 93; 15333/1, p. 230; 11571/5, fo. 205; 16988/2, fo. 23r-v; DCR, MB1B, pp. 776-7; CCR, QWA, 1543-4, fo. 8r-v.

011: September 1544

Requirement: 500 (100 archers, 400 billmen; coats of grey frieze) for Boulogne, to be ready by 27 September.

Order for levy issued by Lord Chancellor Wriothesley in name of Queen Regent, 25 September; precepts issued immediately; soldiers to be ready by 27 September. No indication of approval by common council (presumably because of pressure of time). Levy through companies. Dispatched on schedule, but went no further than Gravesend, and companies lost much of the armour they had prepared.

Press varied from 1s to 2s6d per man (average 1s6d). Coats and caps at 4s8d per man. Equipment for bowmen at 27s per man (including leather jerkins at 8s-9s), and for billmen at 15s8d per man. Wages (or sometimes meat and drink) for 2 days at 4d per day, and reward on return at 4d per man. Rewards to captains (£10 each) and under-captains (£5 each) paid by City Chamberlain (total payment £55).

Estimated cost: £682

Sources: *LP XIX.ii.*, nos. 280, 292; CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 104, 115v; GL, MSS 5606/1, fo. 102v; 7086/2, fo. 98; 11571/5, fos. 233, 235v; 15333/1, p. 231; 30727/3, 1544-5 acct.; 16988/2, fo. 26; DCR, MB1B, pp. 785, 793; CCR, QWA, 1544-5 acct., fo. 8.

012: October 1544

Requirement: 500 for France to be ready by 27 October.

Order for levy issued by aldermen, 25 Oct.; to be prepared over weekend. No indication of common council approval. Troops raised through companies, but supplemented by pressing in wards; pressed on 26 October, and dispatched on 27 October.

Press at 1s per man. Coats and shoes averaged 5s per man. Much of the equipment was supplied from that purchased for the abortive levy of the previous month, but additional purchases were made (cost of equipment estimated from company accounts as one-third of that of previous levy). No evidence of payment of wages.

Estimated cost: £300

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 116v-17; GL, MSS 11571/5, fo. 236; 15333/1, p. 231; 7086/2, fo. 98v; 16988/2, fo. 26r-v; DCR, MB1B, p. 793; CCR, QWA, 1544-5 acct., fo. 8v.

013: May 1545

Requirement: 100 (estimated 33 bowmen, 67 billmen) with white coats

Levy through companies ordered by aldermen 18 May. Troops departed 29 May.

Press at 2s6d per man. Coats at 4s per man. Wages for 9 days at 6d per day per man. Equipment for bowmen at 27s per man and for billmen at 15s8d per man.

Estimated cost: £153

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 11, fo. 170v; GL, MSS 11571/5, fo. 264v; 15333/1, p. 232; 5606/1, fo. 103; 7086/2, fo. 98v; 16988/2, fo. 27r-v; DCR, MB1B, pp. 808, 815; CCR, QWA, 1544-5 acct. fo. 9.

014: June/July 1545

Requirement: 2000 for defence against French invasion of Isle of Wight to be sent to Portsmouth

Letter from king ordering defensive preparations, and requiring provision of men to be specified by Lord Great Master, 19 June. Orders from aldermen for survey of military resources in wards, 23 June; certification within one week. Order, 9 July, to put in readiness forces in wards by 16 July. Privy council ordered dispatch of 2000 able men to Portsmouth, 23 July. Troops (possibly only 1500) mustered on 24 July in St George's Fields. Reach Farnam, but were recalled, 25 July.

Details of levy are obscure, but troops were raised through the wards. Each soldier was given 3s at setting forth, and 2s more at Farnam. Equipment was probably provided by householders. Costs were defrayed by the levy of one city fifteenth.

Estimated yield: £618

Sources: *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I. 158-9; *Greyfriars' Chronicle*, p. 49; *APC*, I. 214, 217; CLRO, Rep. 11, fos. 180, 180v, 181, 184v, 189, 189v, 190, 190v.

015: August 1545

Requirement: 1000 for Boulogne, to embark by 6 August.

Privy council ordered levy, 27 July. 1000 of the 'best men' of these recently raised were to be sent to Boulogne. Forces mustered in Finsbury fields, and were sent from Tower wharf for embarkation overseas via Dover, 4 August.

Coat money (4s per man) and conduct money (2s6d) paid by crown. Other costs covered by the levy of the fifteenth (above). But armour was provided by householders, and costs have been estimated at 17s3d per man (cf. no. 010).

Estimated cost: £862 (conjectural)

Sources: *APC*, I. 218; *LP*, XX.i., nos. 1303, 1304, 1321, 1322; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, I. 159-60; *CLRO*, Rep. 11, fos. 193v, 194.

016: May 1548

Requirement: 100 light horse men and 100 demi-lances for Scotland

Letters sent to lord mayor, aldermen and many commoners for provision of horse according to assessments in subsidy book, 17 May. Although the apportionment of the levy among the inhabitants is extant in the state papers, it has left curiously little trace in the city records. On 31 July the aldermen ordered that Somerset's letter thanking the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens 'for their dexteryties and redynes' should be read to the commons. The horsemen 'that should go into Scotland' joined in the Midsummer watches, and departed in July. Alderman Richard Jervys claimed that the cost of his setting out two demi-lances was £41.8s. (£20 has been assumed for a demi-lance and £10 for a light horseman).

Estimated cost: £3000 (conjectural)

Sources: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Edward VI 1547-1553*, ed. C.S. Knighton, pp. 55-9, 71-5; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, II.3, 5; *CLRO*, Rep. 11, fos. 462, 470, 486; Hampshire Record Office, 44M69/F7, papers relating to Jervys' tax assessments in 1540s.

017: July to October 1549

Requirement: 500 for defence against rebels and in support of councillors against Somerset

Orders, 15 July, for survey of military resources of wards; certification by 18 July. Companies ordered to provide 500 (estimated 100 archers, 200 gunners, 200 billmen) at same time. Precept for warding, 20 July. Daily warding by contingents from companies continued until 10 September. The city also maintained two guns at every gate through the summer months.

Lord mayor and aldermen received letters from the king and lord protector for levy of 1000 men for defence of the king, at the same time as they received letters from the anti-Somerset London lords requesting 2000, 6 October; both letters were read at a common council on 7 October, but city prevaricated. On 8 October the London lords appeared before the common council and declared the abuses of the protector. Common council granted 500 men, 9 October. On 10 October the lords asked that 200 of the 500 should be horsed; city agreed to 100. (Drapers ordered that their bowmen be mounted). A muster was held on 11 October in Morefields; from thence the soldiers marched through the city via Moregate to Smithfield, and were there discharged.

Press at 2s per man. Coats at 2s8d per man. There was uncertainty about the armour appropriate for the gunners: although almain rivets were purchased for the bowmen and the billmen, little seems to have been provided for the gunners. Equipment costs estimated at 33s per man for 100 archers, 13s9d for 200 gunners, and 17s per man for 200 billmen. Costs of warding during the summer were borne by individual householders but have been estimated by extrapolating from Drapers' Company orders: 83 warded daily from 21 July until 1 August; and 50 daily from 1 August until 10 September. During the October mobilisation all 500 seem to have been maintained for 3-4 days at 5d per man per day. Horse hire and fodder at 2s6d per horse for 100 for one day.

Estimated cost: £700

Sources: *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, II.15, 16, 24-7; *Greyfriars' Chronicle*, p. 60; Grafton, *Chronicle*, II. 522-3; *APC*, II. 337-8; *CLRO*, Rep. 12, fos. 102, 107v-8, 149, 150, 151v, 153; *JCC* 16, fos. 20v, 21, 36, 37, 37v; *Letter Book R*, fos. 40v, 41-2; *GL*, MSS 11571/5, fos. 357r-v; 7086/2, fo. 136; 15333/1, p. 273; 16988/2, fo. 41v; 30727/3, 1549-50 acct.; *MTCR*, WA, 1545-57, fos. 166r-v; *DCR*, MB1B, pp. 952, 962; *DCR*, MB4, pp. 102, 103-4, 121, 122; *WA*, 1548-9 acct., fo. 5; 1549-50 acct., fo. 3v-4; *CCR*, QWA, 1549-50, fo. 9v; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 43-4.

018: January/February 1554

Requirement: 600 + 1200 for defence of city against Wyatt

Aldermen ordered survey of military resources, 25 January. Wards ordered to make ready troops for defence, 26 January. Precepts for levy of 600 (120 bowmen and 480 billmen) through companies, 26 January, approved retrospectively by common council 27 January. Troops mustered at Leadenhall on evening of 27 January, and departed city on 28 January under their captains Alexander Brett, Brian Fitzwilliam, Sir William Pelham, and the duke of Norfolk. These troops defected to Wyatt at Rochester Bridge. Aldermen ordered companies to prepare twice as many (1200: 240 bowmen and 960 billmen) to serve 'on pain of death', 31 January. Subsequent precepts (5, 11 February) required warding to continue until at least 20 February (possibly 22 February).

Press at 1s per man. Cotton coats at 2s6d per man. Costs of equipment for bowmen and billmen were similar (19s6d per billman, 20s8d per bowman; no jerkins provided for

bowmen); some companies (e.g. Merchant Taylors) provided equipment for both levies (i.e.1800), but in other cases probably individual householders were expected to provide. Wage bill for second levy estimated from Vintners', Clothworkers' and Skinners' Companies accounts which include detailed accounts of payments for warding: £250.

Estimated cost: £2340

Sources: *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 37-9; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, II. 107-9; *Two London Chronicles*, p. 32; *Tudor Tracts*, pp. 229-31; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series of the Reign of Mary I, 1553-1558*, ed. C.S. Knighton, no. 58; Bodl., Rawlinson MS B102, fo. 84; PRO, SP 11/2, fo. 62; CLRO, Rep. 13, fos. 116v, 117, 117v; GL, MSS 11571/5, fos. 446v-8; 15333/1, pp. 331-4; 7086/2, fos. 177-8; 16988/2, fos. 62-3; 30727/3, 1553-4 acct.; MTCR, WA, 1545-57, fos. 289v-90v; DCR, MB5, pp. 46, 48, 49; WA, 1553-4 acct., fos. 2, 2v, 6v-8; CCR, QWA, 1553-4, fo. 8r-v; MCR, Register of Writings, II, fos. 151-2; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 64, 68.

019: March/April 1554

Requirement: 200 to serve with lord admiral.

Queen's letters received 30 March. Aldermen sought relief from providing harness and weapons, and from necessity of escorting troops to Gillingham. They may have succeeded on second point, but levy went ahead through eight leading companies who received precepts on 8 April. Troops left, 10 April. Expenditures were reimbursed by city chamberlain at rate of 24s per man.

Press at 1s per man. Coats at 2s6d. Much of the equipment was provided from company stores, but gunners required additional expenditure. Conduct money at 3s4d per man.

Estimated costs: £240

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 13, fo. 142v; GL, MSS 11571/5, fos. 447v-8; 30727/3, 1553-4 acct.; DCR, MB5, pp.59-60; WA, 1553-4, fos. 2, 8v-9.

020: October 1555

Requirement: 100 (of which 40 to be bowmen) for service on seas.

Queen's letters received by aldermen and levy ordered through companies, 10 Oct. Troops to be ready for departure from Woolwich by 21 October. Protest made to privy council about breach of city customs.

Press at 1s per man. Coats at 6s8d per man. Conduct money at 1s6d per man. Wages (or meat and drink) at 8d per day for 3 days (average). Equipment seems to have been provided out of company stores, although expenditures of approximately 3s per man on repairs/replacements are recorded.

