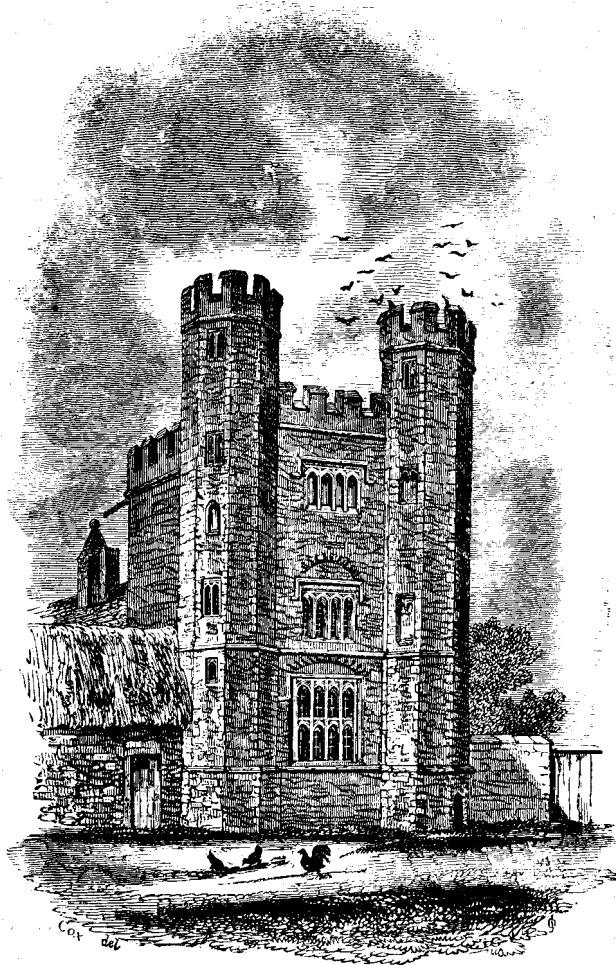


CAKE AND COCKHORSE



Banbury Historical Society

Autumn 1973

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* * * * *

The Society was founded in 1957 to encourage interest in the history of the town of Banbury and neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

The *Magazine Cake & Cockhorse* is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Publications include *Old Banbury – a short popular history* by E.R.C. Brinkworth (2nd edition), *New Light on Banbury's Crosses*, *Roman Banburyshire*, *Banbury's Poor in 1850*, *Banbury Castle – a summary of excavations in 1972*, *The Building and Furnishing of St. Mary's Church, Banbury*, and *Sanderson Miller of Radway and his work at Wroxton*, and a pamphlet *History of Banbury Cross*.

The Society also publishes records volumes. These have included *Clockmaking in Oxfordshire, 1400–1850*; *South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553–1684*; *Banbury Marriage Register, 1558–1837* (3 parts) and *Baptism and Burial Register, 1558–1723* (2 parts); *A Victorian M.P. and his Constituents: The Correspondence of H.W. Tancred, 1841–1850*; a new edition of *Shoemaker's Window*; and *Wigginton Constables' Books, 1691–1836*. *Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591–1650*, *Bodicote Churchwardens' Accounts, 1700–1822* and *Banbury Politics, 1830–1880* are all well advanced.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. in the Large Lecture Theatre, Banbury Upper School. Talks on general and local archaeological, historical and architectural subjects are given by invited lecturers. In the summer, excursions to local country houses and churches are arranged. Archaeological excavations and special exhibitions are arranged from time to time.

Membership of the society is open to all, no proposer or seconder being needed. The annual subscription is £3.00 including any records volumes published, or £1.50 if these are excluded. Junior membership is 50p.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary or the Hon. Treasurer.

CAKE AND COCKHORSE

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The magazine of the Banbury Historical Society. Issued to members three times a year.

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Readers of Charles Dickens' works will perhaps remember his description in *Dombey and Son* of the effects of the coming of the London and Birmingham Railway in 1836 on Camden Town

The first shock of a great earthquake had rent the whole neighbourhood to its centre. Traces of its course were visible on every side. Houses were knocked down; streets broken through and stopped; deep pits and trenches dug in the ground; enormous heaps of earth and clay thrown up; buildings that were undermined and shaking, propped by great beams of wood. Here, a chaos of carts, overthrown and jumbled together, lay topsy-turvy at the bottom of a steep unnatural hill; there, confused treasures of iron soaked and rusted in something that had become a pond.

And so the railways carved their way across England, moving more earth in the process than had been shifted since the men of the Iron Age built the ditches and steep banks of their forts.

Passions were aroused by these invasions. John Clare feared that 'a boggy place that is famous for orchises' at Helpston in Northamptonshire would be despoiled – and Wordsworth thundered

Is there no nook of English ground secure
From rash assault?

Yet these works served historical studies in at least one way. All this digging revealed, from time to time, traces of the distant past. It is true that the very slight remains of an Iron Age hut would be swept away unnoticed – but the more substantial Roman buildings were recognised as such and were saved. The railways may have demolished what was left of Northampton Castle, but they caused the Roman pavement at Leicester to be discovered and preserved.

A century later another set of lines is being drawn on the face of the countryside. The coming of the motorways involves as much earth-moving as the construction of the railways, and this provides archaeologists with a challenge and an opportunity. Much can be recovered from the ground, provided that plans are laid well in advance. Archaeologists along the line of the M5, from Birmingham towards Exeter, were prepared, and as a result new sites were discovered, one every half-mile, on the average. The M40 Research Group's work on the nine-mile stretch from Stokenchurch to Waterstock led to the discovery and investigation of 15 sites, and the story of their labours is excellently told in their Interim Report *Archaeology and the M40 Motorway*.

