

Buckinghamshire; A Military History

by

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Chapter Five: 1815-1859

It was inevitable that the end of such a prolonged period of war as that between 1793 and 1815 would result in economic disruption. As Tom Grenville wrote on 30 April 1814, a few weeks after following Napoleon's first abdication, 'The farmers begin to express their apprehension, lest peace should sink the price of their grain; an event more terrible in their eyes, than war with all its Cossacks, and Lancers and conscripts!' ¹ There was an understandable desire for retrenchment in military expenditure, which affected the auxiliaries as much as the regular army. Economic difficulties led to social and political unrest, exacerbated by complex changes in urban as well as rural areas. It is generally accepted that crime, albeit mostly non-violent, increased in the first half of the nineteenth century with peaks coinciding with acute economic distress in 1817, 1819, 1832, 1842, and 1848. ²

There were headline disturbances such as 'Peterloo' in 1819, the 'Swing' riots in southern England in 1830-31, and the Chartist agitation in the 1840s.

Regulars opened fire on crowds at Merthyr Tydfil in 1831. They did so again at Newport in 1839, although the actual number of deaths was relatively small - between 16 and 25 at Methyr, and between 12 and 20 at Newport. ³

Governments tended to confuse pressure for political reform with the threat of revolution and, having reduced such forces for reason of retrenchment, feared those available for the maintenance of order were too few. Thus, despite reductions, the auxiliaries were involved in the political controversies arising from a role in aid of the civil power such as engulfed the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry at Peterloo. Increasingly, however, there was a perception of a renewed threat of invasion in the 1840s and 1850s. Moreover, irrespective of

¹ Buckingham, *Memoirs of Regency*, II, 66-67.

² Clive Emsley, *Crime and Society in England, 1750-1900* (London: Longman, 1987), 32.

³ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 127.

the role in aid of the civil power, the auxiliaries continued to function as social institutions.

The strength of the regular army was down to just 123,000 in 1817, of whom only 26,000 were stationed in Britain. The Local Militia ballot was suspended in May 1816. Its suspension was renewed annually until 1836 when the legislation lapsed, although it remained on the statute book until 1875. The militia itself was disembodied in January 1816, the RBKOM returning from Fort Cumberland, Portsmouth with its final parade on 29 January 1816.⁴ Whilst the ballot was to be subject to vagaries, the permanent staff remained in being, albeit reduced in establishment in 1829 and 1835. The militia survived reasonably well largely as a result of the considerable number of militia officers in the House of Commons. Militia estimates were determined by a select committee of the House rather than by the Secretary at War. It was also advantageous that leading soldiers such as Wellington, who was Commander-in-Chief from 1827 to 1828, and again from 1842 to 1852, and Viscount Hardinge, who held the post from 1852 to 1856 were prepared to back the militia when there was little realistic prospect of securing more regulars. King William IV, who reigned from 1830 to 1837, and Palmerston, who was almost constantly in government from 1809 until his death in 1865 - the exceptions were 1828-30, 1841-46 and 1858-59 - were both firm militia supporters. Accordingly, the militia vote was never less than £306,000.⁵

Palmerston made the point in 1836 that the militia was no longer a constitutional check on the army,⁶ and successive administrations left the militia's constitutional independence untouched. In 1834, however, the 1st Duke

⁴ HHL, ST 144 (41).

⁵ Duncan Anderson, 'The English Militia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: Its Military, Social and Political Significance', Unpub. DPhil, Oxford, 1982, 218-19.

⁶ TNA, Russell Mss, PRO30/22/2B, Palmerston memorandum, 15 July 1836.

of Buckingham and Chandos resisted permitting regular officers to inspect the permanent staff of the RBKOM on constitutional grounds.⁷ No militiamen were permitted to be enlisted into the line until the Crimean War.

The social significance of the militia was maintained at county level irrespective of whether it was embodied or otherwise. Appointments were still made. In the case of the RBKOM, there were 15 new officers appointed between 1815 and 1852. Yet, in 1850 there were still six who had been at Bordeaux in 1814 and two - both over 70 - who had wartime service with the 14th Foot. The 1786 property qualifications applied until 1869, although they were waived for subalterns from 1852, and also for half-pay regulars with at least five years' service.⁸ A disembodied militia had few attractions for those lacking wealth.⁹

In 1831 the 1st Duke tried to remove three officers whose mercantile occupations he judged unsuitable. It was refused by the Home Secretary, Melbourne, on the grounds that it would result in bitterness.¹⁰ Sir William Young - the 4th Baronet - was succeeded as lieutenant colonel by Grenville Pigott in 1836.¹¹ Pigott was eased out by Carrington in 1852 on the grounds that command of the militia was incompatible with Pigott's other appointment as a Poor Law Inspector. Pigott pointed out that the Poor Law Board, of which the Home Secretary, Spencer Walpole, was a member, had seen no incompatibility.¹² Walpole strongly counselled Carrington to continue Pigott's services for at least a year and then allow him to choose between the two

⁷ TNA, HO 31/33, Melbourne to Buckingham, 5 and 10 July 1834.

⁸ BA, D-CN 21/2/13; 21/2/18.

⁹ Anderson, 'English Militia', 67.

¹⁰ TNA, HO 51/31, Melbourne to Buckingham, 6 Jan. 1831.

¹¹ BA, AR 56/2007 [BMMT 570].

¹² BA, D-CN 21/2/18, Carrington to Pigott, 30 Aug. 1852; Pigott to Carrington, 2 Sept. 1852.

appointments. Carrington refused, and Walpole then instructed Pigott to resign as a result of Carrington's 'pressing instance'.¹³

Aristocratic influence was increasingly attacked in the wider sphere, but militia patronage remained. Examination of the corporation of Buckingham, corresponding to the electorate of the pocket borough, in 1830 reveals that of 13 electors, Charles Grove was the paymaster of the RBKOM; James Masters was quartermaster; a third the adjutant, Fellowes, who was also town clerk and the Duke's bailiff; and a fourth was a former adjutant of the Local Militia, John Loveridge.¹⁴ Fellowes, who died in 1848, is commemorated with his friend and fellow long-serving Bucks militia officer, Michael Macnamara, who died in 1851, in St Edmund's Church, Maids Moreton: 'they dwelt together in private life under the influence of genuine friendship until it pleased God by the death of one to separate them'.

The *Bucks Gazette* was especially exercised by the Grenville influence over the borough of Buckingham, reporting in July 1831 that a new group had formed in the town to try and ensure at least one of the town's two MPs was more independent, 'as ever was found in any two members returned by the 13 distinguished persons of the Corporation of Buckingham, however high those individuals may stand in military reputation, whether as sergeants or corporals in the Royal Bucks or King's Own Militia'.¹⁵ Buckingham retained both its seats after the 1832 Reform Act, but the franchise was extended to all householders rated at £10 or above. The *Bucks Gazette* was glad to find that the barrister revising the new electoral lists had rejected the claims of both

¹³ BA, D-CB 21/2/18, Walpole to Carrington, 12 Aug. 1852; Walpole to Carrington, 25 Sept. 1852; Pigott to Carrington, 7 Oct. 1852.

¹⁴ *Bucks Gazette*, 25 Apl. 1835; *Bucks Herald*, 26 Aug. 1843; B. Keith Lucas, *The Unreformed Local Government System* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 16-17.

¹⁵ *Bucks Gazette*, 9 July 1831.

Lieutenant McNamara and the new RBKOM paymaster, Heath, to be included since they merely resided at the barracks in West Street and paid no rates.¹⁶

Three years later it complained that one of the town's new burgesses under the Municipal Act was John Treacher, innkeeper of the Swan and Castle, but also RBKOM mess master and long-serving NCO in the militia and yeomanry: 'The Royal Bucks again befriended the town, by finding *one more* from *its ranks* to volunteer into the Corporation'.¹⁷ Given its predilection to see influence being exerted, the *Bucks Gazette* also suggested that the 1s.0d fine given a RBKOM sergeant and musician, Samuel Bateman, for attacking a young man courting his sister in March 1835 showed the partiality of magistrates not willing to disgrace the regiment.¹⁸

The RBKOM band was often on duty for festivities at Stowe, as in November 1818 and January 1822.¹⁹ However, it also played for the public dinner given by freeholders at the Cock Inn at Stony Stratford when the 1st Duke's son, the Marquess of Chandos was re-elected for the county in 1830. It played again at the 'chairing' of Chandos and the two other successful Tory candidates at Aylesbury following the county election in 1835. Buckingham members of the RBKOM band were also part of the escort of supporters and yeomanry at Buckingham after Chandos's unopposed return at a by-election in 1846.²⁰ It might be added that, in December 1820, the Duke had arranged for three RBKOM corporals led by the then Corporal Bateman, and sworn in as special constables, to conduct patrols of Stowe armed with bludgeons, carbines (with

¹⁶ *Bucks Gazette*, 27 Oct. 1832.

¹⁷ *Bucks Gazette*, 17 Oct. 1835, and 23 July 1842.

¹⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 7 Mar. 1835.

¹⁹ *The Star*, 26 Nov. 1818; *Morning Post*, 14 Jan. 1822.

²⁰ *The Times*, 12 Feb. 1846; *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Sept. 1830; *Bucks Herald*, 24 Jan. 1835 and 14 Feb. 1846.

six rounds) and cutlasses whether the family was resident or not. The men would patrol from 11 p.m. to 4 a.m. between Lady Day and Michaelmas. They would go off duty at 6 a.m. between Michaelmas and Lady Day, and would receive 1s.0d and a pint of beer per night. Moving to a set pattern of rounds, they would try all the doors to ensure they were secure and apprehend ‘any suspicious persons... lurking about during the night’.²¹ Somewhat in the same vein, the yeomanry helped put out a major fire at Wotton in October 1820.²²

The 1st Duke continued to be generous to the militia and yeomanry, paying out £1,400 for uniforms in 1817, albeit that the bill was not settled until the following decade. He spent £196 on the yeomanry in 1816, £62 towards uniforms in 1817, and over £400 in 1818. In 1819 he spent over £1,000 on the yeomanry, and another £538 in 1820. Between 24 June and 24 December 1821 the adjutant paid out £763.17s.7d on various yeomanry bills with a further £1,367.12s.11d still outstanding.²³ In 1859 it was recalled by one old militiaman - a watchman from Olney - that on one occasion at Stowe the Duke appeared in a yellow barouche drawn by two grey horses and invited all the men and their families to a dinner of roast beef, plum pudding and a quart of ale with each toast accompanied by a salute fired from the yeomanry’s guns. There were also prizes for sack races, grinning through a collar, shooting at targets, and dipping for sixpences in treacle.²⁴

²¹ Hampshire Archives, Buckingham and Chandos Mss, 19M48/1/6, Order, 1 Dec. 1820. I owe this reference to Dr Eamonn O’Keeffe.

²² BA, T/A 3/36; 3/35/5; HHL, ST 148.

²³ HHL, STG 182; STG Military 5 (4-6).

²⁴ *Bucks Examiner*, 12 Dec. 1924, quoting ‘The Buckinghamshire Man’, *All the Year Round* 1, 21 (17 Sept. 1859), 500-04, at 502-03. This was a weekly journal owned and edited by Charles Dickens from 1859 to 1870, and then by Dickens’s son until 1895.

Significantly, when the 1st Duke died in 1839, the 2nd Lord Carrington, who had reputedly paid the Duke £2,000 to become Colonel of the RBKOM, succeeded as lord lieutenant.²⁵ Many had assumed that Chandos would succeed his father in command of the RBKOM if not as lord lieutenant.²⁶ The Whig administration of Melbourne, however, appointed Carrington, a fellow Whig, as both lord lieutenant and commander of the RBKOM. It took just four days for Carrington to transfer staff and headquarters from Buckingham to his own seat at Wycombe Abbey, the stable yard being used as the battalion offices. Tom Grenville recognised the symbolism, complaining that Carrington was but the son of a man who ‘thirty years ago was a stranger to the County without an acre in it’.²⁷ The Tory *Bucks Herald* had expected a ‘Carringtonian extravagance of power’ after the ‘worst & lowest’ of all appointments. It was riled that the militia would move from the county town to the ‘trumpery streets’ of Wycombe merely to provide Carrington with a guard of honour to ‘dance at his door’.²⁸ When, in turn, Carrington died in 1868, and the 3rd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos succeeded to the lieutenancy, the latter enquired into the legality of transferring the militia headquarters back to Buckingham.²⁹

The militia, however, could not avoid all change, not least through a temporary reduction in its parliamentary representation between 1832 and 1835, and the continuing unpopularity of the ballot. A new ballot was ordered in July 1816, but the training was suspended annually until April 1820. The RBKOM was duly summoned to appear at Buckingham on 13 October 1820, the Duke

²⁵ BL, Broughton Diaries, Add Mss 43757, Diary entry, 13 Apl. 1853.

²⁶ *Bucks Gazette*, 2 Feb. 1839.

²⁷ BA, D55, Tom Grenville to Chandos, 22 Jan. 1839.

²⁸ *Bucks Herald*, 6 Apl. 1839.

²⁹ HHL, STG 98 (21); BA, L/P 14, Baynes to Buckingham, 20 Mar. 1869.

inspecting it on 30 November.³⁰ There is also a list of men in custody ‘enrolled to serve in the militia’ sent to the adjutant by the keeper of the County Gaol in Aylesbury. Four men were listed, one having been convicted of burglary, one given three months for bastardy, and one committed for poaching, whilst one was still for trial. Annotations indicate that the poacher was ‘nearly out’ at the end of his sentence, whilst the man sent for trial had then been acquitted.³¹ Training was ordered in 1821 and again in 1825, when the term of service was extended to five years. Direct enlistment by beat of drum had been suspended in 1815. Whilst substitution was still permissible, it was harder for those of lower income to evade the ballot without considerable outlay: the fine was now two to three guineas with a claim having to be presented before magistrates. Insurance societies had tended to die out by the 1820s. Thereafter, the permanent staff and regimental surgeons wielded control by rejecting on medical or other grounds any substitutes they had not procured themselves.

Those likely to be forced to serve, therefore, remained labourers. Of 74 men enrolled in Bucks between April and May 1821, 61 were labourers (82.4%), with 62 of the men serving as substitutes and 21 unable to affix their own signature. Seventeen were married.³² Labourers also comprised 87 of the 96 men (90.6%) drawn for the Newport Hundreds in May 1825. Only one signed his own name, the average age being 21.1 years.³³ The 1st Duke would have much preferred relying upon voluntary enlistment.³⁴

³⁰ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 15 July 1820; HHL ST 144 (41). A warrant to assemble the militia sent to the Stowe Estate is in BA, D 13/19.

³¹ BA, T/A 3/35/6, Keeper to Adjutant, 9 Nov. 1820.

³² HHL, STG Military 2 (4 and 5).

³³ BA, L/Md 5/7; L/V 2/7.

³⁴ TNA, HO 51/30 Sidmouth to Buckingham, 4 May 1820.

The 1821 training was held at Stowe. The Duke expressed the hope that the men would ‘resume their soldier-like appearance wich [sic] did them so much credit at the last year’s exercise’, but there were two courts martial for unspecified misconduct.³⁵ Sir William Young (the 3rd Baronet) received a somewhat original excuse for non-attendance at the training from William Dean, who was currently incarcerated in Hertford Gaol for another 19 days.³⁶ The 1825 training was also at Stowe, with the men variously quartered at Buckingham, Padbury, Thornborough and Tingewick. The men’s conduct was sufficiently good despite one court martial for the Duke to direct a pint of beer be given to each before they dispersed.³⁷

Another ballot was ordered in October 1828, but legislation in 1829 then authorised its suspension for a year at a time following a reduction in permanent staff. The latter was implemented by Wellington’s administration. Wellington’s previous support for the militia perhaps being undermined by the way in which some permanent staff in Irish militia regiments had become closely identified with Protestant ‘ultras’ at the height of the crisis over Catholic emancipation.³⁸

The growing domestic reform crisis, the fall of the Bourbon monarchy in France and other revolutionary outbreaks in Europe led to a new ballot being announced in December 1830. The intention was to assemble the militia in February 1831. Lack of staff and equipment, the increasing unfamiliarity with militia procedures, and legal complications arising from the suspension of the ballot in 1829 conspired to thwart the government. The result was ‘an administrative disaster of the first order’.³⁹ The usual proceedings were

³⁵ HHL, ST 144 (41), Orders, 19 May, 4 and 6 June 1821.

³⁶ BA, D206/3 [BMMT 377], Dean to Young, 28 Apl. 1821.

³⁷ HHL, ST 144 (41), Orders, 29 May, 15 and 23 June 1825.

³⁸ Anderson, ‘English Militia’, 219-21.

³⁹ Anderson, ‘English Militia’, 224.

certainly begun, nominations of substitutes having survived for Marsworth and Marsh Gibbon.⁴⁰

The RBKOM was mustered for what would prove its last annual training for 21 years in October 1831, with quarters at Akeley, Buckingham, Gawcott, Maids Moreton, Padbury and Tingewick.⁴¹ On this occasion, perhaps reflecting the political climate, there were many absences on the alleged grounds of illness and deceased relatives. Some quarters in the inns did not meet ‘that observance of cleanliness which the service requires’. Men were disciplined for being out after ‘tattoo’ and for drunkenness. Four supposed substitutes proved to be men serving in the Bedfordshire Militia, and were committed to gaol for three months. As in 1825, Buckingham ordered beer - a quart this time - to be issued before dispersal, but pointedly hoped that ‘on their return to their Respective Homes they will continue their habits of good and Orderly Conduct and by their Example maintain the Tranquillity of the County, loyalty to the King, and obedience to the Laws’.⁴²

The militia also faced a political challenge from the newly formed National Union of the Working Classes, which urged men to claim exemption on the grounds that military service should not be required of those without the vote. The equation of military service with the reward of the franchise had been raised by Samuel Bamford as early as 1816. The forms of universal military service adopted by the French in 1793 and by Prussia in 1813 had also equated to political participation. The concept was to be summed up later in the 1840s by the Chartist slogan, ‘No Vote, No Musket’.⁴³ Equally, nonconformist groups

⁴⁰ BA, D 9/1/19; D 196/80/36.

⁴¹ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 18 June and 12 Nov. 1831; HHL ST 144 (42), Orders, 26 Sept. 1831.

⁴² HHL, ST 144 (42), Orders, 26 Sep, 11, 16, 24 and 30 Oct. 1831.

⁴³ Anderson, ‘English Militia’, 106.

challenged the morality of militia service, echoing the dire social impact suggested by earlier critics. The 1831 ballot, therefore, was the last ever attempted.