Estimated cost: £60

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 13, fo. 331v; JCC 16, fo. 30; GL, MSS 11571/6, fo. 17v; 15333/1, p. 359; 30727/3, 1555-6 acct.; 7086/2, fo. 196v; DCR, WA, 1555-6, fo. 6v; CCR, WA, 1555-6, fo. 8.

021: July 1557

Requirement: 500 pioneers for St Quentin.

Precepts for levy through companies, 1 July, specifying white coats. Coats to be changed: companies had originally provided white coats but were told that they were to be of watchet colour of Hampshire or northern kersey according to pattern in Guildhall, 5 July. Soldiers pressed on 5 July, mustered at Leadenhall on 16 July, and sent by barge to Gravesend, 17 July. Crown promised to reimburse coat and conduct money, but companies never received payments.

Press at 6d-1s. Coats at 5s. Wages for 11 days at 6d per day. Black bills only seem to have been provided at 2s per man. Conduct money at 2s4d-3s4d per man.

Estimated cost: £400

Sources: *State Papers, Mary I*, no. 622; CLRO, Rep. 13, fos. 522v, 523, 523v, 526; JCC 16, fo. 39; GL, MS 11588/1, fo. 13; 11571/6, fos. 71-72v; 16988/2, fo. 94; 30727/3, 1557-8 acct.; 7086/2, fo. 205v; 5442/3, 1557-8 acct.; DCR, WA, 1557-8 acct.; CCR, WA, 1556-7, fo. 8v; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 87.

022: August 1557

Requirement: 1000 (250 bowmen, 250 gunners, 500 billmen) to be ready by 16 August. 'To attend on queen's majesty or wait at places appointed'.

Queen's letters requesting levy, 31 July. Aldermen agreed to levy, having protested to queen, 4 August; precepts issued, 6 August. Wardens of companies summoned to Guildhall, 7 August. Levy seems to have comprised 250 bowmen, 333 gunners, 267 pikemen, and 150 billmen. Troops were pressed on 13 August (their names were certified to aldermen on 14 August and a muster held in Finsbury Fields on 15 August) but never dispatched. According to the Grocers, 'these ... men served not at all nor none for them'.

Press at 6d-1s. No evidence that coats were provided for this levy. Equipment was either purchased by companies or provided by individual members and although the troops were not dispatched, the equipment was used in the two later levies of January 1558 and has been accounted for on the later levies. Wages were paid by individual company members, estimated at 6d per day for 4 days.

Estimated costs (excluding equipment): £137

Sources: CLRO, JCC 16, fos. 50, 50v; Rep. 13, fos. 531, 533, 533v, 536; GL, MSS 11571/6, fos. 73r-v; 11588/1, fo. 14r-v; 16988/2, fo. 94v; 30727/3, 1557-8 acct.; 7086/2, fos. 206, 207; CCR, WA, 1557-8 acct., fo. 9.

023: January 1558 (A)

Requirement: 500 (317 gunners, 183 bowmen)

Queen ordered levy 2 January, requiring as many to be hagbutters (= arquebusiers) 'as may be gotten'; troops to be ready by 8 January. Aldermen ordered levy through companies, 3 January. Men pressed on 4 January, and departed for Calais on 6 January (i.e. ahead of schedule).

Press at 1s per man. No coats provided. For equipment costs, see below. Conduct money at 2s to 5s per man. Wages for 3 days at 6d per man.

Estimated cost (excluding equipment): £125

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 13, fo. 580v; JCC 16, fo. 51; GL, MSS 11571/6, fos. 69-70v, 83; 7086/2, fo. 214v; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 95; Johnson, *Drapers*, IV. 410-14.

024: January 1558 (B)

Requirement: 1000 for recovery of Calais (of which 500 were sent).

Queen wrote to demand levy of another 1000, 9 January, to be ready within 10 days. Precepts issued for levy, 11 January. On hearing news of the dispersal in stormy weather of the fleet sent out to hold the Channel, troops were ordered to be held back but kept in readiness, 13 January. Order for 500 to be sent to Dunkirk for service under the earl of Rutland, 19 January. The privy council complained about the quality of the previous batch of London levies. Precepts to same effect, 20 January. Troops departed, 25 January.

Press at 1s per man. Coats at 3s6d per man. Equipment costs, see below. Wages for 500 for 13 days at 6d per day. Wages for other 500 (who gave attendance for 7-8 days according to Grocers' accounts) at 6d per day. Conduct money and rewards for 500 at 3s6d per man. Additional expenses at approximately £3 per 100 men sent.

Estimated cost (excluding equipment): £578

Sources: *State Papers, Mary I*, nos. 682, 684, 686, 697, 699, 700; CLRO, JCC 16, fos. 53, 53v, 54r-v, 55; Rep. 13, fos. 582v, 584; Rep. 14, fos. 1v, 2, 3, 9v, 10.

Equipment costs for August 1557 to January 1558 levies (nos. 022-024) have been calculated together as equipment prepared for earlier levy served for later ones. Total

provision was 150 billmen at 26s per man, 917 gunners at 21s9d (including jerkins) per man, 453 bowmen at 21s5d per man, and 267 pikemen at 26s11d per man.

Additional costs on equipment: £2100

Sources: GL, MSS 11588/1, fos. 18, 18v, 19v; 11571/6, fos. 69-70, 75-76v, 83; 7086/2, fo. 215; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 95-6; Johnson, *Drapers*, IV. 410-14.

025: May to July 1558

Requirement: 1000 for national defence

Instructions for mustering and viewing all able persons and for viewing armour received from Lord Treasurer Winchester, 2 May. Precepts for view issued, 4 May; returnable by 12 May. On 12 May Winchester appeared in the court of aldermen and his commission of lieutenancy was read, and ordered to be proclaimed throughout the city on the following day. It would seem that a new survey was required, for on 21 June the lord mayor announced that Winchester required certificates of able men and armour by 28 June. On 12 July the aldermen considered Winchester's demand for a certificate of men ready to serve the queen, and further returns with this information were required by 14 July. Winchester's target was a force of 5000 but, on considering the returns at the 14 July meeting, the aldermen protested that they could provide no more than 4000.

Meanwhile the commissioners for horse armour set to work, requiring by precepts, dated soon after 19 July, certificates from the wards of numbers to be provided, with returns by 24 September.

It would seem that the privy council had in mind the provision of a select force for on 20 July a group of aldermen met with Winchester and persuaded him ('as yernestleley as they could') to drop his demands for the provision of horse armour and to accept a force of 1000 able men for the queen's service 'at this present'; these men were to be 'in readiness whensoever called'. On 26 July committees were appointed to determine the apportionment of the force of 1000 among the wards, and on 28 July precepts were issued (from the precept for Queenhithe ward it would seem that a force of 166 arquebusiers, 166 pikemen, 334 bowmen, and 334 billmen was envisaged). Planning continued through August: on 11 August it was agreed that new precepts should be issued to ensure that the troops would be ready by 1 September.

Because of the basis of the levy in the wards, it is extremely difficult to determine the costs of this activity. It is highly probable that the large amounts of armour provided earlier in the year meant that the financial impact was blunted. But the novel requirement of corslets for the pikemen must have occasioned expenditure. Winchester promised to assist the city in finding corslets at the supposedly discount price of 37s, and this has been used as a basis for the minimal costs given below. Other costs have been estimated at 3s per man for repair of armour.

Estimated costs: £450 (conjectural minimum)

Sources: CLRO, JCC 17, fos. 65v-6, 66-7, 86, 90, 91; Rep. 14, fos. 28, 28v, 32v, 34v, 41, 49, 49v, 50v, 51, 51v, 52v, 53v, 55, 57v, 59v, 80v, 84.

026: July 1558

Requirement: 150 pioneers

Winchester's letter requiring provision of 150 pioneers by 20 August read by aldermen, 21 July; agreed that they should be levied out of the wards, 9 August. On 6 September one of the captains approached the court of aldermen to levy another 50, and it was agreed that he could seek volunteers, but more than that the aldermen refused to do, the levy of the 150 men having been achieved only 'with great dyffyculty and busynes'.

Estimated costs: £150

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 14, fos. 52v, 58v, 63.

027: July 1559

Requirement: 1400 (800 pikemen, 400 arquebusiers, 200 halberdiers) to muster before Queen.

On 27 June the wardens of the twelve leading companies were instructed to prepare men for assembly at Bridgehouse on Saturday 1 July; they mustered before the lord mayor in the duke of Suffolk's park in Southwark and St George's Fields, and then before the queen at Greenwich on 2 July.

The men were raised through companies, the armour being provided from company stores, by occasional new purchases (especially of corslets), or by hire (both of corslets and guns). Assuming that half the number of corslets required were bought at 32s each, and the rest of the equipment hired at 2s6d per man, we can estimate costs on arms at £765. Payments to whifflers about £60. Wages at 6d per day per man for 2 days.

Estimated cost: £900

Sources: *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 202-3; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, II. 145; CLRO, Rep. 14, fos. 180r-v, 182, 184; JCC 17, fos. 177v-8; GL, MSS 11571/6, fos. 138v-9; 16988/2, fos. 110v, 111v, 112, 113; DCR, WA, 1558-9, fo. 8v; CCR, QWA, 1558-9, fos. 7v-8; GCR, Reg. K, pp. 470-1; *Carpenters' Records*, IV.103.

028: April 1560

Requirement: 900 for ceremonial entry of Queen

Queen's letters requesting 1300 (800 pikemen in corslets and 500 arquebusiers) received, 2 April; aldermen petitioned Dudley for reduction in numbers, and 900 (540 pikemen and 360 arquebusiers) were agreed, 4 April. These men escorted the queen from St Mary Spital through the city to the court on 10 April.

The men were raised through companies, the armour being provided from company stores, by private individuals, or by hire (especially of corslets). Payments to those mustering at 14d per man. Costs of hire and repair of equipment of 3s per man have been estimated from company accounts.

Estimated cost: £187

Sources: *Machyn's Diary*, p. 230; CLRO, Rep. 14, fos. 322v, 323v; JCC 17, fo. 230; GL, MSS 11571/6, fos. 139v-40; 16988/2, fo. 113; DCR, WA, 1559-60, fo. 7; CCR, QWA, 1559-60, fo. 8v; *Carpenters' Records* IV.115.

029: May 1560

Requirement: 250 (125 bowmen, 125 arquebusiers) for Scotland

Queen's letters dated 20 May; troops to be ready within four days, to be delivered to Lord Admiral Clinton. No indication of approval by common council. Levied through companies.

Press at 1s per man. Coats at 6s per man. Most of the equipment was provided by companies from existing stores (left over from French war), but miscellaneous purchases were made at 7s per man. Wages estimated at 6d per day per man for 3 days. Conduct money at 2s6d per man.

Estimated cost: £225

Sources: *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 234, 237; CLRO, Rep. 14, fo. 336; JCC 17, fos. 235v, 236r-v; CCR, QWA, 1559-60, fos. 7v-8; GL, MSS 115716, fos. 84v, 140v-2; 5174/2, fos. 88v-9; 16988/2, fo. 113; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 115.

030: June 1560

Requirement: 200 for Scotland (with swords only)

Queen's letters ordering levy received, 4 June; troops to be ready by 7 June. 120 levied through wards, and provided with swords at expense of city chamberlain, 80 through companies. City chamberlain provided meat and drink.

Press at 1s4d per man. Equipment at 4s4d. Meat and drink at 6d per man per day for two days.