Attention is now beginning to be focussed on motorway developments in our area. There have been consultations in recent months about the route which the motorway will take between Ardley and Grimsbury. The Minister's decision may have been announced by the time this issue is published. It is thus vital that the job of finding out as much as we can about the history and prehistory along the line of route should be begun as soon as possible. A start has, in fact, been made. The meeting in June in the Town Hall brought in a good number of volunteers and we hope to have a training session in November to show them what to do, both in the field and with the documents.

A considerable task awaits us in the next few years, but the possible rewards are great. The discoveries that can be made will add tremendously to our knowledge of the past of this area. This is an opportunity that cannot recur – let us make sure that we do not let it slip!

Our cover: shows the remains of Hanwell Castle, described in 1537 by John Leland as 'a very pleasaunt and gallaunt house' belonging to Sir Anthony Cope.

SOCIETY NEWS AND ACTIVITIES

Talks this autumn have already been heard on 'Cardinal Wolsey' by Professor J.J. Scarisbrick and on 'Nicholas Hawksmoor – architect' by Mr J.E. Pilgrim.

Friday 23rd November. The Annual Dinner this year will be held at the Whately Hall Hotel, when Professor J.R. Sargent of Warwick University will propose the toast of the Society. Members should already have received invitations.

Thursday 29th November. R.L. Greenall of the University of Leicester will speak on 'Church and Chapel in 19th Century Local History', a somewhat neglected subject.

Thursday 24th January. Mr G.C.J. Hartland, a well-known member of this Society, will speak on 'The Banbury Gas Industry', a subject on which he has already written interestingly and entertainingly in this magazine.

Thursday 28th February. Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, of Wellesbourne, will speak on the subject of 'The Mordaunt Papers', records of an important local family.

Exhibition on Victorian Banbury

The exhibition 'A Scrapbook of Victorian Banbury' in Banbury Museum is now open, and will be on display until next summer. This illustrates aspects of life in the town in Victorian times – such as plush manufacture and cake making. A leaflet is available, price 12p.

George Fothergill and Barrie Trinder

George Fothergill's departure to Winchester was briefly noted in the last issue, but we cannot leave it at that! His contribution to the Society, as committee member from 1965, Chairman for three years until 1971, and thereafter Hon. Secretary, has been tremendous. His infectious gaiety has enlivened our meetings, particularly in committee, and he has by his attention to detail and by his conscientious hard work, enabled the Society to expand its range over the years. In particular, we remember him for his skill in obtaining speakers for our meetings. We all owe George so much for his efforts, and hope that he enjoys Winchester as much as he evidently enjoyed Banbury.

The other gap that we will find hard to fill adequately is that caused by Barrie Trinder's retirement as editor of *Cake and Cockhorse*. Barrie has been editor for eleven years and the editorial in the last issue showed how valuable the magazine is to professional historians. However, Barrie's concern has not simply been for them, but also for the wider reading public, so that our members have found that their subscription brings them a magazine full of interesting information on 'Banburyshire'. The format of *Cake and Cockhorse* has been as sensible as its contents, and the Society can reasonably feel proud of its magazine – thanks to Barrie Trinder.

Increase in Subscriptions

It is regrettably necessary to increase the annual subscription, in view of rising costs. This move was approved by the A.G.M. in June and takes effect from 1 January 1974. The new rates are shown inside the front cover of this issue.

It is particularly requested that members who pay by Banker's Order should alter their orders to the new rate before 1 January next, in order to save the Hon. Treasurer having to write around individually to ask that this be done. New members and those who wish to pay by this method in future may obtain Banker's Order forms from the Hon. Treasurer.

TRAVELLERS' TALES

Part 1

In any local history, there are names of topographical writers that occur with deserved frequency – Leland and Camden, Fiennes and Defoe, Walpole and Byng, Cobbett and Young. These are some of the better known of that hardy band who travelled the length and breadth of the country, over appalling roads, and whose voracious interest in all they saw not only was written down but has survived to be published.¹

The local historian's debt to them is great, for the inhabitants of a town were unlikely to write down a description of it – they *knew* what it was like anyway, and so did all their friends – moreover they usually had no standards of comparison. But the passing visitor was different, and saw the place with a more discerning eye.

Good use has been made of these accounts, and the odd sentence or two is frequently to be found quoted appositely. The recent volumes of the *Victoria County History* for Oxfordshire, for the Hundreds of Banbury, Bloxham and Ploughley, are particularly assiduous in this respect. So too are those earlier historians, Alfred Beesley for Banbury (1841) and George Baker for Northamptonshire (1822–30) – but for them, whilst they were more likely to quote *in extenso*, the published sources were far fewer. The past hundred years has seen the publication of many more such complete diaries, with increasingly scholarly and detailed editing.

There is an opportunity to steer between the two courses already followed. The local historians have picked and chosen as it suits them in a piecemeal fashion; few readers are likely to track down the often obscurely published full versions. The following extracts are therefore presented afresh, for the whole locality in context, and with the additional knowledge of the area which a local historian must possess over a national historian. It is hoped that those to whom the writers are already familiar may gain some detail, whilst others will benefit from this introduction to some very human and entertaining individuals.

The places they visit are often the same – country house visiting is no twentieth century phenomenon – and antiquarian and artistic interests are naturally to the fore. But a lively interest too in the economic life of the country, in its agriculture, fairs, industries, is growingly evident. The ten 'journalists' quoted cover a wide stratum of society. Half were well-connected and possessing some private means, though not necessarily great wealth. A tour of England was a much cheaper alternative for those unable to afford the European Grand Tour. Horace Walpole was collecting information for his history of artists and visiting his friends. He and John Byng eventually inherited peerages (though unexpectedly); Celia Fiennes was sister of a peer; Richard Pococke was a bishop in the Anglican Church of Ireland; and Thomas Isham the teenage son of a baronet. Others travelled or wrote for their livelihood, or at least with a project in mind – both Daniel Defoe and Arthur Young – a clergyman's son, with constant financial difficulties – wrote for publication, and very successfully. John Leland, dependent on royal patronage, and Anthony Wood, from an impoverished University background, were antiquaries. Thomas Story, an itinerant Quaker preacher, was presumably largely dependent on his friends' generosity. Together their accounts give a wide cross section in views over two and a half centuries.