The Bucks quota was 599 men, that for the Aylesbury Hundreds being 91.⁴⁴ Incomplete lists survive for part of the Newport Hundreds showing those already serving in the militia and those drawn in the ballot. A total of 23 men were already serving (one in the Bedfordshire Militia) through having found substitutes. Of these, 20 are identified by occupation: one farmer, one professional man, seven tradesmen, two craftsmen, one farm servant, and six labourers. The average age was 35.2 years. A total of nine men had been balloted: three farmers, a publican, three labourers, one man described as housekeeper which may mean householder, and one characterised as an inmate. The latter term was used only by the constables of Emberton and Moulsoe. Although this predates the workhouse system established in 1834, there were parish workhouses with inmates in the county in the eighteenth century including at Aylesbury, Buckingham, Wingrave, and Winslow. The average age was 33.2 years. Appeals for those drawn were held at the Saracens Head in Newport Pagnell on 5 February 1831.⁴⁵ Interestingly, two men in Newport Pagnell - the 36 year old gentleman James Arrowsmith and the 35 year old attorney George Cooch - were exempt by reason of holding commissions in the Local Militia, indicating its continued nominal existence until 1836. A further 57 men were exempt by reason of being in the yeomanry.

With the number of militia MPs reduced from 64 to just 15 in the 1832 election, another reduction of permanent staff was proposed. William IV and militia colonels in the Lords managed to get the proposals presented to a militia committee in the Commons. Being no longer dominated by militia MPs,

⁴⁴ *Bucks Gazette*, 19 Feb. 1831.

⁴⁵ BA, L/Md 5/9.

however, the committee directed a thorough inspection of permanent staffs, which showed almost two-thirds inefficient. The fall of the Whig administration in 1834 staved off the attack for a time. A bill introduced when they returned to office in 1835 was emasculated in the Lords, with the King only agreeing to give it royal assent if new proposals were brought forward in the next session. A number of proposals were considered, but all fell on the King's death in June 1837.⁴⁶

The Whigs had little regard for the militia but even less for the yeomanry, whose role in aid of the civil power in the immediate post-war decades led to the belief that it was a wholly Tory instrument of oppression. The predominant caricatures by cartoonists such as Isaac and George Cruikshank, Thomas Rowlandson, and Charles Williams were of older, rotund and red-faced yeomen wielding blooded swords. It was an image later perpetuated by *Punch* and by novelists such as Surtees into the Victorian period.⁴⁷ It was also the case that the yeomanry was frequently held to be too expensive. In 1820 the yeomanry mustered 28,000 officers and men, but the cost to government had risen by 45.6 per cent since 1816.⁴⁸ It would never reach that strength again.

Barely seven per cent of the cost of the yeomanry was attributable to aid to the civil power, but the force was still relatively cheap since the capitation grant of £1.10s.0d given for every efficient man from 1817 onwards was far short of actual costs for uniform and equipment even if more men could now achieve a lower standard of efficiency judged by attendance. The 12 days' continuous period of training required by the 1803 legislation had been reduced to eight days inclusive of travel to and from the place of exercise in 1816, but the preference for ever more elaborate uniforms placed greater financial demands

⁴⁶ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 131-32.

⁴⁷ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 116-17.

⁴⁸ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 133.

upon yeomen and their benefactors. It has been argued, however, that the force was cheap not only because its members met many costs, but also because it was always relatively small.⁴⁹

All three Bucks regiments remained in being, mustering 683 men in 22 troops in 1817. Tom Grenville supported further augmentation of yeomanry in 1819.⁵⁰ In 1820 the first of two artillery troops was formed in the 2nd Regiment to make use of the county guns presented to the militia back in 1794, these troops being approved due to the heightened state of the country in the previous year.⁵¹

In financial terms there was little return on expenditure but, with the militia in effective abeyance, the yeomanry was far more visible within local society. Apart from the spectacle of the annual training - characterised as exercises until 1818 - entertainment was provided by annual 'trials of speed' and trials of skills'.⁵² In 1823 the regulations for the trial of speed specified that yeomen must ride their own horse over the two-mile course; no horse could have been entered for any regular races for plate, cup, or sweepstake except the last Cottisford Heath farmer's race. The skill trial involved cutting at a turnip, giving point at a ring, and firing at a target.⁵³

One leading rider at the speed trials and other races was 'Captain' Martin Becher, the 'father of steeple chasing', after whom 'Becher's Brook' was named on the Grand National course at Aintree. Becher had fallen there in the national in 1839. Some mystery has always surrounded Becher's yeomanry service with various erroneous suggestions of the captaincy as an honorary rank conferred by the 1st Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, or a mere courtesy title.

⁴⁹ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 20-21.

⁵⁰ Buckingham, *Memoirs of Regency*, II, 353-54, Tom to Buckingham, 14 Oct. 1819.

⁵¹ Freeman, 'History of Bucks Yeomanry', *Bucks Free Press*, 5 Mar. 1920.

⁵² HHL, ST 148, Order, 16 Apl. 1818.

⁵³ BA, T/A 3/36, Order, 4 May 1823, T/A 3/35/11.

⁵⁴ Becher, who resided at Cheshunt in neighbouring Hertfordshire, was certainly a cornet in the Buckingham Squadron of the 2nd Mid Bucks Regiment in the 1820s. Becher does not appear in lists of officers in 1817 or 1818, but may have attended the coronation duty with the regiment in 1821. He was perhaps wise enough to allow Chandos to win the officer's race in May 1825, although, as he was presenting the prizes, Chandos declined it and presented it to Becher who had come in second. Becher's services appear to have been dispensed with by Chandos in December 1827 at the time of the regiment's losing government allowances. A note to this effect was appended to a list of officers, in which he still appears as a cornet in February 1828. ⁵⁵

On occasion the races could prove risky. Two riders were 'a good deal hurt' when thrown in 1825. Private William Merry from Adstock died in June 1830 from injuries after Rueben Littleford from the Folly public house at Adstock struck Merry's horse on the nose at the end of the race 'wilfully, though, no doubt, contemplating mischievous consequences'. The horse reared, threw Merry and fell on him, rupturing his intestines. An inquest returned a verdict of accidental death. The regiment raised a subscription for Merry's wife and children. ⁵⁶

Such occasions generated trade. In May 1818 Shem Baxter, who had provided refreshments for the RHKOM back in the 1790s, supplied daily sandwiches for 120 men at the 2nd Regiment's annual training for £34.6s.0d. Baxter had been bailiff of Buckingham in 1802 and 1803. ⁵⁷

⁵⁴ John Maunsell Richardson and Finch Mason, *Gentlemen Riders Past and Present* (London: Clowes & Sons, 1909), 3-10; *Sporting Life*, 19 Oct. 1864; *Bedfordshire Times*, 25 Oct. 1864.

⁵⁵ HHL, ST 142; STG 3 (3).

⁵⁶ HHL, ST 142; *Bucks Gazette*, 12 June 1830.

⁵⁷ HHL, STG Military 2 (11), Baxter bills for 7 Dec. 1792, 22 Apl. 1793, and 25 Oct. 1790; STG Military 5 (3), Baxter bill for 31 Dec. 1818.

Beaconsfield and High Wycombe actively competed to host the annual training of the 1st (Southern) Regiment in 1825. In 1820 and 1821 the regiment had been at Wycombe, at Marlow in 1822 and 1823, and at Salt Hill in 1824.⁵⁸ In May 1825 Colonel Sir William Clayton, who usually offered his men some choice in the location of the training decided to switch from Beaconsfield to Wycombe. Eleven NCOs petitioned Clayton that they had expected it to be Beaconsfield, which was more convenient for most of them, their residences being Amersham, Beaconsfield, Burnham, Eton and Iver. As Clayton wavered, he received ‘many letters’ from Wycombe’s former and present mayor expressing ‘the great concern of all the respectable inhabitants of that town at the proceedings to which I allude accompanied with offers of every accommodation in their power to afford the regiment’. It was agreed, therefore, that the training that year would be at Wycombe, but at Beaconsfield in the following year. In fact, it was at Amersham.⁵⁹ The regiment did not return to Wycombe until



Illustrated plan of camp and exercises of the 1st (Southern) Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry at Marlow, May 1822 [BMMT]

⁵⁸ For attendances in Sir John Dashwood-King’s troop in June 1820, see BA, L/Y 5/20.

⁵⁹ BA, D206/1 [BMMT 366 (1)], Clayton to Hare, 12 May 1825; undated petition to Clayton from NCOs; D 206/4 [BMMT 367], hand drawn plans of 1st Regiment camps by G. C. Ascough, 1820-26 [Also in T/A 3/12].

1827.

Rev. Dayrell attended yeomanry and militia exercises in Stowe Park on 5 and 6 June 1821 when all ‘displayed their skill in military tactics to the great satisfaction of all present’. He was also much amused by the races and sports, two prizes being won by Lillingstone Dayrell men, one in the sword exercise and the other in a horse race. These amusements were now to be annual ‘as long as Good Humour, Honesty & Fair Play is observed among the Yeomanry; so that once in the year we shall be rather a gay vicinage’. Dayrell felt, however, that, whilst a good public institution, the yeomanry could draw younger men into excesses from excessive flattery and notice so that they might forget their station in life ‘& set up for Gentlemen’. ⁶⁰

Annual training for the 2nd (Mid Bucks) Regiment tended to be at Aylesbury, Buckingham and Winslow; and that for the 3rd (Northern) Regiment at Fenny Stratford, Newport Pagnell and Olney. ⁶¹ The 2nd Regiment, for example, mustered its squadrons for training in May 1817 with the Buckingham Squadron at Stowe, the Aylesbury Squadron in Aylesbury, and the Winslow Squadron on Whaddon Chase. ⁶² In 1827 the 2nd Regiment mustered at Stowe followed by dinner to celebrate the late King’s birthday. ⁶³ Earlier that year, they had been permitted to attend the funeral procession of the Duke of York as it passed through the county to Windsor. ⁶⁴

Decorative functions conferred social position. Richard Temple-Nugent-Brydges-Chandos-Grenville, Marquess of Chandos, the son of the 1st Duke enjoyed displaying himself at the head of the 2nd (Mid Bucks) Regiment. His

⁶⁰ BA, D22/125, Dayrell to Brewster, 8 June 1821.

⁶¹ Freeman, ‘History of Bucks Yeomanry’, *Bucks Free Press*, 7 Nov. 1919.

⁶² BA, T/A 3/36; HHL ST 148, Order, 12 Apl. 1817.

⁶³ *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 9 July 1827.

⁶⁴ BA, D-X 904.

considerable investment in his regiment reflected his belief in the status he believed he derived from its leadership. Known as Viscount Cobham from his birth in 1797 until 1813, Earl Temple until 1822, Marquess of Chandos from 1822, and then succeeding as 2nd Duke in 1839, Chandos was very different from his father in personality if not in extravagance, which he managed to far exceed. Disraeli was to remark that Chandos ‘had the talent of inspiring ruffians with enthusiasm, of charming creditors, and of taking swindlers in’.⁶⁵ His mother and sister were Catholics, but Chandos opposed Catholic emancipation. He also emerged as a self-styled ‘farmer’s friend’, moving the amendment known as the Chandos clause to the 1832 Reform Act that enfranchised ‘£50 occupiers’, primarily tenant farmers.⁶⁶

In 1819 Temple praised the Buckingham Squadron for its turn out on a purely voluntary march.⁶⁷ In May 1819 men from the 2nd and 3rd Regiments met Temple on his way to Stowe for his wedding.⁶⁸ In 1824 Chandos put up his son’s christening cup as a prize for the yeomanry races, the celebrations of the christening being marked by the yeomanry being ‘paraded about and made much too prominent throughout the whole gala’. It was won by Private John Scott: sold at the great Stowe sale in 1848, the cup returned to Stowe in 1937. The 2nd Duke’s own christening cup had also been put up as a race prize on the second day of the celebration, this being won by Sergeant John Bennett.⁶⁹ His bankruptcy was partly hastened by his expenditure on the regiment, not least when it was maintained outside the official establishment between 1827 and 1830. The 1st Duke had begun the downward spiral, although the establishment

⁶⁵ Beckett, *Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, 261.

⁶⁶ Davis, *Political Change*, 106-26.

⁶⁷ HHL, ST 148, Order, 6 July 1819.

⁶⁸ BA, D/U/9/53/28, Praed to Mansel, 5 May 1819; L/Y 3/3, Note appended to Autograph Roll.

⁶⁹ Beckett, *Rise and Fall of Grenvilles*, 153; *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 26 June 1824.

of a trust in 1833 reduced the overall burden of mortgages and bonds secured on it from £355,986 in 1833 to £263,108 by 1839. Debt interest, charges, insurance and estate expenditure reduced the ducal income to about £26,000 a year. The reckless extravagance of the 2nd Duke meant that, by 1844, mortgages, bonds and debts secured on the estate totalled £854,282, with additional unsecured debts of £186,809, the ducal income reduced to £7,000. By 1847 when the future 3rd Duke assumed charge of the estates and made a resentful father his bankrupt pensioner, debts stood at £1.4 million.



Richard, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Chandos (1797-1861) as Colonel Commandant of the 2nd Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry, 1841 [BMMT]

The sale of Stowe's contents in 1848 raised only £75,562. Among the lots was a 'superb' 147 ounce silver ewer presented to the 1st Marquess by the RBKOM at Harwich in October 1803, which went for 12s.0d an ounce. The rumour was that it would go to the Duke's brother-in-law, the Marquess of Breadalbane and be returned to the family.⁷⁰ There was also a 340 ounce silver candelabrum presented to the Duke by the yeomanry, which went for 10s.0d an ounce.⁷¹ It had been intended to sell off the old RBKOM muskets and other firearms, but they were withdrawn at the government's request so as not to get 'into the hands of improper persons'. They remained at Stowe until 1921.⁷² Another who had faced financial disaster was the long-serving Mansel Dawkin Mansel, who committed suicide in August 1822 after the failure of his Newport Pagnell bank. The former adjutant for the whole yeomanry between 1799 and 1802, Mansel had served on as an officer in the 3rd Regiment. He had also been a commissioner of the Emigrant Office with responsibility for French émigrés during the war.

The sale was but one part of the dispersal of property. In 1815 the Grenville estates amounted to over 57,000 acres in England and Ireland with an annual rental income of £70,000. Of this, Bucks accounted for 13,000 acres and rental income of £24,000. With the enforced sales, there were just 9,000 acres with a

⁷⁰ *Bucks Chronicle*, 16 Sept. 1848.

⁷¹ *Bucks Gazette*, 8 Apl. 1848.

⁷² Paul Whitfield, 'Bankruptcy and the Sale of Sowe, 1848', in Denys Sutton (ed.), *The Splendours of Stowe* (London: Financial Times, 1973), 59-64, at 63.

rental income of £14,000 left, Bucks representing just over 8,000 acres and almost all the rental income.⁷³

The precise cost of the yeomanry for the 2nd Duke is unknown since few accounts have survived. In June 1831 he treated the entire regiment to dinner and wine after the annual training at Stowe.⁷⁴ It is known that he paid out £440 in November 1845, whilst he also had the Bourbon Tower at Stowe converted into a mini fort by Edward Blore in 1843.⁷⁵ Ever larger spectacles were staged at Stowe including visits by the Duke of Wellington in December 1827,⁷⁶ Queen Adelaide in August 1840,⁷⁷ and Ernest Augustus, King of Hanover, fifth son of King George III and uncle of Queen Victoria in August 1843.⁷⁸ The later 3rd Duke's coming of age was also celebrated lavishly in September 1844. Most significantly, there was the visit of Queen Victoria in January 1845.

In 1844 for the coming of age celebrations, the regimental band played music on the north lawn, whilst the artillery fired a birthday salute. There were further celebrations in Buckingham, the three-day affair ending with a ball at Stowe. All was exceeded by the Queen's visit. Previously, the best the Duke had managed was to assemble the Chesham Troop in July 1841 when the Queen passed on her way from Windsor to Woburn. The Troop had escorted the

⁷³ Beckett, *Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, 133-34, 204, 214, 245, 251-68, 275-76; David and Eileen Spring, 'The Fall of the Grenvilles, 1844-48', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 19 (1956), 165-90.

⁷⁴ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 11 June 1831.

⁷⁵ HHL, STG 382/56; Beckett, *Rise and Fall of the Grenvilles*, 202; Michael Bevington, 'The Bourbon Tower and The Second Duke's Obelisk', *Templa Quam Dilecta* 10 (1991), 13-16.

⁷⁶ BA, T/A 3/36, Order, 14 Nov. 1827; T/A 3/35/13; *Bucks Chronicle*, 22 Dec. 1827.

⁷⁷ *Bucks Herald*, 15 Aug. 1840; BMMT 377, Order, 31 July 1840 (also BA, T/A 3/17); T/A 3/35/17.

⁷⁸ *Bucks Herald*, 12 Aug. 1843.

carriage from Chesham to Berkhamsted.⁷⁹ Then, in December 1843, the Queen's train had stopped at Wolverton with the Newport Pagnell and Olney Squadron assembled together with the band and the artillery, which fired a salute. The Duke had been summoned to the royal carriage, but the Queen had not alighted.⁸⁰

Elizabeth George of Dadford was a witness to the Queen's visit to Stowe, her tenant farmer father serving in the yeomanry. The Queen was met at Wolverton Station by the two Buckingham Troops, the Newport Pagnell Troop then joining the procession at Stony Stratford, with Chandos riding by the side of the Queen's carriage. There were fireworks that first evening with Stowe's North Front illuminated with coloured lamps. The yeomanry band 'was in constant attendance', whilst the regiment acted as guard by day and night. Elizabeth heard some of the yeomen 'laughingly say, their wives were to send their *Victuals*, so they should have to put up with cold fare for several days'.⁸¹ In fact, there had been militia permanent staff on duty at Wolverton, and one yeomanry troop, with another troop relieving the first at Stony Stratford, and a third taking over escort duties at Leckhamstead, and a fourth at Page Hill. The remaining three troops and the artillery were drawn up in Stowe Park, the latter firing a salute as the royal party passed the Corinthian Arch. As lord lieutenant, Carrington was also present, accompanied by militia staff.⁸²

⁷⁹ *Bucks Herald*, 31 July 1841.

⁸⁰ *Bucks Herald*, 9 Dec. 1843.

⁸¹ George Clarke (ed.), 'The Journal of Elizabeth George of Dadford', in Ian Toplis, George Clarke, Ian F. W. Beckett and Hugh Hanley (eds), *Recollections of Nineteenth Century Buckinghamshire* (Bucks Record Society, 1998), 65-122, at 106-08.

