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VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS IN SUSSEX DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC WARS, 1793–1815

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INTRODUCTION

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars against France lasted from 1793 to 1815, interrupted briefly by the Peace of Amiens of 1802–3. During most of this period there was a very real danger of invasion from across the English Channel, and Sussex, because of its closeness to France and its good landing beaches, was a likely target. Government precautions against invasion included the building of coastal fortifications, notably the Martello towers, and the setting up of signal systems along the coast.[1] The most important defence measure, however, was the stationing in south-east England of large numbers of soldiers to defeat the French in battle should they manage to land.

The armed land forces during the wars fell into three groups. The regular army was a permanent paid force of men serving at home and abroad but also included fencible regiments (for home service only) such as the Sussex Fencible Cavalry.[2] The militia was a paid force of infantry raised in the counties by ballot; it was usually called upon to serve full-time in wartime only, and served only in Great Britain.[3] The volunteers[4] are often confused with the militia but were very different. They were men living at home who volunteered to serve part-time in their own areas, rather like the Home Guard of the Second World War. Apart from attending training sessions for a few hours a week, for which many were paid, they carried on with their normal occupations unless the danger of invasion was such that they were embodied for full-time service. This did not happen often, and very rarely in Sussex, though the 3rd Battalion of the Cinque Ports Volunteers (see below) did serve full-time for three weeks at the end of 1803 and again in 1804.[5]

The volunteers were a vital part of defence strategy because there were never enough regular or militia regiments available to guard the south coast adequately. In the event of an invasion the volunteers were not only to fight the enemy but also to ensure that law and order was maintained in the invaded areas. Their duties were therefore partly military and partly those of a police force; it was only in the latter role that most of them ever saw any active service.

There were several different sorts of volunteers. Small associations formed in towns and villages for their own defence had existed during earlier wars against France and sprang up again; little is known about them because they did not receive government grants and therefore tend not to appear in official records. The other types of volunteers agreed to serve in case of emergency over a much wider area, ranging from their own division of the county to the whole of Great Britain, in return for government grants towards their expenses and sometimes pay. There were corps all over the country of volunteer cavalry, often called yeomanry cavalry, and infantry ranging from individual corps in towns to much larger bodies raised in rural areas. If an invasion had occurred the volunteers in relatively safe parts of the country whose terms of service allowed it would have been marched to the invaded area to reinforce local troops. Along the south and east coasts there were also corps of artillery volunteers trained to man the guns in the coastal batteries, and sea fencibles raised by

the Admiralty (not to be confused with the army fencibles mentioned above) to serve on board ships protecting the ports.

Different types of volunteer corps attracted different social classes. The yeomanry cavalry were the most socially prestigious, often commanded by members of the aristocracy and attracting farmers and prosperous tradesmen. The small local armed associations and the town-based infantry volunteers also tended to enrol the better-off. The coastal artillery and sea fencibles, based in ports and fishing villages, sometimes enrolled humbler men, as did the large infantry bodies in rural areas.

Tables 1–4 list all known corps of volunteers in Sussex during the wars apart from armed associations and sea fencibles.

1793–5: THE FIRST VOLUNTEERS

In late February 1793, just after the outbreak of war, it was reported that:

> In all the counties facing the French coast, the Gentlemen are now mounting themselves on horseback, and are determined to act as a patrole, to establish a chain of communication, and to defend their property against all attack.[6]

Small volunteer associations of this type quickly sprang up in Sussex at Brighton, Rye, Lindfield[7] and probably elsewhere. Their main purpose was to protect persons and property, and their members tended naturally enough to be men with some property to protect. They envisaged action not only against the French but also against local people stirred into rebellion by radical agitators, a possibility widely feared in the years just after the French Revolution. As the months went by more volunteer associations were formed in Sussex towns or large villages: in March 1794 at Arundel an earlier group called the 'Independent Arundel Men' was revived, and in the same month at Pulborough young men agreed to learn the use of arms from a militia drill sergeant.[8]Such associations either paid their own expenses or were supported by money raised locally.

The government soon decided to channel this enthusiasm for volunteering in a more valuable direction. If each county had a properly organized defence force of volunteers who would undertake in case of invasion to go out and face the enemy rather than just defending their own homes, the hard-pressed regulars and militia could be released for service elsewhere. In April 1794 legislation[9] was passed authorizing the Lord Lieutenant of each county, the Crown's military representative there, to co-ordinate the raising of a force of volunteers.[10] Not surprisingly, their efforts were most successful in the areas most vulnerable to invasion, such as Sussex, where the volunteers were likely to be fighting in their own locality.

The way the volunteers were raised during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a good example of how the aristocracy and gentry voluntarily took on the type of local business which would in later years have been done by paid national and local officials. Sussex was lucky in having many resident members of the landed classes who were willing to take an active role, and especially in having a very experienced military man, Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond (1735–1806), for its Lord Lieutenant during much of the wars. He had been Master-General of the Ordnance since 1782, where he had done much useful work including founding the Ordnance Survey; however, he was notoriously difficult to work with and made many enemies, including the King's younger son, the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief of the army from 1798, with whom he had fought a duel in 1789. Dismissed from the Ordnance in 1795, he then lived mainly on his country estate at Goodwood, near Chichester, and devoted himself whole-heartedly to local public affairs.[11] He was a particularly hard-working Lord Lieutenant, guiding committees with a firm hand and bombarding government officials with pages of well-informed argument about how the defence of Sussex should best be organized.

A meeting of prominent people in the

county was held in Lewes on 1 May 1794 to discuss the raising of a county volunteer force 'for the better Defence of the County and for the more effectual Security of property in Times of Danger without Expense to Government except Arms'.[12] The meeting resolved to raise volunteer infantry and cavalry, and a committee appointed to carry this out met the same afternoon. The Duke of Richmond was unable to attend through gout, but sent a statement of his views. As a professional soldier he had some reservations about the potential usefulness of amateurs; but he did recommend that infantry companies should be raised, to be trained to man the great guns at the coastal batteries, as there was a serious shortage of artillerymen. The committee accepted the Duke's proposal with enthusiasm, but also resolved to raise six (later increased to twelve) troops of yeomanry cavalry. To finance these corps subscriptions were to be invited from the wealthier classes.[13]

Arrangements went ahead quickly, although many probably shared the scepticism of Lady Maria Holroyd, daughter of Lord Sheffield (a member of the committee and a very experienced soldier); she considered the volunteers as