John Leland

Much the earliest visitor to the Banbury area to leave a record was the famous antiquary John Leland, in the reign of Henry VIII. Leland's travels were undertaken during his search for manuscripts for the Royal Library at the Dissolution of the monasteries. During the course of these he kept notes of the places he visited, intended to be written up into a description of the kingdom. His early insanity, and death in 1552, frustrated this.

The itineraries are undated, but it seems that Leland's main visit to Banbury, preceded by Kings Sutton, probably took place about 1537: 'I rode from Brakeley to Kyngs Southtown 4 miles of, as by champayn corne and gresse. The spire of Southetowne church is a fayre peace of worke. St. Rumolde was borne in this paroch. There was of late a chapell dedicate to hym, standing about a mile from Southetowne in the medes, defacid and taken downe.'² There lyeth

one Westhaul in a [tombe in a] chapell on the south syd of the church. He new ruffid the church of Southetowne.

'From Southetowne to Banbyri a 3. miles, all by champaine baren of wood. Scant a mile bynethe Southetowne I passyd by a stone bridge of one arch over Charwell ryver.

'The moaste parte of the hole towne of Banbyri standithe in a valley, and is inclosyd by northe and est with low grownde, partely medowes, partely marches; by southe and southe-west the ground somewhat hillithe in respecte of the site of the towne.

'The fayrest strete of the towne lyethe by west and easte downe to the river of Charwelle. And at the west parte of this street is a large area invironed with meatlye good buildinge, havynge a goodly crosse with the many degrees about it. In this area is kept every Thursday a very celebrate market. There renithe a prile of freshe water through this area.

'There is another fayre strete from southe to northe; and at eche end of this strete is a stone-gate. There be also in the towne othar gates besydes thes. Yet is there nothere eny certayne token or lykelyhod, that ever the towne was dichid or waullyd.'

The preceding two paragraphs of Leland's account have been discussed in great detail by Dr. Paul Harvey in his articles on the site of Banbury Cross, as, apart from legal and administrative records, they constitute the only description of the cross.³

Leland continues: 'There is a castle on the northe syde of this area havynge 2. wardes, and eche warde a dyche. In the utter is a terrible prison for convict men. In the north parte of the iner warde is a fayre peace of new building of stone. I cannot se or learne that there was any castle or fortress at Banbyry afore the Conquest. Alexander bysshope of Lyncolne in Henry the first dayes buildyd this castle.'⁴

'There is but one paroch church in Banbyry, dedicate to our Lady. It is a large thinge, especially in bredthe. I saw but one notable tumbre in the chirche, and that is of blake marble; wherein [William] Cope, coferer to Kyng Henry the vii is buried. In the chirche yarde be howsis for cantuari pristis.'⁵

'The personage of Banbyry is a prebend of Lincoln. There is a vicar indowid. There is a chapel of the Trinity in the midle of the towne. Ther is a bridge of 4. fayre arches of stone at the este ende of the towne where Cherwell renithe. This bridge partithe Oxford-shir from Northampton-shir.

'Oxford-shir goeth a 3. miles farther by northe then Banbyri towne. The Bysshope of Lincolne is lord of Banbyry, and [the] hole hunderithe of Banbyry hath bene of longe tyme gyven out by Kinges in fee-ferme to the Bysshops of Lyncoln. The bysshope hath £180. of this lordship.

'The Headde and Course of Charwelle Ryver: Charwell ryseth out of a welle or a litle poole, in Charlton [Charwelton] village about a 7. miles above Banbyri by northe northe est, and boileth so fast out fro the hed that strait it maikethe a stremelet . . .

'Rockstein a priory of chanons a 2. miles from Banbyri. Mr Pope hathe it . . . ' Wroxton Priory had been surrendered to the Crown in 1536, at the Dissolution. In 1537 it was acquired by Thomas Pope (1508–1558), the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations. By November that year, when the purchase was completed, Pope had been knighted, which, if Leland was accurate in his reference to 'Mr Pope', implies a date of mid-1537 for this visit. Wroxton later formed part of the endowment of Trinity College, Oxford, which Sir Thomas Pope founded, though the rebuilt house, known as Wroxton Abbey, remained the seat of his brother John and his descendants until 1932.⁶

'Mr Cope hathe an old maner place, caulyd Hardwike, a mile by northe from Banbyri. He hathe another at Hanwelle a 2. miles from Banbyri by northe west, and is in Oxfordshire. This is a very pleasaunt and gallaunt house.' At this date both Hardwick and Hanwell were held by Anthony Cope (later knighted, 1547; died 1551), second son of William Cope whose tomb in Banbury Church Leland mentions.⁷

'I rode from Banbury to Warwik 12. miles by champayne ground, frutefull of corn and gresse, baren of woodde, and 2. miles by some enclosyd and woody ground.'

The disconnected nature of Leland's narrative gives rise to several other references to the Banbury area, through which he doubtless passed a number of times:

'The eldest house of the Gravilles is within a 2. miles of Banbyri at Drayton, the which

village is in Oxfordshir.' The lands had 'descendid onto Lewys Graville, whos fair tumbe is yet sene in the parochie chirch of Draiton . . . Graville now lyving heir of Draiton is a man of a 400. markes of land by the yere . . .'.⁸

' . . . the heire males of the lord Say in descent yet remainith caullid by the name Fines. Richard Farmer's daughter hath married the heires of these Finez, a man of fair landes booth yn Oxfordshire and Southamptonshire. But his most landes cam by desentes onto hym by the heir generale of one Wikam, married into this house of the Finez. Wikam was owner of the lordship and fair maner place of Broughton in Oxfordshire about a mile from Banbyri.' Ursula, the daughter of Richard Fermor, of Easton Neston, married Richard Fiennes (d. 1579), *de jure* 6th Lord Saye and Sele.⁹

Travelling near Warwick: 'Sir William Compton, keper of Fulbroke parke and castle, seing it going to ruine helped it forward, takinge part of it (as some saye) for the buyldinges of his house at Compton by Brailes in Warwikshire, and gave or permytyd other to take peces of it downe.' Compton (d. 1528) was ancestor of the Marquesses and Earls of Northampton who still hold Compton Wynyates.