⁸² Swann, *Citizen Soldiers*, 24; *The Times*, 16 Jan. 1845; *Morning Chronicle*, 16 Jan. 1845; *Bucks Herald*, 18 Jan. 1845; BA, T/A 3/36, Orders, 14, 15, and 17 Jan. 1845; T/A 3/17, Orders, 13 Jan. 1845; T/A 3/35/18.

At the end of the visit, the yeomanry escorted the Queen back to Wolverton. The Duke's display was rewarded by the 2nd Regiment receiving the royal title 'as a mark of Her Majesty's approbation of the good conduct of the regiment during Her Majesty's Visit to this County' on 9 June 1845.⁸³ Henceforth it would be the 2nd Royal Bucks Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry. For some years thereafter the regiment's officers had a celebratory dinner, whilst the men who had formed the escorts and guards of honour were given dinner annually at least for a few years. These were held at the Wool Pack Inn in Buckingham in 1846 and 1848 and at the Swan and Castle in 1847.⁸⁴

The 3rd Duke was first commissioned in the regiment as cornet in 1838, reaching the rank of lieutenant in 1843, captain in 1845, and major in 1861.⁸⁵ During his increasingly difficult relationship with his father, the latter took some pleasure in using his position as commanding officer to compel his son to attend to yeomanry duties.⁸⁶ This was particularly so in 1848 when, as the regiment was summoned to do duty during the planned Chartist demonstration in London, the 2nd Duke requested that his son take on the cost of maintaining the upkeep of the horses whilst they were on duty. Chandos declined and also requested leave of absence. The Duke replied that his son 'cannot be permitted to be absent from the regiment when on duty and it is necessary that you should march with your troops'.⁸⁷

⁸³ HHL, STG Military 4 (4).

⁸⁴ *Bucks Herald*, 30 Jan. 1849; HHL, Military 4 (3).

⁸⁵ HHL, STG Military 3 (10).

⁸⁶ HHL, STG 122 (51), Buckingham to Chandos, 2 Dec. 1844.

⁸⁷ HHL, STG 122 (54ii), Buckingham to Chandos, 5 Apl. 1848.

Individual troops carried out their own exercises such as the four day-exercise for the Newport Pagnell and Olney Squadron in April 1829, which was visited also by the Buckingham Troop and the artillery.⁸⁸ Similarly, individual troops often had their own celebratory meetings, as in November 1834 when the Newport Pagnell Troop dined at the Saracen's Head, or September 1838, when the troop was entertained to a cold collation at Tickford Abbey by their commanding officer, Captain George Lucas.⁸⁹ The Chesham Troop celebrated the coming of age of the future 3rd Duke in September 1844 with a dinner at the Nag's Head, owned by one of the troop, Sergeant Oldfield.⁹⁰ In both May 1851 and June 1855 the Newport Pagnell and Olney Troops under Captain William Farrar of Brayfield House, Cold Brayfield exercised at Bury Field in Newport Pagnell. On the latter occasion, their services were offered when a fire broke out in the town. In the event, they were not needed.⁹¹

The main annual exercises, shooting competitions and races, however, continued at Stowe, with a concluding review and inspection followed by a suitable dinner for officers and guests. They were exceedingly popular. When the government cancelled the annual duty as an economy measure in 1834 Chandos went ahead by meeting individual troops, but it was suggested that the town of Buckingham 'will be deprived of much of the gaiety produced by the Annual assembly of the Yeomanry there, and the races will be deferred to next Year'.⁹² Again in 1857 when the annual training was suspended as an economy measure, the regiment resolved to meet at Stowe for one day in June at its own

⁸⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Apl. 1829.

⁸⁹ *Bucks Herald*, 15 Nov. 1834 and 6 Oct. 1838.

⁹⁰ *Bucks Gazette*, 14 Sept. 1844.

⁹¹ *Bucks Herald*, 31 May 1851, and 2 June 1855.

⁹² *Bucks Herald*, 1 Mar. 1834.

expense.⁹³ In June 1858 five presentation swords were awarded for that year's sword exercises. One went to each troop but the judges could not decide between Sergeants Thomas Linnell and Henry Ridge, both of Silverstone, for the 'D' Troop prize so both were given presentation swords.⁹⁴

In August 1841 a crowd of 3,000 watched the annual review and the races at Stowe, the *Bucks Herald* suggesting this was the largest crowd in many years.⁹⁵ That in 1846 was looked forward to by the inhabitants of Buckingham as an 'interesting suspension of the dullness of the town'. It attracted a large crowd:⁹⁶

There might be seen dandies who had ventured upon horses, unmindful of the risk of their inexperience or that to-morrow they would repeat their presumption - journeymen tailors rejoicing to exchange their shop boards for the verdant park - industrious artisans trudging on with wife and children, equally revelling in mirthful anticipation - swains glad of the opportunity, a week-day opportunity, (would to Heaven they were more frequent in this land) of a walk with their sweethearts - and an innumerable number of equipages containing splendid groups of those fair creatures whose bright eyes never dance more joyously than on such occasions.

The brass band of the yeomanry under the leadership of Ambrose Nelson was also very prominent at local events such as the first annual meeting of the Chetwode and Barton Hartshorn Benefit Society in June 1843; a celebration of the coming of age of Viscount Clifford at the Cobham Arms in Buckingham in April 1846; the meeting of the Buckingham Lodge of Oddfellows in July 1851; the Buckingham Literary and Scientific Institute in April 1855; Buckingham

⁹³ *Bucks Herald*, 23 May, and 13 June 1857; *Bucks Chronicle*, 28 Feb., and 6 June 1857.

⁹⁴ *Bucks Herald*, 19 June 1858.

⁹⁵ *Bucks Herald*, 7 Aug. 1841.

⁹⁶ *Bucks Herald*, 23 May 1846.

Sunday School Union Fete in July 1855; and the Buckingham Grand Horticultural Floral Fete that same month.⁹⁷ The regiment was honoured with the 'Royal Bucks Yeomanry March' by E. M. Pellatt in May 1846, as it had been by two prints featuring it in the Forres yeomanry series two years earlier.⁹⁸

Aside from spectacle, the yeomanry's public duties were marked largely by the controversies of aid to the civil power. Notwithstanding 'Peterloo', where perhaps 11 persons died from various causes in August 1819, deaths at the hands of yeomen were few and far between. Only one death was inflicted by the yeomanry during the Swing riots.⁹⁹ The 2nd (Mid Bucks) Regiment was placed on alert in 1817 and 1819, but were not required. In August 1819, 16 named individuals were 'charged with the summoning and bringing in with them' the yeomen in their immediate neighbourhoods if the regiment was suddenly called out. They must 'immediately upon their receiving such directions, lose not a moment in riding round, or sending a discreet and careful person, to every man in the list entrusted to his care'.¹⁰⁰

In July 1821 men from the 1st and 2nd Regiments were employed on guard duties in London for the coronation of King George IV at the height of his unpopularity during the Queen Caroline affair. There had been rumours of potential disaffection among regular troops in the previous year. William Henry Fremantle, another long-term Bucks yeomanry officer, Grenville adherent and MP for Buckingham from 1812 to 1827, believed that the south of Bucks would be less inclined to support the government with loyal addresses than the north. Tom Grenville, however, was pleased to hear excellent reports of the

⁹⁷ *Bucks Herald*, 3 June 1843, 19 July 1851, and 28 Apl. 1855; *Bucks Gazette*, 18 Apl. 1846
Buckingham Advertiser, 21 and 28 July 1855.

⁹⁸ *Bucks Herald*, 15 June 1844, and 2 May 1846.

⁹⁹ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 135-37.

¹⁰⁰ BA, T/A 3/36; HHL, ST 148.

yeomanry's loyalty throughout the county.¹⁰¹ Subsequently, Fremantle hoped that Temple, as he then still was, would be able to bring the yeomanry back without 'a row'.¹⁰²

Temple enquired if the 2nd Regiment would be required on 7 June 1821, but at that stage it was uncertain whether it would be necessary.¹⁰³ In the case of the 2nd Regiment, headquarters, the band, the two artillery troops and the Aylesbury troop concentrated at Great Missenden to meet with three troops at Amersham, and two at Chesham on 15 July. All marched two days later to Watford before proceeding to Cumberland Gardens, Vauxhall. Two troops were billeted in Wandsworth, one between Wandsworth and Battersea, two at Battersea, and three between Lambeth and Vauxhall. The headquarters were in Cumberland Gardens. They had been enjoined to 'act with the greatest coolness, prudence, and forbearance, and under no circumstances whatever, to presume to act with severity without the orders of a Magistrate, or some other Peace Officer duly authorised to give them such orders'. Patrols usually of an officer and 12 men were mounted over Vauxhall Bridge and along Millbank Street, and along Vauxhall Road to its junction with Chelsea Road, the roads to be kept clear. After the coronation and an inspection by the Duke of York in Hyde Park, the regiment marched back to the county on 22 July.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, *Memoirs of the Court of George IV* 2 vols. (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1859), I, 53, 97-99, Tom Grenville to Buckingham, 26 July 1820, and William H. Fremantle to Buckingham, 29 Dec. 1820.

¹⁰² Buckingham, *Memoirs of George IV*, I, 182-83, Fremantle to Buckingham, 11 July 1821.

¹⁰³ TNA, HO 50/363, Temple to Sidmouth, 7 June 1821; Sidmouth to Temple, 14 June 1821.

¹⁰⁴ Swann, *Citizen Soldiers*, 21-22; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 28 July 1821; BA, T/A 3/35/8; BA, T/A 3/36, Regimental Orders, 12 and 20 July 1821; BA D206/3 [BMMT 377], Orders, 12 and 16 July 1821; T/A 3/17, Orders, 18 and 19 July 1821; HHL ST 148.

Sir William Clayton of the 1st Regiment denied a report in the *Bucks Chronicle* that some men had broken away from the review to escort Queen Caroline's passing carriage.¹⁰⁵ At Buckingham, meanwhile, the RBKOM band performed at the coronation celebrations.¹⁰⁶ The 2nd Marquess' radical younger brother, George, Lord Nugent, however, resigned his commission in the yeomanry, declining to accept the government's thanks for services. He believed he should not 'interfere in any respect with that unanimity of sentiment which ought always to prevail amongst yeomanry of the county'.¹⁰⁷



Medal issued to William Fludgate of 1st (Southern) Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry for policing duties during George IV's Coronation, 1821 [BMMT]

Since yeomanry received cavalry pay on duty it was not cheap to deploy and it was often held that a yeomanry presence exacerbated rather than defused situations. It also so happened that disturbances could arise at inconvenient

¹⁰⁵ Freeman, 'History of Bucks Yeomanry', *Bucks Free Press*, 5 Mar. 1920.

¹⁰⁶ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 4 Aug. 1821.

¹⁰⁷ *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 Aug. 1821.

times for farmers.¹⁰⁸ In 1821, the 2nd Marquess rewarded those of his tenants who had done coronation duty and ‘suffered much inconvenience, by absenting themselves from their farms at so busy a time’ by suspending payment of rents due at Michaelmas until the following Lady Day.¹⁰⁹ He was distressed to record that the only hostility had been displayed towards his men in Aylesbury. The 1st Duke, as he now was, also issued commemorative medals to all those who had done duty.¹¹⁰ The family’s elevation to the dukedom in 1822 was greeted with a congratulatory address from the 2nd Regiment. It was met by an equally effusive tribute to their services, Buckingham congratulating them on seeing the ‘folly’ of an appeal that they had duties as citizens before that of soldiers.¹¹¹

Generally, the yeomanry’s conduct was good. Some men were reprimanded for unspecified misconduct in quarters at Amersham during the coronation deployment, and one man had absented himself in London. In 1824 and 1825 there were single cases requiring courts of enquiry. On the first occasion, William Bottrill was discharged in May 1824 for dirtying intentionally the cloak of Thomas Robinson, and also exchanging a good pistol for his own rusty pistol without a flint. In February 1825 it was found that the horse that had won the Duke’s christening cup at the 1824 speed trials was not the property of Sergeant Bennett as claimed, but a thoroughbred that had run at Newmarket and at other races under different names. The cup, therefore, was withdrawn from Bennett.¹¹² In 1833 Sergeant George Cross from Winslow disputed the victory of Sergeant John Herring in the Duke’s Cup race, claiming Herring’s horse had run in regular races. It was also claimed that Captain Fuller’s horse had run at

¹⁰⁸ F. C. Mather, *Public Order in the Age of the Chartists* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 146-47.

¹⁰⁹ BA, T/A 3/36, Order, 25 July 1827 (also HHL, ST 148).

¹¹⁰ BA, T/A 3/36, Order, 20 May 1822; T/A 3/35/10.

¹¹¹ BA, D206/6 [BMMT 377], Buckingham to yeomen, 2 Feb. 1822; HHL, ST 148.

¹¹² HHL, ST 148, Orders, 16 and 20 July 1821; 29 May 1824; 21 Feb. and 8 Mar. 1825.

Towcester races. Fuller acknowledged this, but the complaint was not upheld as, apparently, had also been the case when the same claim was made the previous year. Chandos found no proof that Cross's horse had run in any regular race.¹¹³

Just as it had campaigned against the Grenville influence over the militia, the *Bucks Gazette* mounted periodic attacks on the yeomanry. When the Buckinghamshire Brunswick Club opposed to Catholic emancipation presented Chandos with a portrait commissioned from the artist John Jackson for 250 guineas in June 1829, it showed him in his yeomanry uniform.¹¹⁴ Chandos was openly escorted on the election trail by many of his yeoman in Aylesbury in May 1831, and again at Newport Pagnell in August 1832.¹¹⁵ A broadsheet circulated in Newport Pagnell alleged that a 'wanton and cowardly attack' was made on 'an unarmed and unoffending crowd' of women and children 'by certain adherents of the Marquis of Chandos'. It urged, however, that there should be no retaliation should the peace 'again be placed in jeopardy by others, whether they be Magistrates, Clergymen, Officers of Yeomanry or their dependants'.¹¹⁶

In reality, yeomen were not necessarily opposed to political reform, but there was a presumption that they would be. The 1st Duke urged that political discussion be avoided in the yeomanry in an address to the regiment on the occasion of the presentation of a Royal Standard on behalf of King William IV on 30 May 1831.¹¹⁷ It is presumed the Royal Standard was a reward for services during the Swing riots and to recognise the regiment's return to the

¹¹³ HHL, ST 142.

¹¹⁴ *Bucks Gazette*, 20 June 1829.

¹¹⁵ *Bucks Gazette*, 7 May 1831 and 8 Sept. 1832.

¹¹⁶ TNA, HO 40/30, Broadsheet, 21 Aug. 1832.

¹¹⁷ HHL, ST 148, Order, 6 June 1831; *Bucks Gazette*, 11 June 1831. The standard itself is BMMT 364.

official establishment. A letter from ‘Antigenes’ in the *Bucks Gazette* suggested that it would be well if yeomen heeded the call, albeit in a distinctly double-edged tone. It suggested that, irrespective of the Duke’s opposition to reform and the abolition of slavery, those serving would not be ‘aiding or abetting the subjugation of their fellow creatures, or countering a corrupt system of representation’. The editorial maintained that no reformer could belong to the yeomanry. In any case, whilst there could be no objection to the defence of property, it would be better safeguarded by men armed with staves than expensive yeomanry. ‘Authigenes’ countered that the yeomanry was a constitutional force and there should be no bar to reformers serving in it.



The Royal Standard presented to the 2nd Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry on behalf of King William IV on 30 May 1831 [BMMT]

‘Civis’, in turn, replied that enrolling in the yeomanry was no proof of loyalty if its commanding officer was prepared to defy the intentions of government and

monarch.¹¹⁸ In November 1831 the *Gazette* reported an unfounded rumour that yeomen at Brill had been ordered to be ready for instant service. Ironically, it then recommended in February 1832 that yeomanry picquets be placed at Foscott, Lillingstone Dayrell and Water Stratford in case there was unrest.¹¹⁹

In May 1832 it reported that many Bucks yeomen would have resigned if the reform bill had not been passed: ‘They are become indifferent to the refreshments served out for corrupter asses of Stowe, and can no longer be seduced by the bland compliments of *mons parturients*. The sun of the Grenvilles is set if the freeholders of Bucks will be only true to themselves.’¹²⁰ Subsequently, in July 1833, it claimed a long-serving but ‘politically enlightened’ yeoman at Newport Pagnell, who had voted for the reform candidates, George Dashwood King and John Smith, brother of Lord Carrington, in the 1832 county poll had been deliberately excluded from the circulation of a training order.¹²¹ By contrast, the *Bucks Herald*, founded in 1832 as a Tory paper and possibly subsidised by Chandos, castigated the radical Dr John Lee of Hartwell House in 1835 for calling the yeomanry ‘village Wellingtons’ when he had supported their role in aid of the civil power during the Swing riots. It urged readers to vote for Lee’s Tory opponent at Aylesbury, Colonel Henry Hanmer of Stockgrove, Fenny Stratford.¹²²

Despite its faults, the yeomanry was useful in times of major crisis, but even the Tory government reduced the yeomanry drastically in December 1827, albeit that it was a weak, effectively in the minority, and dependent on Whig votes.

¹¹⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 18 and 25 June, and 2 July 1831.

¹¹⁹ *Bucks Gazette*, 19 Nov. 1831, and 4 Feb. 1832.

¹²⁰ *Bucks Gazette*, 26 May 1832. The Latin phrase derived from Horace means ‘the mountain in labour’. It may relate, therefore, to the size of the 1st Duke.

¹²¹ *Bucks Gazette*, 6 July 1833.

¹²² *Bucks Herald*, 3 Jan. 1835.

Ostensibly, the decision was taken on the grounds that many yeomen had not been called out in aid of the civil power in the previous ten years. The force was cut from 24,288 to 10,705 officers and men, saving £92,000.¹²³ In all, of 62 corps, 24 were disbanded and just 22 retained on the official establishment; 16 others chose to maintain themselves. Strangely the decision to dispense with all three Bucks regiments was sent to the commissioners of the lieutenancy rather than the lord lieutenant on 5 December 1827, officers being allowed to retain their ranks and honours. The commissioners replied on 15 December that the 2nd Regiment was prepared to continue without expense falling on government, and without being able to claim existing exemptions from the ballot and horse tax. Chandos was then informed on 17 December that exemptions would be continued. The continued service of what would now be the 2nd Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry was confirmed that same day.¹²⁴

A letter in the *Bucks Chronicle* was highly critical of the ‘gratuitous offer’ of the regiment’s services, arguing that it set a dangerous precedent for if one man ‘was able to muster his dependents, others will claim the same privilege, until we may again revert to feudal times, when clan was arrayed against clan, and vassal against vassal under their respective chieftains’. Clearly, a reformer, ‘Publicola’, who wrote from Buckingham, feared such a situation would enable yeomanry commanders to ‘overawe the Parliament, and dissolve the Government’ if they disliked the latter’s policies. Another correspondent, ‘A Constant Reader’, found the amount paid out to the Bucks regiments for their coronation services in 1821 - £3,482.3s.7d - wholly incompatible with the actual threat of ‘riots which were unknown to the inhabitants of this county’.¹²⁵

¹²³ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 13.