TABLE 1
Cavalry Volunteers in Sussex

Name of troop	*Dates*	*Raised by*
SUSSEX YEOMANRY CAVALRY RAISED IN THE 1790s		
Danny or Henfield	1794–1808	William Campion
East Grinstead	1794–1802	John Trayton Fuller
Lindfield (also called West Hoathly or East Grinstead)	1794–1813/16	William Sewell
Midhurst or Cowdray	1794– after 1820	William Stephen Poyntz
Eastbourne	1794/5–1802/3	John Trayton Fuller
Petworth	1794/5–1809/10	3rd Earl of Egremont
Burpham	1795–?1798	James Holmes Goble
Lewes	1795– after 1820	George Shiffner
Parham	1795–1815/16	Sir Cecil Bisshopp
Ashburnham or Battle	1798–1809*	Viscount St. Asaph
Firle	1798–1802	4th Viscount Gage
Heathfield or Brightling	1798–1801/2	John Fuller of Rosehill
Yapton (also called Arundel and Chichester, or West Coast)	1798– after 1820	George White Thomas
YEOMANRY CAVALRY IN THE CINQUE PORTS IN THE 1790s		
Hastings	1794–1801/2	James Bishop
Rye	1794–1801/2	Thomas Philip Lamb
Cinque Ports Troop	1794–1801/2	J. Methurst Poynter
OTHER CAVALRY VOLUNTEERS RAISED IN THE 1790s		
Duke of Richmond's Light Horse Artillery (or Sussex Yeomanry Horse Artillery)	1797–1813/16*	3rd Duke of Richmond
Sussex Guides	1798–1813*	Henry Thurloe Shadwell
YEOMANRY CAVALRY RAISED IN 1803		
Ringmer	1803–1810/11	Sir John Riggs Miller
Rye or Leasham	1803–7	Samuel Russell Collett
Rape of Chichester Volunteer Cavalry (probably another name for the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery—see above)	fl. 1803–7	3rd Duke of Richmond

*disbanded during Peace of Amiens and revived afterwards.
Sources: War Office, *Lists of Officers in the . . . Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1793–1815); *Returns of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps in Great Britain, 1803*, H.C. (1803–4), xi, p. 53; *1806*, H.C. (1806), x, pp. 34–5; P.R.O., WO 13/4043; 40/29; E.S.R.O., LCV/2/1; ASH 3345; W.S.R.O., PHA 53, 112–27; *Sussex Weekly Advertiser.*

TABLE 2
Infantry and Artillery Volunteers in Sussex 1794–1802

Name	*Dates*	*Raised by*
SUSSEX VOLUNTEER INFANTRY		
Lewes	1794–1801/2	Thomas Kemp
Arundel*	1794–1801/2	Edward Carleton
Chichester	?1795–1801	John Crauford
CINQUE PORTS VOLUNTEERS		
Winchelsea	1794–1801/2	Richard Denne
Hastings	1794–1801/2	Edward Mil(l)ward
Seaford	1794–1801/2	Thomas Henry Harben
Rye	?1795–?1802	Nathaniel Proctor
COASTAL ARTILLERY		
Newhaven*	1798–?1802	George Buckley
Cliff End or Hastings*	1798–1801/2	James Petley
Blatchington	1798–?1802	Edward Harvey
Selsey*	1798–1801/2	Thomas Souter
OTHER CORPS (excluding purely local Armed Associations)		
Independent Arundel Men	1794–1797 or later	James Holmes
Chichester Volunteer Infantry	1795–1802	Edward Maxwell
Petworth Volunteer Infantry*	1797–1801	3rd Earl of Egremont (captained by William Mitford)
Horsham Volunteer Infantry	1798	Edmund Smith

*see also Table 3.
Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4563, 4565–6; 40/9; W.S.R.O., Mitford MSS. 4, 5; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 7757 (journals of John Marsh), f. 1366; *Hampshire Telegraph.*

'a very harmless amusement for the Country Gentlemen'.[14] Companies of infantry were raised according to the Duke's suggestion at Lewes, Arundel and Chichester, to be trained by professional artillerymen to man the guns at the coastal batteries (see Table 2). While these towns are not directly on the coast they are within easy reach of it. There were already batteries at (from west to east) Littlehampton, Brighton, Newhaven, East Blatchington, Seaford, Hastings, and Rye, and others were set up in the 1790s at Selsey, Bognor, Rottingdean, Cuckmere Haven, and Langney Point near Eastbourne.[15] They generally had between two and eight 24-pounder or 36-pounder cannon and were protected by earthworks, walls or palisades; there was nothing as yet on the scale of the Martello towers built from 1805 onwards.[16]

Nine troops of Sussex Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry were raised in 1794–5 (see Table 1). It had been planned to have one troop in the upper and lower divisions of each of the six Sussex rapes,[17] but this did not work out in practice as the distribution of troops had to depend on where there were suitable gentlemen able and willing to go to the considerable effort and expense of raising one; the shortage of captains was such that one man, John Trayton Fuller, actually raised two troops, one in his own East Grinstead area and another in the Eastbourne area. While there were two troops close together in the Arundel area, at Burpham and Parham,[18] there were none in the Horsham area, the north-east of the county, or the area around Hastings and Rye.

The last-named area, however, had three cavalry troops (see Table 1) raised in towns belonging to the Confederation of the Cinque

Ports, which included (in Sussex) Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Seaford and Pevensey, and which were outside the jurisdiction of the county lieutenancy. The Lord Lieutenant's role was taken here by the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, an office held since 1792 by the then Prime Minister, William Pitt the younger, who continued until his death in 1806. Pitt was very keen on the volunteer movement, and many local people felt a moral obligation to serve in the volunteers because they were not liable for the county militia ballots; the raising of militia there was at the discretion of the Lord Warden, and had lapsed.[19] As well as the three cavalry troops, several companies of volunteer infantry were raised in the Cinque Ports in 1794–5 (see Table 2).

1796–1802: THE VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT GAINS MOMENTUM

The mid 1790s brought many invasion scares along the Sussex coast and the volunteers were often brought out by false alarms.[20] However, late in 1796 the threat became really serious. A large French fleet actually set sail in December, but proved to be heading for Ireland and was turned back by storms. In February 1797 a much smaller force actually managed to land near Fishguard in South Wales, where it was quickly rounded up by local troops, including some volunteers who thus became the envy of their comrades throughout Britain. This was in fact to be the only invasion of Great Britain throughout the wars, but at that time an invasion of Sussex and Kent was a very real possibility, especially when the young Napoleon Bonaparte was appointed in October 1797 to lead the army for the invasion of England, which he considered the essential preliminary for the subjugation of all Europe.[21] More volunteers were now badly needed, especially when rebellion brewing in Ireland necessitated the sending there of many regular troops previously stationed on the south-east coast.[22] The growing danger brought an increase in patriotism, and Charles Dibdin's song 'The Snug Little Island', first performed in 1797, was very popular, coining the phrase 'a right little, tight little island'. The last verse ran:

> Since Freedom and Neptune have hitherto kept time,
> In each saying "this shall be my land";
> Should the army of ENGLAND, or all they could bring land,
> We'd show 'em some play for the island.
> We'll fight for our right to the island,
> We'll give them enough of the island,
> Invaders should just, bite at the dust,
> But not a bit more of the island![23]

The agriculturalist Arthur Young wrote:

> Ought we not . . . to be able to say that our navy may become the sport of tempests, our regular troops may be defeated, but England never can be overrun; for every man that has a horse is in a corps of cavalry, and her infantry is as numerous as her property is diffused.[24]

With offers of new volunteer corps flooding in, the government took the opportunity to legislate to increase their usefulness. An Act was passed in April 1798 'for applying in the most expeditious manner, and with the greatest effect, the voluntary services of the King's loyal subjects for the defence of the kingdom'. Corps raised since 17 January now had to agree to serve anywhere in their military district in case of invasion in order to receive government clothing allowances, pay for training, and exemption from the militia ballots, a much valued privilege. The Southern Military District comprised Sussex, most of Kent, and part of Surrey.[25] Many volunteer corps now extended their offers of service, some patriotically refusing to accept the pay and allowances; the War Office could now therefore include in its defence plans a large number of volunteers willing to serve throughout their military district and therefore much more mobile and useful than before. In Sussex several existing

corps recruited more men,[26] and many new ones were raised, including four troops of yeomanry cavalry (see Table 1) and four more companies to man the guns in the coastal batteries (see Table 2); this time they were specifically called artillery and were based in towns and villages where there were batteries. These were the only type of artillery volunteers approved by the War Office, which considered that the use of mobile field guns was best restricted to well-trained regular artillerymen; a rare exception, however, was the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery, raised in 1797 or 1798 and consisting of prosperous farmers and respectable tradesmen, which in 1802 had 61 officers and men with two 3-pounder guns and two howitzers.[27] Presumably the exception was made because the Duke was a former Master-General of the Ordnance.