On another occasion: 'There is a litle broket southe of Southeham renninge down on the right hond, as I rode over a litle bridge on it in the way to Banbyry. From Southeham to Banbyry 10. good miles all by champayne, no wood, by exceedynge good pasture and corne. From Banbyry to . . . a smaule thrwghe-fayre a 3. or 4. miles al by champaine ground. Thens by lyke ground a 7. miles to Burgchestar *alias* Bisceter.'

And finally, travelling through Chipping Norton to Tew: 'Hocnorton 3. myles all by champaine fro Chepingnorton. There is a fayre parke and an old manar place. It longed to Chaucer; then to the Poles Duks of Southefolke by mariage. Now from Brandon to the Kyngye by exchange . . . To Tue a 3. myles, where Mastar Reynesforde dwellithe.'

The 'champaine' Leland mentions so frequently was the unenclosed open-field country which still constituted so much of the cultivated land at this time. As yet there was little sign of enclosure, though the activities of depopulating sheep-masters in the late fifteenth century were much berated by Tudor pamphleteers. Amongst the more notorious were the Knightleys at Fawsley and, even nearer Banbury, the Spencers at Wormleighton. At the latter the enclosures had actually been started by William Cope himself, who later sold the property at a fat profit to the Spencers in 1506.¹⁰

Anthony Wood

Anthony Wood (1632–1695) was an Oxford antiquary who kept a discursive and omnivorous journal. His purpose was to collect material firstly for a history of Oxford and, later, for biographical notices for his 'Athenae' and 'Fasti'. The journal is, consequently, packed with unexpected snippets. Separately he collected topographical information designed for a history of Oxfordshire, and these *Parochial Collections*, with his continuator Richard Rawlinson's material, have also been published.¹¹

Wood on occasion liked to write in the third person. In 1659: 'Apr. 2, Saturday, he went to Stoke-Lyne neare Bister (with his mother, a servant-mayd, and a man) to give a visit to his cozen Charnell Petty esq. and other of his relations there.

'Apr. 4, he went to Middleton-Cheyney in Northamptonshire with his mother and other of his relations at Stoke-Lyne, to visit his cozen John Cave and those of his family. He continued there two or three nights, in which time he took his rambles to Banbury, visited the church and antiquities there much broken and defaced: and thence to the antient and noble seat of Werkworth, then lately belonging to the Chetwoods;¹² of whom it had then, some yeares before, ben bought by Philip Holman of London scrivener, who dying in 1669, aged 76, was buried in the church there. One John Lewes his kinsman conducted him thither, where wee found the eldest son and heir of the said Philip Holman named [George] who was lately return'd from his travells, had changed his religion for that of Rome, and seemed then to be a melancholy and begotted convert. He was civil to us, and caused the church dore to be opened, where wee found several antient monuments; the chiefest of which are of the Chetwoods, which A.W. then transcrib'd with the armes on them. The mannour house is a stately house, the antient habitation of the Chetwoods of Chetwood in Bucks: part of which, viz. the former part,

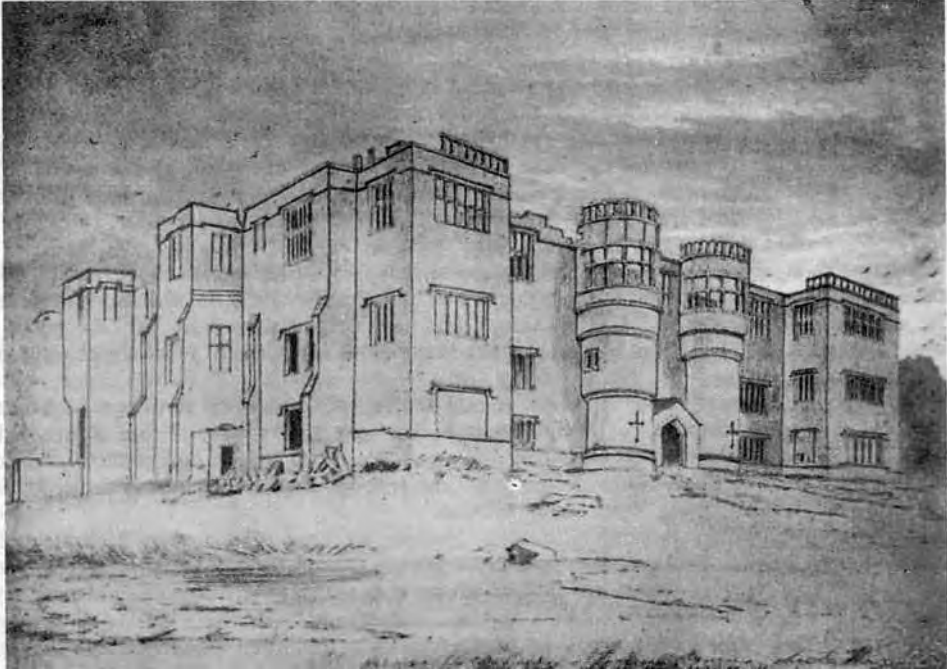


Figure 1. Warkworth Castle about 1806 (shortly before demolition), from a sketch by the Rev. W. Higginson.