Estimated cost: £67

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 14, fos. 339v, 340, 340v, 341; CCR, QWA, 1559-60, fo. 9; GL, MSS 1571/6, fo. 84v; 16988/2, fo. 113v; 5174/2, fos. 88v-9.

031: June 1560

Requirement: 200 for Scotland (with swords and daggers only)

Queen's letters ordering levy received 20 June; troops to be at Portsmouth by 28 June. Aldermen ordered levy through companies, ensuring that troops were mustered at Leadenhall on 25 June. Levy subsequently cancelled.

Press at 1s. Equipment at 4s4d. Wages for estimated 4 days at 6d per day.

Estimated cost: £117

Sources: CLRO, Rep. 14, fo. 344v; JCC 17, fo. 241r-v.

032: July to September 1562

Requirement: 600 (420 pikemen with corslets, 90 bowmen, 90 arquebusiers) for France.

Queen's letters ordering levy, 23 July. Precepts issued, 24 July. Levied through companies, troops pressed 26 July and kept at charge of company members until 19 August, when they were discharged, but commanded to keep coats, harness, and weapons so that they might be ready at three hours' notice. They were ordered to be in readiness again on 16 September, viewed by Captain Vaughan on 18 September, and handed over to him on 19 September for escort to Portsmouth. Aldermen sought to be relieved of costs of coats, but denied. Coat and conduct money not reimbursed by crown.

Individual company members typically seem to have been required to hire a man and give him meat, drink, and lodging 26 July - 20 August and 16 - 19 September (i.e. wage costs were approximately £600). Press at 1s per man. Coats (of blue cloth guarded with red) at 13s6d per man. Equipment for 90 bowmen usually provided from existing company stocks, with supplementary expenditures of 3s per man. Equipment for 420 pikemen at 32s per man, for 90 gunners at 25s3d per man. Wages at 8d per day per man. Conduct money at 4s per man. Rewards to Captain Vaughan totalling approximately £140.

Estimated costs: £2094

Sources: *APC*, VII. 116, 119, 120, 122; *Machyn's Diary*, pp. 289, 290, 292-3; CLRO, JCC 18, fos. 57, 57v-60, 62v, 66; Rep. 15, fos. 108, 109, 110v, 113, 115, 116; GL, MSS 11588/1, fos. 68, 69r-v; 5174/2, fos. 105v-6; 5442/3, 1561-2 acct. and 1562-3 acct.; 5606/1, fo. 259r-v; 16988/2, fos. 133v, 137-8; 16967/1, fo. 32v; CCR, QWA, 1561-2, fo.

7r-v; DCR, WA, 1562-3, fos. 5v-8; GCR, Reg. K, pp. 474-5; MCR, CM, 1560-95, fos. 36v, 37v, 38r-v; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 136-7.

033: June 1563

Requirement: 1000 (100 corslets and pikes, 300 corslets only, 300 almain rivets, 300 bowmen and arquebusiers). 400 sent to France.

Queen requested levy of 1000, 30 June. Aldermen petitioned council for reduction of quota to 500, 2 July, and repeated request on its initial rebuttal, 3 July. Precepts for levy of 1000 delayed until 8 July. On same day 400 were appointed for service overseas with instructions to be at Portsmouth by 16 July; they were in fact delivered to captains on 19 July. Companies were ordered to put the other 600 in readiness on 22 July, but they were subsequently discharged.

Press for 1000 at 1s. No coats provided by city for this levy. Equipment for 1000 was prepared, although for archers and almain rivets existing stocks normally seem to have proved sufficient. 100 corslets and pikes at 32s per man; 300 corslets only at 29s per man; 150 arquebusiers at 25s3d per man; swords and daggers only for remaining 450 at 4s per man. Wages for 400 usually for 6 days at 8d per man per day. Conduct money for 400 at 2s6d per man (average). Rewards to captains at 8d per man for 400.

Estimated costs: £978

Sources: PRO, SP12/29/5; CLRO, JCC 18, fos. 124, 14v-7v, 128, 12v-31, 131v, 132v-5v; Rep. 15, fos. 258, 259, 263, 264v, 265v; GL, MSS 11588/1, fos. 95v, 96; 5174/2, fo. 113r-v; 5442/4, 1562-3 acct.; 5606/1, fo. 271r-v; 16988/2, fo. 147r-v; GCR, Reg. K, p. 475; DCR, MB8, fos. 86, 86v; WA, 1562-3, fos. 5v-6, 8-9; CCR, QWA, 1562-3, fos. 7-8; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 148-9.

034: July 1566

Requirement: 100 for Ireland

Queen's letters for levy, 16 July. Precepts for levy through companies, 17 July. Edward Randolph, lieutenant of ordnance assisted in levy.

Press at 1s. Coats of watchet kersey at 10s per man (of which 4s reimbursed by crown). Equipment provided by Alderman Jackman to whom companies paid £175.6s.8d. Wages for 5 days at 8d per day per man. Conduct money not paid by companies but estimated at 2s6d per man.

Estimated costs: £237

Sources: CLRO, JCC 18, fos. 409, 409v, 410-11; Rep. 16, fos. 52v-3, 55v, 93; GL, MS 16988/2, fo. 179; CCR, QWA, 1565-6, fos. 3v, 8v; DCR, WA, 1565-6, fo. 7v.

035: November 1569 to March 1570

Requirement: 1000 arquebusiers, of which 500 sent against northern rebels.

Corporation records are strangely laconic about this levy. Document in Cecil's papers suggests that council's requirement from London was 2500 (110 horse, 800 corslets, 500 bowmen, 1000 calivermen, 200 billmen) 'to be ready upon one hour's warning'. In practice the aldermen levied the shot through the companies (whose quotas suggest a levy of 1000). Precepts were issued on 25 November for levy of shot; while surveys of able men, horsemen, and armour were required from the wards (recent muster certificates suggest that there would have been enough armour available in the wards to meet the requirement). The order for impressment of additional forces in the wards seems to have been delayed until the worst of the crisis was passed (precept dated 4 December: no evidence of implementation), and the financial burden seems to have fallen entirely on the companies. 500 set out with Captain Leighton on 2 December; the residue were discharged, their clothing and weapons being retained by the companies. On 28 February they were put in readiness once more, and set out with Captain Manners on 13 March.

Accounts of 10 companies comprising 385 of the 1000 men levied have been examined. Most of the relevant expenditure seems to be recorded (press, coats, armour, powder, conduct money) with the exception of wages. The average cost per man seems to have been £3.10s, but costs varied widely between companies. Calivers varied in price from 10s to 25s (usually 20s), morions between 6s8d and 10s, probably reflecting sudden pressure on an under-provided arms market. Some companies found it necessary to replace coats in March. Some recovered at least a portion of their armour. £100 coat money was paid by the crown for the 500 who set out in March. Wages for 1000 at 6d per day per man for 10 days, and for 500 at 6d per day per man for 13 days.

Estimated costs: £3910

Sources: S. Haynes, *A Collection of State Papers* (1740), pp. 559-60, 562-3; PRO, SP12/58/13; 67/7; CLRO, JCC 19, fos. 202, 204, 206v, 221v-2; Rep. 16, fos. 519v, 520, 520v, 521v, 522v, 526v, 529, 535, 543; GL, MSS 30727/4, fo. 145r-v; 16988/2, fos. 202v, 205-6; 5174/2, fos. 171v-2; 6152/2, fos. 152, 161v-2; 11571/6, fos. 290r-v; 7086/2, fos. 315v-16v; 5442/4, 1569-70 acct.; DCR, WA, 1569-70, fos. 6-10v; CCR, QWA, 1569-70, fo. 4v; MTCR, WA, 1569-70; *Carpenters' Records*, IV. 230, 233-4.

036: March/April 1572

Requirement: Training of 1500 pikemen, 600 halberdiers, and 900 calivermen.

Queen's letters for muster of 3000 on May Day or during the Whitsun holidays discussed by aldermen, 11 March; arrangements discussed with Sir Francis Knollys, 22 March. Precepts issued on 24 March for training sessions to be held in Artillery Yard on 26, 27, and 29 March. Further precepts issued on 8 April for training at Mile End on 10 April;

and on 15 April for training at Mile End on 18 April and at St George's Field on 21, 23, and 25 April.

The shot was largely provided by companies, and calivermen were equipped with a gun, morion sword, dagger, and girdle. Sometimes the equipment was provided out of existing stores: 1000 calivers had been provided in 1569, but only about 250 were left. It has been assumed that for 250 calivermen the equipment needed repairs at 2s8d per man (£33) while for the remaining 650 new purchases were required at 25s4d per man (£823). Costs of powder (£400) and match (£30) can be reasonably estimated from the very full accounts of the companies. For the pikemen and halberdiers, corslets were required, with swords, daggers, girdles, and pikes or halberds. The 1569 survey of military resources in the capital had revealed 1176 corslets in London, and it has been assumed that 70% of the requirement of 2100 (i.e. 1470) were already available or hired, and the 630 residue newly purchased. 1470 at 7s6d per man for miscellaneous armour, hire and arming pike (£551), and 630 at full costs of 35s per man (£1102). Brewers' Company accounts show training sessions for calivermen on 28 March, 1, 4, 10, 12, 15 April, for pikemen on 18 April, and for all soldiers together on 21, 25, and 28 April. Wages were also paid for both May Eve and May Day. On the basis of these accounts the total bill for food, drink, and wages for 3000 would have been £750. The aldermen authorised payments by the city chamber to Knollys of £40 in gold, and to captains of £70. Estimates of miscellaneous expenses (on ensigns, drums and fifes, scarves etc.) have been extrapolated from the company accounts at £270.

Estimated total costs: £4069

CLRO, JCC 19, fos. 407-8, 417r-v; Rep. 17, fos. 286r-v, 292r-v, 298v-9, 305, 307, 308, 320, 323; GL, MSS 5174/2, fo. 185r-v; 7086/2, fos. 333v-4; 5442/4, 1571-2 acct.; 11571/6, fo. 347v; 16988/2, fos. 220, 224; 16967/1, fo. 84v; DCR, WA, 1571-2, fos. 10v-13; CCR, QWA, 1571-2, fos. 9-11; MTCR, WA, 1571-2 acct.; *Carpenters' Records*, V.9-10.

037: June 1574

Requirement: 200 (160 calivermen, 30 pikemen, 10 halberdiers) for Ireland

Precepts, 11 June for 400 calivermen to be put in readiness; 15 June for 200 of same (armed as above) to be sent to Ireland under Captain Fitzwilliams. Soldiers levied through companies. Aldermen sent committees to privy council, 17 June, to request that the city might be discharged of the soldiers appointed by queen to be in readiness 'whensoever called for', but they seem to have been dispatched after payment of wages for 7 days.

Press for 400 at 1s per man. Coats for 200 at 12s per man (of which 4s was reimbursed by crown).

Soldiers were normally equipped from existing stocks, albeit with new swords and daggers at 5s per man. In some cases, new guns were purchased, the cost of which have not been included here, but among the costs of the 1578 muster. Powder at 2s6d per man. Wages for 200 for 7 days at 6d per day per man. Conduct money at 3s4d per man.

Estimated costs: £238

Sources: CLRO, JCC 20, fos. 133v, 144r-v; GL, MSS 16988/2, fos. 244v, 252; 5442/4, 1573-4 acct.; CCR, QWA, 1573-4 acct., fos. 7, 7v; MTCR, WA, 1574-5 acct.; *Carpenters' Records*, V. 48.

038: July 1576

Requirement: 200 volunteers

Privy council instructed city authorities to aid Richard Bingham, gentleman in levying 200 volunteers in city and suburbs, 29 July.