By the end of 1800 the numbers of yeomanry and volunteer cavalry in Great Britain had risen to about 24,000, about 9,000 more than before the Defence Act of 1798, and there were probably about 87,000 infantry and artillery volunteers.[28] These figures do not include those volunteers who preferred to forgo government grants and continue to limit their service to protecting their own immediate locality. New armed associations of this type were being formed in most Sussex towns and villages in April 1798 according to the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*, while Lewes had had one since March 1797;[29] whether the associations of 1793–4 mentioned earlier still also continued is uncertain.

Volunteers were also raised by the Admiralty for service on board ship to protect the Channel ports. On the Sussex coast volunteer seafaring men had been enrolled since 1796, when a rendezvous for them was opened at Newhaven. The men were to be trained to use guns, paid during training, and protected from impressment into the navy. They would have to go on board only in time of danger, and they were only to serve on their own part of the coast unless the enemy landed elsewhere.[30] In 1798 the scheme was extended and the volunteers were called sea fencibles; companies were raised in Hastings and Brighton. Unfortunately they proved of very little use; when Nelson was in command of a naval squadron protecting the south-east coast in August 1801 he found that most refused to go on board ship until the enemy was actually sighted, fearing that, in spite of assurances to the contrary, they would be press-ganged into the navy.[31]

Under the Defence Act of April 1798 the government, as well as regulating the volunteers, also sought to involve the whole population in the defence of the country for the first time. The Lord Lieutenant of each county was to have lists made of all able-bodied men between 15 and 60 not already serving in the army or as volunteers, with certain exceptions such as clergymen and Quakers, who were also exempt from the militia ballots. Each man had to state what service he was prepared to perform in case of an invasion. He could serve under arms; he could be a pioneer, repairing and opening up roads and bridges to clear routes for the army, or destroying them to hinder the enemy; if he knew the area well and owned a horse, he could be a guide, showing routes to the army and passing on intelligence; or, if he lived near the coast, he could help evacuate women, children, the elderly and the sick, or drive livestock and waggons inland to deprive the enemy of food. He would not be asked to do anything, however, unless invasion actually happened.[32] The detailed defence returns made in Sussex in 1798 are lost, but a revised set made in 1801 survives.[33]

In 1802 Britain and France, both in need of a breathing space, made peace. Most volunteer corps were disbanded, but some yeomanry cavalry continued to serve, though unpaid.[34] They had proved their worth in tackling civil disturbances; for instance, in 1796 the Petworth Yeomanry Cavalry had been called in when local people burnt the effigy of a miller who was accused of selling flour at high prices.[35]

1803–5: THE GREAT INVASION SCARE

On 18 May 1803 war broke out again, and the next two years brought the greatest invasion

danger of the wars. Bonaparte had now devoted several years to working out how to invade England and was so confident that he had songs written to celebrate his successful invasion. 'The Channel is a mere ditch', he asserted, 'and will be crossed as soon as someone has the courage to attempt it.'[36] In the winter of 1803–4 thousands of men were camped at Boulogne and a huge invasion fleet was being assembled. Popular rumour further exaggerated the danger: Bonaparte was said to be bringing a quarter of a million men, or constructing a Channel Tunnel, or building a bridge across which the soldiers were to march directed by their officers in balloons.[37] Frightening stories circulated about the ruthless behaviour of invading French troops, and one Sussex volunteer captain roused his men by describing how Bonaparte would make them into slaves, paid:

> some miserable pittance, insufficient to sustain the sinews of their youth, or, he will send them to destroy their fellow creatures in distant climates, there to perish of disease, misery, and hard usage.[38]

Volunteering boomed, stimulated by broadsides such as the following:

> BRITONS, to ARMS!–of Apathy beware,
> And let your Country be your dearest Care:
> Protect your Altars! guard your Monarch's Throne,
> The Cause of GEORGE and Freedom is your own!
> What! shall that ENGLAND want her Sons' Support,
> Whose Heroes fought at CRESSY - AGINCOURT?[39]

The government took advantage of this popular patriotic feeling to reconsider an idea first mooted in the late 1790s, to raise a large part-time force for each county on the same lines as the volunteers but on a much larger scale, drawing not only on the better-off but on working men too. As well as making use of a vast untapped source of manpower, this would, it was hoped, encourage a spirit of patriotism in the lower orders and ensure their loyalty in case of invasion; it was still widely feared that certain elements would rise in support of the French.[40] Under the Levy 'en Masse' Act of July 1803 all able-bodied men between 17 and 55 not already serving in the armed forces were listed.[41] This caused great confusion, as similar lists were being made at the same time under the Defence Act of June 1803,[42] a revival of the legislation of 1798 whereby every able-bodied man had to volunteer for some duty; under the Levy 'en Masse' Act, however, a selection was to be drawn from the lists for military training for at least two hours a week. In an emergency they could be sent anywhere in England. The Act was, however, only to be enforced if there were insufficient volunteers in a county.[43]

With the typical British repugnance for doing anything by compulsion, people flocked instead to join the volunteers, and there were soon more than enough to ensure that the Levy 'en Masse' Act would not be enforced. By December 1803 there were 6,198 volunteers in Sussex (excluding officers), and another 1,055 in the Sussex Cinque Ports.[44] Landowners were beginning to worry about how their property was to be protected in the event of invasion now that all their servants had enrolled as volunteers.[45] Some of the new volunteer bodies were revivals of earlier ones. These included the yeomanry cavalry: in Sussex seven troops had continued to serve through the Peace, one more was revived and two or three new ones raised. The Corps of Guides, which had begun in 1798 along the lines suggested in the Defence Act, was also revived, as was the Duke of Richmond's Light Horse Artillery (see Table 1). About 900 of the Sussex volunteers were cavalrymen. Most were now receiving pay and agreed to serve anywhere within the military district.[46] Three volunteer artillery companies were revived and five new ones raised in Sussex and the Sussex Cinque Ports (see Table 3); the figures for December 1803 included about 500 artillery volunteers in Sussex and 100 more in the Sussex

TABLE 3
Artillery and Town-Based Infantry Volunteers in Sussex 1803–15

Name	*Dates*	*Raised/commanded by*
COASTAL ARTILLERY		
Brighton or Prince of Wales's	1803–?1814	Samuel Moore
Langney Point or Eastbourne	1803–?1814	Ryder Mowatt
Littlehampton	1803–?1814	Robert Spearman Bate(s)
Seaford	1803–?1814	James Cook(e)
Newhaven*	1803–?1814	Edward Dean(s)
Selsey*	1803–?1809	Thomas Souter
Cliff End or Hastings*	?1804–?1807	Thomas Phillips
Rye	?1804–?1814	Daniel Gill
TOWN-BASED INFANTRY		
Arundel*	1803–13	Edward Carleton
Petworth*	1803–?	3rd Earl of Egremont
Lewes	1803–?	Thomas Kemp, ?William Franklin Hick
Chichester	fl. 1804–7	John Murray
Rye†	fl. 1807–9	Nathaniel Proctor
Eastbourne or Bourne†	fl. 1807–12	Edward Auger

*revival of an earlier corps; see Table 2.
†raised after the disbanding of large rural volunteer bodies in their areas (see Table 4). Proctor had been an officer in the Cinque Ports Volunteers, and Auger in the Pevensey Rape South Volunteers.
Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4563–6; 30/56; E.S.R.O., LCG/3/EW 2; *Hampshire Telegraph.*

Cinque Ports.[47] The Arundel and Petworth infantry volunteers were revived and new corps raised in Lewes and Chichester for local defence (see Table 3).