was built by the Chetwoods, the rest by Philip Holman before mention'd. In the gallery of the said house are the armes, quarterings, crests and motto's of several of the nobility in England.' 'Thence I returned to the place from whence I came viz. from the house of my cozen John Cave rector of Middleton-Cheyney where I lodged that night: and the next day, being Wednesday Apr. 6, I rode to Banbury, where I saw a very fair church . . . ' . . . , but of 60 coates of armes that were in the windowes there before the warrs began, he could then see but 12 or 13. The monuments there were also woefully defaced in the late civil warr, yet what remain'd he transcrib'd and return'd to Middleton againe.'¹³

Wood's expenses on this visit included '4d. spent at "the Bell" in Stok with my cozen Lewis, 1s. given to the butler and grome at Mr Holman's house in Warkworth, Nham., 3d. given to the clarke there to see the Church, 1s. given to the servants at my cozen Cave's house at Middleton-Cheyney, 3s. 6d. given to the servants at my cozen. Pettye's house at Stok-Lyne' and '2s. for horse hire'. By the time he returned to Oxford he had been taken by a 'tertian ague' from which he suffered for ten days, with an apothecary's bill for 11s. 6d. and 3s. cost of 'lemmons, oranges, pruns, etc.'

John Cave was the 'intruded' Commonwealth parson at Middleton Cheney, and by the following year the rightful, former, rector, Thomas Yates, was reinstalled. Wood would have been lodged in the old malthouse which Cave had fitted up for himself, having sold the stone and timber prepared by Yates for a parsonage house. Cave's wife Eleanor was daughter of Charnell Petty.¹⁴

Warkworth was later visited by Thomas Isham, in 1672, and Horace Walpole, in 1753, whose accounts are quoted below.

Five years later, in 1664, Wood noted: 'In this mounth [April] or the mounth of May Mr. Richard Lower of Xt. Ch. discovered the healing well at Eastrope in Northamptonshire near King's Sutton. Who shewing it to Dr. [Thomas] Willis afterwards who commended the water to divers men there, it is now reported that the said Dr. Willis was the first finder thereof.'

This was the medicinal spring at Astrop, which quickly gained great popularity and became a fashionable spa.¹⁵ Wood himself visited it the following year: '2d. given to Trans at Estthrop where I set up my horse when I saw the well; 4d. the same day given to the smith at Steeple-Aston when he fastned the horse's shoes.'; and in 1666, June 18, 19: 'I went with Mr. [Nathaniel] Grenwode and Mr. [John] Curteyne to Astrope well, and lodged at Steple Aston where it cost me, ls. 6d.'

Thomas Isham

Another visitor to Astrop Spa was the youngest of our travellers, Thomas Isham (1657–1681), of Lamport in Northamptonshire. His diary, a Latin exercise for a teenage boy, has only recently been published, in translation, edited in the most detailed and scholarly way by Sir Gyles Isham, his direct descendant.

'24 July 1672. Father and mother [Sir Justinian and Lady (Vere) Isham] went to Banbury and I went with them; there we met Viscount Tracy with his wife and Aunt Bromley.

'25 July. Today Father and I went to the Spring at Sutton with Aunt Bromley, where we saw a booth built and walks beautifully laid out. The Spring has a great reputation, and they say that many dire diseases are cured by drinking it. Father saw there Sir Nicholas Steward, a very great friend of his, who said that he had been taking the waters for several days and intended to stay three weeks. We spent an hour there and returned to Lord Tracy. After dinner we went to the house of Mr [George] Holman, who, as the poet says, "pulls down, builds up, and changes square to round." He now lives in France. Mr Thorndike is dead.

'26 July. We returned from Banbury, and Mr Styles, who married Mr Greene's daughter, came with us as he was going to Marston.'

Sir Gyles suggests that this was Philip Styles, gent., town clerk and churchwarden of Banbury, a lawyer who was also Under-Sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1679. The baptisms of three sons and three daughters occur in Banbury parish registers. The eldest was Sarah, in 1665, from which Sir Gyles deduces that the Mrs Sarah Style whose burial took place on 14 February 1687/8 was perhaps the mother, a daughter of Theodore Greene. A son Theodore (called after the maternal grandfather) was baptised on 23 March 1672/3.

Celia Fiennes

Of our travellers, it was Celia Fiennes (1662–1741) who had the closest connections with Banbury. Her father, Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, was the second son of 'Old Subtlety', the 1st Viscount Saye and Sele, of Civil War fame. Her uncle, James, her half-brother, William, and his son, Nathaniel, were respectively 2nd, 3rd and 4th Viscounts, and owned Broughton Castle. The manuscripts of her *Journies* are now, appropriately, at Broughton. However she herself was born and lived the earlier part of her life, until her mother's death in 1691, at Newton Toney in Wiltshire; and thereafter appears to have lived generally in London – her visits to Broughton were infrequent. Her accounts are undated, but of the two visits recorded the first was probably between 1687 and 1691, and the second about 1694.

'From [Faringdon], Oxfordshire we enter over the Vale of the White Horse which takes its name from a Ridge of high hills on which is cutt out the shape off a horse in perfect proportions, in broad wayes, and is seen a great distance very plaine, the hills being on chalke look's white and the great valley in the bottom is term'd the manger; it extends a vast way, a rich inclosed country, and we pass through some part of Glocestershire at [Over] Norton where is another Seat of my Brother Saye: thence to Broughton by Banbury which is 25 mile.

'Broughton is an ancient Seate of the Lord Viscount Say and Seale; its an old house moted round and a parke and gardens, but are much left to decay and ruine, when my brother came to it, he has two other houses in two or three miles; Shettford a little neate house and gardens, and Newton [North Newington] but that is mostly pulled down.'