Estimated costs: Nil

Sources: *APC*, IX. 174

039: April/May 1578

Requirement: Training of 2000 calivermen

Letter from privy council ordering training, 20 February. Instructions from privy council requiring training for at least 10 days between Easter and Michaelmas delivered to companies, 20 March.

The training took place in two phases, 7-10 April and 19-22 May, and amounted to eight days instead of the ten specified by the privy council. 1100 more calivermen were required than in 1572; in addition 200 had been provided for Ireland, and wastage of 100 has been assumed, leaving new provision of 1400 (a figure which is not inconsistent with the scale of company purchases in this year). Costs of equipment estimated at 2s8d per man repairs for 600 (£80), and 20s per man for 1400 (£1400: note that cost of calivers had fallen since 1572). Costs of powder (£560) and match (£33) can be estimated from company accounts. The troops were divided into eight bands of 250 men each with a captain (13s4d per day), a lieutenant (6s8d per day), two serjeants (3s4d per day each), four corporals (1s8d per day each), and a clerk (3s4d per day): over eight days the bill for officers' wages came to £117.6s.8d. Each band also had a standard bearer, drum and fife mustering for eight days at 2s6d per day each: the bill was £24. The wage bill for the musterers at 8d per day amounted to £533.6s.8d, in addition to payments in press, £100. Miscellaneous expenses (including payments to company clerks and beadles, scarves, additional rewards for officers) were about £70.

Strangers and foreigners were to be assessed in the wards to contribute to the costs of the muster, but the privy council instructed that non-denizens from the Low Countries should be spared because of their expenses in combating the Spanish.

Estimated costs: £2917

Sources: *APC*, X.171-2, 222-3, 252; *CLRO*, JCC 20, fos. 391, 394v-8, 410v, 414; *Rep.* 19, fos. 295, 314, 322v, 340; *GL*, MSS 5174/2, fo. 208v; 7086/3, fos. 51-2; 5442/4, 1577-8 acct.; 11571/6, fo. 402; 16988/2, fos. 281, 283v-4v, 292, 293v, 294; *DCR*, MB9, fo. 92; *WA*, 1577-8 acct., fos. 9-12; *CCR*, *QWA*, 177-8 acct., fos. 7v-8v.

040: June 1578

Requirement: 250 of the recently trained calivermen for Ireland (not sent)

Precepts, 12 June, to companies for 250 to serve in the queen's ships. Levy subsequently stayed.

Press at 1s per man. Payments made to city chamberlain for coats at rate of 10s71/d per man. Some repairs to equipment at 1s per man. Wages for 2-3 days at 8d per day per man.

Estimated costs: £178

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 20, fo. 411v; *Rep.* 19, fos. 345v, 348v; *GL*, MSS 11571/6, fo. 402v; 5606/2, fo. 67; 5442/4, 1577-8 acct.; *CCR*, *QWA*, 1577-8, fo. 7; *DCR*, *WA*, 1577-8, fo. 12r-v.

041: August 1579

Requirement: 400 calivermen fully furnished, including half pound of powder, morion, sword, dagger, and blue jerkins. For service in Ireland under Sir John Perrott.

Privy council requested levy, 9 August. Precepts to companies for levy, 11 August. Soldiers probably pressed on 13 August, and departed 22 or 23 July.

Press at 1s per man. Some coats (probably about 75) available from previous year. New coats at 6s8d to 9s6d per man (of which 4s reimbursed by crown). Most equipment provided from company stores with new swords and daggers (4s per man); powder at 6d per man. Wages for 7-10 days at 8d per day per man. Conduct money at 6s8d per man. Rewards to captains approximately £40.

Estimated costs: £471

Sources: *APC*, XI. 225, 241; *CLRO*, JCC 20, fo. 508; Rep. 19, fos. 481v, 482, 484v; *GL*, MSS 5442/4, 1578-9 acct.; 11571/7, fo. 20v; *DCR*, WA, 1579-80, fo. 13r-v; *CCR*, QWA, 1579-80, fo. 10; *MCR*, 'Black Book', fo. 1; *Carpenters' Records*, V. 104.

042: 1580

Requirement: Training of 3000 (2000 calivermen and 1000 pikemen)

Representatives of court of aldermen were sent to Secretary Wilson on 10 February for resolution of matters of doubt about musters; Common council assented to training, 12 February; precepts issued to companies, 15 February, instructing them to have men in readiness by 26 February.

There was no additional requirement of calivermen on 1578, but 400 had been sent to Ireland, and so estimates of costs of equipment are based on the provision of 400 fully furnished at 22s per man (£440) and 1600 at 2s8d per man with repairs and miscellaneous items (£213). Some confidence in these assumptions may be derived from the fact that the caliver purchases by the Drapers and Grocers in the year 1580 for all levies, including those for Ireland below, are consistent with these proportions. As for the pikemen, they were usually provided by individual company members, drawing upon the accumulated stocks of pikes and corslets, and expenditures of 3s per man have been assumed (£150). Cost of powder (£330) and match (£26) estimated from company payments. Payments to the officers varied on this occasion, some sticking to the 1578 rates, but most providing 20s per day to the captain, 10s per day to the lieutenant, 5s per day each to the two serjeants, 2s6d per day each to the two corporals, 3s4d to the clerk of the band. Over four days the payments totalled £116. Ensign bearers received 3s4d per day and the two drums and fife 2s6d per day each: payments totalled £26. Wages for those training at 8d per man per day for four days, £400, supplementing payments in press at 1s per man, £150. Additional miscellaneous payments were approximately £100.

Estimated costs: £1951

Sources: *APC*, XII.61; *CLRO*, JCC 21, fos. 19, 21, 45v, 50v, 52v; Rep. 20, fos. 39, 44, 63; *Remembrancia*, I, nos. 19, 20, 21, 46; *GL*, MSS 5442/4, 1579-80 acct.; 5174/2, fo. 214v; 7086/3, fo. 67; 11571/7, fos. 21, 49v-50; 16988/2, fo. 301r-v; *DCR*, MB9, fos. 144v, 145v, 156; WA, 1579-80 acct., fos. 14v-16v; *CCR*, QWA, 1579-80, fos. 10v-11; *Carpenters' Records*, V.121.

043: July 1580

Requirement: 300 calivermen. For service in Ireland. 100 to serve in navy; 200 under Edward Denny and Walter Raleigh.

Instructions from privy council, probably 5 July; common council approved request, 9 July. Precepts issued same day. Lord mayor petitioned for 8s coat money, but was denied. Soldiers pressed in wards, delivered to companies for equipment. On 22 July privy

council ordered that troops would travel overland towards Isle of Wight on 25 July, when they were handed over to captains.

Press at 1s per man. Companies paid 4s per man to City Chamberlain for coats, and a further 4s per man received from crown. New equipment provided at 22s per man. Wages paid by companies for 7-8 days from 18 July, but likely to have been paid in wards for another 7 days at 8d per day per man. Rewards to captain at £30.

Estimated costs: £575

Sources: *APC*, XII.79, 99-100, 117; *CLRO*, JCC 21, fos. 53, 53v, 55, 55v; *Rep.* 20, fo. 95; *Remembrancia*, I, no. 108; *GL*, MSS 11571/7, fos. 49v-50; 16988/2, fo. 300; 7086/2, fo. 67; 5442/4, 1579-80 acct.; *DCR*, WA, 1579-80, fos. 12r-v, 16v-17; *CCR*, QWA, 1579-80, fo.11v; *Carpenters' Records*, V.120.

044: September 1580

Requirement: 500 calivermen for service in Ireland.

Instructions from privy council, 26 September; common council approved levy 27 September; 200 to be ready by 3 October, 300 residue by 8 October. Soldiers pressed in wards (from among non-free), 1 October, and delivered to companies, 6 October, for equipment. The soldiers were not, in fact, delivered to the captains until 20 October.

Press at 1s per man. 4s per man paid by companies to City Chamberlain for coats, and a further 4s per man received from the crown. Equipment at 22s per man. Wages for 19 days at 8d per day per man. Rewards to captains at £25.

Estimated costs: £1016

Sources: *APC*, XII.209, 216; *CLRO*, JCC 21 fos. 68, 69v-70, 78v; *Rep.* 20, fos. 117, 117v, 119; *GL*, MSS 11571/7, fos. 49v-50; 7086/2, fo. 76r-v; *DCR*, WA, 1580-1, fos. 7v-8; *CCR*, QWA, 1580-1, fos. 7v-8.

045: April/May 1585

Requirement: Training of 4000 (2000 shot and 2000 pike).

Queen's letter for muster of 4000, 20 April 1585. Efforts to ensure that all inhabitants (strangers and foreigners and privileged places) contributed. Committees of court of aldermen petitioned Sir Francis Knollys for mitigation of charges. Training sessions were held in rotation: the Brewers trained in St George's Field on 26 April, 28 April, 30 April, 3 May; the Grocers' contingents at Mile End on 26, 27, 28 and 30 April, and at St George's Fields on 4 May, 6 May; the Drapers mustered on three days between 26 and 30 April. A 'very brave' show was held at Greenwich before the queen on 18 May, the

London troops arriving the previous day. A total of seven days' activity was consistently recorded.

The quota of pikes was no greater than 1572, but much of the armour was probably now unserviceable, and it has been assumed that 750 needed replacing at 35s each (£1312). Likewise, the number of calivers required was the same as 1580, but probably 200 needed replacing at 22s (£220). For the other soldiers repairs were needed and small pieces of equipment (e.g. swords and daggers provided), at an estimated 3s per man (£458). Expenditure on powder and match was about 4s5d per man (total £440).

The wages paid to the officers again varied, but the total can be estimated at £325, in addition to which there were miscellaneous payments on scarves and food and drink for them amounting to £150. The wage bill for the soldiers was at least £933 (8d per day per man for 7 days: the Brewers paid 10d per day), in addition to food and drink for the soldiers at Greenwich, £100, and payments in press at 1s per man, £200. Other expenses on tents, banners payments to company offices etc. probably added £100.

A contemporary estimate of the costs of this muster survives in the Lansdowne Manuscripts. It totals the expenditures by companies at £5023, but it is not clear how the figures were arrived at (they do not correspond to payments on corporate account, but might represent estimates of corporate and personal expenditures combined), but the document was designed to extract concessions from the crown on the issue of concealed lands and may therefore have exaggerated.

Estimated costs: £4238

Sources: CLRO, JCC 21, fos. 421v, 426-7, 436v; Rep. 21, fos. 166, 169v, 172, 175, 454v; *Chamber Accounts*, ed. Masters, pp. 7-8, 43-4; GL, MSS 5174/2, fo. 229; 7086/2, fo. 109; 5445/5, 1584-5 acct.; 11571/7, 1584-5 acct.; 15333/2, p. 34; DCR, WA, 1584-5, fos. 8v-11v; CCR, QWA, 1584-5, fos. 7v-8v; BL, Lansdowne MS 44/47.

046: July 1585

Requirement: 500 (250 shot, 50 archers, 150 armed pikes, 50 billmen with corslets) for Low Countries.

Common Council authorised levy, 21 July. Soldiers pressed in wards, and delivered to companies for equipment, 26 July, and to captains, 13 August.

Press at 1s per man. 5s per man paid by companies to City Chamberlain for coats, and a further 4s per man received from crown. Equipment was normally provided from company stores (albeit with repairs), with expenditures on new swords and daggers; total equipment costs estimated at 6s per man. Wages for 19 days at 8d per day per man. Rewards to captains at £25.