However, by far the larger number of the new volunteers in Sussex belonged to corps of a new type, organized along the lines envisaged in the Levy 'en Masse' Act. These were huge bodies mainly of infantry raised in rural areas, consisting of men from all social backgrounds. One of the first in the country was the North Pevensey Legion raised in 1803 by John Baker Holroyd, 1st Baron (later 1st Earl) Sheffield, in the northern division of Pevensey Rape, described by him as 'the largest and wildest Division of the County', full of 'a bad breed of Smugglers, Poachers, Foresters and Farmers' Servants, who, in the case of confusion, are more to be dreaded than the March of a French Army'.[48] The Legion limited its service to the North Pevensey division, and therefore could not claim pay or exemptions from the militia ballots, but Lord Sheffield hoped thereby to attract people with home commitments. It was to act as a police force in case of invasion, guarding persons and property; to guard magazines and stores; to take charge of hospitals, the wounded, enemy deserters and prisoners of war; and to help remove livestock from invaded areas.[49]

Lord Sheffield's aim was to arm and organize all able-bodied men in the area from all social classes, in different sorts of corps according to their social background. 'Smugglers, Poachers (whom it may be necessary thus to occupy that they may not take a worse course), and unsightly men (with whom the Farmers would not Chuse to rank)' were to be included in a company of skirmishers, because 'the worst looking and worst made men often make excellent Skirmishers'.[50] Lord Sheffield seems to have had some success in enrolling the labouring classes: the rank and file of one company, from Little Horsted, in 1804 consisted of twelve day labourers, three under-carters, one oxman, one carpenter, and one man who worked on the river.[51] In December 1803 the Legion consisted

TABLE 4
Large Rural Volunteer Bodies of 1803 in Sussex

Division	*Number of effective rank and file in 1803*	*Senior officers*	*Disbanded*
Pevensey Rape North (North Pevensey Legion)	1,000	Col. 1st Lord Sheffield, Lt.-Col. Hon. Charles Abbot, Major Edward Cranston	1806
Chichester Rape North	210	Major Richard Yaldwin, Major James Piggott	1807/8
Chichester Rape South	425	Col. John Crosbie, Lt.-Col. John Gage, Major John Quantock	1808
Arundel Rape North	160	Major Charles Biddulph	1809/10
Arundel Rape South (or Angmering)	94	Capt. John Holmwood	1813
Bramber Rape North	147	Major Charles Beauclerk	1812/13
Bramber Rape South	299	Major Charles Goring, Major William Margesson	1813
Lewes Rape North	360	Major Edmund Smith	1813
Lewes Rape South	578	Col. William Newton, Lt.-Col. George Edward Graham, Major Thomas Partington	1809/10
Pevensey Rape South	683	Col. 4th Viscount Gage, Lt.-Col. Hon. John Douglas, Major Inigo Freeman Thomas, Major John Bean	1807/8
Hastings Rape	583	Lt.-Col. Viscount St. Asaph, Lt.-Col. John Fuller, Major Thomas Philip Lamb	1806/7
Cinque Ports Volunteers, 3rd Battalion	955	Lt.-Col. Thomas Davis Lamb, Major Edward Mil(l)ward	1806

Sources: As Table 1; also P.R.O., WO 13/4564; 40/29; E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/3.

of fourteen companies of infantry and two cavalry troops, with 1,000 men in all (excluding officers).[52]

Lord Sheffield's idea was widely copied, and by December 1803 there were ten more large volunteer infantry bodies in Sussex, comprising over 3,500 men; all of these, moreover, agreed to serve anywhere in Britain in return for government allowances and exemption from the ballots.[53] There was one each for the north and south divisions of Chichester, Arundel, Bramber and Lewes Rapes, one for Pevensey Rape South, and one for Hastings Rape, which included a company of artillery (see Table 4). They varied in size from 94 to nearly 700 men. All seem to have recruited working men: for example, one company of 121 men in Hastings Rape included 59 labourers and 36 servants of various kinds, and in another company of 100 men in the South Lewes Volunteers over half were illiterate and signed with a cross.[54]

William Pitt, now out of government office, devoted much energy to reviving and reorganizing the Cinque Ports Volunteers on a similar scale. There were three battalions of infantry each with an establishment of over 1,000 men. The 3rd Battalion was based in Sussex, at Hastings and Rye, and had 955 men (excluding officers) in December 1803 (see Table 4).[55] Pitt was a popular colonel of volunteers and led his men in person from the Lord Warden's residence at Walmer in Kent, inspiring the satirist 'Peter Pindar' to compose the following verse:

> Come the Consul whenever he will—
> And he means it when Neptune is calmer—
> Pitt will send him a d____ bitter pill
> From his fortress the Castle of Walmer![56]

The coasts were given additional protection by the revived sea fencibles, re-embodied in the summer of 1803 on a larger scale than before, with about 1,400 men.[57] By June 1804 there were 1,126 sea fencibles on the Sussex coast alone, with strong contingents at Chichester (or Selsey), Bognor, Brighton, Newhaven, Hastings and Rye, and smaller corps elsewhere.[58] Seaport towns were now told to provide ships and hulks to be equipped with guns and stationed locally, manned by sea fencibles.[59] In 1804 381 vessels, armed with 449 guns, were protecting the Sussex coast from Shoreham eastwards; Brighton had 45 vessels,[60] while Hastings had nine gunboats each armed with two 18-pounder guns, and 11 fishing boats each armed with a 12-pounder carronade (a short large-calibred naval gun). Further west, Chichester in 1805 had four ex-smuggling vessels each armed with a carronade.[61]

The great and unexpected enthusiasm for volunteering embarrassed the government, as nearly all the volunteers qualified for payment while training and for clothing allowances, and the more volunteers there were the fewer men were eligible for the militia ballots. Another serious problem was providing enough weapons. Although production of guns was quickly stepped up there were far from enough for everyone, and in August 1803 the Duke of Richmond had to ask Sussex volunteer captains to make do with the minimum: 'I know this will damp the present ardour', he wrote, 'but what can I do?'[62] Many of the Sussex volunteers were still without arms in October, and there was talk of issuing them with pikes; however, the Duke considered it too risky to public order to arm the lower classes with such weapons. Pikes were issued in other parts of the country, but were thought demeaning by many volunteers, who preferred to use sporting guns if they could obtain them.[63]