William, second but only surviving son of Nathaniel Fiennes (1608–1669), by his first wife Elizabeth Eliot (d. 1658), inherited the Viscounty on the death of his uncle James, the eldest son of the 1st Viscount, in 1674. He himself died in 1698 when the title passed to his son Nathaniel (1676–1710). Celia was the elder of his two half-sisters, by his father Nathaniel's

all of y^e Over the Dale of the White Horse w^{ch} takes its
 the name Name from a Ridge of high hills on which is cut
 out the shape of a horse in perfect proportions, in
 broad wayes, & is seen a great distance very plaine the
 hills being on the whole & looks white & the great valley
 in the bottom is termed the manger, it extends a
 vast way, a rich inclosed country, we pass through
 some part of Gloucestershire at Norton, where is
 another seat of my Brother Say thence to Broughton
 by Bandery which is 25 mile

Broughton Broughton is an ancient seat of y^e Lord viscount
 Say Seale its an old house w^{ch} is round & a park
 & Gardens but are much left to decay & ruine when
 my brother came to it, he had two other houses in
 two or three Miles the first a little better house
 garden, & Newton, but that is mostly pulled down

from Broughton I went to see Edgehill where was
 the famous Battle fought in Cromwells tyme its
 10 mile off the Ridge of hills runs a great length
 - its so high that the land beneath it appears vastly
 distant its a rich ground full of inclosures, & looks
 finely, tho' formidable to look down on it, turns
 ones head round, the wind allwaies blows wth great
 violence there, because of the Steepness of y^e hills
 the top is a flat full of Barrows & hills that
 are markes of a Camp & battles

About 2 mile from Broughton is a great old house
 much like broughton its y^e Robert Daffwoods
 most of the great houses there about are in ruins
 about three mile off at Addersbery w^{ch} is a pretty
 neat vilage where are two or three good houses
 one of y^e St. Thomas Colles & Lady Rochesters looks
 neat & well with good garden

there is about 2 mile off the Lord Guilford's house
 Roxton which is a good house within a park you

Figure 2. A page from the original account of Celia Fiennes' journeys, relating to her visit to Broughton, from the manuscript now at Broughton Castle (reproduced by kind permission of Lord Saye and Sele).

second wife, Frances Whitehead (d. 1691).¹⁶ Broughton Castle is still the seat of Lord Saye and Sele, and Shutford Manor remained in the same ownership until 1968. The house at North Newington is now known as Park Farm, at the bottom of Park Lane, and may have been occupied by William Dalby (d. 1684), the largest tenant farmer in the village. Though now relatively modest, the house shows some signs of past grandeur, with a single medieval buttress and some good simple oak panelling, probably early 17th century.¹⁷

'From Broughton I went to see Edgehill where was the famous Battle fought in Cromwell's tyme; its 10 mile off, the Ridge of hills runns a great length and so high that the land beneath it appears vastly distant, its a rich ground full of inclosures and lookes finely, tho' formidable to look down on it and turnes ones head round, the wind allwayes blows with great violence there because of the steepness of the hill, the top is a flatt full of Barrows and hills that are markes of a Camp and battles.

'About 2 mile from Broughton is a great old house [Wykham Park] much like Broughton its Sir Robert Dashwoods – most of the great houses there about are old built; about three mile off at Adderbury which is a pretty neate vilage where are two or three good houses, one of Sir Thomas Cobbs and Lady Rochesters looks neate and well with good gardens.'

Sir Robert Dashwood, bt. (1662–1734), had inherited Wykham Park under a marriage settlement confirmed in the will of Sir Thomas Chamberlayne (d. 1681), whose younger daughter Penelope he married in June 1682. However, unlike the Chamberlaynes, he preferred to live at Northbrook Manor (another part of his inheritance), which in due course his son Sir James replaced by Kirtlington Park. Wykham Park was extensively rebuilt in the early 19th century, but a 17th century range does still remain beside the main house.¹⁸ The Cobb family mansion stood on the south side of the Green at Adderbury, and was probably of Elizabethan origin. Sir Thomas Cobb (d. 1699) was created a baronet in 1662, and his family lived in Adderbury from the 16th to the mid-18th century. The house was subsequently leased, 1768–70, to George Montagu, the friend of Horace Walpole whose correspondence forms part of this article. It was demolished about 1817.¹⁹ Anne, Lady Rochester (d. 1696), widow of Henry Wilmot, 1st Earl of Rochester (her second husband), was still living at Adderbury House, having survived her son, the notorious and profligate poet, who died in 1680. Walpole's description of the house is quoted later.²⁰

'There is about 2 mile off the Lord Guilffords house Roxton which is a good house within a parke, you enter a large hall, on the left hand leads to a little parlour down to the kitchins; the halfe pace att the upper end of the hall leads into dining roome, drawing roome, and a large staire-case with good pictures, there you enter another large dineing roome with great compass windows, fine Pictures of the family; within is a drawing roome and chambers and closets well proportioned, little or no furniture was up, only in the worst roomes, in one closet att each doore was Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeths pictures to the foot in bibb and apron very pretty, in one roome was the Lord North and Ladyes picture, which was Lord Chiefe Justice, and their sonnes picture in the middle, all at length: many good pictures in most roomes, there was a part new built all the new fashion way, which was design'd for the present Lord Gilford and Lady, the gardens are very good the out houses and stables handsome.'

Wroxton Abbey was at this time the seat of Francis North, 2nd Baron Guilford (d. 1729), whose son Francis was created Earl of Guilford and was a friend of George Montagu, under whose aegis Horace Walpole visited the house. Lord Guilford's father, Sir Francis North (1637–1685), had been created Baron Guilford. He was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and had acquired Wroxton through marriage with Lady Frances Pope, one of the daughters and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Pope, 4th and last Earl of Downe.²¹

'Banbury is a pretty little town the streets broad and well pitched, the whole Country is very pleasant and the land rich, a red earth; they make some of their fences with stones dry walls without mortar, it seemes much on a flatt and you have a large prospect; from thence to London we go by Alesbury 20 mile, thence to London 30 mile.'