¹²⁴ BA, T/A 3/14, Lansdowne to Commissioners, 5, 15 and 17 Dec. 1827; Lansdowne to Chandos, 17 Dec. 1827; HHL ST 148, Order, 15 Dec. 1827.

¹²⁵ *Bucks Chronicle*, 22 and 29 Dec. 1827.

Both the 1st and 3rd Regiments were disbanded on 1 April 1828, consisting respectively at the time of 229 men in eight troops under the command of Sir William Clayton, and 321 men in four troops under the command of James Backwell Praed of Tyringham. Sheriff in 1806-07, the latter was briefly Conservative MP for the county from 1835 until his death in 1837. The 2nd Regiment was reorganised with six of the original troops, but with new troops raised at Olney and Newport Pagnell. The original autograph roll maintained since 1795 was turned round to start again with 194 men, enrolment then rising to 250 men.¹²⁶

Most of the corps disbanded such as the 1st and 3rd Regiments were in southern England, ironically the very counties in which the Swing disturbances erupted in 1830. Although linked to earlier signs of unrest, disturbances were first encountered in Kent on 25 August 1830, with the pseudonym ‘Captain Swing’ on anonymous letters first appearing on 21 October. ‘Swing’ was occasioned by population growth in rural areas placing additional pressure on an overcrowded labour market already vulnerable to the low wages occasioned by the Speenhamland-style schemes of poor relief, an influx of cheap Irish labour, and the introduction of labour saving devices such as threshing machines. Greater unemployment coincided with poor harvests and rising prices, whilst there was also a concerted attempt by many of the wealthy to reduce expenditure on the poor rates. The disturbances spread rapidly with no apparent coherence to areas with widely differing social conditions as to pauperism and poverty. All were marked by incendiarism and breaking of machines, notably threshing machines, and by a degree of rural radicalism at the parish level.¹²⁷ There were branches of the radical Birmingham Political Union at Aylesbury and High Wycombe.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ BA, L/Y 3/3; HHL, STG 8 (1).

¹²⁷ Carl Griffin, *The Rural War: Captain Swing and the Politics of Protest* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1-10.

Swing letters were received at Colnbrook and Langley in the second week of November, followed by more at Marlow and High Wycombe. Carrington was among those who received them as he had a threshing machine at Daws Hill Farm. The introduction of machinery at the paper mills around High Wycombe and the unemployment among paper workers contributed to the unrest. The first actual disturbances occurred at Langley and High Wycombe on 11 November 1830.¹²⁹ The first incident in the north was the firing of a barn at Nash on 16 November, with a case of arson at Wavendon on the following day. A serious attack was made on paper mills around High Wycombe on 26 November, and again on 29 November. Destruction of threshing machines occurred at Waddesdon, Upper Winchendon and Blackgrove on 26 November in the knowledge that the yeomanry had been sent south.¹³⁰

At Waddesdon the issue was low wages, the later Treasury Solicitor's brief for the trial of the perpetrators noting that the Waddesdon poor had been 'for some time considered an unruly & a lawless set of people'.¹³¹ There were further incidents at Stone, Bishopstone, Long Crendon, and Iver. On 1 December trouble spread to the north of the county with machines destroyed at Little Brickhill, Fenny Stratford, Stony Stratford, and Newport Pagnell, the last at Fenny Stratford on 9 December.¹³² Sir Harry Verney MP believed that the situation arising from poor wages could be alleviated by a legal labour rate, but

¹²⁸ Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 185; TNA, HO 40/27 (502), Mair to Phillips, 13 Jan. 1831.

¹²⁹ Vanessa Worship, "'Down with Machinery': An Investigation into the Wycombe Paper-mill Riots of 1830", in Michael Holland (ed.), *Swing Unmasked: The Agricultural Riots of 1830-32 and their Wider Implications* (Milton Keynes: FACHRS, 2005), 126-49.

¹³⁰ *Bucks Gazette*, 20 and 27 Nov. 1830.

¹³¹ Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 115.

¹³² *Bucks Gazette*, 4 Dec. 1830, and 15 Jan. 1831.

also by altering the game laws, providing workhouses, and closing beer shops.

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In all, there were 39 separate incidents in Bucks between 11 November and 9 December 1830, involving 18 cases of machines of one kind or another being destroyed, and three cases of arson. Damage at High Wycombe was calculated at £3,265, three of the paper mill owners being paid £719.12s.0d in compensation. Larger threshing machines were generally valued at £50 as at Stone and Blackgrove, and smaller machines at £20 or less as at Little Brickhill.

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It is generally accepted that the increasing incidence of disturbances in early October led the Home Secretary in Wellington's Tory administration, Robert Peel, to urge a more positive response by magistrates than the leniency he detected. The arrival of Lord Melbourne as Peel's successor when Lord Grey's Whig government took office on 23 November led to significant intervention. In particular, on 25 November, Melbourne urged adoption of the so-called Sussex Constabulary Plan, the Duke of Richmond having proposed raising special constables from 'shopkeepers, yeomen, and "respectable" labourers'.¹³⁵

Melbourne also instituted the special commissions held to try those arrested in Bucks, Berks, Dorset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire. Special constables were not always reliable and there was soon a call for troops, although more often than not, they were used to apprehend those identified as ringleaders. Peel and, to a lesser extent, Melbourne was prepared to authorise re-raising yeomanry where it had been disbanded, although this was often too late to make much difference. Where it did exist as in Bucks, there was none of the reluctance to use it

¹³³ TNA, HO 52/6 (248), Verney to Melbourne, 24 Nov. 1830.

¹³⁴ Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 115, 190, 192.

¹³⁵ Griffin, *Rural War*, 239.

sometimes suggested.¹³⁶ Calling on the yeomanry was ‘infinitely better than gambling that parts of the country would remain peaceful’.¹³⁷ In some cases magistrates conceded higher wages as a means of averting further trouble, and some farmers destroyed their own threshing machines. In the longer term, Swing paved the way for the New Poor Law in 1834, which itself aroused opposition. It also informed the move to establish rural constabularies in 1839.

Even before the main outbreak in Bucks, there had been serious enclosure disturbances on Otmoor in neighbouring Oxfordshire on 6 September, for which the 2nd Bucks Yeomanry was deployed until 10 September.¹³⁸ The dispute was a long running one going back to the 1780s, with landlords and local community alike asserting their rights. A broad social coalition including many farmers opposed enclosure and drainage schemes that threatened flooding. Parish constables were ineffective and many in the area declined to serve as special constables. Fences, hedgerows and buildings were torn down, the culmination coming with 42 arrests made by the Oxfordshire Yeomanry on 6 September 1830. The prisoners were put in wagons to convey to Oxford with an escort of 25 yeomen and four militia NCOs, but were released by crowds attending St Giles’ Fair.¹³⁹ A permanent yeomanry presence was suggested, but it was impracticable. This was not just in terms of commitment, but also from the difficulties of using yeomen for day to day policing. In the end, the

¹³⁶ Stanley Palmer, *Police and Protest in England and Ireland, 1780-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 393.

¹³⁷ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 149.

¹³⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Sept. 1830.

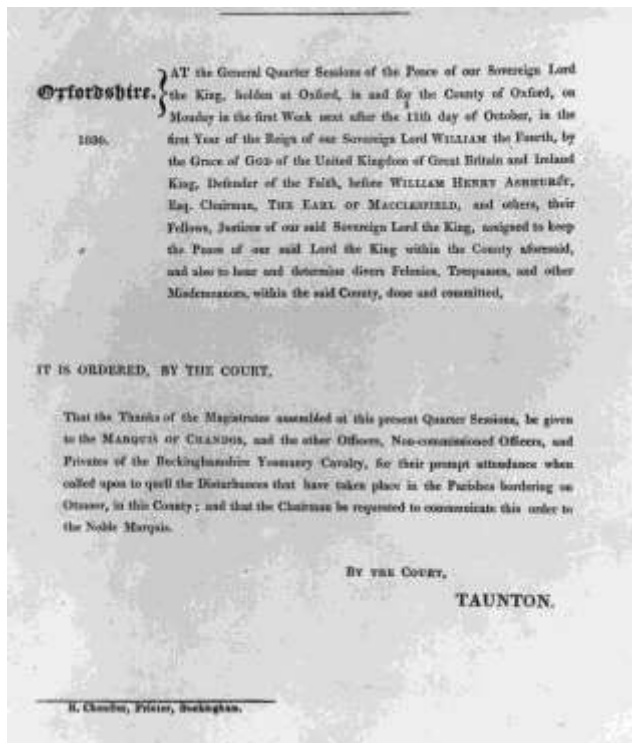
¹³⁹ David Eastwood, ‘Communities, Protest and Police in Early 19th Century Oxfordshire: The Enclosure of Otmoor Reconsidered’, *Agricultural History Review* 44 (1991), 35-46; Bernard Reaney, ‘The Class Struggle in Nineteenth Century Oxfordshire: The Social and Communal Background to the Otmoor Disturbances of 1830 to 1835’, *History Workshop Pamphlet* 3 (1970), 30-41.

magistrates recruited Metropolitan policemen to patrol Otmoor from 1831 until 1835.

Orders had gone out to the adjutant of the Bucks yeomanry, Fellowes, from the Duke at 0330 hours on 6 September following the request by the Oxford Magistrates. As many yeomen as possible from the Buckingham squadron were to march at once to Wotton with the two guns. They marched from Buckingham at 0800 after hearing verbal orders from the Duke read to them by Fellowes. At Wotton, Chandos ordered the guns left there. The men returned to Wotton from Otmoor at 1715 hours. On the following day, as many Buckingham yeomen as available were put under readiness. Winslow yeomen were ordered to join them at 1400 hours, but no further service was required.¹⁴⁰ The Duke conveyed his thanks to Chandos and the yeomanry for ‘the alacrity with which they turned out, for their steady and cool demeanour, and for the quick and yet decided manner in which they executed their Duty, affording an additional proof (if it were wanted) of the excellence of the Constitutional force which they represented’. The Oxfordshire magistrates also recorded their appreciation for the services of the Bucks yeomen.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ BA, T/A 3/36, Order by Oxford Magistrates, 11 Oct. 1830; HHL, ST 148, Orders, 6 and 7 Sept. 1830; T/A 3/35/14.

¹⁴¹ HHL, ST 148, Orders, 7 Sept. and 11 Oct. 1830; BA, D206/3 [BMMT 377].



Resolutions by Oxfordshire Magistrates thanking the 2nd (Mid) Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry for its services on Otmoor, September 1830 [BA]

A meeting of landowners, farmers and clergy from the Burnham and Stoke Hundreds was convened at the Windmill Inn, Salt Hill on 17 November with Chandos in the chair to form an association for the protection of property and to swear in special constables ‘to put a stop to the Horrid Attempts of some Diabolical Miscreants to injure Property and produce Confusion in this Country’. ¹⁴² Special constables were enjoined to ‘endeavour, in all cases, to take Prisoners, as well as to disperse the Rioters; and to secure any Persons whose Language or Conduct may be of a suspicious Character, who must be taken before a Magistrate with the least possible Delay’. ¹⁴³ Chandos informed Melbourne on 23 November that it was expected that the ‘outrages’ would spread from neighbouring Berkshire. ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² TNA, HO 52/6 (293) and (294), Minutes, 17 Nov. 1830; BA, SR 1/31/6.

¹⁴³ BA, SR 1/31/6, Printed Instructions, n. d.

¹⁴⁴ TNA, HO 52/6 (243), Chandos to Melbourne, 23 Nov. 1830.

Warning was received on the following day that the paper workers would act. A protest meeting was held on the Rye in High Wycombe on 26 November with ‘an immense multitude’ then marching into the town and invading a meeting of magistrates and householders being chaired by the Rev. Dr George Scobell in the Guild Hall. The 1st Lord Carrington, who was present, tried to reason with the mob, but was shouted down with cries of ‘Pay Your Election Bills.’ The Riot Act was read without result and, in order to appease the crowd, the magistrates also chose to send away the Newport Pagnell troop who arrived coincidentally on their way back to the north from Hounslow. An attack on Messrs. Lane’s paper mill on the West Wycombe road, however, failed to destroy the machinery.

On 29 November a mob was then assembled by horn at Flackwell Heath. Two shots were fired at the mob from Lane’s Mill by way of warning and four gallons of vitriol were also thrown, but had no effect. The man who had thrown the vitriol was ducked in the mill stream when the mob broke in. The mob then refreshed itself at the Red Lion in Marsh, The arrival of some special constables and horsemen from Beaconsfield enabled the Riot Act to be read, but a general struggle ensued at Loudwater in which the Sheriff, Major General Richard Howard-Vyse of Stoke Park, had his face cut by a stone. The mob marched on to Wycombe through Wooburn and Loudwater, and this time destroyed other mills. Contributions were forcibly levied from shopkeepers.¹⁴⁵

At this point, order was restored by special constables, members of the King’s Staghounds who happened to be meeting in Wooburn, and six Guardsmen sent

¹⁴⁵ BA, SR 1/31/6; *Bucks Gazette*, 27 Nov and 1 Dec. 1830, 15 and 22 Jan. 1831; Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 114-15.

from Windsor in post chaises. ¹⁴⁶ John Kersley Fowler of Aylesbury, later proprietor of the White Hart and owner of Prebendal Farm, was then a pupil at Uxbridge School. He recalled seeing fires burning at night from his school window. Of the Wycombe episode, he wrote of the huntsmen confronting the mob ‘and with the butt ends of their hunting whips they slashed in amongst the mob, drove them helter-skelter out of the town, took several prisoners, and delivered the borough from their depredations’. ¹⁴⁷ Subsequently, Guardsmen from Windsor were stationed in both Wycombe and Chesham. ¹⁴⁸ On 8 December a party drawn from the RBKOM permanent staff had also arrived in Chesham by horse drawn van, taking by surprise a suspicious group that then dispersed. ¹⁴⁹

The 2nd Regiment was ordered to be ready for call out at 0800 on 22 November 1830 to march for Amersham and thence to Hounslow. The Aylesbury troop left at once, the Buckingham troop marching at 0400, and the Newport, Olney and Stony Stratford troops arriving in Aylesbury that evening. ¹⁵⁰ Chandos, who commanded, claimed that it was only in Aylesbury that his men ‘had not been even flatteringly received’. A mob of 200 gathered outside the George where the three troops were quartered on the night of 22 November. It soon dispersed, although some windows were broken. The troops left for Amersham at 0500 on 23 November. ¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ TNA, HO 52/6 (259), Montagu to Home Office, 29 Nov. 1830; (260), Vincent to Melbourne, 30 Nov. 1830.

¹⁴⁷ J. K. Fowler, *Echoes of Old Country Life* (London: Edward Arnold, 1892), 259.

¹⁴⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 15 Jan. 1831.

¹⁴⁹ *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Dec. 1830.

¹⁵⁰ HHL, ST 148, Orders, 21 and 22 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵¹ *Bucks Gazette*, 27 Nov. 1830; HHL ST 148, Orders, 22 Nov. 1830.

While some 50 yeomen guarded Chandos' seat at Wotton, most of those marching south were intended to guard the 1st Duke's house at Avington in Hampshire - inherited from his wife. Special dispensation was received from Wellington, who was the lord lieutenant for Hampshire.¹⁵² Buckingham had feared an attack and his fears were realised on 22 November.¹⁵³ He had already organised what has been characterised as a 'feudal levy' of around 100 tenants and labourers led by the local rector and enrolled as special constables. It beat off the mob and took over 50 prisoners. Buckingham had sent for dragoons from Winchester, and 31 of the prisoners were escorted off by them.¹⁵⁴

As Chandos informed Melbourne, this left no force available in the county. Consequently, he intended to march detachments back to Beaconsfield, Long Crendon, Marlow, and Princes Risborough. It would also assist the farmers in the yeomanry 'who have hitherto volunteered their services gratuitously, and chose prolonged absence at considerable distance from their farms'.¹⁵⁵ The Newport troop left Hounslow for Salt Hill on 24 November, the remainder two days later initially for Marlow. One detachment arrived at Stone on 26 November under Quartermaster Read, pursuing the ringleaders of the incident there. More arrived around midnight and thereby prevented an assemblage intended for the following day.¹⁵⁶

As indicated earlier, the Newport Troop coincidentally rode into Wycombe on 26 November on its way back from Hounslow. Meanwhile, Buckingham had

¹⁵² Hampshire Archives, 25M61, 4/1/2/2/3, Wellington to Chandos, 21 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵³ Hampshire Archives, 25M61 4/1/2/2/6, Chandos to Wellington, 21 Nov. 1830; 4/1/2/2/9, Buckingham to Wellington, 22 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵⁴ Hampshire Archives, 25M61 4/1/2/2/10, Buckingham to Wellington, 22 Nov. 1830; Hobsbawm and Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 92; *Newcastle Courant*, 4 Dec. 1830.

¹⁵⁵ TNA, HO 52/6 (243), Chandos to Melbourne, 23 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵⁶ *Bucks Gazette*, 4 Dec. 1830.

circularised all magistrates to instruct them to enrol special constables, the meeting interrupted at High Wycombe being one response.¹⁵⁷ Indeed, before it was disrupted, the meeting had passed resolutions to establish an association to assist the authorities and to swear in special constables. Whilst the yeomanry had been sent away, there was paradoxically great apprehension from its absence.¹⁵⁸

That same day a meeting for the Desborough Hundred was held in Marlow under the chairmanship of Lord Boston with a committee established to meet daily, but coupled with a resolution to encourage farmers to discontinue the use of threshing machines in order to conciliate labourers. On the following day, a meeting at Buckingham resolved to supply the poor with pork, and a vestry meeting at Aylesbury increased the scale of poor relief. A meeting at Newport Pagnell similarly resolved to improve wages, but also to take any measures necessary to protect property. The Stony Stratford magistrates similarly promised to increase wages, as did those in the Ashendon Hundreds, although the latter also swore in 398 special constables and ordered all beer houses to be closed promptly at 2000 hours each night, and all inns and alehouses at 2200 hours, for the next three months.¹⁵⁹ Melbourne offered to send Colonel Mair, who had helped organise a police force in Wiltshire, to Aylesbury, but the Duke felt the magistrates well able to cope.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ TNA, HP 52/6 (268), Notice of Meeting, 24 Nov. 1830; (269), Resolutions of Meeting, 26 Nov. 1830; BA, SR 1/31/6.