Having done all it could to encourage volunteering, the government was now forced to discourage it by reducing the allowances and privileges. An anomalous situation arose whereby volunteers who had enrolled up to 22 June 1803 were paid for 85 days' training a year and were required to serve only in their own military district, while more recent volunteers received pay for only 20 days' training but had to agree to serve anywhere in Britain; thus the best trained volunteers were also the least mobile and were often confined to inland districts where the possibility of active service was small.[64]

In spite of these difficulties the volunteer force of 1803–5 was formidable, and many Sussex people felt confident that it could protect them from the French. A broadsheet distributed by the *Sussex Weekly Advertiser*'s itinerant newsmen in January 1804 praised the volunteers:

> Some ride in Yeomanry, some march on foot,
> Some guides go forth, and some with rifles shoot.
> Let Bony come with ship-loads of mounseers,
> He'll stand no chance against such volunteers![65]

Another contemporary verse expressed similar confidence in the men of Pevensey:

> If Bonypart
> Should have the heart
> To land at Pemsey Level,
> Then my three sons
> With their three guns
> Would blow him to the Devil.[66]

Many more knowledgeable and experienced people also believed that the volunteers, if only through sheer weight of numbers, would be a considerable obstacle to the French. Others saw serious defects in the training and discipline of the volunteers which, they considered, would make them almost useless against a highly-trained French army. However, they were destined never to be put to the test.

1806–15: VOLUNTEERS IN DECLINE

After the death of Pitt in 1806 and the establishment of the 'Ministry of All the Talents', government policy towards volunteers changed. The new Secretary of State for War, William

Windham, thought them of little use and took various steps to run the system down, such as cutting training allowances. He also abolished the militia ballots, thus removing a great incentive for volunteeering. He wanted working men to join the regular army and militia rather than the volunteeers, which he felt should be restricted to the better-off who could pay all their own expenses.[67]

By now, in any case, there was little chance of the invasion most volunteers still longed for, and enthusiasm was waning. In 1805 Napoleon's 'Army of England' had left the Channel coast to fight elsewhere in Europe, and his fleet had been severely crippled at the Battle of Trafalgar. By March 1806 the number of volunteers in Sussex had fallen to under 5,000 (excluding officers) and in the Sussex Cinque Ports to less than 900.[68] Both cavalry and infantry were declining, though the artillery were keeping up to strength; they could at least still fire at enemy ships in the Channel. In the autumn of 1806 Lord Sheffield disbanded the North Pevensey Legion; the two cavalry troops had already folded through non-attendance, and in nine of the infantry companies the officers wanted to resign or had done so already, and no more could be found.[69]

In 1808 a new force, the Local Militia, was set up to supersede the volunteers as a part-time local defence force. It was organized in battalions under permanent paid officers, and the men received 28 days' training a year. Volunteers were encouraged to transfer, and the numbers were if necessary made up by ballot.[70]

The number of volunteers henceforth steadily declined: in Sussex there were about 3,300 in December 1808, including officers but not including volunteers living in the Cinque Ports; about 2,000 by August 1810; and less than 800 by December 1813, when the Sussex Local Militia had about 3,000 men. The surviving volunteers in December 1813 were five troops of yeomanry cavalry, the Duke of Richmond's Horse Artillery, and six coastal artillery corps; the rest of the infantry had been disbanded. The six artillery corps were probably disbanded in 1814.[71] The yeomanry cavalry were virtually the only volunteers throughout the country allowed to continue after the end of the wars, and saw considerable service in controlling the riots of the troubled years to come before the establishment of properly organized police forces; the tragedy at Peterloo in 1819 was the result of a local yeomanry cavalry troop losing control. [72] In Sussex, the Lewes, Midhurst and West Coast (Yapton) troops continued into the 1820s, and some new troops were formed.[73]

SOCIAL CLASS AND THE VOLUNTEERS

Many of Sussex's chief aristocrats and landowners were involved with the volunteers, including two of the most important, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Egremont. The Duke, as a military man, was well suited to the job, but George O'Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont,[74] who was colonel of the Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry as well as raising his own cavalry and infantry corps, was primarily interested in agriculture and the arts and found his position irksome; however, he regarded it as a public duty, and the mass of his correspondence and papers on volunteer business which survives[75] shows how much time he must have spent on it. Other Sussex aristocrats involved in the volunteers, apart from Lord Sheffield (see above), were Henry, 4th Viscount Gage, of Firle, and George Ashburnham, Viscount St. Asaph (later 3rd Earl of Ashburnham), of Ashburnham, both of whom raised troops of yeomanry cavalry in the 1790s and large rural volunteer bodies in 1803; and Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bt., of Parham (later created 12th Baron Zouche), who captained a yeomanry cavalry troop throughout the wars (see Tables 1 and 4).

The yeomanry cavalry were the social élite of the volunteer movement and great efforts were made to restrict membership of the rank and file to the comparatively well-off and respectable. A trooper had to provide his own horse and often, in the 1790s at least, to serve without pay. When Sir Cecil Bisshopp raised his troop in 1795 it was rumoured that only men worth at least £200 a year were to be enrolled,[76]

and in about 1815 the troop was said to consist entirely of local farmers riding their own horses.[77] There was no shortage of recruits, for membership gave the lesser gentry and farmers the chance to mingle socially with the aristocracy, and tradesmen the opportunity to seek their patronage, as described in an anonymous poem about Lord Egremont's Petworth troop:

Why does the baker on the saddle rise
Who'd better stay at home and make mince pies?
Is it to war with gnats and butterflies?
Why does the grocer draw the ruthless sword?
In hope to gain the custom of my lord.
Why is the ploughshare to the cutlass bent?
To bribe the steward to curtail the rent.[78]

The great popularity of the yeomanry cavalry led to problems in finding officers for other volunteer corps, as many suitable gentlemen preferred to serve as troopers in the former, rather than take on the labour and responsibility of organizing a company of infantry. In 1803 the Sussex Lieutenancy appealed for help to gentlemen in the yeomanry, but the response was small, although Lord St. Asaph reluctantly and altruistically resigned the command of his troop in 1803 to command the new volunteer infantry in Hastings Rape, after being advised that his presence would greatly encourage recruitment.[79]

The main reason for this shortage of volunteer officers was that only men of a certain social standing were acceptable, as was also (in theory) the case in the regular army and militia. In 1798 the War Office directed that a volunteer officer (or his father) should have an annual income of at least £50 in land within the county, or should rent land there worth at least £1,000, unless he had appropriate military experience.[80] Sometimes clergymen offered to serve, but this was not allowed in Sussex, though apparently sometimes elsewhere.[81] Roman Catholics were also debarred, although some obtained commissions with the connivance of their superior officers.[82] Enthusiastic volunteers sometimes had to be turned away because there were no officers to command them. In Lewes, for example, 65 young men came forward in 1803 but no suitable gentleman could be found. At last a young Lewes ironmonger, Nehemiah Wimble, was grudgingly accepted by the Duke of Richmond: 'I should have preferr'd an Independent Gentleman, but as there is none to be got, we must be content with Mr. Wimble.'[83] The colonel of the regiment, however, objected, and Wimble was dropped; ironically, he later became a highly respected citizen and in 1830 entertained King William IV in his large house in Lewes.[84]

Although this attitude may seem self-defeating and snobbish there were good reasons for it. One was that gentlemen of high standing locally tended to find it easier to impose discipline on their men (see below); another was that regimental officers and captains worked better together if they all came from the same social background. Co-operation with regular troops and militia stationed locally was also often eased because their senior officers tended to be the social equals of the local volunteer captains. Many of the Sussex volunteer captains would already have been acquainted socially, and some were related; for instance, George White Thomas, captain of the Yapton Yeomanry Cavalry in the 1790s, was first cousin to Inigo Freeman Thomas, captain of the Eastbourne Yeomanry Cavalry from 1798, and father-in-law of General John Crosbie, colonel of the Chichester Rape South Volunteers from 1803;[85] while in the Rye area at least five members of one of the most prominent local families, the Lambs, were involved in various branches of the volunteers. However, a considerable number of volunteer captains were newcomers to the county; presumably involvement with the volunteers was seen as a good entrée into county society.