On her next visit to the area, part of a journey 'from London to Oxford and thence into Sussex', she paused at Stowe, and came on from Buckingham through Banbury to Moreton-in-the-Marsh and Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire. Returning by the Four Shire Stone she



Figure 3. Astrop Wells in 1813, a previously unpublished drawing by Thomas Rowlandson; though well over a century after the visits of Anthony Wood, Thomas Isham and Celia Fiennes, it remains the only known contemporary picture of the spa. I am most indebted to Sir Geoffrey Agnew and Dame Mary Cartwright for their help in obtaining a photograph of this picture and permission for its reproduction (private collection: England).

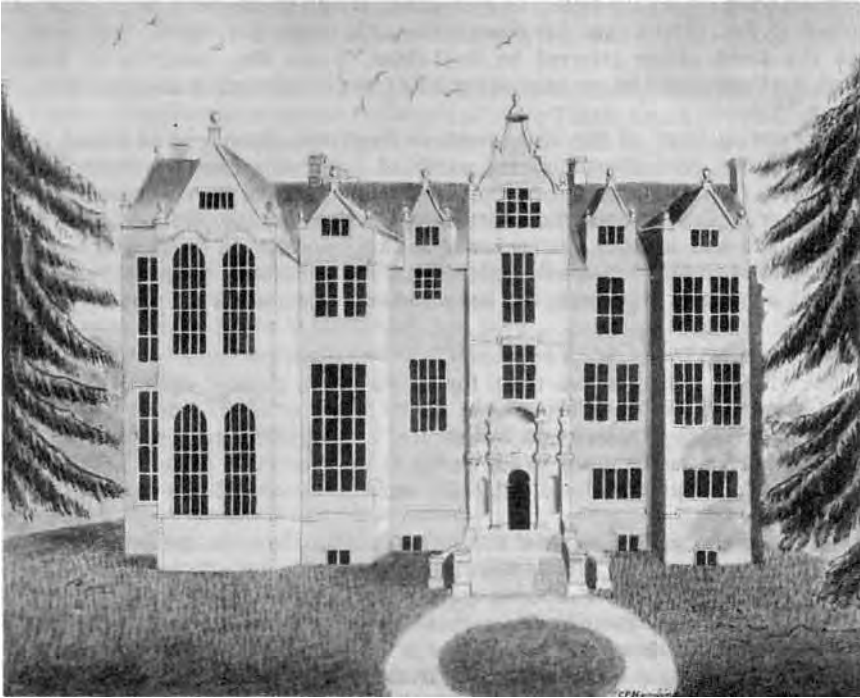


Figure 4. Wroxton Abbey about 1800, before the addition of the south wing, a drawing by G. P. Harding (reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. B.M. ref. 307149(1078), Pennant IV, no. 226).

‘Came to Rowle Stone, where are many such greate Stones as is at Stonidge, one stands upright a broad Stone called the King’s Stone, being the place a Saxon King was secured against his enemies; thence to Broughton in all 26 miles; thence I went to Astrop where is a Steele water much frequented by the Gentry, it has some mixture of Allum so is not so strong as Tunbridge; there is a fine Gravell Walke that is between 2 high cutt hedges where is a Roome for the Musick and a Roome for the Company besides the Private walkes; the well runnes not very quick, they are not curious in keeping it, neither is there any bason for the spring to run out off, only a dirty well full of moss’s which is all changed yellow by the water; there are lodgings about for the Company and a little place called Sutton, this is four mile; thence to Oxford 14 mile all in a very good road and an exceeding pleasant country; you pass by many fine Seates Park’s Woods: the land here and in most part of this County is rich red mould and deepe so as they are forced to plough their ground 2 or 3 tymes for wheate and cannot use wheelles to their ploughs; its rich land and produces plenty of all things.’

Anthony Wood

In 1694 also, probably the same year as Celia Fiennes’ visit to Astrop, Anthony Wood was there again:

‘July 10, I went to Astrop wells: took up my lodging at Will. Upton’s at King Sutton neare thereunto and continued there till the 15 of Aug.: 12s. for my carriage backward and forward and £5 for my being there – 4s. 6d. I gave for my lodging per weeke.’

Whilst there he recorded: ‘On the south side of the body of the church of King Sutton:– a man in a long fur’d gowne between his first wife on the right hand and 2 wives on the left, on brass plates fastned to a raised altar monument – underneath in brass 8 sons and seven daughters all kneeling; several proportions toren out; no armes on the monument. In a plank of

cours marble laying on a foundation of free-stone.' He gives the Latin inscription of Thomas Weston (died 25 Jan 1500/1) and his wives Agnes, Elizabeth, and Agnes. This seems likely to have been the tomb earlier referred to by Leland. It was also described by John Bridges, historian of Northamptonshire, writing about 1720, but evidently had disappeared by the early 19th century.²²

As well as noting some of the monuments in Newbottle church,²³ he found time to visit Rainsborough Camp: 'Rainsborow in the parish of Newbottle com. Northampton, a campe double-mounded; the inner mound neare half a mile in compass, the outer more. Once plowed up, and a part or lot falling to a certaine person in Charlton, he laid level one part of it one side as broad as a land and another part as broad as that opposite. In levelling it he found many broken pots, glasses, rubble (an apothecarie's shop, as the country people say). It is the top of an ascent, hath a prospect every way, and has stood among woods; it is a wooddy soyl.'²⁴

Daniel Defoe

Daniel Defoe (1661–1731), known to all for his *Robinson Crusoe*, was a political writer and professional journalist. His *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* was first published in 1724–26. After visiting Oxford and Woodstock, he 'could not refrain from taking a turn a little northward as high as Banbury to the banks of the Charwell', to see the sites of the Civil War battles of Cropredy Bridge and Edgehill, and that 'second Stone-Henge', the Rollright Stones.