¹⁵⁸ TNA, HO 52/6 (250), Carrington to Melbourne, 26 Nov. 1830; (253), Howard-Vyse to Melbourne, 26 Nov. 1830; HO 41/8, Phillips to Howard-Vyse, 27 Nov. 1830.

¹⁵⁹ BA, SR 1/31/6, Moore to Tindal, 6 Dec. 1830; Mins. Ashendon meeting, 1 Dec. 1830; *Bucks Gazette*, 27 Nov. and 11 Dec. 1830.

¹⁶⁰ TNA, HO 41/9, Melbourne to Buckingham, 23 Dec. 1830; BA, SR 1/31/6, Buckingham to Melbourne, 24 Dec. 1830.

A total of 276 men from the 2nd Regiment were almost continually on duty from 22 November to 7 December 1830, being called to Aylesbury, Brill, Buckingham, High Wycombe, Hounslow, Marlow, Princes Risborough, Stone, and Whitchurch. ¹⁶¹ It was far from easy to maintain numbers, only eight men answering one summons to Whitchurch. ¹⁶² Rev. Dayrell reported one farmer who went to Hounslow with the regiment complained ‘of their being obliged to lie on straw beds’. ¹⁶³ Chandos himself pointed out his men had covered 38 miles on 22 November and farmers faced with ‘prolonged absence at any considerable distance from their farms might be attended with detriment to their interests’. ¹⁶⁴ Chandos was authorised to return to the county provided one troop was left to guard the Bath Road. ¹⁶⁵

A number of claims were made for rewards leading to the arrest of those involved in the disturbances such as by the Beaconsfield special constables involved in the affray at Wycombe on 29 November. The 97 men enrolled at Burnham shared £639 between them whilst those from Aylesbury who did duty at Upper Winchendon got a pound a head. ¹⁶⁶ Chandos applied for £450 to be distributed among the yeomen who attended at Waddesdon and Stone on 28 November. but this was rejected as ‘the apprehension of such criminals by a military body does not entitle the individuals composing it to any reward’. ¹⁶⁷

¹⁶¹ Freeman, ‘History of Bucks Yeomanry’, *Bucks Free Press*, 30 Apl. 1920.

¹⁶² BA, SR 1/31/6, Fremantle to Aylesbury Magistrates, 4 Dec. 1830.

¹⁶³ BA, D22/147, Dayrell to Brewster, 27 Nov. 1830.

¹⁶⁴ TNA, HO 52/6 (243), Chandos to Melbourne, 23 Nov. 1830.

¹⁶⁵ TNA, HO 41/8, Melbourne to Buckingham, 25 Nov. 1830; Phillips to Chandos, 25 Nov. 1830; Phillips to Howard-Vyse, 25 Nov. 1830.

¹⁶⁶ Alan Dell, “May the Voters be Free and the Representatives Independent”: A Biographical Sketch of *William Rickford MP (1768-1854)* (Aylesbury: Bucks County Library, 1986), 48.

¹⁶⁷ Dell, *Rickford*, 49.

Authorised under 1817 legislation, special constables were enrolled at Aston Clinton, Aylesbury, Beaconsfield, Burnham, Chesham, Dinton, High Wycombe, Marlow, Newport Pagnell Stone, Waddesdon, and Whitchurch.¹⁶⁸ At Newport Pagnell the swearing in of special constables on 4 December was accompanied by a reduction in rents. Following a meeting with Captain Lucas of the Newport Pagnell Troop, the ‘peasantry’ also accepted a week’s advance of wages. A Home Office emissary, Lieutenant Colonel Doherty, approved the firm line taken by the Rev. John Fisher in the face of demands at Wavendon for tithe reductions. He was critical, however, of the lack of action by Sir Philip Duncombe at Great Brickhill in issuing arrest warrants, when returning a week later to check on the arrangements at Newport and Brickhill.¹⁶⁹ It was reported subsequently that one of those charged with machine breaking had been a special constable and another not so charged was also active in the disturbances; at least one had refused to act against the machine breakers.¹⁷⁰

Buckingham enquired as to the possibility of attaching a small volunteer infantry corps to the yeomanry at Wotton in December 1830. A similar enquiry was made by James Backwell Praed of Tyringham, who had commanded the 3rd Northern Regiment of the yeomanry until its disbandment, but nothing further was done.¹⁷¹ Buckingham supported wider calls for raising volunteer corps but Wellington as commander-in-chief turned the idea down, suggesting they were

¹⁶⁸ BA, SR 1/31/6, Marshall to Tindal, 29 Nov. 1830. For a list of those known, see Jill Chambers, *Buckinghamshire Machine Breakers: The Story of the 1830 Riots* (Letchworth: Privately printed, 1991), 197-203.

¹⁶⁹ TNA, HO 40/27 (6) and (22), Doherty to Melbourne, 4 and 11 Dec. 1830.

¹⁷⁰ TNA, HO 40/27 (502), Mair to Phillips, 13 Jan. 1831.

¹⁷¹ TNA, HO 51/94, Melbourne to Buckingham, 30 Dec. 1830; Home Office to Praed, 15 Dec. 1830.

‘not *cheap*’. Nonetheless, Buckingham did his best to encourage voluntary associations.¹⁷²

An ‘Association of Volunteer Mounted Constables’ was enrolled at High Wycombe on 3 December following a meeting chaired by Robert Wheeler, a brewery owner, who was mayor of the town on ten different occasions.¹⁷³

Night patrols and farm guards were reported at Chesham on 18 November and at Upton cum Chalvey. A meeting of gentry and tradesmen at Chesham on 6 December equally resolved to form a mounted corps and apply for weapons.¹⁷⁴ At Upton, this consisted of a patrol of two men in each of 16 districts and one on each farm every night, a total of £700 being raised. In addition, it was agreed that farmers could draw 14s.5d a week from ‘common stock’ provided they employed an additional man ‘by which it is calculated a considerable portion of distress may be alleviated’.¹⁷⁵ There was also a suggestion to raise a volunteer mounted constabulary at Marlow, but nothing transpired there.¹⁷⁶ A similar proposal from Hambledon also came to nothing.¹⁷⁷

In the case of the Wycombe volunteer mounted corps, Melbourne declined to issue firearms, but this was urged by the designated commanding officer, Thomas Hall. Robert Wheeler was second in command. Sixty cutlasses were then issued, but Hall complained that these were useless and he required pistols and sabres. Sabres were then issued. A total of 25 men in two sections were

¹⁷² Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, *Memoirs of the Courts and Cabinets of William IV and Victoria* 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861), I, 125-26, 148-49.

¹⁷³ TNA, HO 52/6 (270), Vincent to Melbourne, 1 Dec. 1830; (278), Chandos to Melbourne, 2 Dec. 1830; (279), Resolutions, 3 Dec. 1830.

¹⁷⁴ *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Dec. 1830.

¹⁷⁵ TNA, HO 52/6 (241), Trumper to Peel, 19 Nov. 1830.

¹⁷⁶ TNA, HO 41/8, Melbourne to Buckingham, 28 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1830.

¹⁷⁷ TNA, HO 41/8, Melbourne to Buckingham, 13 Dec. 1830.

formed in Wycombe, with four men in a West Wycombe section and six in a Hughenden section. They drilled daily at 1100 with a 1s.0d fine for absence. Hall resigned on 9 December to be replaced by a man with military experience, Lieutenant Colonel Crewe.¹⁷⁸ It would appear that a paid private force was maintained by subscription in the Burnham and Stoke Hundreds for some months after the disturbances subsided, not only to prevent their recurrence but also to keep the unemployed and underemployed in gainful occupation.¹⁷⁹

The 2nd Regiment was returned to full government pay and allowances on 17 December 1830, and authorised to augment its numbers up to 450.¹⁸⁰ Troops were now distributed at Aylesbury, Buckingham, Chesham, Newport Pagnell, Olney, Winslow, and Wotton. One was designated a 'Carbineer Troop', although the location varied. The regiment as whole had originally all had carbines, but the new improved short carbine was only issued at a rate of 12 per troop. Buckingham retained the old carbines so that the skirmishing ability of at least one troop in a dismounted role would be enhanced.¹⁸¹ Although the Bucks was one of the first yeomanry regiments formed, its existence outside the official establishment from 1827 to 1830 meant that it was placed only 21st in the order of precedence based on supposed 'unbroken' service established by

¹⁷⁸ TNA, HO 52/6 (276), Hall to Melbourne, 6 Dec. 1830; (288), Minutes of Mounted Constabulary Association, 9 Dec. 1830; HO 41/8, Phillips to Hall, 4 Dec. 1830.

¹⁷⁹ Robert Storch, 'Policing Rural Southern England Before the Police: Opinion and Practice, 1830-56', in Douglas Hay and Francis Snyder (eds), *Policing and Prosecution in Britain, 1750-1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 211-66.

¹⁸⁰ TNA, HO 51/94, Melbourne to Buckingham, 8 Dec. 1830.

¹⁸¹ Swann, *Citizen Soldiers*, 26.

the War Office in January 1885.¹⁸² This would have significant consequences after 1918.

Those apprehended at various points during November and December had been arraigned before petty sessions. Indeed, the number of prisoners had led to considerable overcrowding in Aylesbury Gaol, with the result that debtors had been moved into the 'juvenile' section. Many of those arrested were also released on bail in their own recognizances.¹⁸³ There was some fear of a possible attack and, should the militia staff not be available, then it was suggested six large blunderbusses be provided for the special constables.¹⁸⁴ In January 1831 the King's Commission sat at Aylesbury to try 137 of those apprehended. Initially, the Aylesbury magistrates were critical of the lack of Home Office guidance on the arrangements, twice meeting to discuss the issue.

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The yeomanry was again summoned from 9 to 15 January 1831 with detachments stationed at Aston Clinton, Aylesbury, Bierton, Brill, Long Crendon, Quainton, Stone, Weedon, Wendover, Whitchurch and, especially, Waddesdon.¹⁸⁶ In addition, 16 men from the militia permanent staff were placed inside Aylesbury Gaol with the yeomanry's two artillery pieces, with 20 army pensioners in the adjoining House of Correction, and 200 special constables sworn in. The guns were located within the iron gates with a

¹⁸² BA, T/A 3/36, Benson Freeman, 'The Royal Bucks Hussars Imperial Yeomanry', Proof of Article for *United Services Gazette* 21 Oct. 1904.

¹⁸³ Dell, *William Rickford*, 51-52.

¹⁸⁴ BA, SR 1/31/6, Buckingham to Tindal, 4 Nov. 1830. For a full account of the sitting and the sentences, see Chambers, *Buckinghamshire Machine Breakers*, 52-100.

¹⁸⁵ TNA, HO 40/27 (119), Minutes of Meetings, 8 and 10 Jan. 1831; HO 41/9, Melbourne to Buckingham, 11 and 18 Jan. 1831.

¹⁸⁶ *Bucks Gazette*, 1 Jan. 1831; BA, T/A 3/36 Order, 25 Dec. 1830; HHL, ST 148, Order 8 Jan. 1831; T/a 3/35/16.

permanent guard of six militiamen. There were 200 rounds of ammunition and 183 musket flints available.¹⁸⁷ Among the special constables were ten former regulars, four of them pensioners.¹⁸⁸ The Sheriff, Howard-Vyse, hazarded that this was probably ‘sufficient’. The Duke was only reluctantly persuaded by the government adviser, Mair, to deploy only one yeomanry troop at Aylesbury and to dispense with the artillery, although the militia staff and pensioners remained. The magistrates fully agreed with Mair, but the Duke ‘appears to do everything himself’.¹⁸⁹ Half the yeomanry were then allowed to leave, so those who wished could attend Buckingham fair on 12 January 1831.¹⁹⁰ No trouble ensued. Once more, the regiment received the thanks of the magistrates.¹⁹¹

Destruction of industrial as opposed to agricultural machinery was a capital offence, a distinction not understood by the rioters.¹⁹² Of those tried, 44 of 49 men charged with destroying paper machines were therefore sentenced to death. Two - Thomas Blizzard of Little Marlow and Joseph Sawney (or Sarney) of Flackwell Heath - were singled out for execution as ringleaders, the rest having sentences commuted. Blizzard and Sawney then also had their sentences commuted to transportation for life after many petitions were submitted calling for clemency, including one from Robert Wheeler and one from some of the mill owners.¹⁹³ In all, 29 men were transported, a few of whom returned to England. Sawney, who was incarcerated on a prison hulk in England rather than

¹⁸⁷ TNA, HO 40/27 (485), Howard-Vyse to Mair, 4 Dec. 1830; BA, SR 1/31/6, Buckingham to Tindal, 25 Dec. 1830; Tindal to Buckingham, 31 Dec. 1830.

¹⁸⁸ Chambers, *Buckinghamshire Machine Breakers*, 202-03.

¹⁸⁹ TNA, HO 40/27 (488), Mair to Buckingham 6 Jan. 1831; (490) and (496), Mair to Melbourne, 9 and 10 Jan. 1831.

¹⁹⁰ HHL, ST 148, Oder, 11 Jan. 1831.

¹⁹¹ HHL, ST 148, Order, 12 Jan. 1831.

¹⁹² Worship, ‘Down with Machinery’, 127.

¹⁹³ TNA, HO 17/46 (2).

being transported, was pardoned in 1836. Blizzard was also pardoned two years later, but died in Tasmania in 1843. Of those charged with agricultural machine breaking, most were allowed to plead guilty, and then released on their own recognisances, whilst 81 were acquitted.

Meanwhile, in the light of the disturbances, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Viscount Kirkwall, later 5th Earl of Orkney, whose seat was at Taplow Court, decided to raise a new yeomanry troop at Taplow. It was authorised by Lord Melbourne on 27 December 1830.¹⁹⁴ There had been a troop at Taplow in the old Southern Regiment, a number of whom had joined the Middlesex Yeomanry when the regiment was disbanded in 1827.¹⁹⁵ Originally, the Taplow Troop appears to have adopted a dragoon uniform as opposed to the light cavalry model followed by the 2nd Regiment, which for a while between 1821 and 1845 styled itself unofficially as the 2nd or Hussar Regiment of Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry. Hussar dress was still worn by the two artillery troops, the regiment as a whole adopting hussar dress once more in 1889.

It had been reported as early as 11 December 1830 that there were 40 volunteers ready to join in Taplow and its vicinity.¹⁹⁶ It is highly likely that some former members of the 1st Regiment such as Quartermaster Richard Boncey came forward: he was presented with a piece of plate at the Windmill Inn, Salthill in January 1839 to commemorate his 36 years in the yeomanry stretching back to the old Southern Regiment.¹⁹⁷ Initially called the Kirkwall Volunteer Cavalry,

¹⁹⁴ HHL, STG 103, 'Note on History of the Taplow Troop', by Pigott, 20 March 1867; TNA, HO 51/94, Melbourne to Buckingham, 17 Dec. 1830; Benson Freeman, 'History of the Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry', *Bucks Free Press*, 17 Oct. 1919.

¹⁹⁵ Swann, *Citizen Soldiers*, 23.

¹⁹⁶ *Windsor and Eton Express*, 11 Dec. 1830.

¹⁹⁷ *Bucks Herald*, 26 Jan. 1839. Boncey's 1821 Coronation Medal is in the BMMT collection as BMMT 736/1.

then briefly the Marlow Troop, the official name of the new unit quickly became the South Buckinghamshire (Taplow) Yeomanry Cavalry. Almost immediately the new troop was called out on duty for a case of arson on 7 December at Coppingham near Salthill, just beating the Uxbridge Troop of the Middlesex Yeomanry to the scene.¹⁹⁸ It was also sent to Princes Risborough from 11 to 13 January 1831, extending the cordon around Aylesbury during the sitting of the King's Commission.¹⁹⁹

Further calls on the services of the 2nd Bucks Yeomanry came in 1835 and 1848. Two troops were required in May 1835 to ensure the successful transfer of paupers from Chesham to the new poor house in Amersham in accordance with the consolidation resulting from implementation of the New Poor Law. The change in the customary administration of poor relief resulted in the same angry reaction that characterised the equally retrospective protest involved in the Swing riots. In addition, the consolidation of paupers involved not just transfer, but also reclassification. Ratepayers in Chalfont St Giles had petitioned against the closure of the workhouse there and a crowd, mostly women, threw stones when paupers were moved from that at Beaconsfield. A crowd gathered at Chesham two days later and refused to allow the workhouse gates to be opened to let the carts proceed. The reading of the Riot Act caused the crowd to fall back, but the crowd followed the cart, taking out the paupers and attacking the magistrate. The paupers returned to Chesham.

Police arrived the next day followed by the 2nd Bucks, who arrived at Chalfont St Giles on 26 May and escorted the paupers to Amersham without further

¹⁹⁸ Charles Stonham and Benson Freeman, *Historical Records of the Middlesex Yeomanry, 1797-1927* (London: Privately printed, 1930), 24.

¹⁹⁹ TNA, WO 13/3974, Certificate by Magistrates.

incident beyond abuse. A number of arrests were made.²⁰⁰ Ten individuals - eight men and two women - were charged, of whom nine were found guilty with sentences of up to 14 months. Yeomen who testified were Captain Benjamin Fuller, who commanded the two troops, Thomas Andrews of Chesham, Archibald White, R. Oldfield, and William Archer, who was the landlord of the Green Man at Chesham.²⁰¹ It was suggested that there might have been further serious disturbance if the yeomanry had not been present.²⁰²

In April 1848 the regiment relieved regular troops from Hounslow and Windsor for the latter's duty in the capital during the planned large scale Chartist demonstration in favour of political reform.²⁰³ There had been some Chartist activity in the county, with meetings at Wycombe and Newport Pagnell early in April, and some subsequent anticipation of a meeting at the North Star Hotel in Slough in June.²⁰⁴ The response to the intended mass demonstration planned for 10 April saw over 8,000 troops, over 4,000 police, over 1,200 army pensioners and possibly at least 120,000 enrolled special constables - including the future Emperor Napoleon III - to confront a crowd estimated at 23-33,000 on Kennington Common.²⁰⁵ The Chartist leadership chose to give up the attempt to get into London itself to present a petition to Parliament, and the crowd dispersed with the onset of rain. The petition, which was supposed to have over

²⁰⁰ BA, T/A 3/17, Orders, 24 May 1835; Nicholas Edsall, *The Anti-Poor Law Movement, 1834-44* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 29-30; *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 31 Oct. 1835; *Bucks Gazette*, 20 June 1835.