Estimated costs: £642

Sources: CLRO, JCC 21, fos. 454, 454v-6; Rep. 21, fo. 197v; *Chamber Accounts*, ed. Masters, pp. xxviii, 8, 45-6; GL, MSS11571/7, fos. 202r-v; 5606/2, 1585-6 acct.; 7086/2, fo. 109v; 5442/5, 1584-5 acct.; DCR, WA, 1585-6, fos. 10-11; CCR, QWA, 1584-5, fo. 9; MTCR, WA, 1585-6 acct.

047: August 1585

Requirement: 400 pioneers.

Vagrants and masterless men; costs fully reimbursed by crown. The captains were Jeffery Gates and John Potter.

Estimated costs: Nil

Sources: *Chamber Accounts*, ed. Masters, pp. 53-4.

048: April/May 1586

Requirement: Volunteers

Privy council issued letters for volunteers, 24 April (with Sir Thomas Shirley), 1 May (with Ralph Bostock), 22 May (with John Gachill). Precepts issued for search of masterless men willing to serve, 13 April; for householders to deal with servants (excluding apprentices), 29 April; repeated, 20 May.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XIV.74-5, 82, 119, CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 20v, 26, 29.

049: May 1586

Requirement: 60 to serve in galleys under Captain Fenton.

Pressed through companies.

Press at 1s. Coats at 8s. Equipment from company stocks. Wages for 3 days at 8d per day per man. Conduct money at 5s per man.

Estimated costs: £48

Sources: CLRO, JCC 22, fo. 24; GL, MSS 11571/7, fo. 203; 5442/5, 1585-6 acct.; DCR, WA, 1585-6, fo. 11; CCR, QWA, 1585-6, fo. 8v; MTCR, CM, 1575-1601, fo. 138v.

050: April 1587

Requirement: 200 volunteers

Bearers of letter from privy council to take up vagrants appeared, 17 April. Precepts for search for vagrants issued, 21 April.

City was charged with press and transportation costs only; finance raised through companies.

Estimated cost: £200

Sources: CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 98, 98v; Rep. 21, fo. 433.

051: June 1587

Requirement: 600 for Low Countries

City authorities were instructed to aid captains in taking up 600 by letter from queen, 5 June. Precepts issued for search for vagrants fit for service, 8 June. Companies ordered to provide 250 of the quota, 13 June.

City Chamberlain's expenses on press and victuals amounting to £125 paid by companies. Coats provided for 250 by companies, sometimes with additional expenditure on swords and daggers. Expenditure on the 250 averaged 10s per man. Coats do not appear to have been provided for the other 350.

Estimated costs: £250

Sources: CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 102v, 104v, 106, 107, 117v; Rep. 21, fos. 439, 446, 453v, 456, 459v; GL, MS 5442/5, 1576-7 acct.; DCR, WA, 1586-7, fo. 13, CCR, QWA, 1586-7, fos. 8v, 9.

052: April to August 1588

Requirement: 16 ships and four pinnaces for campaign against the Armada

Common council authorised grant, 3 April (Stow suggests that privy council had initially requested 15 ships only).

Estimates of costs in PRO, SP12/212/30: wages of 1340 men at 14s per man per month; victuals of 1340 men at 14s per man per month; tonnage at 2s per ton for 4150 tons; total £2291 per month. Plus powder, muskets, calivers, pikes and shot in ships, £2000. Cost of wages and victualling up to 1 May, £1000. City maintained the ships for five months. Financed by two grants, 3 April and 10 August, each of 2s in £ goods, 3s in £ lands; i.e. total equivalent of 1.5 full subsidies.

These figures certainly underestimate the burden on Londoners, because the Merchant Adventurers provided another ten ships, the costs of which are not accounted for here.

Estimated tax yield: £19687

Sources: Stow, *Annales*, pp. 744, 749; *Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (Navy Records Society), I. 251; II. 327; PRO, SP12/212/30; 212/68; 213/35; 215/76; CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 172, 172v, 175, 193, 200r-v, 210v; for taxes paid by companies, see references below.

053: April to August 1588

Requirement: 6000 trained men (2000 calivermen, 1000 musketeers, 2400 pikemen, and 600 billmen), plus additional 4000 (1200 calivermen, 400 billmen, 800 bowmen, 1600 pikemen). 9000 appointed as guard for queen's person, 1000 in camp at Tilbury. There is evidence also that the city provided 200 horse.

On 10 March privy council instructed lord mayor to confer with Sir Francis Knollys and Sir John Norris about the training of 10000 men 'in better sorte then they had been afore tymes'.

It remains unclear what the grants of taxation were intended to cover, in particular whether the city undertook provision of the new armour undoubtedly required this year, but wages, coats, and powder seem to have been the main objects. Comparison of company inventories at the beginning and end of the year (e.g. Grocers: GL, MS 11571/7, fos. 240, 271v, 302) shows that company armour stocks were heavily depleted during the Armada crisis. 3000 more corslets (at 35s) were provided than in 1585; 1000 were borrowed from the Tower, so 2000 might have been purchased at 35s each; another 1200 calivers (at 22s) were needed. The equipment for 800 bowmen cost 20s per man. Muskets were a novel requirement: the guns alone cost 20s, and additional equipment another 6s. A conservative estimate of the powder needed at 4s per man for the 3000 trained would have cost £600. Mandilions were also provided (at 10s each for 6000 they would have cost £3000). It is unknown for how many days troops remained fully mobilised, but 6000 for 7 days would have cost £1400, in addition to their press (£300). Officers' fees might have added a minimum of £600.

Company sources make it clear that there were two levies of 6d in £ goods and 9d in £ lands, in addition to the 1.5 subsidies provided for ships. Various expedients seem to have been adopted for the payment of wages: in many wards additional levies of fifteenths (usually two, and apparently not sanctioned by common council) 'for posts, chains, buckets, and soldier's wages' are required. But the total yield of these taxes £6158 was a long way short of the estimated minimal requirements of £12820: the shortfall (and the cost of providing the 200 horse) was probably made up by the expenditures of wealthier citizens.

Estimated yield: £4922 (two grants of 6d in £) and £1236 (two fifteenths), and private expenditures of around £7000.

Sources: Stow, *Annales*, pp. 749-50; *APC*, XV.414, 428-9; XVI.32-3, 128, 179-80, 188; *Calendar of State Papers Spanish, 1587-1603*, pp. 241, 252-3, 298; *CLRO*, JCC 22, fos. 144, 166, 166v-7, 170v, 171, 172, 175, 190r-v, 200r-v; *Rep.* 21, fos. 547v, 548; *GL*, MSS 11571/7, accts. for 1587-8 and 1591-2 (latter for levy of arrears); 15842/1, fo. 35v; 5174/3, 1587-8 acct.; 12065/2, 1587-9 acct.; 15333/2, accts. for 1587-8 and 1588-9; 5442/5, 1587-8 acct.; *DCR*, RWA, 1587-8 accts.; *CCR*, QWA and RWA, accts. for 1587-8 and 1588-9; *Carpenters' Records*, V.??; J.H. Leslie, 'A Survey or Muster of the Armed and Trained Companies of London, 1588 and 1599', *Journal of the Army Historical Research* IV (1925); Hatfield House MS 141/77; *PRO*, SP12/213/78.

054: January 1589

Requirement: 400 with swords and daggers only for Portuguese expedition under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris.

Privy council instructions issued, 30 December; common council authorised levy, 14 January.

No evidence for taxation in company and parochial records. Costs probably borne by City Chamber.

Estimated cost: £160

Sources: *APC*, XVI.418-19; *CLRO*, JCC 22, fo. 252r-v; *Rep.* 22, fo. 16v.

055: March 1589

Requirement: 1000 (500 calivermen, 300 pikemen, 200 with short weapons) for relief of Ostend

Common Council authorised levy, 31 March. Precepts issued 30 March, 2 April for searches. But the soldiers did not go forth.

Various local assessments of the order of one third to one half of a fifteenth have been identified in livery company accounts, presumably for press and wages. In some parishes, where armour was provided, there are indications that the church stock bore additional costs. St Anne and Agnes and Aldersgate paid 17s6d for its constable's bill and £5.6s.0d for armour (two corslets and a musket). Any armour purchased would presumably have been saved for the levy of September 1589 (no. 059) the costs of which are otherwise lower than would have been expected, so an estimate of 10s per man has been made here.

Estimated costs: £250 (on local rates) plus £1000 (conjectural parochial/private expenditures).

Sources: CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 277v, 278; GL, MSS 11571/7, 1588-9 acct.; 5606/2, 1588-9 acct.; 7147/1, 1588-9 acct.; 5445/8, 17 April 1589; 3016/1, fo. 3; *Records of Two City Parishes*, ed. McMurray, pp. 61-2.

056: May 1589

Requirement: 40-50 for Low Countries

Instructions issued by privy council, 6 May; precepts issued for search for vagrants to be delivered to Adam Chatterton, 7 May.

No taxation; minimal costs.

Sources: *APC*, XVII.161.

057: June 1589

Requirement: 500 for Ostend

City authorities ordered to aid captains in press, 4 June; troops mustered in Leadenhall that afternoon. City protested about the captains operating directly in the city, and privy council promised to work through city authorities in the future.

Equipment was provided by crown. City was refunded £94.18s for press and victualling, but paid for coats at 13s4d per man. No taxation; levy probably financed by city chamber.

The captains were Edmund Waynman, William Smyth, and George Aldrich. On their arrival at Ostend it was complained of the London levy that they were 'the outcasts of the city and suburbs', and likely to defect to the enemy 'so soon as winter shall pinch them'.

Estimated cost: £340

Sources: *APC*, XVII.239, 242, 248, 282; CLRO, Rep. 22, fos. 67v, 72v, 75; *CSPFor.*, 1589, pp. 298, 301-2; *LASPF.*, 1589-90, no. 166.

058: August 1589

Requirement: 150

City authorities requested to aid Captain William Ashenden in levy of volunteers, 10 August.

No taxation.

Sources: *APC*, XVIII.20.

059: September 1589

Requirement: 1000 for France (600 pikemen and 400 shot)

Privy council ordered 2000 to be put in readiness out of which 1000 were to be chosen, 9 September. City levied 500 pikemen, 100 halberdiers, 150 musketeers, 150 calivermen, and 100 dead pays. Common council authorised acts in late service, 18 September; and gave authority to committees for martial causes to assess a subsidy of 4d in £ goods, 6d in £ lands.

Lord Willoughby complained that the city's allowance for coats was inadequate.

Estimated yield: £1535

Sources: *APC*, XVIII.88-9; *CLRO*, JCC 22, fos. 321, 326, 328v-9v, 339v; *LASPF*or., 1589-90, no. 533.

060: April 1590

Requirement: 200 for Low Countries

City authorities assisted captains in levy of vagrants; precepts dated 1 April.

No taxation.

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 22, fo. 376.

061: August 1590

Requirement: 40 for Low Countries

City authorities ordered to assist captains in levy of voluntary and masterless men by Edmund Waineham, 10 August; precepts for search for vagrants, 13 August.

No taxation.

Sources: *APC*, XIX.373; *CLRO*, JCC 22, fo. 411.

062: September 1590

Requirement: 400 for Low Countries

Queen requested 1000 from trained bands, 10 September, but in the event only 400 went. Common council authorised levy, 18 September.

Costs of coats was fully borne by crown; swords and daggers only by city. Common council authorised discretionary rates in wards. Parochial and company sources suggest levy of between one third and one fifteenth.

Estimated yield: £500

Sources: CLRO, JCC 22, fo. 416; GL, MSS 3570/1, 8 November 1590; 12065/2, 1589-91 acct.; *HMC, Hatfield House*, IV.60; *LASPFor.*, 1590-1, nos. 53-4.