TRAINING AND DISCIPLINE

Volunteer training consisted mainly of formal drill: moving in close order and learning to

use firearms. The standard attained was very variable; while some corps employed a regular soldier or militiaman to drill them, others were trained entirely by their own officers, many of whom felt that mastering the intricacies of drill was beneath them (an attitude shared by many of their counterparts in the regular army).[86] Few volunteer officers had had previous military experience. While some very distinguished old soldiers gave their services in Sussex, notably the Duke of Richmond, Lord Sheffield, Lord Gage, General John Crosbie of Donnington and Colonel William Newton of Lewes, less than one in five Sussex volunteer captains in the 1790s are known to have served in the regular army. Although after 1803 the proportion rose as a natural result of nearly ten years of war, it was still less than one in three, although many of the other officers had previous experience in the volunteers.[87]

Even if drill was done well, the limited time available made it very difficult to attain a good standard. Drills were subject to various interruptions. One was inevitably the weather; not all corps were as lucky as the Parham Yeomanry Cavalry, who could exercise in the Elizabethan long gallery of Parham House (on foot!) when it was wet, or the Chichester Rape South Volunteers who sometimes used the cathedral cloisters.[88] Many volunteers had other commitments. During harvest time it was difficult to get farmers to attend drill;[89] and where a corps consisted mainly of working men who could not risk losing their jobs through absence during working hours, it was often hard to arrange drills at times convenient to all. The best time, especially in winter when daylight hours were short, was often Sunday morning, when volunteers would be drilled on the village green after morning service in front of an audience of admiring parishioners.[90] Sunday drilling, however, often prompted public complaints on religious grounds: the Reverend Robert Hardy, vicar of Stoughton and East Marden, was concerned about the volunteers' indifference to religion, and considered Sunday training to be 'a flagrant offence against decency and propriety, as well as against the laws, and the religion, of the country'.[91]

Some military experts considered that, as a high standard of formal drill was impossible, it would be better to train the volunteers as irregular light infantry, to act in open formation to harrass the enemy. It was pointed out that many of them were good marksmen, being used to shooting for sport, and knew their locality well.[92] Lord Sheffield had two companies of 'Riflemen or Skirmishers' in the North Pevensey Legion which were to be trained in this way.[93] However, others considered that such training was useless without a background of formal drill; in any case, many of the volunteers were townsmen with little knowledge of the open country or of firearms.[94]

Once a volunteer corps had undergone some basic training the men had to demonstrate their abilities in sham fights with other corps and attend reviews modelled on those of the regular army and militia. A sham fight was supposedly a practice run for a real battle, the only difference being that the guns fired blanks. However, they seem to have been fairly light-hearted occasions, and often ended in a draw, both sides sitting down together afterwards to a good dinner with plenty to drink. A typical sham fight was held at Petworth Park in 1797, when the Earl of Egremont's Yeomanry Cavalry, representing the French, had to attack the Petworth Infantry Volunteers, representing the English. However, a violent storm drove everyone indoors, both sides claiming victory.[95] The caricaturist George Cruikshank, who was himself a volunteer in London towards the end of the wars, later wrote an endearing description of a sham fight:

> You rise and put on your uniform; you look at yourself in the glass . . . your mamma stuffs your 'haversack' with sandwiches and 'hard-boiled eggs' . . . You march to the field of action . . . All the ladies are out looking at you, and of course admiring your

> military bearing . . . The fight begins . . . You pop, pop, pop, away at each other . . . You advance to the charge—when, after grinning at each other, your friends pretend to run away . . . the fight gets hotter and hotter . . . gladly would you stop . . . to staunch the perspiration that trickles down your brow! But no; you are on the eve of victory. Your opposite friends allow you to get up to the refreshment tents; the welkin rings with the cheers and huzzas of both sides . . . The friends on both sides advance to shake hands, and bivouac together.[96]

In the years 1803–5 great efforts were made to improve the military efficiency of the volunteers by better organization and training. The Duke of York at Pitt's instigation introduced in 1803 a system of Inspecting Field Officers, professional soldiers who advised volunteer corps on training and reported on the standard reached: some were found fit to face the enemy, some were less well trained but fit for police duties, and others were so inefficient that they were disbanded and put back into the militia ballots.[97] In 1806 the 3rd Battalion Cinque Ports Volunteers and the artillery volunteers at Seaford and Rye were all found fit to face the enemy; in 1808, however, the Chichester Rape South Volunteers were criticized by their Inspecting Field Officer 'for their great inattention and thin attendance, compared with some other volunteer corps in the county, particularly one at Lewes, which was equal in appearance and discipline to a regular regiment'.[98] At the same time attempts were made to organize the volunteers into larger groupings, which would make them far more manageable in event of invasion. In 1804 brigades were organized, the Inspecting Field Officers to act as brigade staffs. The Southern Military District had one cavalry brigade and three infantry brigades, one for the Cinque Ports and, presumably, one each for Sussex and Kent.[99]

In spite of all these efforts to improve the volunteers, however, one serious drawback was becoming increasingly apparent: the difficulty of enforcing discipline and regular attendance. This had always been a problem: in 1802 Lord Egremont had lamented that, although his cavalry troop had 'shewn the greatest alacrity in assembling' when there was fear of invasion or riot, at other times they had 'constantly fallen into a state of indolence from which I have found it impossible to rouse them for the purposes of Exercise and Practice'.[100] As has been mentioned, one reason for giving commissions only to gentlemen of some standing was that they generally found discipline easier to enforce, especially if they came from well-established local families; Nehemiah Wimble (see above) was rejected because of 'his not being of sufficient property and situation in life to ensure subordination and good discipline'.[101] This was an important consideration, because volunteers were not subject to military discipline until they were called out on active service, and officers had no way of enforcing the rules of the corps except by their own natural authority. In the yeomanry cavalry this was generally sufficient, but things were very different in the large infantry bodies of 1803, which included men of a very different type, who did not always have the same respect for their 'betters'. It was usual to impose fines for poor attendance, but there was no means of enforcing them, especially if the culprits could not afford to pay. Furthermore, after much discussion it was officially announced in June 1804 that a volunteer could resign whenever he liked as long as his corps was not actually embodied for active service, the only penalty being that he would be liable for the militia ballot.[102] The only other incentive for remaining in the volunteers was the chance of action against the enemy; once this ceased to be likely the volunteer movement was doomed. Lord Sheffield was well aware of this when he asked to be relieved of his command of the North Pevensey Legion in January 1806; he considered it:

> highly blameable to rest the safety of the

country on a force which appeared to be wholly inadequate and inefficient, and generally undisciplined and insubordinate, and which, on the slightest dissatisfaction or caprice, might vanish in an instant.[103]