²⁰¹ *Bucks Herald*, 20 June, and 4 July 1835; *Bucks Gazette*, 4 July 1835.

²⁰² *Bucks Herald*, 11 July 1835.

²⁰³ *Bucks Chronicle*, 8 Apl. 1848; *Bucks Herald*, 15 Apl. 1848.

²⁰⁴ TNA, HO 45/2410 (3), Blandy to Grey, 12 Apl. 1848; Chester to Grey, 17 Apl. 1848; Bent to Grey, 2 June 1848.

²⁰⁵ Stevenson, *Popular Disturbances*, 268-72.

5.7 million signatures, proved to contain just under two million. Many pages were in identical handwriting and many signatures were forged or facetious, including those of the Queen and the Duke of Wellington, who appeared to have endorsed the petition no fewer than seventeen times. It marked the last gasp of Chartism.

In all, about 300 men and the regiment's two six-pounders were deployed from 8 to 12 April.²⁰⁶ The quartermaster of the Amersham Troop, the long-serving Henry Wootton, later recalled that he had received notification at 0800 that the troop must assemble by 1600 hours. All did so. Out of 500 men in the regiment not more than eight were absent notwithstanding its scattered nature and 'not one in ten' possessing their own horses.²⁰⁷ The majority of the 2nd Royal Bucks relieved the 12th Lancers at Hounslow, but the Newport Pagnell and Olney troops took over duties from the Household Cavalry at Windsor. In old age the Rev. Jack Linnell recalled his older cousins 'with grim faces, sharpen their sabres on the grindstone at the village smith' in Silverstone before riding to Buckingham to join the regiment for duty at Hounslow in 1848.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ TNA, Russell Mss, PRO 30/22/7B, Palmerston to Russell, 13 Mar. 1848; BA, T/A 3/36, Order, 5 Apl. 1848; T/A 3/25/21 and 23; HHL, STG 102, Fellowes to Chandos, 5 Apl. 1848.

²⁰⁷ *Daily News*, 28 Dec. 1854.

²⁰⁸ J. E. Linnell, *Old Oak: The Story of a Forest Village* (London: Constable, 1932), 105. The Linnell family provided many recruits to the yeomanry in the nineteenth century, including during the South African War, and also in the Great War.



(Left): Officers of the 2nd Regiment, 1844 [BMMT]

(Right): Officer of the Artillery Troop, 1844 [BMMT]

Unsurprisingly, given the Whig disdain for the force and, despite the relative strength of yeomanry representatives in the Commons and Lords, a reduction was announced in March 1838. The Whig government argued that, with re-clothing due, the force was too costly at its current strength of 18,300 officers and men. Around 4,500 men were struck from the establishment but nine corps were allowed to serve on without pay and allowances. The measure saved only £22,000.²⁰⁹ With the dangers of domestic unrest seemingly subsiding, the Home Office decided once more to cease funding the Taplow Troop on 3 March 1838. It continued to serve without any government pay or allowances, although it did retain exemptions from the ballot and horse tax. It did so until 1 April 1843 when the Chartist disturbances persuaded the Home Secretary, Sir James

²⁰⁹ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 13.

Graham, to return it to the official establishment of yeomanry.²¹⁰ In all, six corps were officially recognised anew in face of the Chartist threat.

The Taplow troop offered its services in anticipation of the Chartist disturbances in 1848, but was not needed.²¹¹ The annual training - the standard eight days required of the yeomanry - was held at various locations including Beaconsfield, Marlow, Burnham and Slough. In May 1838 and May 1854 the duty was undertaken at Stoke Park.²¹² Its band performed a similar function to that of the 2nd Regiment, playing, for example, at a Conservative dinner for Disraeli at the Royal Hotel, Slough in May 1858.²¹³ Following the 1855 training at Slough, the troop contributed £28 to the Patriotic Fund to assist returning distressed soldiers from the Crimean War.²¹⁴ It should be noted that generous philanthropic gestures by yeomen were not uncommon, the 1st Bucks Yeomanry giving £17.13s.0d to the fund for distressed weavers in Spitalfields in June 1826, and the 2nd Royal Bucks Yeomanry being thanked by the Prince of Wales in an open letter for raising money for the Gordon Home for Boys in 1886.²¹⁵ The Taplow Troop thus continued to survive, although the Home Office expressed doubt that there was any point in its existence in 1853.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ TNA, WO 43/694, Taplow decisions, 12 and 30 Mar. 1838; HO 51/97, Russell to Buckingham, 5 May 1838; Ian F. W. Beckett, 'The Taplow Lancers: A Forgotten Yeomanry Unit', *Bugle and Sabre* 6 (2012), pp. 9-12.

²¹¹ TNA, HO 45/2410 (3), Orkney to Grey, 31 May 1848; HO 51/58, Grey to Carrington, 16 Mar. 1848.

²¹² *Bucks Herald*, 28 May 1838; *Bucks Chronicle*, 27 May 1854.

²¹³ *Bucks Herald*, 29 May 1858.

²¹⁴ TNA, HO 51/99, Fitzroy to Carrington, 23 Mar. 1853; B. Granville Baker, *Old Cavalry Stations* (London: Heath Cranston, 1934), p. 145.

²¹⁵ *The Age*, 4 June 1826; Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 119; *Bucks Herald*, 19 June 1886.

²¹⁶ TNA, HO 51/99, Fitzroy to Carrington, 23 Mar. 1853.

Alternatives to yeomanry such as special constables and army pensioners were no more effective in aid of the civil power.²¹⁷ Indeed, the yeomanry was well suited to controlling an unpoliced and hierarchical society, but many of the disorders confronting the yeomanry arose from the pressures of industrialisation and urbanisation. In the longer term some like Sir Robert Peel saw the answer in a centralised constabulary, although Wellington amongst others believed this an unacceptable challenge to local control exercised through the magistrates. The Metropolitan Police was established in London in 1829, Peel having argued that what was needed was ‘something less cumbrous and expensive than Yeomanry, but of a more permanent and efficient character than special constables’.²¹⁸ Birmingham, Bolton and Manchester followed suit in 1839, but the Rural Constabulary Act that same year was permissive rather than mandatory, and left control in local hands.

Bucks had ignored the advice of the Home Office to raise a constabulary in the wake of the Swing riots, although there was a meeting at Wycombe to discuss the possibility.²¹⁹ The county also chose not to implement the 1839 legislation on the grounds of cost and a dislike of the implied centralisation. Bucks did take up the 1850 Superintending Constables Act, by which 16 paid superintending constables supported by the county rate oversaw the work of parish constables in each petty sessional district under firm magisterial control. Buckingham Borough did establish its own constabulary in 1836 and High Wycombe in 1849. The former force retained its independence until 1889, and the latter until

²¹⁷ F. C. Mather, ‘Army Pensioners and the Maintenance of Civil Order in Early Nineteenth Century England’, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 36 (1958), 110-24.

²¹⁸ Palmer, *Police and Protest*, 285.

²¹⁹ TNA, HO 40/27 (500) and (506), Mair to Phillips, 11 and 16 Jan. 1831.

1947.²²⁰ In 1839, however, Buckingham had only three borough policemen, and just four in 1842 and 1848.²²¹

By 1851 only 28 out of 56 English and Welsh counties had formed police forces. Rural crime increased in those counties that had not established police forces through an influx of vagrant criminals against which yeomanry was powerless. In the wake of the Crimean War, with fears aroused by the prospect of the demobilisation of veterans and the effect of the suspension of transportation as a punishment in 1853, the provisions of the County and Borough Police Act in 1856 were mandatory. The police in Bucks was established in 1857 with divisions at Aylesbury, Fenny Stratford, High Wycombe, Slough and Steeple Claydon. In keeping with many other counties, the appointment of Chief Constable went to a man with military or quasi-military background. In this case it was a former officer in the RBKOM, Willoughby Carter. Carter, whose appointment had not been supported by Carrington,²²² set out to break the link between police and magistrates. He was forced out in 1867, being replaced by the more acceptable John Tyrwhitt-Drake of Shardeloes, well attuned to the county concerns with which he was intimately connected.²²³

It marked the beginning of a decline in the use of yeomanry in aid of the civil power, although individual police forces were not equal to major disorder. Police, however, could be borrowed from neighbouring forces, and the rapid spread of the railway network enabled regulars to be deployed quickly.

²²⁰ Carolyn Steedman, *Policing the Victorian Community: The Formation of English Provincial Police Forces, 1856-80* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 19, 169 fn. 30.

²²¹ Mather, *Public Order*, 239.

²²² *Bucks Herald*, 25 Oct. 1856.

²²³ Steedman, *Policing Victorian Community*, 49.

Magistrates retained the ability to summon yeomanry until 1907, but it was rare for yeomen to confront their fellow citizens after the 1850s.

It was not a foregone conclusion that all yeomanry corps were still dominated by farmers. Nor was it necessarily the case that tenants were always liable to undertake yeomanry duty at the behest of aristocratic landlords. As noted previously, even during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the yeomanry had many professional men, tradesmen, and even artisans. In Bucks there was little industry and few larger urban centres, and it was to be expected that farmers would remain prominent. Unfortunately, few muster rolls have survived and the evidence is patchy. Officers certainly incurred expense. Mess rules agreed in October 1836, for example, set fines of six dozen bottles of wine for absence from duty without the commanding officer's leave, three bottles for smoking on duty, and the cost of the meal for any missed. A commission for lieutenant would cost six bottles in entry, that for captain 12 bottles, and that for major 24 bottles with all promotions additionally costing six bottles.²²⁴ Officers remained closely identified with the landed elite. Those in the reconstituted 2nd Regiment in 1828 included William Pigott of Doddershall Park as lieutenant colonel; George Manners Morgan of Biddlesden Park; Sir Thomas Fremantle MP of Swanbourne House and Thomas Tyringham Bernard of Nether Winchendon House as captains; and William Carrington of Horsenden House as lieutenant.

As indicated earlier, the partial 1831 militia lists for the Newport Hundred include 57 men exempt by reason of being yeomen. With an average age of 30.5 years, they comprise one gentleman, 11 farmers (19.2%), 24 tradesmen (42.1%), and seven craftsmen. No occupation is given for seven men whilst three are housekeepers (householders), and four in the mysterious category of

²²⁴ HHL STG 3(9).

inmates.²²⁵ Of the tradesmen, three were victuallers, two innkeepers, five butchers, and five bakers. In 1835 the *Bucks Gazette* alleged that Lucas's Newport Pagnell Troop were a motley crowd of 'beardless boys' unworthy of the name of yeomen. A subsequent letter by 'Q in a Corner' characterised them as gentleman's servants, labourers, under-hostlers and pot boys. There appears to have been some unspecified 'outrages' committed by the troop to draw down this criticism, but the *Gazette* was never a friend of the yeomanry and it is not clear how far this can represent a true picture of the composition of the troop.²²⁶ In July 1841 the *Bucks Gazette* suggested many of the regiment's horses were 'too low, both in volume and height', expressing surprise such 'stunted exceptions' were tolerated.²²⁷ Where individuals are noted in the press, they are often given as publicans, as in the case of the landlord of the Green Man in 1835. Similarly, Henry George of Maids Moreton, who died from a fractured skull after a fall from his horse on his way back from duty in October 1845, was the landlord of the Wheatsheaf, as well as a member of the regiment's band.²²⁸

The general impression of the mid-nineteenth century yeomanry is one of a force still dependent upon farmers and farmers' sons, but not by the same margins as previously, and of men of established county links primarily in their mid-twenties or early thirties.²²⁹ Concern for farming commitments has already been noted, as in the case of the coronation in 1821, and the Swing duty in 1830. Of the 61 men of B Troop and the 54 men of C Troop of the 2nd Mid Bucks listed in January 1845 and May 1846 respectively, there were 41 and 28 farmers (67.2% and 51.8%). Overall, 60 per cent were farmers or their sons. It

²²⁵ BA, L/Md 5/9.

²²⁶ *Bucks Gazette*, 14 and 21 Nov. 1835.

²²⁷ *Bucks Gazette*, 31 July 1841.

²²⁸ *Bucks Gazette*, 11 Oct. 1845.

²²⁹ Hay, *Yeomanry Cavalry*, 87, 98.

is noticeable that the craftsmen were all in agriculturally related occupations such as wheelwrights and saddlers. One man in B Troop came from a neighbouring parish in Oxfordshire and five men of C Troop from neighbouring Northamptonshire parishes.²³⁰ There is a list of tenants who had resigned since the last duty in 1848, but it is not clear whether this suggests any pressure on individuals. Of the 20 named, four had sold their property and one had left whilst two had rejoined.²³¹

A muster roll for the entire regiment on 1 August 1865 shows a larger proportion of tradesmen and craftsmen, the former boosted in part by the inclusion of 'E' Troop from Newport Pagnell and Olney. It is noticeable that there were 26 publicans, innkeepers and victuallers in the regiment, as well as 29 butchers. The craftsmen included those with obvious connections to horsed occupations - blacksmiths, wheelwrights, farriers, harness makers, and saddlers. Those who might be deemed manual workers were invariably also strongly connected to a knowledge of horses such as coachmen and grooms. Chelsea Out-Pensioners provided military instruction, often as NCOs. Whilst officers were gentry or professional men, it was by no means the case that NCOs would all be farmers, leading to a certain sense of equality in the other ranks. The three sergeants in 'B' Troop, for example, comprised a horse dealer, a cattle dealer, and a miller. One of the sergeants in 'E' Troop was a butcher. One of those in 'G' Troop was an innkeeper, and those in 'H' Troop included a carpenter and a saddler.²³²

²³⁰ HHL, STG Military 3 (3) and 4(1).

²³¹ HHL, STG 1 (17).

²³² BA, D-CN/21/2/2/59.

Table 5.1: Social Composition, 2nd Royal Bucks Yeomanry Cavalry, 1845-65

Unit	Gentry	Farmers and Sons	Professions	Trades	Craftsmen	Manual and Misc.	Unknown	Total
B Troop, Jan. 1845	2 (3.2%)	41 (67.2%)	4 (6.5%)	11 (18.0%)	3 (4.9%)	-	-	61
C Troop, May 1846	2 (3.7%)	28 (51.8%)	1 (0.1%)	19 (35.1%)	4 (7.4%)	-	-	54
Regiment 1 Aug. 1865	24 (5.0%)	122 (25.6%)	20 (4.2%)	156 (32.8%)	89 (18.7%)	23 (8 Out Pensioners) (4.8%)	41	475

Source: HHL, STG 3(3); STG 4 (1); BA, D-CN/21/2/2/59

In 1852 the 2nd Duke wanted to add 50 men and two more guns to the yeomanry as well as suggesting that the annual training be extended to ten days. Two years later he was anxious to raise 100 more yeomen for a new troop at Amersham and Chesham.²³³

The advent of regular policing reflected a growing desire shared by landed and middling classes alike for a more orderly society, whilst increasing prosperity

²³³ BA, D-CN 21/2/59, Walpole to Carrington, 10 Mar. 1852 enclosing memo by Buckingham, 7 Mar.1852; *Bucks Herald*, 14 Jan. 1854; *Bucks Chronicle*, 21 Jan. 1854.

built upon industrialisation eased many of the social and economic pressures that had exacerbated disorder in the past. The corollary, however, was that there was such admiration for science, progress and technical achievement that there was an exaggerated fear that technology had undermined Britain's security. The new challenge emanated from an old enemy. France had made rapid progress towards the construction of a sea-going armoured ironclad fleet in the wake of advances in steam power, screw propulsion, rifled ordnance and armour plate. Palmerston, indeed, remarked in June 1845 that steam had 'bridged the Channel'.²³⁴ In reality, the capabilities of early steam ships were much exaggerated.²³⁵ Although allies during the Crimean War, Anglo-French interests had already clashed in the 1840s, and France had commenced what amounted to a naval arms race in 1846. Louis Napoleon's coup in France in December 1851 aroused new fears whilst the now Emperor Napoleon III's announcement of an enhanced naval programme in August 1855 added to fears. In all, there were three so-called invasion 'panics' in 1846-47, 1851-52 and 1858-59.

Soldiers such as Wellington and the Inspector General of Fortifications from 1845 to 1862, Sir John Fox Burgoyne, saw merit in playing up the threat in order to persuade politicians to augment the regular army. Few politicians were prepared to countenance increasing the size of the army, or construct new expensive fortifications. Their solution was to turn to the militia, and even Wellington and Burgoyne recognised the need for a reformed militia. For much of the 1840s militia advocates clashed with those such as Chartists and members of the Peace Society, who wanted the institution abolished altogether. Their ultimate failure to prevent the revival of the militia constituted a significant

²³⁴ *Hansard*, HC Deb., vol. 82, cc. 1224, 30 July 1845.

²³⁵ M. S. Partridge, 'Military Planning for the Defence of the United Kingdom, 1814-70', Unpub. PhD, London, 1984, 30.

blow to radical politics.²³⁶ Proposals of varying complexity for reform based on previous legislation were put forward in 1845, 1847, 1848 and 1851. The issue of militia reform directly led to the fall of Lord John Russell's administration in February 1851.²³⁷ Prevalent liberal anti-militarist ideology saw the militia not only as unpopular, but also as intrusive and socially regressive. The challenge became a matter of finding some formula that would not prove too great a burden on the working class, but also prevent a revived force emerging as a bastion of privilege.²³⁸

The new government led by Lord Derby was all too aware of the popular opposition to the militia ballot. The new Home Secretary, Spencer Walpole, found a solution in interpreting the exceptional circumstances permitting voluntary enlistment in return for bounty in past militia legislation as a basis for arguing that the ballot would only be applied if voluntary enlistment failed. Even then radicals such as Richard Cobden and John Bright opposed it. It took over 200 hours of debate involving 32 divisions of the Commons to get the new militia act passed in June 1852. Walpole notified Carrington that he had received offers of raising volunteers in Bucks, but this was undesirable with the legislation going through.²³⁹

It was proposed to raise 80,000 men aged between 18 and 35 in England and Wales by voluntary means with a five-year term of service and 21 days' annual training. This could be extended to 56 days in emergencies. In the first year, 50,000 men would be sought and 30,000 in the second year. County quotas

²³⁶ Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism, 1847-60* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 216.

²³⁷ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 146-48.

²³⁸ Stephen Shapiro, 'The British Army in Home Defence: Militia and Volunteers in a Liberal Era', Unpub. PhD., Ohio State, 2011, 88.