063: November 1590

Requirement: 20 for Low Countries

City authorities ordered to assist in levy of 20 volunteers to fill decayed bands, 4 November.

No taxation.

Sources: *APC*, XX.69.

064: January 1591

Requirement: 400 (160 pikemen, 20 halberdiers, 80 musketeers, 100 calivermen, 40 dead pays) for France

Privy council originally demanded 400; privy council reduced requirement to 250, 10 January; common council authorised levy, 13 January; privy council subsequently reiterated original request for 400, 21 January. Half were to be levied from the trained bands, half at the charges of the city. Coat and conduct money was to be paid by county collectors of loan. Grant of 2d in £ goods. 3d in £ lands. But there were substantial additional local expenditures, probably to be explained by the fact that the levy did not leave until April, e.g. £4.7s 'for diet and apparel of three soldiers for France' (St Michael le Querne). On 17 March the privy council ordered that the troops should be at Portsmouth on 11 April. See below, no. 068.

Estimated yield: £740

Sources: *APC*, XX.204-6, 247-8, 269-70, 361-3; CLRO, JCC 22, fos. 451, 456; JCC 23, fo. 4; GL, MS 2895/1, fo. 242v.

065: March 1591

Requirement: 50 for Low Countries

Levy authorised by common council, 26 March. City authorities seem to have been charged with full costs; there is no evidence of a specific tax grant, but see below, no. 068. City troops served under Captain Heron.

Sources: *APC*, XXI.23-6; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fo. 11; *LASPFor.*, 1590-1, no. 172.

066: June 1591

Requirement: 150 (60 pikemen, 8 halberdiers, 30 musketeers, 37 calivermen, 15 dead pays) for Brittany

Common council authorised levy, 10 June; soldiers delivered to Captain Edward Symes, 21 June. Conduct money paid by crown. Charges were to be levied from the arrears of monies collected for land and sea causes, but there is evidence of additional local expenditures: 54s for the diet and apparel of two soldiers (St Michael le Querne), 13s6d for wages, board and apparel of one soldier (St Mary Magdalen Milk Street), 20s to the constable for the charges of a soldier set out this summer (St Alphage Cripplegate). See below, no. 068.

Sources: *APC*, XXI.192, 194-5, 199-200; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fo. 29; *GL*, MSS 2596/1, 14 June 1591; 2895/1, fo. 242v; 1432/3, fo. 38; *PRO*, E101/66/2; *LASPFor.*, 1591-2, no. 258.

067: June 1591

Requirement: 300 (60 musketeers, 120 curatts and pikes, 18 halberdiers, 72 calivermen, 30 dead pays) for Normandy.

Instructions from privy council, 24 June; common council authorised levy, 27 June; troops were originally to be handed over to the captains on 17 July; but the levy was stayed on 15 July; then reactivated and troops handed over to captains (Nicholas Clifford and Robert Carey) on 23 July. Coat and conduct money paid by crown. Levy financed by levy of one fifteenth, but there is evidence of additional local expenditures: 42s8d for wages, board, and apparel of two men (St Mary Magdalen Milk Street), £5.5s for diet and apparel of four men (St Michael le Querne).

Estimated yield: £590 plus additional expenditures, below, no. 068.

Sources: *APC*, XXI.220-1, 221-4, 242-3, 289-90, 292, 294; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fos. 35, 38; *GL*, MSS 2596/1, fo. 97; 2895/1, fo. 242v; *PRO*, E101/66/2.

068: January to June 1591

Most of the references to additional local expenditures on levies 064-067 noted above occur in churchwardens' accounts, where the costs were borne on the church stock, but there is evidence of further local assessments from company accounts. These are difficult

to link to individual levies, but are clearly associated with the expenditure of this year: e.g. 2 payments amounting to one fifteenth by Merchant Taylors, one fifteenth by Coopers; two thirds of a fifteenth by Cutlers. Additional expenditures have been estimated at 25s per man.

Estimated expenditure: £1018.15s

Sources: MTCR., WA, 1590-1 acct.; DCR, RWA, 1591-2, fo. 8; GL, MSS 5606/2, 1590-1 acct.; 7147/1, fo. 109; CLRO, JCC 23, fo. 68.

069: June 1591

Requirement: 6 ships and one pinnace for the Azores expedition

Common council authorised grant for five months. Costs were defrayed by loans from the companies amounting to £8000 (£4506 in June, £2253 within one month of departure, £1240 in September). Money was repaid to companies with profits. Total repayments were £12000.

Estimated costs: self-financing

Sources: CLRO, JCC 23, fos. 31, 32v, 43v-4; BL, Lansdowne MS67/72-3, fos. 177-180; PRO, SP12/239/36.

070: November 1591

Requirement: 150 pioneers for Normandy

Common council authorised levy, 10 November. No assessments were authorised by common council, but there is evidence of local expenditure; e.g. 22s4d for two men, wages, board and apparel, 16 November 1591 (St Mary Magdalen Milk Street).

Sir Edmund Yorke complained of this levy that the Londoners were men who had formerly been serjeants of companies or discharged soldiers who would never work: it would be scarcely possible 'to hold them in that nature, for they say they will be hanged first'.

Estimated cost: £80

Sources: CLRO, JCC 23, fo. 68; GL, MS 2596/1, fo. 197; *LASPFor.*, 1591-2, no. 320.

071: December 1591

Requirement: 100 masterless men recently returned from Normandy for Ostend to fill up Sir Edward Norris' companies

Privy council ordered levy, 17 December; lord mayor claimed he could raise no more than 60; rest were ordered to be levied in suburbs. City 'to be at no charge'.

Sources: *APC*, XXII.129-30, 150-1; *CLRO*, Remembrancia, I, no. 620.

072: January 1592

Common council approved levy of £6000 on companies for ships to go forth under Sir Walter Raleigh. But money was never paid.

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 23, fo. 87.

073: February 1592

Requirement: 350 (including 200 shot; no allowance for dead pays) for Normandy, to be levied out of trained bands.

Instructions from privy council issued probably on 19 February; common council authorised levy, 21 February. Coat and conduct money paid by crown. The captains were Acton, Mostyn, and St John. City chamberlain was ordered to lend money until he could be reimbursed from persons indebted for martial causes. There is evidence of local expenditure: e.g. £5.18s for three soldiers' diet (St Michael le Querne), 74s4d spent by the churchwardens of St Mary Aldermanbury to be borne by levy of two-thirds of a fifteenth. Company accounts suggest levy of between two-thirds and one whole fifteenth.

Estimated yield: £500

Sources: *APC*, XXII.256-7, 277-8, 296; XXIII.66; *CLRO*, Remembrancia I, no. 638; *GL*, MSS 2596/1, fo.197; 3570/1, fo. 35; 2895/1, fo. 244v; 7147/1, fo. 109; *DCR*, *RWA*, 1591-2, fo. 8.

074: July 1592

Requirement: 100 (50 shot, 50 pikemen) for Low Countries

Common council authorised levy, 26 July. Coat and conduct money to be paid by crown. City authorities were instructed to dispatch troops to Portsmouth or Southampton, 19 August. Committees for martial causes were instructed to 'consider how the charges might be borne', but there was apparently no general assessment. Some evidence of local expenditures.

Estimated cost: £200

Sources: *APC*, XXIII.132-3; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fo. 122; *GL*, MSS 3570/1, fo. 37; 2895/1, fo. 244.

075: January 1593

Requirement: 450 (400 pikemen, 10 shot, 40 dead pays) for Normandy

Instructions from privy council, 20 January, common council authorised levy, 23 January. Privy council ordered troops to be ready for embarkation on 12 February from London. Some men were pressed in Middlesex and Surrey suburbs and the privileged areas. Coat and conduct money was paid by crown. Privy council complained about the quality of the troops, finding 61 'very insufficient and ill apparelled'. Common council ordered levy of one-and-a-half fifteenths, but this was subsequently found to be insufficient. Some wards made additional assessments immediately; others hesitated for lack of authority. Common council subsequently authorised additional assessments by alderman, deputy, and common councillors, March. In St Bartholomew Exchange two fifteenths proved insufficient; the Bakers' Company paid two-and-a-half fifteenths. Two-and-one-third fifteenths have been assumed.

Estimated yield: £1350

Sources: *APC*, XXIV.14-16, 30-1, 47-8, 65-6; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fos. 163-4v, 177v-8, *Vestry Minutes of St Bartholomew Exchange*, ed. Freshfield, p. 26; *GL*, MS 5174/3; *PRO*, SP12/244/38.

076: July 1593

Requirement: 200 (123 corslets with pikes, 23 calivermen, 24 musketeers: check) for Normandy

Common council assented to levy, 19 July, but agreed to petition council for abatement of quota in view of plague. Privy council agreed to levy the 200 elsewhere, but required city to pay costs including coats at 14s per coat (of which 4s was reimbursed) and arms as specified. The levy was subsequently cancelled, 30 July. Common council had granted one fifteenth, but the money was never collected.

Sources: *APC*, XXIV.401-2, 405, 413-14, 414-16, 432-3; *CLRO*, JCC 23, fos. 205v, 206.

077: February 1594

Requirement: 300 for Low Countries

Common council authorised levy, 6 February. Troops were to be armed at the charges of the States of the Low Countries; city was to be at no charges for arms, coat and conduct money. But one fifteenth was levied in respect of charges incurred on this levy and for repayment of an earlier Bridgehouse loan for military purposes.

Estimated yield: £575

Sources: CLRO, Remembrancia II, no. 2; JCC 23, fos. 230v-1.

078: July 1594

Requirement: 6 ships and 2 pinnaces for defence of Brittany against Spain

Common council authorised grant, 15 July. Committees were appointed to compound with the contractors for £5000. Monies raised through livery companies' share of profits of the captured carrack, Madre de Dios, £3500. The residue was to be supplied by means of an assessment on the inhabitants. There were later serious disputes between the city and the contractors as to the city's liabilities, and Sir John Hawkins and Mr Borough were appointed arbitrators by the privy council in April 1595. The committees for martial causes later claimed that £6700 had been spent on the 'service of Brest', but there is no subsequent reference to an assessment in the journals, nor in company or parish accounts. The source of the additional £3200 remains mysterious.

Estimated additional cost: £3200

Sources: CLRO, JCC 23, fos. 289, 292v, 293; Remembrancia, II, nos. 26, 35, 37, 42, 52, 80, 140; Stow, *Annales*, p.769.

079: July 1594

Requirement: 350 (117 pikemen, 117 calivermen, 116 musketeers) for France.

Privy council originally requested 450, but dropped to 350. Common council authorised levy, 17 July, but petitioned for assistance from Middlesex and Surrey authorities in press, and for substitution of curatts for corslets. First request granted, second denied. One fifteenth and arrears of last fifteenth were granted, but there is evidence of local expenditure, e.g. £3.11s on apparelling three soldiers (St Mary Aldermanbury), £2.19s.6d to the constable for apparelling soldiers (St Alphage Cripplegate), £4.4s.6d for two soldiers for Brittany (St Michael le Querne).

Estimated yield of fifteenth: £575

Estimated additional expenditure: £525

Sources: CLRO, Remembrancia, II, nos. 3, 27, 30; JCC 23, fos. 290, 290v; Rep. 23, fos. 438v, 448v-9; BL, Harleian MS 7018, fo. 83; GL, MSS 3570/1, fo. 38v; 1431/1, 10 November 1594; 1432/3, fo. 48; 2895/1, fo. 248v; 3907/1, 1594-5 acct.