UNIFORMS

Uniforms were always considered very important by volunteers, who derived much satisfaction from dressing up and swaggering about to the awe and admiration of their female relatives and friends. When a Sussex Churchwardens yeomanry cavalry troop was proposed in 1794 one of the first things to be decided on was the uniform, which was to have the figure of a church on the buttons (the troop did not materialize).[104] When the uniform for the Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry was being designed by the county committee in 1794, some members had the idealistic view that the men would feel themselves above being splendidly clothed like regular soldiers at the county's expense, 'and that the most simple uniform which every man could find himself with, was better for this corps and what they would like better than any foppery'; they suggested a plain round hat and coat, to be worn with their own greatcoats and boots. The prevailing view was, however, that smart military uniforms would encourage men to join and make them feel more like proper soldiers.[105] The chosen uniform comprised a dark green jacket and waistcoat with black velvet collar and cuffs, decorated with silver lace for officers, and worn with white breeches, a proper military helmet, and boots.[106] The captains bought uniforms for their own troops, reclaiming the cost from the government and the county subscription fund, and they could if they wished spend extra from their own pocket to equip their men more lavishly, as many did.[107] In 1795 the Earl of Egremont dressed his yeomanry cavalry troop in fine green cloth jackets lined with superfine white shalloon and fine white cloth waistcoats (£2 12*s*. 6*d*. per man), blue cloth dragoon cloaks lined with white serge and double-edged with scarlet cloth (2 gns.), and bearskin helmets with cockades, plated ornaments and scarlet feathers (£1 4*s*.); the officers had a more expensive version, the Earl's cloak costing £7 2*s*. and his helmet (with an extra large scarlet feather) £1 8*s*. A trumpet and accessories, including tassels, cost £5 18*s*.[108] A portrait of the Earl in his uniform still hangs at Petworth House.[109]

Uniforms caused further problems when the large rural volunteer bodies were raised in 1803. The Duke of Richmond, feeling it important to try to impose some unity throughout the county, planned a simple uniform to be worn by them all (except the independent North Pevensey Legion).[110] The volunteers at Lewes and Chichester, however, feeling themselves superior to their country comrades, objected to wearing jackets of ordinary soldiers' cloth, especially as they had previously been told they could have sergeants' cloth if they paid the extra themselves, and many in Chichester actually resigned. Eventually the Duke had to back down and allow variations so long as the general design remained the same.[111]

There were similar problems in the North Pevensey Legion; one captain, not understanding Lord Sheffield's instructions, ordered too elaborate a uniform, but asked that his men should be allowed to wear it, as 'it is necessary to keep them in good humour even at the expense of a little *finery*'.[112]

In spite of their initial splendour, as time went by the volunteers' uniforms and equipment tended to deteriorate. In 1805 the captain of the Battle Yeomanry Cavalry complained that they were short of equipment and 'several of the Swordbelts are much gone to decay from a constant use at Exercise of upwards of five years'.[113]

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The great days of the volunteers of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars were short-lived, but at the time they were a prominent feature of daily life.

> Every town was . . . a sort of garrison—in one place you might hear the 'tattoo' of some youth learning to beat the drum, at another place some march or national air being practised upon the fife, and every morning at five o'clock the bugle horn was sounded through the streets, to call the volunteers to a two hours' drill . . . and then you heard the pop, pop, pop, of the single musket, or the heavy sound of the volley, or distant thunder of the artillery.[114]

George Cruikshank's description, written in 1860 to promote a revival of the volunteer movement in the face of a new threat from France, may serve as their epitaph.

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Notes

[1]See Sheila Sutcliffe, *Martello Towers* (1972); G. Wilson, *The Old Telegraphs* (1976).
[2]See J. R. Western, 'The County Fencibles and the Militia Augmentation of 1794', *Jnl. of Soc. for Army Historical Research*, **34**, 9.
[3]See J. R. Western, *The English Militia in the 18th Century* (1965).
[4]For the volunteers in general see Cecil Sebag-Montefiore, *A History of the Volunteer Forces* (1908); H. F. B. Wheeler & A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon and the Invasion of England* (1908); J. W. Fortescue, *The County Lieutenancies and the Army 1803–1814* (1909).
[5]L. A. Vidler, *The Story of the Rye Volunteers* (Rye, 1954), 5.
[6]*London Chronicle*, 21 Feb. 1793, quoted by Clive Emsley, *British Society and the French Wars 1793–1815* (1979), 38.
[7]*Sussex Weekly Advertiser* (abbreviated hereafter to *S.W.A.*) 18, 25 Feb.; 4 March 1793.
[8]*S.W.A.* 10, 24 March 1794.
[9]34 Geo. III, c. 31.
[10]For the Lord Lieutenant's role see Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*.
[11].A. G. Olson, *The Radical Duke* (1961).
[12]E(ast) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), LCV/1/EW 2.
[13]Ibid.; *S.W.A.* 14 April; 5 May 1794.
[14]*The Girlhood of Maria Josepha Holroyd*, ed. J. H. Adeane (1896), 278–9.
[15]R. J. Goulden & A. Kemp, *Newhaven and Seaford Coastal Fortifications* (1974), 3 (copy at E.S.R.O.); P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice), WO 30/68.
[16]P.R.O., WO 30/56, no. 49.
[17]E.S.R.O., LCV/1/EW 2.
[18]For more information about the Parham troop see A. McK. Annand, 'Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bart., and the Parham Troop of Sussex Yeomanry', *Jnl. of Soc. for Army Historical Research*, **45**, 17–23.
[19]Western, *English Militia*, 215 and n. 7.
[20]e.g. *S.W.A.* 4, 18 April; 15 August 1796.
[21]Arthur Bryant, *The Years of Endurance* (1942), 167–73.
[22]*S.W.A.* 27 Nov. 1797.
[23]Quoted by Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 223.
[24]Arthur Young, *National Danger and the Means of Safety* (1797), quoted in *English Historical Documents*, **11**, ed. A. Aspinall & E. A. Smith (1959), 887.
[25]38 Geo. III, c. 27; Sebag-Montefiore, 189, 213–14.
[26]*S.W.A.* 23 April 1798.
[27]Sebag-Montefiore, 202, 235–7.
[28]Ibid. 224; Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 104–5.
[29]*S.W.A.* 30 April 1798; 6 March 1797.
[30]*S.W.A.* 29 August 1796; W(est) S(ussex) R(ecord) O(ffice), PHA 113.
[31]Sebag-Montefiore, 205 (dates sea fencibles to 1794 in error); *S.W.A.* 5 Feb.; 26 March 1798; *Victoria County History, Sussex*, **2**, 161–2.
[32]Sebag-Montefiore, 189–90.
[33]E.S.R.O., LCG/3/EW 1; see G. H. Kenyon, 'The Civil Defence and Livestock Returns for Sussex in 1801', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **89**, 57–84.
[34]Sebag-Montefiore, 230–3; W.S.R.O., PHA 113.
[35]*S.W.A.* 25 April 1796.
[36]Letter of 16 November 1803: *Napoleon's Letters*, transl. J. M. Thompson (1934).
[37]Arthur Bryant, *Years of Victory* (1944), ch. 3; Wheeler & Broadley, **2**, 39.
[38]*S.W.A.* 1 August 1803.
[39]Quoted in *The Warning Drum: The British Home Front Faces Napoleon*, ed. F. J. Klingberg & S. B. Hustvedt (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1944), 58.
[40]See J. R. Western, 'The Volunteer Movement as an Anti-Revolutionary Force, 1793–1801', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **71**, 603–14.
[41]43 Geo III, c. 96; J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, **5** (1910), 205–6.
[42]43 Geo. III, c. 55.
[43]Emsley, 101–2; Fortescue, *Hist. Army*, **5**, 202, 206–7.
[44]*Returns of Volunteer and Yeomanry Corps in Great Britain, 1803*, H.C. (1803–4), xi, p. 53; *1806*, H.C. (1806), x, pp. 34–5 (hereafter *Parl. Returns*).
[45]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/16.
[46]*Parl. Returns*.
[47]Ibid.
[48]Letter from Lord Sheffield to Duke of Richmond, June 1803, quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 263–5.
[49]*The Offer of Service, Stipulations, Establishment and Regulations of the North Pevensey Legion* (1803) (copy at E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued); *S.W.A.* 15 August 1803.