²³⁹ TNA, HO 51/99, Walpole to Carrington, 13 Mar. 1852.

were fixed on the basis of one militiaman for every 174 males in the first year, and one in every 286 males in the second year as established by the 1851 census. A bounty of £6 was offered, of which 10s.0d would be paid on enrolment, 10s.0d after the first training, and the remainder in monthly instalments of 2s.0d. A guinea would be paid daily to each man during the first four annual trainings and £1.16s.0d for the last training. The bounty would be paid not from the county rate but from the consolidated fund. Walpole had suggested granting the franchise to militiamen after two years' satisfactory service, but this was dropped.

Even the voluntary element did not end opposition with over 800 petitions presented against the bill during its parliamentary passage, not least in manufacturing areas where there were fears enlistment would interfere with the labour force. Radical and pacifist propaganda emphasised old fears of the corrupting nature of military service, the likely increase in aristocratic patronage, and the possible subjection of militiamen to flogging. The circulation of one particular anti-militia pamphlet suggesting the likelihood of flogging brought prosecutions for seditious libel in October 1852 in Bucks as well as Hertfordshire and Suffolk: examples had also been circulated in Kent. The man prosecuted in Bucks was described in the press as a 'poor' bill sticker named William Brewer, who was also parish clerk of Woburn. Brewer was indicted as 'a wicked and seditious and evil disposed person' for handing out pamphlets in Newport Pagnell alleging that militiamen would suffer 'cruel and excessive corporal punishment' and for being in contempt of Her Majesty and her laws. The census indicates he was a toll collector and clerk.²⁴⁰ In practice, most

²⁴⁰ BA, D-CN 21/2/10, Driscoll to Carrington, Feb. 1853; D-X 1319/8, Draft Grand Jury Presentment; *Oxford Chronicle and Reading Gazette*, 16 Oct. 1852.

crimes such as desertion, absence, and fraudulent enlistment were dealt with by magistrates rather than under military law.²⁴¹

Friendly societies were induced to invoke old clauses in their constitutions curtailing payment to those engaging in military service, a significant threat to the militia when almost half the population was now enrolled in such organisations.²⁴² In November 1852, Carrington was petitioned by three newly enrolled militiamen after being refused benefit by societies. Charles Joyce belonged to the Sherrington Friendly Society, Thomas Mattingley to the United Brethren Mutual Benefit Society at Langley Marish, and George Joyce to the Hand in Hand Benevolent Society at Stoke Poges.²⁴³ A Newport Pagnell butcher serving in the yeomanry had been allowed benefit by the Sherrington Society, but it argued that this was because he could leave at any time whereas Joyce was committed to five years in the militia.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Robert Stoneman, 'The Reformed British Militia, c. 1852-1908', Unpub. PhD, Kent, 2014, 162.

²⁴² Anderson, 'English Militia', 321-22.

²⁴³ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, William Joyce to Carrington, 13 Nov. 1852; George Joyce to Carrington, 9 Dec. 1852; Mattingley to Carrington, 11 Dec. 1852.

²⁴⁴ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, Parrott to Carrington, 20 Nov. 1852.

BUCKS LIEUTENANCY.

Aylesbury, Dec. 2nd, 1852.

PRIVATE JOYCE,

I am directed by Lord Carrington to inform you that his Lordship has received your Letter, acquainting him that the Sherrington Friendly Society, of which you are a Member, has refused you medical relief, in consequence of your having volunteered into the Militia. Lord Carrington has forwarded your Letter to the Secretary of State, under whose consideration the question now is.

His Lordship understands you to have been a Member of this Society for two years, and to have paid a Monthly Subscription of One Shilling; he therefore desires me to send you a Post Office Order for Twenty-four Shillings, of which please to acknowledge the safe receipt.

Your humble Servant,
HENRY HEYWARD,
Clerk to the General Meetings.

To Private CHARLES JOYCE,
1st Company *ROYAL BUCKS*
MILITIA, SHERRINGTON.

Gen. Dr. Train, Printer, Chronicle and Gazette Office, Silver-street, Aylesbury.

Carrington shames the Sherrington Friendly Society, December 1852 [BA]

Carrington regarded such men - 'provident and steady' - as the best possible recruits.²⁴⁵ In the absence of any legal remedy, Carrington announced that he would compensate the men with 24s.0d each from his own pocket, circulating a notice to this effect.²⁴⁶ It was sufficient for the Sherrington society at least to be shamed into readmitting Joyce, and two other members who were also affected.²⁴⁷ In September 1853, a clause included in new legislation formally suspending any possibility of a ballot allowed those refused benefit recourse to magistrates.²⁴⁸ Carrington was relieved, believing that 'the class of men, provident and

²⁴⁵ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, Carrington to Walpole, 24 Nov. 1852.

²⁴⁶ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, Notice, 2 Dec. 1852.

²⁴⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, Joyce to Carrington, 15 Dec. 1852; *Bucks Chronicle*, 11 Dec. 1852.

²⁴⁸ BA, D-CN, 21/2/9, Joyce to Carrington, 3 Nov. 1852; Parrott to Carrington, 20 Nov. 1852; Pratt to Carrington, 29 Nov. 1852; Walpole to Carrington, 21 Dec. 1852; Joyce to Carrington, 15 Dec. 1852; *Bucks Chronicle*, 27 Aug. 1853.

steady' who belonged to the societies was one 'from which the Militia will be best recruited'.²⁴⁹

The new legislation lifting any threat of a ballot was indicative of the success of the new militia despite some initial problems resulting from the healthy state of employment in both urban and rural areas. Men could only enlist in their own county or neighbouring counties. Carrington spent a great deal of the autumn of 1852 in the saddle.²⁵⁰ His agents scoured the county for the 466 recruits required as the county quota - 1 in 174 males - although, oddly, some recruiting notices suggested only 446 were required. An additional 283 men had to be found in 1853, making the total 749. Large numbers of handbills were circulated advertising the service conditions.²⁵¹

The government had expressed a wish for householders and Carrington insisted on recruits being checked against police records. He personally interviewed all prior to attestation, and provided each man with 3s.0d from his own pocket as a means of establishing a personal loyalty. In April 1853, for example, he appeared at the Swan in Newport Pagnell to do so.²⁵² It might be added that he

²⁴⁹ BA, D-CN 21/2/9, Carrington to Walpole, 24 Nov. 1852.

²⁵⁰ BA, D-CN 21/2/14, Wood to Carrington, 5 Jan. 1853.

²⁵¹ HHL, STG Military 7 (10); BA, D-CN 21/2/16, Recruiting Notice, 23 Aug. 1852; 21/2/11; T/A 5/1 (e), Minutes of Lieutenancy Meeting, 19 Aug. 1852.

²⁵² BA, D-CN 21/2/14, Walpole to Carrington, 8 Nov. 1852; 21/2/16, Poster.



Robert, 2nd Lord Carrington (1796-1868), circa 1837 [National Trust]

also supplemented the government clothing allowance to secure better quality cloth for the regiment's uniforms.²⁵³ One man rejected had sold goods without a license five years previously.²⁵⁴ As *The Times* put it in September 1853, the RBKOM 'does not contain a man whose antecedents are tainted with crime of any kind'.²⁵⁵ Particular attention was also paid to the character of NCOs.²⁵⁶ In

²⁵³ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Carrington to Hardinge, 4 Aug. 1852.

²⁵⁴ BA, D-CN 21/2/13, Bernard to Carrington, 27 Apl. 1853.

²⁵⁵ *The Times*, 17 Sept. 1853; *Bucks Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1853.

November 1856 a proposed marriage between a sergeant and ‘one of the commonest prostitutes of Wycombe’ caused some dismay, and it was hoped it could be discouraged.²⁵⁷

Bucks was the first county to complete its quota, doing so within just two months.²⁵⁸ It was reported in November 1852 that nine-tenths of the revived RBKOM were agricultural labourers.²⁵⁹ Whatever Carrington’s selective methods one of the deputy lieutenants, Thomas Bernard, cheerfully reported from Nether Winchendon in April 1853 that he was circulating recruiting literature ‘amongst the Peasantry of my district’.²⁶⁰ When one recruit was enlisted under size in October 1855, it was explained that the standard gauge had been locked away whilst one NCO was at Risborough Fair, again suggesting the kind of superior recruit expected.²⁶¹

Despite the rapidity with which the quota was filled in 1852, there were concerns in terms of completing the second year’s quota. George Fitzroy, Carrington’s lieutenant colonel, feared in March 1853 that ‘wages now being generally 9s. or 10s. and labour plentiful, that men will not so readily come forward as they probably will after Hag and Houndtime’.²⁶² Similarly, Bernard observed that ‘there was a great demand for labour owing to emigration’, with the towns taking able-bodied men from the villages.²⁶³ The High Constable of Newport Pagnell, W. E. Driscoll, suggested the weather was so good that it had

²⁵⁶ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Fitzroy to Carrington, 7 Mar. 1853; Cross to Carrington, 21 Nov. 1853; 21/2/13, Cholmondeley to Carrington, 9 and 11 Feb. 1853.

²⁵⁷ BA, D-CN/21/2/32, Cross to Carrington, 11 Nov. 1856.

²⁵⁸ BA, D-CN 21/2/18, Walpole to Carrington, 21 Sept. 1852.

²⁵⁹ BA, D-CN 21/2/14, Wood to Carrington, 25 Nov. 1852.

²⁶⁰ BA, D-CN, 21/2/13, Bernard to Carrington, 11 Apl. 1853.

²⁶¹ BA, D-CN 21/2/24, Randolph Crewe to Carrington, Oct.1855.

²⁶² BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Fitzroy to Carrington, 31 Mar. 1853.

²⁶³ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Bernard to Carrington, 16 Mar. 1853.

‘caused so much employment that the farmers complain they cannot obtain a sufficient number of labourers’. Names were coming in slowly, and Driscoll had also been pre-occupied with a series of mysterious incendiary fires in Olney, in which two lives had been lost.²⁶⁴ After the first training, three men who appealed to Carrington that they were unemployed and destitute were each given £1 by Carrington himself. Another two men then similarly applied to Carrington in December for 2s.0d per month.²⁶⁵



Recruitment Poster for the RBKOM, August 1852 [BA]

Carrington’s officers were primarily from the county’s landed families. George Fitzroy, grandson of the 3rd Duke of Grafton, was from Grafton Regis in neighbouring Northamptonshire. It resulted in a lobby for the Hon. William

²⁶⁴ BA, D-CN 21/2/10, Driscoll to Carrington, 8 Feb 1853.

²⁶⁵ BA, Q/JQc 4, Wilson, Langston and Brown to Carrington, 6 Dec. 1852; Carrington to Tindal, 13 and 16 Dec. 1852; 21/2/8, Plater and Taylor to Carrington, 22 Dec. 1852.

George Cavendish, later 2nd Lord Chesham, as Fitzroy had ‘no position or qualification in the County which it is intended should be represented in Militia regiments’.²⁶⁶ Fitzroy had also not been in the army for 22 years, leaving as a subaltern.²⁶⁷ As Carrington wrote to Sidney Herbert in December 1853, ‘The interests of the militia would probably be injured if we admitted to the same appointments, as in the Yeomanry, the sons of prosperous Farmers and rich attornies [sic]. The inadequacy of the pay excludes many of those we prefer who would otherwise join.’²⁶⁸ Of course, the property qualifications for field officers remained in play until 1869. Even then pay and allowances remained essentially static until 1908, requiring a private income to meet costs.²⁶⁹

In 1853 despite having received (and discounted) innumerable applications from former regulars, Carrington was still lacking in subalterns.²⁷⁰ Carrington did give ensigncies to a young City man with two years’ service in the Honourable Artillery Company, and another who was the son of a stockbroker.²⁷¹ Two more young subalterns - Isaac King from the National Debt Office and Carrington’s own nephew, Raglan Somerset from the Audit Office - had claims to Bucks connections.²⁷² George Drake of Shardeloes obtained a commission for his brother by asking Carrington whilst they were out hunting together.²⁷³

Over the country as a whole the militia never attained its establishment, only reaching just over 66,000 men by the end of 1855. Neither the recruitment

²⁶⁶ BA, D-CN 21/2/34, Frederick Cavendish to Carrington, 26 Mar. 1853.

²⁶⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Fitzroy to Carrington, Sept. 1852.

²⁶⁸ BA, D-CN 21/2/18, Carrington to Hebert, 6 Dec. 1853.

²⁶⁹ Stoneman, ‘Reformed British Militia’, 96-97.

²⁷⁰ BA, Q/JQc 4, Carrington to Tindal, 6 Mar. 1853.

²⁷¹ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Pinnington to Carrington, 26 Sept. 1853; Smith to Carrington, n. d.

²⁷² BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Somerset to Carrington, n. d.; King to Carrington 31 Aug. 1853.

²⁷³ BA, D-CN 21/2/23, Fitzroy to Carrington, 5 Mar. 1854.

bounty, nor the amount of pay on duty, was increased until 1901.²⁷⁴ Over 5,000 men did not appear at the first annual training, but there was little trouble despite men being billeted upon innkeepers. The number of memorials from towns praising the good conduct of the militia was impressive given the vested interest of opponents in exploiting incidents. After the first RBKOM parade, Fitzroy reported to Carrington that not a man was drunk or ‘even *fresh* as they say’. There appears to have been only one case where a dissenter complained of drunkenness.²⁷⁵ Generally, the regiment’s conduct was all that Carrington could have wished. Carrington himself was well pleased that during the first training that no offences were reported and the men had proved ‘civil, sober, obedient and steady’.²⁷⁶ The following year’s training was equally without major incident despite one writer in the *Aylesbury News* alleging militiamen guilty of a ‘carnival of brutality’. In reality, the police reported that some men had been attacked without provocation by the ‘lowest scamps’ of Wycombe.²⁷⁷ In May 1856 Carrington recorded that during the two years of embodied service there had been only one district court martial, no general court martial, and only five police complaints.²⁷⁸

Carrington was certainly intent upon making militia service a vehicle for moral paternalism, expounding after the battalion’s annual training in Wycombe on 25 May 1862 the benefits of temperance, honesty, industry and self-improvement which would make a man ‘respected, trusted and employed by all those who wish to be well served’.²⁷⁹ Religious tracts were generously distributed, church attendance was made compulsory, and a regimental school was established to

²⁷⁴ Stoneman, ‘Reformed British Militia’, 107, 115-16.

²⁷⁵ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Fitzroy to Carrington, 28 Oct. 1852.

²⁷⁶ *Bucks Chronicle*, 13 Nov. 1852.

²⁷⁷ *Bucks Herald*, 8 Oct. 1853.

²⁷⁸ BA, D-CN 21/2/7, Carrington speech, 31 May 1856; T/A 2/9; TNA, WO 68/242.

²⁷⁹ TNA, WO 68/242.

teach literacy. The Secretary at War, William Beresford, thoroughly approved. Thus, Carrington was given a small pecuniary allowance as well as a list of suitable titles including Walter McLeod's *My First Reading Book* (1848), William Hughes' *Geography of the British Empire* (1850), Thomas Tate's *The First Three Books of Euclid's Elements* (1851), and G. R. Gleig's *History of England* (1850), as well as a school atlas, a geography of Palestine, a natural history, and a history of Greece.²⁸⁰



NCOs of the RBKOM outside the Orderly Room in the Stable-yard, Wycombe Abbey, 1855 [BMMT]

After the first annual training, the three men who had each taught up to 170 men in the militia school, as well as the vicar of High Wycombe, all testified to their satisfaction with the men's attendance and bearing.²⁸¹ One regular inspector reported in November 1852 on the 'great moral results that have been already produced and which may be expected to influence a large portion of our rural

²⁸⁰ BA, D-CN 21/2/19, Beresford to Carrington, Dec. 1852.

²⁸¹ *Bucks Chronicle*, 20 Nov. 1852; BA, D-CN 21/2/14, Bowen, Robinson and Dredge to Carrington, all dated 11 Nov 1852.

population by the return of the men to their several localities with improved habits, and if I may so express it, clarified notions of their own capabilities of improvement'.²⁸² The Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, congratulated Carrington in June 1856 'for the truly kind and wise care you have taken of the Militia of our county both in promoting Schools and Attendances at Church amongst them, and in liberally providing them with Bibles and Prayer Books'.²⁸³

One example of the benefit of militia service can perhaps be illustrated by the example of George Sutton of Beaconsfield. Sutton enlisted in the RBKOM as a member of the band in 1854, becoming a corporal on the staff. He entered the 2nd Foot in 1858, but purchased his discharge the following year and joined the Bucks constabulary. Reaching the rank of Inspector 1st Class in 1881, he became Superintendent of the Slough Division in 1890, and was then Deputy Chief Constable of Bucks from 1895 until his death in 1903.²⁸⁴

With similar arrangements in other regiments, it has been argued that the militia was 'a halfway house between a Sunday school and a superior mechanics' institute'.²⁸⁵ Yet, throughout the Victorian period, the image of the militia remained poor. Literature, ballads and music hall, satirical magazines and cartoons - even later invasion literature - all perpetuated a negative image. It was one of inefficient, corpulent older officers, social climbing subalterns of low status anxious for regular commissions, and of rough lower ranks lacking

²⁸² BA, D-CN 21/2/14, Wood to Walpole, 25 Nov. 1852.

²⁸³ BA, D-CN 21/2/49, Wilberforce to Carrington, 26 June 1856.

²⁸⁴ *South Bucks Standard*, 2 Jan. 1903.

²⁸⁵ Anderson, 'English Militia', 354.

any consciousness for self-improvement. Paradoxically, while the image of the regular improved, that of the militia remained static and fixed in the past.²⁸⁶

It was still the case that local communities derived advantage from the trade generated by the militia's equipment and training. Carrington distributed his equipment purchases between eleven of High Wycombe's 20 boot and shoemakers, five of its 15 butchers, three of its 12 tailors, and four of its six corn and flour dealers. Others profiting were beer sellers, victuallers and barbers. One bootmaker wrote to Carrington in July 1854 that militia business had been 'the greatest part of my dependence'.²⁸⁷ Given that Carrington was a landlord who demanded political support from his tenants, and was determined to influence the politics of Wycombe, this was far from insignificant in local terms.²⁸⁸ Those who had helped raise the militia also sought favours such as the constable at Long Crendon, Dudley, who had found 25 recruits. Driscoll at Newport Pagnell wished to secure the position of the master of the Farringdon Workhouse in 1853.²⁸⁹ Uniforms and weapons, on the other hand, were supplied from the Ordnance Office. Carrington complained that the greatcoats issued were of poor quality, but was told they were the best returned after three years' wear by regulars. There were moth holes 'but it appears that there are not any moths remaining in them'.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Mark Bennett, 'Portrayals of the British Militia, 1852-1916', *Historical Research* 91 (2018), 333-52.

²⁸⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/10; 21/2/11; 21/2/19; 21/2/23, Climpson to Carrington, July 1854.

²⁸⁸ Davis, *Political Change*, 174-75, 216-17.