080: March 1595

Common council granted one fifteenth, 21 March towards supply and satisfaction of money unsatisfied, especially to poor persons who had defrayed monies on apparel, but

in none of the cases noted above where payments had been made from church stock was reimbursement secured.

Estimated yield: £575

Sources: CLRO, JCC 23, fos. 377v, 401; Rep. 23, fos. 438v, 448v-9.

081: April 1595

Requirement: Vagrants (number unknown) to fill up Vere's companies.

Council ordered vagrants to be delivered to Captain Bagnall, 2 April. There was probably another search in May; precepts issued for search, those apprehended being delivered to Captain Swann, 2 May.

Sources: CLRO, JCC 23, fos. 401v, 406.

082: June 1595

Requirement: 10 horsemen for Ireland

Common council assents to privy council's request for £300 in lieu. Money 'lent' by twelve principal companies until it could be levied, but the loan was never repaid.

Sources: CLRO, JCC 24, fo. 13v.

083: November 1595

Requirement: 10000 for national defence.

Queen requested mobilisation by word of mouth; instructions from privy council, 12 November. 3000 were intended for the defence of Kent, 3000 for Essex, and 4000 in reserve. There is no sign of action to fulfil the request until 15 December, when committees were appointed to consider their apparelling, furniture, and training. Survey of all able-bodied inhabitants ordered 23 December. Committees appointed to sue to privy council for mitigation of numbers, 29 December. Possibly some contingents were briefly mobilised in February 1596. There is no sign of taxation being imposed for this service, and no evidence that training actually took place. Expenditures may have been covered by money raised for ships below.

Sources: *APC*, XXV.69-71; *CSPD*, 1595-7, p. 129; CLRO, Remembrancia II, no. 58; JCC 24, fos. 79v, 82, 93v.

084: December 1595

Requirement: 12 ships and 2 pinnaces for Essex's expedition (raid on Cadiz) with 1200 men.

Request for 16 ships made, 14 December; considered by common council, 15 December, and committees appointed. On report, 23 December, lord admiral was petitioned for a reduction in the number of ships required apparently with success. Common council assented to request for 12 ships and 2 pinnaces to be victualled for six months with 1200 men, 29 December. Full subsidy of 2s8d in £ goods, 4s in £ lands granted by common council, 14 January. Order issued for loan of £3500 on livery companies to cover additional expenditures, 24 March. Another full subsidy was granted, 23 July, but repealed, 30 July, in favour of further loan from livery companies. The loans were never repaid.

Estimated yield of subsidy: £7877

Grants from livery companies: £10259

Sources: CLRO, JCC 24, fos. 79v-80, 81, 82, 82v, 84, 85, 105, 139v-40, 144, 146v-7, 147r-v, 148; Remembrancia, II, no. 140; *HMC, Hatfield House*, VI.305; Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, pp. 251ff.

085: April 1596

Requirement: 1000 for defence of Calais

Privy council ordered levy of 1000 out of trained bands, 9 April; soldiers were to be at Dover by 11 April (Easter Day). Precepts issued same day. Order for levy countermanded on reports of fall of Calais, 10 April, but reinstated, 11 April. Soldiers were pressed on Easter Day, and sent to Dover, but returned within one week. Levy finally cancelled, 17 April. Committees appointed by common council to determine how charges might be defrayed. Report on 14 June that the levy cost £1315.19s.5d., and levy of two fifteenths ordered. But local sources show excess expenditure, e.g. St Alphage Cripplegate where only £5.19s.7d of £9.11s.2d was refunded, balance being borne by church stock. In some parishes a local assessment was made in advance of the order for two fifteenths, e.g. St Mary Aldermanbury where assessors were appointed on 9 May for the charge of ten soldiers being £16.7s (more than two fifteenths which in this parish would raise £13.10s). Other accounts show disbursements from church stock, presumably in excess of that funded by the two fifteenths. See also Richard Booth's account for his constableness in St Mary Magdalen Milk Street, showing reimbursements to parishioners for armour lost on service.

Estimated cost: £1600

Estimated yield of fifteenths: £1130

Sources: *APC*, XXV.338-9, 340, 351-3; CLRO, JCC 24, fos. 108v, 109v, 110, 111, 123v, 126; BL, Lansdowne MS 73/55, fo. 167; Hatfield MS 47/89; *HMC, Hatfield House*, VI.141; Stow, *Annales*, p. 770; GL, MSS 1432/3, fos. 56, 58v; 3570/1, fos. 43v-4;

2088/1, 1595-6 acct.; 4524/1, fo. 91v; 2596/1, fo. 210r-v; Cheyney, *History of England*, II.137-42.

086: May 1596

Requirement: 405 (270 pikemen, 135 shot) for Picardy

Queen requested levy by letter, 23 May; common council petitioned for mitigation, 28 May. Precepts were not issued and the levy appears to have been cancelled.

Sources: CLRO, JCC 24, fo. 124; Cheyney, *History of England*, II.165.

087: July 1596

Requirement: 200 for Low Countries.

Privy council instructions, 26 July; troops to be shipped from London on 15 August; common council authorised levy, 26 July; troops to be provided by livery companies; orders for press sent out, 3 August. Soldiers to be provided with calivers, muskets, pikes and corslets; coats to be provided at crown's expense; conduct money to be paid. Levy cancelled, 9 August.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXVI.58-60, 101-2; CLRO, JCC 24, fos. 142, 142v, 144, 146v-7.

088: September 1596

Requirement: 400-500 for Low Countries

Warrant to lord mayor to assist Sir Francis Vere in press of volunteers, 5 September. Middlesex, Surrey, and Hertfordshire justices aided.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXVI.140

089: September 1596

Requirement: 450 (201 pikemen, 102 musketeers, 45 dead pays) for France

Privy council requested levy, 23 September; troops to be dispatched by 8 October; common council authorised levy, 27 September; soldiers delivered to captains (Sir John Aldrich and Ralph Bosvile, and Captain Wilton), 9 October. London authorities successfully petitioned privy council for the substitution of cuirasses for full corslets and for freedom to choose the colour of the coats. Coat and conduct money paid by crown.

Aldermen, deputies, and common councillors in wards were to assess inhabitants for payment of costs. Company and parochial sources suggest that one-and-a-half fifteenths were levied.

Estimated yield: £850

Sources: *APC*, XXVI.192-4, 200; *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 155, 155v, 157v; *GL*, MSS 1264/1, fo. 14; 3570/1, fo. 46; 3016/1, p. 17; 5174/3, 1596-7 acct.; *Vestry Minutes of St Bartholomew Exchange*, ed. Freshfield, p. 37; Hatfield MS 141/179

090: October 1596

Requirement: 10000 for national defence

Instructions from privy council, 31 October; troops to be ready by 17 November to march to defence of Essex and Kent if required by their respective lords lieutenants. Lord mayor reported on 3 November that he had not yet put the matter before a common council. There are no subsequent references to this levy, nor any precepts. It seems that the city stonewalled until the crisis passed.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXVI.287-90, 301-2; *CLRO*, Remembrancia, II, no. 58.

091: December 1596

Requirement: 10 ships for national defence

Common council appointed committees 'to prepare a dutiful and comely answer', 23 December. Answer read, 28 December. It seems that the privy council backed down, or the crisis passed.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 173, 175r-v; *HMC*, *Hatfield House* VI.534-6.

092: May 1597

Requirement: 400 (200 musketeers, 200 pikemen) for Islands voyage. For other counties the privy council specified that the troops be levied out of the trained bands, but 'in the letter to London there was no mention made for the levying of the soldiers there out of the trayned bands, for that there are no numbers trayned in the cittye'.

Privy council requested training of 500, 7 May; common council authorised training under Sir Samuel Bagnall and his captains (Ellis Jones and Richard Blany), 11 May. 400

later appointed for service, subsequently replaced by volunteers, armour being provided by city. Common council granted tax of 8d in £ goods, 12d in £ lands.

Estimated yield: £1888

Sources: *APC*, XXVII.101-5, 128, 160-4; XXVIII.250-4; *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 210v-11, 211v, 212, 212v, 216, 217, 219; Stow, *Annales*, p. 783.

093: July 1597

Requirement: 700 for Picardy

Privy council requested levy of 700 drawing on the troops trained for Essex's voyage which had been recalled because of the large number of volunteers, 6 July; precepts issued (including search for masterless men), 7 July; and common council retrospectively allowed the apportionment among wards made by committees. City was not required to provide armour (which was to be obtained from a London contractor, Furner), and suburbs were to aid in press. Although declaring that money for coats was not to be paid (as the clothing contractors Ury Babington and William Bromley were to provide it), the privy council nevertheless complained of the nakedness of the levies, and required basic clothing, 16 July. The city authorities had difficulties in raising the numbers required: by 16 July only 80 were available, 'base people and without apparel'. The troops seem to have left the city between 20 and 24 July. Evidence for the assessment, made on this occasion is very variable: two-thirds of a fifteenth in Cripplegate; two fifteenths in Broad street; one-and-a-half-fifteenths in Tower; one-and-a-quarter fifteenths in Coleman Street; 2d in £ goods in Cheap. Some wards were perhaps taking the opportunity to recoup earlier expenditures. Average rate of one-and-a-quarter fifteenths has been assumed.

Estimated yield: £700

Sources: *APC*, XXVII.283, 290-1, 292, 295, 300, 302; *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 220, 224r-v; Hatfield MS 50/109; *DCR*, RWA, 1596-7 acct., fo. 10; *GL*, MSS 3570/1, fo. 47v; 12065/2, fo. 79v; 11571/7, 1597-8 acct.; 7147/1, 1597-8 acct.; 5174/3, accts. for 1596-7 and 1597-8 (two instalments).

094: July 1598

Requirement: 10 horses for Ireland

Requested by privy council, 19 July, authorised by common council, 20 July. Privy council had indicated its willingness to accept £30 per man in lieu, and £300 was levied on the twelve principal companies.

Sources: *APC*, XXVIII.586-8; *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 319, 319v.

095: September 1598

Requirement: 300 (72 pikemen, 150 calivermen, 60 musketeers, 18 dead pays) for Ireland.

Queen issued letters for levy, 26 August; privy council deferred instructions for the London levies; common council authorised levy, 13 September. Initial instructions were that 400 should be levied, and coats provided by Babington and Bromley, clothing contractors. Request was eventually reduced to 300, 10 September, and coats to be provided as in past. Troops were to be at Chester by 1 October, and conduct money was promised by the crown for 14 days at the rate of 8d per man per day. Common council authorised levy of one fifteenth.

Estimated yield: £560.

Sources: *APC*, XXIX.94-7,151; *CLRO*, JCC 24, fos. 329v, 330, 330v; *CSPD*, 1598-1601, p. 151.

096: December 1598

Requirement: 600 (300 pikemen, 300 shot, mostly musketeers, no dead pays) for Low Countries.

Instructions from privy council for levy, 22 December; troops to embark from London on 8 January; levy authorised by common council, 29 December. City attempted to petition for reduction in quota but was unsuccessful. The city was instructed to ensure that coats were well lined. The captains were Thomas Knollys, Richard Wigmore, Thomas Loweman, John Raynes, Edward Hartopp, and Francis Maddyson. Common council authorised levy of 8d in £ goods, 12d in £ lands. In February 1599 a precept gives the sum due as £2147.5s.4d, of which £674.8s.5d was then uncollected.

Estimated yield: £1888

Sources: *APC*, XXIX.388-91, 414-15; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 19, 20v, 21v, 22, 27v; *Chamberlain Letters*, I.61; Stow, *Annales*, p. 788.