[50]Letter from Lord Sheffield, quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 264.
[51]Monthly return of Captain Chase's company: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[52]*Parl. Returns.*
[53]Ibid.
[54]E.S.R.O., ASH 3367; LLE/6/E 1.
[55]Sebag-Montefiore, 258; L. A. Vidler, *The Story of the Rye Volunteers* (Rye, 1954), 5; *Parl. Returns.*
[56]Quoted by Sebag-Montefiore, 288.
[57]Wheeler & Broadley, **2**, 170.
[58]National Maritime Museum, ADL/K, 21 June 1804 (inf. from Mr. John Farrant); *Hampshire Telegraph* (abbreviated hereafter to *H.T.*), 1 July 1805 (quoted by Emlyn Thomas, 'Wartime Chichester', *W. Suss. Hist.* **25**, 8); *H.T.* 17 Oct. 1803; E.S.R.O., LLD/6/E 1–3.
[59]Sebag-Montefiore, 284–5.
[60]National Maritime Museum, ADL/U, 21 June 1804 (inf. from Mr. Farrant).
[61]*The Hastings Guide* (1804), 134 (copy in Chichester Reference Library); *H.T.* 1 July 1805.
[62]R. Glover, *Britain at Bay* (1973) (abbreviated hereafter to Glover (1973)), 45, 145; letter from Duke of Richmond to Lord Sheffield, 4 August 1803: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[63]P.R.O., WO 30/70; Glover (1973), 45; Sebag-Montefiore, 399.
[64]Glover (1973), 141–2; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 64.
[65]Quoted by Arthur Beckett, 'The First Sussex Newspaper', *Suss. County Mag.* **15**, 252.
[66]Quoted by Gordon Mitchell, 'When Napoleon Threatened England', *Suss. County Mag.* **22**, 260.
[67]Glover (1973), 138, 143; Sebag-Montefiore, 337–8.
[68]*Parl. Returns.*
[69]Letters from Lord Sheffield to Duke of Richmond, 1806: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[70]Glover (1973), 144.
[71]E.S.R.O., LCV/2/1; J. Dallaway & E. Cartwright, *A History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, **1** (1815) (abbreviated hereafter to Dallaway & Cartwright), pp. cxxx-cxxxi; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 269.
[72]Arthur Bryant, *The Age of Elegance* (1950), 386–7.
[73]L. Barlow & R. J. Smith, *The Uniforms of the British Yeomanry Force 1794–1914*, **1**: *The Sussex Yeomanry Cavalry* (Robert Ogilby Trust, n.d. [c. 1978]) (abbreviated hereafter to Barlow & Smith), 5–7. This well-illustrated pamphlet unfortunately contains several inaccuracies.
[74]See H. A. Wyndham, *A Family History 1688–1837: The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire* (1950) (abbreviated hereafter to Wyndham), 243–52, 315–22.
[75]W.S.R.O., PHA 112–28, 6638; much correspondence also in E.S.R.O., SHR, SPK, SAS/G.
[76]*S.W.A.* 5 Oct. 1795.
[77]J. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, *Parham in Sussex* (1947), 82.
[78]*Tales of Old Petworth*, ed. P. A. Jerrome (1976), 46 (copy in Chichester Reference Library).
[79]W.S.R.O., PHA 112, 114.
[80]Sebag-Montefiore, 214.
[81]W.S.R.O., PHA 53, 115; Wheeler & Broadley, **1**, 217–19; **2**, 299.
[82]M.D.R. Leys, *Catholics in England 1559–1829* (1961), 140 ff., 204 ff.
[83]E.S.R.O., SHR 118–20.
[84]*S.W.A.* 5, 19 Dec. 1803; W. H. Godfrey, 'The High Street, Lewes', *Suss. Arch. Coll.* **93**, 2.
[85]War Office, *List of Officers in the Fencibles, Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1799); Dallaway & Cartwright, **2** (1) (1832), 46, 215; see Tables 1, 4.
[86]Sebag-Montefiore, 298–9; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/2, ff. 24, 29.
[87]*Army Lists* (1770–1803); War Office, *Lists of Officers in the . . . Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1793–1815).
[88]Orderly book of the Parham troop, quoted by J. Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, *Parham in Sussex* (1947), 82; Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 7757 (journals of John Marsh) (hereafter Marsh), f. 1337. I am grateful to Mr. T. J. McCann of the West Sussex Record Office for directing me to this source.
[89]e.g. W.S.R.O., PHA 122.
[90]Sebag-Montefiore, 399.
[91]Robert Hardy, *An Address to the Loyal Volunteer Corps of Great Britain* (Chichester, 1799), 31 (copy at W.S.R.O.).
[92]R. Glover, *Peninsular Preparation* (1963) (abbreviated hereafter to Glover (1963)), 234–5; George Hanger, *Reflections on the Menaced Invasion* (1804; repr. 1970), 146–7.
[93]*The Offer of Service . . . of the North Pevensey Legion.*
[94]Glover (1963), 234–5.
[95]*S.W.A.* 25 Dec. 1797.
[96]George Cruikshank, *A Pop-Gun Fired Off by George Cruikshank, in Defence of the British Volunteers of 1803* (1860) (abbreviated hereafter to Cruikshank), 31–2.
[97]Sebag-Montefiore, 300; Glover (1963), 235–6; Glover (1973), 44–5.
[98]*Parl. Returns*; Marsh, f. 1480.
[99]Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 139–40; W.S.R.O., R.S.R. 5/2, ff. 54–5.
[100]W.S.R.O., PHA 124.
[101]E.S.R.O., SHR 120.
[102]Sebag-Montefiore, 218–19, 310–11, 328; Fortescue, *County Lieutenancies*, 95, 110–11.
[103]E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[104]*S.W.A.* 2 June 1794.
[105]W.S.R.O., PHA 53.
[106]E.S.R.O., LCV/1/EW 2; Barlow & Smith, 2–7. The latter has more information about uniforms and also good illustrations.
[107]Wyndham, 244.
[108]W.S.R.O., PHA 6638.
[109]Illustrated by Barlow & Smith, 5.
[110]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/29.
[111]E.S.R.O., SHR 3327/20, 22, 29; W.S.R.O., PHA 53.
[112]Letter from Thomas Bradford to Lord Sheffield, October 1803: E.S.R.O., SPK, uncatalogued.
[113]E.S.R.O., ASH 3345.
[114]Cruikshank, 11.