²⁸⁹ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Driscoll to Carrington, 31 Mar. 1853; 21/2/23, Dudley to Carrington, 5 Apl. 1854.

²⁹⁰ BA, D-CN 21/2/19, Butler to Carrington, Oct. 1852.

As with the yeomanry, the militia added to military spectacle. The RBKOM bandmen received additional paid subsidised by the officers.²⁹¹ In December 1853 a new ‘Royal Bucks Polka’ dedicated to the regiment was published.²⁹² The field day in Wycombe Abbey Park at the end of the second annual training on 24 October 1853 attracted an estimated 15-20,000 people.²⁹³ The regiment’s corps of drums was specially instructed by the Royal Military Asylum’s drum major in 1854.²⁹⁴ In May 1854, the band played for a *fête champêtre* at Wycombe Abbey, the proceeds of which were for the wives and orphans of men killed in the Crimea. In July 1854, the RBKOM also took on Northamptonshire Cricket Club, the match being drawn.²⁹⁵

Just as many militia regiments remained just as dependent upon agricultural labourers as before, militia officers remained dominated by landed county society. In 1852 about 33 per cent of all militia officers had served prior to the force’s revival, although this had substantially changed by 1854. By that year, some 21 per cent of officers were now half-pay regulars.²⁹⁶ Former regular officers, however, were often rejected for commissions from the tradition of maintaining institutional independence. Carrington largely conformed to this. Nonetheless, Carrington sought military efficiency rather than county connection, which appears to explain his preference for George Fitzroy over William Cavendish for the lieutenant colonelcy. Charles Grove had served in

²⁹¹ Hampshire Archives, Buckingham and Chandos Mss, 19M48/1/7.] Hampshire Archives, Buckingham and Chandos Mss, 19M48/1/7.

²⁹² *Bucks Herald*, 17 Dec. 1853.

²⁹³ *Bucks Herald*, 29 Oct. 1853.

²⁹⁴ BA, D-CN 21/2/23.

²⁹⁵ *Bell’s Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 30 July 1854. Northamptonshire County Cricket Club was formed officially in 1878, but a county club had been in existence from the 1820s.

²⁹⁶ Stoneman, ‘Reformed British Militia’, 75-76, 79.

the RBKOM from 1807 to 1812, and then with the 2/14th Foot from 1812 to 1817, before re-joining the regiment. He had been adjutant since 1825. In 1854 Carrington appointed John Maddy Moore Hewett, formerly of the 62nd Foot and with somewhat more recent active service in the Sikh Wars, as his new adjutant. There were some rocky periods when Hewett addressed letters from his home in Loudwater rather than from Wycombe Abbey: he built Uplands in Four Ashes Road in Wycombe in 1859. He also turned down Carrington's suggestion that he apply for a volunteer adjutancy in 1860.²⁹⁷ He outlived Carrington as adjutant, however, only retiring in 1871.



RBKOM Officers in the Orangery Cloister, Wycombe Abbey, 1855 [BMMT]

The Crimean War revived the demand for the militia to find recruits for the regular army, a circular in November 1854 indicating that the force must ‘yield to the necessity of strengthening Lord Raglan’s army’.²⁹⁸ New legislation in

²⁹⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/37, Hewett to Carrington, 15 Nov. 1860.

²⁹⁸ BA, D-CN 21/2/19, Herbert Circular, 28 Nov. 1854.

May had already authorised militia embodiment if a state of war pertained rather than danger of invasion or insurrection. Further legislation in December 1854 allowed the militia to be deployed to the Channel Islands and the Mediterranean. Carrington expressed his regiment's willingness to perform any service required, and the RBKOM was embodied on 15 June 1854.²⁹⁹

Embodiment continued until May 1856. Those embodied would continue to receive the annual bounty, but now receive regular pay in addition. The annual training commenced on 10 April 1854, but the men were then sent home on 7 May to prepare for embodiment. Of the total strength of 749, 744 mustered for a field day in Wycombe Abbey Park on 26 May 1854. Embodiment took place formally on 16 June and the regiment proceeded to Weedon Barracks in Northamptonshire to relieve the 46th Foot that had gone to the Crimea. The regiment reached Weedon on 19 June.³⁰⁰

On 14 July 1904 there was a 'veterans' banquet' in the Wellington Room of the Red Lion at Wycombe to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the march to Weedon; 48 men who had taken part were present. As they recounted, the regiment was led out from Wycombe by Carrington, who was mounted. At the Three Horse Shoes (later the Beaconsfield Arms), he dismounted and allowed the boys in the band in turns to ride his horse until they reached Hampden House Park. There a halt was called for 'good nut brown ale', bread and cheese. Carrington again allowed the boys to ride until he remounted to lead the

²⁹⁹ BA, D-CN 21/2/18, Carrington to Palmerston, 12 May 1854; Palmerston to Carrington, 15 June 1854.

³⁰⁰ *Bucks Herald*, 3 June and 18 Nov. 1854; TNA, WO 68/242.

regiment into Aylesbury. After a night at Aylesbury, the men were then entrained for Weedon.³⁰¹

Table 5.2: Embodied Service, RBKOM 1854-56

Weedon Barracks (Northants)	June 1854	
Windsor	November 1854	
Canterbury	February 1855	
Woolwich	April 1855	
Tower of London	January 1856	
Aylesbury, Buckingham and High Wycombe	January 1856	
Disembodied	May 1856	

Source: TNA, WO 68/242

The barracks allocated at Weedon were found to be in very poor condition, cookhouses and cookers unfit for use, ablutions out of repair with no water, and the rooms generally ‘in so filthy a state as to be altogether unfit for service’. The accommodation for Carrington as commanding officer had no water closet and whilst it was agreed that this would be provided, it could not be done until the following year’s estimates were agreed.³⁰²

Leaving Weedon, the regiment arrived at Windsor on 14 November 1854 to relieve another militia regiment, the Essex Rifles. The RBKOM provided a guard of honour for the Queen when she left for London that same month and

³⁰¹ *South Bucks Standard*, 15 July 1904; *Bucks Herald*, 16 July 1904; *Bucks Standard*, 23 July 1904; *Buckingham Advertiser*, 16 July 1904.

³⁰² BA, D-CN 21/2/20, Emmett Report on Weedon Barracks, 22 June 1854; Ordnance Office to Carrington, 14 July 1854.

was also inspected by the Prince Consort.³⁰³ They did so on other occasions, as when the Queen returned to Windsor from the Isle of Wight in January 1855.³⁰⁴ Service followed at Dover from 2 February 1855, the regiment providing a guard of honour in April 1855 when Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie embarked following a visit to London.³⁰⁵ The regiment moved to Woolwich in May 1855, then to the Tower of London in November 1855.³⁰⁶ The Woolwich barracks were not much better than those at Weedon, a medical report finding the guard rooms too close to the urinals and privies, from which ‘there has been a powerful abominable smell’.³⁰⁷

Meanwhile, the band did frequent service back in Bucks, attending a fund raising event for the Wycombe Scientific and Mechanics’ Institute in March 1855, the Aylesbury Floral and Horticultural Society show at Aylesbury in June 1855, and the Buckingham Flower Show in July 1855.³⁰⁸

The RBKOM returned to the county in February 1856 with detachments at Aylesbury, Buckingham and Wycombe. At Buckingham the men were allowed to use the facilities of the Literary and Scientific Institute. The failure of the two Wycombe institutes to extend a similar invitation caused comment in the press, especially as many men attended evening classes in the National School.³⁰⁹ Something of a controversy then erupted as Carrington allowed the band to play

³⁰³ *Bucks Herald*, 18 Nov. 1854, and 13 Jan. 1855; *Morning Chronicle*, 12 Dec. 1854.

³⁰⁴ *Morning Chronicle*, 14 Jan. 1855.

³⁰⁵ *Bucks Chronicle*, 14 Apl. 1855; *Bucks Herald*, 21 Apl. 1855; *Short History of Royal Bucks*, 6.

³⁰⁶ *Bucks Herald*, 12 May 1855; *Bucks Chronicle*, 10 Nov. 1855; *Buckingham Advertiser*, 17 Nov. 1855.

³⁰⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/27, Drew report, 22 May 1855.

³⁰⁸ *Bucks Herald*, 31 Mar. 1855; *Bucks Chronicle*, 16 June and 28 July 1855.

³⁰⁹ *Bucks Herald*, 9 and 23 Feb. 1856; *Bucks Chronicle*, 27 Feb. and 1 Mar. 1856.

for a function for the Scientific and Mechanics Institute, but refused to do so for the Literary Institute.³¹⁰

In April 1854 a 10s.0d bounty was offered to those willing to enlist in the army, albeit only with the permission of commanding officers. The November circular, however, authorised recruitment up to 25 per cent of establishment with an additional £1 bounty over and above regular recruitment bounties. It also allowed for recruiting for rank with an ensigncy for every 75 militiamen enlisting. In early 1855, more legislation enabled the government to take up offers from up to 75 per cent of a regiment's establishment prepared to serve overseas for five years. In return, men would receive a £2 bounty with an additional £1 for 'necessaries' and £5 at a rate of £1 per annum whilst the engagement endured.³¹¹ In all, 61 regiments were eventually embodied and, of over 30 volunteering for overseas service, ten went to garrison in the Mediterranean. Conceivably over 33,000 militiamen also passed into the army during the war.³¹² The corollary was that prolonged embodiment reduced the rate of enlistment in the militia itself.³¹³

Many embodied battalions were stationed in barracks vacated by regulars, which solved the problems associated with billets. No less than 53 regiments spent some time at Aldershot where they were accommodated in huts. In May 1855, however, only 6,000 from 25,000 embodied militiamen were in barracks or camps.³¹⁴

So far as most militia colonels were concerned, volunteering as a complete unit was different from a constant drain of manpower into the army. Some colonels

³¹⁰ *Bucks Herald*, 30 Aug. 1856; *Bucks Chronicle*, 3 Sept. 1856.

³¹¹ Stoneman, 'Reformed British Militia', 190.

³¹² Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 153.

³¹³ Stoneman, 'Reformed British Militia', 111-14.

³¹⁴ Stoneman, 'Reformed British Militia', 176-80, 196-200.

were more helpful than others.³¹⁵ Carrington was not one of them. In November 1852, Carrington had his staff scour Chatham to recover a man being concealed after having been enlisted illegally.³¹⁶ One marine officer had to apologise to Carrington for one of his sergeants trying to recruit militiamen aggressively at Buckingham in February 1854.³¹⁷ Carrington was also less than amused by an inspector announcing publicly that any man from the regiment would be welcome in the regular army.³¹⁸ A War Office informant privately warned Carrington in May 1854 that the regiment would be inspected shortly by a regular officer known for using ‘every effort to persuade the men to volunteer to the Line’.³¹⁹

Carrington was reported in November 1854 as throwing ‘every impediment’ in the way of a Grenadier recruiting sergeant, assembling all the taller men and telling them ‘if they went to the Grenadier Guards, they would be sent to the Crimea the following Monday’, and would never see the promised £7 bounty. The recruiting sergeant also suggested that Carrington had told one man that, as his father was one of Carrington’s tenants, he could not go. The man in question had then jumped into the train for London unknown to the sergeant. Only allowed to see four men in each company, the sergeant reckoned that he could have obtained 200-300 men. Only 21 short men were offered up initially as

³¹⁵ Stoneman, ‘Reformed British Militia’, 188-90.

³¹⁶ BA, D-CN 21/2/8, Grove to Carrington, 29 Nov. 1852; 21/2/11, Grove to Carrington, 1, 3, and 4 Dec. 1852.

³¹⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/23, Grove to Carrington, 1 Mar. 1854; Bartlett to Carrington, 1 Mar. 1854; Hardy to Carrington, 12 Mar. 1854.

³¹⁸ *The Times*, 27 Oct. 1853.

³¹⁹ BA, D-CN 221/2/22, Dewry to Carrington, 24 May 1854.

recruits for the line, all of them under the 5'6" minimum for the Guards.³²⁰ The press agreed that half the regiment would have been happy to enlist but, at most, Carrington would only allow 150 men to go rather than the 25 per cent allowed (185 men).³²¹

In the end, 80 men went to the Grenadier Guards, 20 to the Royal Artillery and 60 to other regiments. However, 101 new recruits were obtained for the RBKOM, advertisements being placed in the county press, and Carrington swearing them in at Aylesbury.³²² Carrington did likewise at Newport Pagnell and Fenny Stratford in January 1856.³²³ Of those who enlisted in the army, two - John Moxom of Stewkley (3rd Grenadier Guards) and George Langston of Aylesbury (90th Foot) - had letters from the Crimea printed in the local press. Another, James Plater of Aylesbury 93rd Grenadier Guards, died in the Crimea.³²⁴ In addition to those joining the army, a total of 1,723 men were attested into the RBKOM during the war.³²⁵ A total of 143 men were enlisted into the 21 different regular units from the RBKOM in December 1855 alone.³²⁶

Difficulties were exacerbated when a promise given upon embodiment that a man would be released after 56 days unless he specifically opted to remain was broken. In February 1855, therefore, Palmerston's new administration was compelled to concede that men who had enlisted prior to embodiment would be

³²⁰ BA, D-CN 21/2/49, Statement by Sergeant Roles, 26 Nov. 1854; Carrington to Pipon, 28 Nov. 1854; Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Herbert Mss, 2057/F8/111/B, Memorandum, 24 Nov. 1854.

³²¹ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 25 Nov. 1854; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, 26 Nov. 1854; *Bucks Herald*, 25 Nov. 1854.

³²² *Bucks Chronicle*, 23 Dec. 1854, 13 and 20 Jan. 1855.

³²³ *Bucks Herald*, 12, and 18 Jan. 1856.

³²⁴ *Bucks Chronicle*, 2 June, 1 Aug., and 26 Sept. 1855.

³²⁵ *Short History of Royal Bucks*, 7.

³²⁶ BA, D-CN 21/2/52.

offered a £1 bounty to stay or could be discharged.³²⁷ Over 16,000 militiamen chose to take their discharge including 287 from the RBKOM.³²⁸ In any case, embodiment became more unpopular, resulting in disturbances in many regiments in 1855 and 1856.

The militia was disembodied on 10 May 1856, but the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny and the depletion of the regular garrison in Britain led to militiamen being embodied once more in August 1857. Some 30,000 were called out, of whom 20,000 served in Mediterranean garrisons.³²⁹ The RBKOM, however, was not embodied this time. In December 1857, permission was again granted for direct recruitment into the line, a limit being set at 17 per cent of establishment. About 8,000 men did so at the same time that only 1,500 out of 12,000 men whose term of service was expiring chose to re-enlist in the militia. The annual training was also postponed by a government fearful of losing seats in the general election. When it was revived at least 29,000 out of 80,000 men did not appear for training.³³⁰

In May 1858 a recently formed home defence committee recommended a royal commission on the militia, which the militia interest was then able to dominate. It suggested only minor adjustments in its report in March 1859, the most significant being to extend the annual training period from 21 to 28 days. There were no witnesses called from the RBKOM, although the adjutant, Hewett, was among those signing a memorial requesting better pay and allowances for adjutants. The regiment's establishment was recorded as 948 all ranks.³³¹

³²⁷ BA, D-CN 21/2/48.

³²⁸ Anderson, 'English Militia', 380.

³²⁹ Ian Beckett, 'Britain', in Ian Beckett (ed.), *Citizen Soldiers and the British Empire, 1837-1902* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 23-40, at 25.

³³⁰ Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, 154-55.

³³¹ HCCP 1859 (553), 239, 243.

Sidney Herbert, who became Secretary of State for War in Palmerston's new administration in June 1859 considered reviving the ballot but, in the event, only overhauled the now redundant ballot machinery. In February 1860 Herbert did offer a 10s.0d gratuity to those re-enlisting in the militia after their five years' term of service, and then once more prohibited the enlistment of militiamen into the line in June 1860. By this time, however, the volunteer movement had been revived as a result of the 'third panic'.

A very few volunteer units - mostly in Scotland - had not disappeared in 1815 and a few new corps appeared in the 1820s. As already related, a volunteer 'mounted constabulary' appeared briefly in High Wycombe in 1830 and the 1st Duke had muted the idea of a small corps to be attached to the yeomanry. Some lords lieutenants also responded favourably to Lord John Russell's invitation to raise associations in early 1839 in response to the first Chartist agitation. It was not intended that such associations should become permanent. Moreover, soldiers like Burgoyne and the Duke of Cambridge, who became Commander-in-Chief in 1856, did not believe raising volunteers conducive to military efficiency or discipline. Cambridge ventured in 1857 that volunteers would prove 'a very dangerous rabble' and 'unmanageable bodies that would ruin our army'.³³² A few soldiers such as the Napier brothers thought otherwise, but they were very much in the minority.³³³

Through the 1840s and 1850s, however, the press including *The Times* and pamphleteers called increasingly for a revival of the volunteer force. Encouragement was drawn from volunteer corps in the United States and elsewhere. There was the apparent evidence that men armed with modern rifles,

³³² Willoughby Verner, *The Military Life of HRH George, Duke of Cambridge* 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1905), I, 162-67.

³³³ Ian Beckett, *Riflemen Form: A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement, 1850-1908* (Aldershot: Ogilby Trusts, 1982), 11.

and taking advantage of natural cover, could act effectively against the rear or flank of any invading force. It was held that such a role required intelligence and, thereby would be unsuitable for militiamen. Volunteers could devote more time to training in leisure periods compared to militiamen restricted to annual training. Volunteering also appealed to radicals as a popular movement potentially free of aristocratic domination. Others in public life saw volunteering as an antidote to perceived national degeneration linked to industrial society.

Despite the agitation only a few corps were formed during the ‘second panic’ in 1852, not least as there seemed no need with the revival of the militia. Sir William Napier for one believed that the government would not countenance armed volunteers in case they demanded ‘an extension of reform’.³³⁴ Those corps that did emerge such as those at Exeter in 1853 and at Liverpool in 1855 were distinctly upper middle class in complexion. Rather similarly to the official response in 1852, a few renewed offers in 1857 were seen as superfluous in view of the establishment of the new county constabularies, particularly as some new chief constables advocated a degree of militarisation for their new forces. The ‘third panic’ changed perspectives, a new volunteer force being authorised on 12 May 1859. Whilst the measure was seen as something of a temporary response to a renewed threat from France, the revived volunteers were to prove the most significant of the auxiliary forces in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thereby, a far wider section of the population became exposed to military values than in the case of the yeomanry or militia. It substantially added to the perceived militarisation of society in Britain by the end of the nineteenth century, preparing it for the challenges of major war at the start of the next.

³³⁴ Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, 13.