097: February 1599

Requirement: 100 (30 pikemen, 30 musketeers, 30 calivermen, rest short weapons, no dead pays) for Ireland.

Queen's letters ordering levy, 17 February, followed by instructions from privy council, 18 February; approved by common council, 23 February. Troops to be at Chester by 10 March. Conduct money paid by crown. Captain was Sir John Bolles. Common council authorised levy of one fifteenth for the present service, and supply of money unpaid by gentlemen on levy of 8d in £ above.

Estimated yield: £550

Sources: *APC*, XXIX.573-7; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fo. 34; Stow, *Annales*, p. 788.

098: March 1599

Requirement: 100 for Ireland, but crown accepted money in lieu.

Queen's letters for levy, 21 March, followed by instructions from privy council, 22 March; queen's letter explained that she was content to receive £300 in lieu for arming, furnishing, and apparelling. Levy authorised by common council, 26 March; expenditures being made by chamberlain, who was to be repaid by the treasurer for martial causes at Midsummer.

Estimated cost: £300, probably recouped from other taxes.

Sources: *APC*, XXIX.667-8, 723; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 47v, 48.

099: July/August 1599

Requirement: 6000 for national defence

Common council authorised 3000 to be put in readiness, 26 July. Precepts issued for another 3000, 9 August. Training sessions seem to have been held from 1 August; the troops were discharged on 20 August, but another flurry of training occurred between 26 August and 4 September. For finance, see below, no. 100, but there were probably extensive additional payments by private citizens, estimates of which have not been attempted here.

100: July/August 1599

Requirement: 12 ships for national defence

Common council authorised 16 ships, 31 July, but only 8 were provided at first, later increased to 12 by order of common council, 8 August. 12 ships were victualled for two months, and 30 hoys provided for defence of Thames were victualled for one month. Common council authorised half subsidy, 3 August; another half subsidy was authorised, 10 August, with provision for loans of £5000 if the money was not forthcoming.

Estimated yield: £6567

Sources: BL, Harleian MS 168, fos. 132v-154v; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 74v, 77v, 78, 79v, 81, 82v, 83, 84v, 86; Stow, *Annales*, pp. 788-9; *Chamberlain Letters*, I.81, 83.

101: January 1600

Requirement: 300 (60 pikemen, 30 halberdiers, 72 musketeers, 120 calivermen, 18 with targets of wood and other arms) for Ireland.

Instructions from privy council, 12 January; authorised by common council, 25 January. Privy council instructed that 30s per man should be delivered to persons appointed by Lord Mountjoy in lieu of armour, and 40s per man in lieu of apparel (which was to be provided by Bromley and Babington, the contractors). Common council authorised levy of two-and-a-half fifteenths.

Estimated yield: £1375

Sources: *APC*, XXX.4-5, 26; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 137, 138.

102: April 1600

Requirement: 200 for Ireland

Instructions from privy council, 8 April, to be taken up to replace deserters. Precepts issued, 12 April, for search of tailors and foreigners of other trades. Crown bore costs of arming, apparelling and conducting them, so charges were minimal, and no taxes were raised.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXX.235-7; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fo. 161v.

103: June 1600

Requirement: 200 (48 pikemen, 48 musketeers, 80 calivermen, 24 billmen, no dead pays) for Ireland.

Queen's letters ordering levy, 25 June, followed by instructions from privy council, 26 June; authorised by common council, 2 July. City authorities were instructed to send 40s per man to Chester for apparel (which was provided by Babington and Bromley, clothing contractors). Equipment provided by city. Troops were to be at Chester by 25 July, and conduct money paid by crown at 8d per day per man. The captains were Edward Fisher and Thomas Mynn. 44 ran away. Common council authorised levy of two fifteenths.

Estimated yield: £1100

Sources: *APC*, XXX.412-17, 430, 444-5, 562-3; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 179-80v.

104: July 1600

Requirement: volunteers for Low Countries (number unknown) to be assembled under Sir Calisthenes Brooke.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXX.446-7.

105: August 1600

Requirement: 350 for Ireland

Queen's letters ordering levy accompanying instructions from privy council, 5 August. Queen took 'whole charge' (apart from swords) upon herself. City was instructed to include artificers in the press, and Middlesex and Surrey authorities were to assist. Precepts for press, 7 and 9 August. In spite of council's express instructions for care to be taken in selection, 100 of the soldiers pressed ran away, and a further press was necessary, 10 August. The soldiers were to be at Chester on 22 August, conduct money being paid by crown. The captains were Aubrey York and Thomas Sexton. The low-level costs were probably met by surpluses on earlier taxes.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXX.561-3, 567-8, 620-1, 654-5; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 189, 190, 194.

106: August 1600

Requirement: 200 for Ireland

Of the immediately preceding levy, only 140 turned up at Chester. Privy council ordered levy of another 200, 30 August; precepts issued, 1 September, for search of masterless men, foreigners etc.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXX.620-1; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fo. 194.

107: December 1600

Requirement: 150 (100 with pikes, morions, and swords, 50 with calivers, morions, swords, and bandoliers) for Ireland.

Privy council instructions, 7 December; common council authorised levy, 12 December. Coat money paid by crown. To be provided with well-lined cassocks, hose, and shoes, and to receive rest of apparel at Lough Foyle. To be at Chester by 31 December. Common council authorised payment of one fifteenth.

Estimated yield: £550

Sources: *APC*, XXX.795-8; XXXI.11; CLRO, JCC 25, fos. 218v, 223; PRO, E101/66/2.

108: January 1601

Requirement: 2 galleys for national defence.

Common council approved the service in principle, 20 January, but wished that earnest suit be made to the privy council for contributions from the exempt places. Privy council responded with letters to justices of the peace of the surrounding areas for contributions, 28 January. A warrant for collection was issued in Middlesex, but St Katherine's secured an exemption. Common council authorised levy of three fifteenths, 5 February. In January 1602 the lord mayor claimed the cost had been £4000, considerably in excess of the possible yield: see below, nos. 109, 117 for further funding.

Estimated yield: £1635

Sources: *APC*, XXXI.119-21, 121-2; CLRO, JCC 25, fos. 230r-v, 233, 237; GL, MS 9680, fo. 10v; Stow, *Annales*, p. 792; *Wilbraham's Journal*, p. 47.

109: May 1601

Requirement: 175 for Ireland.

Queen's letters ordering levy accompanied by instructions from privy council, 28 April; common council authorised levy, 2 May. 40s per man for apparel was paid by city (of which 4s per man coat money was reimbursed). For weapons, only swords with turkey blades were required. Troops were to be at Chester by 20 May, and conduct money was to be reimbursed. Common council authorised five fifteenths to cover expenditure on this levy, and other matters: £520 for this levy; £500 for costs in suppression of Essex rebellion; £1400 for galleys.

Estimated yield: £2725

Sources: *APC*, XXXI.315-18; CLRO, JCC 25, fo. 262v; Stow, *Annales*, p. 796.

110: July 1601

Requirement: 1000 for relief of Ostend

Queen demanded levy, 6 July, followed by instructions from privy council, 7 July; troops to be ready for embarkation by 9 July; levy authorised by common council, 7 July. Privy council ordered levy at rate of £3.10s per man (40s for apparel, 30s for weapons) to be paid to Exchequer. Common council initially petitioned for mitigation and use of city's coats, but next day, 8 July consented to privy council's requirements. Middlesex and

Surrey authorities assisted in press. Troops delivered to captains (Cocken, Crofts, Devereux, Bingham, Dutton, and Crompton), 10 July; indentures extant. Exchequer records reveal payments from city of £1500 in August 1601, £1500 in September 1601, and £500 residue in September 1602. Common council authorised a half subsidy. For the shortfall in revenue, see below, no. 113.

Estimated yield: £2900

Sources: PRO, SP12/281/2; 281/5; *APC*, XXXII.22-4, 27-8, 36; CLRO, JCC 25, fos. 277, 279; Rep. 25, fo. 293; Remembrancia, II, no. 204; PRO, E401/2398-2400; E101/66/2; Stow, *Annales*, p. 796.

111: July 1601

Requirement: 800 for relief of Ostend

Instructions from privy council for levy, 20 July; troops to be embarked on 24 July; precepts issued, 20 July. Troops were to be provided at no cost to the city, costs of equipment and apparel being paid by counties of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and Hertfordshire at rate of £3.10s per man. Middlesex and Surrey authorities aided in press, and the lord mayor was reimbursed for £63.12s laid out in press.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXXII.73-4, 74-5, 75-7, 138-9; CLRO, JCC 25, fos. 284v, 285r-v.

112: August/September 1601

Requirement: 1000 volunteers for Ostend

Instructions issued for assistance in levy of 200 volunteers to be taken by Captain Crofts (6 August); 200 by Captain Cockaine (10 August); 200 by Captain Rider (10 August); 400 by Captain Bingham (23 September). Middlesex and Surrey authorities were instructed to assist.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *APC*, XXXII.145-6, 149; CLRO, JCC 25, fos. 291, 292, 292v, 302r-v.

113: October 1601

Requirement: 400 (96 pikemen, 48 billmen, 160 calivermen, 96 musketeers) for Ireland.

Instructions for levy from privy council, 5 October; troops to be ready for embarkation, 14 October; levy authorised by common council, 8 October. Arms to be provided by city,

apparel to be paid for at rate of 40s per man to Exchequer. Troops delivered to captains (Walter Crompton, John Woodall, William Maye, Thomas Wynn), 22 October. Indentures extant. Exchequer records show payments of £400 in respect of apparel, December 1601, and £400 residue, March 1602. Common council authorised levy of three fifteenths, of which £500 was paid to Romney for money owing on no. 110 (1000, Ostend) above.

Estimated yield: £1635

Sources: *APC*, XXXII.235-6; *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 293-4; Rep. 25, fos. 294, 323v; *PRO*, E401/2399; E101/66/2.

114: January 1602

Requirement: 500 for Ireland

Queen expressed herself content to pay all charges of apparel and arming; to be levied out of trained bands if others 'of like sufficiency' could not be found. Precepts for levy dated, 13 January.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 313v-14v.

115: April 1602

Requirement: 2000 for Ostend

Queens letters for levy, 22 April; crown agreed to bear all costs of armour and apparel. Series of precepts, late April - early May for search of idle and dissolute persons. Press proved very controversial because of raids on theatres, press of gentlemen etc.

Estimated costs: minimal

Sources: *CLRO*, JCC 25, fos. 345v-6, 346v, 347; Stow, *Annales*, p. 804; *Gawdy Letters*, pp. 120-1.

116: August 1602

Requirement: 200 for Ireland.

Common council authorised levy, 3 August. Privy council instructed levy at rate of £3.10s per man to be paid into the Exchequer; city petitioned that hereafter the city should arm and apparel all men set forth. £700 was paid into the Exchequer by 27 November 1602. Common council authorised payment of two fifteenths.

Estimated yield: £1070

Sources: CLRO, JCC 26, fos. 16v, 17v; Stow, *Annales*, p. 812; PRO, E401/2400-2401.

117: February 1603

Common council authorised three fifteenths, 25 February for satisfaction of monies owing to citizens for galleys etc. amounting to £1700.

Estimated yield: £1600

Sources: CLRO, JCC 26, fo. 59v.

118: March 1603

Requirement: 2 dromblers for defence of Thames.

Common council approved request, 12 March; petition made for parishes adjoining Thames to contribute. Common council authorised grant of 2d in £ goods to raise £500. Money was repaid as the requirement was withdrawn.

Sources: CLRO, JCC 26, fos. 66, 66v, 79; Stow, *Annales*, p. 812.