'We were very merry at passing thro' a village called Bloxham, on the occasion of a meeting of servants for hire, which the people there call a Mop; 'tis generally in other places vulgarly call'd a Statute, because founded upon a statute law in Q. Elizabeth's time for regulating of servants. This I christn'd by the name of a Jade-Fair, at which some of the poor girls began to be angry, but we appeas'd them with better words.

'I have observ'd at some of these fairs, that the poor servants distinguish themselves by holding something in their hands, to intimate what labour they are particularly qualify'd to undertake; as the carters a whip, the labourers a shovel, the woodmen a bill, the manufacturers a wool comb, and the like. But since the ways and manners of servants are advanc'd as we now find them to be, those Jade Fairs are not so much frequented as formerly. . .'

Thomas Story

Thomas Story was a Quaker from Cumberland, born presumably some time after the Restoration of Charles II. The account of his life, published five years after his death in 1742, commences in 1686, with his conversion to Quakerism, and thereafter the relatively straightforward narrative of his incessant journeyings is frequently interrupted by lengthy religious dissertation. He was a friend of William Penn, and visited Pennsylvania. His first visit to our area (that he records) was in May 1715. On 23rd he had been in Warwick, and lodged that night with Samuel Overton at Grovefield.

'On the 25th we went to *Banbury*; and that Evening had a pretty large Meeting there; which, though hard and dry in the Beginning, yet was open and free in the End. Here I met with *Daniel Bell* and *John Close*; and that night we lodged with *Edward Willis*.

'On the 26th, being the Fifth of the Week, we were all three at a Meeting at *Hook Norton*; which was but small, by reason of a Fair at *Banbury*, but a good Meeting; After some Refreshment at *John Parke's*, where we alighted, we went in the Evening, forward to *Henry Clarke's*, to *Chipping Norton* . . .' and thence to Witney and Oxford, where they witnessed a 'Mob of the Scholars and others' gutting the Presbyterian Meeting-house, a fate shared by the Quaker meeting house the following night.

The next record of a visit is in August 1731. Story had come this time from Oxford, where 'these Scholars were the rudest, most giddy and unruly Rabble, and most mischievous' of any place he had been.

'On the 16th I went from *Oxford* to *Banbury*, to *Benjamin Kid's*; and next Day was at a Monthly Meeting for Worship at *South-Newington*; which was very open and well.

'On the 18th I was at an appointed Meeting at *Adderbury*; which, though small by reason of the Throng of Harvest, was a very open Meeting.' And so on to Warwick.

His next visit was in 1734, 21st May, when he came from Warwick, where he had stayed with Alexander Edward:

'Next Day I went forward to *Banbury*, and lodged that Night with my Friend *Benjamin Kidd*; and on the 22nd went to the Meeting at *Adderbury*; which was likewise small but comfortable. That evening I went to *Bissiter*, and I lodged with *Jacob Thomas*.'

He was at Banbury again in April 1735, again staying with Benjamin Kidd. In September that year, he stayed with Kidd and his wife at their 'Country House at *Plympton* . . . and then went with them to *Banbury*. The next Day, being the First of the Week, I was at their Meetings, both Forenoon and After; which were both small, by Reason of the Rains . . .'

His final visit was in September 1739, when once again 'on the 14th I went to *Banbury*, to my particular Friend *Benjamin Kidd*'s, an able Minister of the Gospel, and growing and increasing therein. I was made kindly welcome by him and his Wife. There I rested the next Day, and the 16th, being the First of the Week, was at their Meeting Forenoon and After . . . on the 19th I was at a Meeting at *Adderbury*, which was small' and 'on the 20th I fell in with the Weekday Meeting at Bistor, which was very small . . .'

The Quakers in Banbury were inevitably a small and closely related group. Edward Willis, or Wills, with whom Story stayed on his first visit to Banbury, had married Mary daughter of Edward Vivers, one of the most important of the earliest Banbury Quakers. Their widowed daughter Mary married Thomas Busbey in March 1711/2, and after his death in 1726 married for a third time, in June 1729, that Benjamin Kidd with whom Story stayed so regularly thereafter. Kidd, who came from 'Roadan' in Yorkshire, is described at his burial in May 1751 as 'a minister 39 years, aged 59¼'.²⁵ By her second marriage Mary had had a son Edward Busbey (1719–1781), who would well remember Story's visits to his step-father, and whose name appears on the flyleaf of my copy of the *Journal*. This book, a family heirloom, has descended to me through Edward's daughter Sarah, who married Edward Stone the younger (1741–1808), the grandfather of Henry Stone the younger (1818–1895), my own great-grandfather.

J.S.W. Gibson

(to be continued)

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Summer Excursions

A number of visits were arranged during the summer. On 12 May members met at Ratley for a talk by Dr. Radcliffe about his excavations in recent years of the Norman castle there, after which they inspected the site and a number of the finds, concluding with a visit to Ratley church. On 14 June we visited South Newington where Mr Forsyth Lawson spoke in and about the church; we also saw the splendid wall paintings. We then visited College Farm, adjoining the church, where our member Mr J.B. Barbour spoke of the history of the house, displaying a number of documents, and kindly entertained us to wine afterwards.

On 30 June a small party were not dissuaded by heat or distance from visiting the reconstructed Roman fort at the Lunt near Coventry, and saw the first stages in the reconstruction of a Roman granary within the site, which will in due course form a museum; ending with a visit to Baginton church. The season concluded on 12 July with a most pleasant evening at Wroxton Mill where Mr. and Mrs. Shipton, the owners, escorted us round the superb gardens and spoke of the history and their restoration of the buildings.

To all owners and speakers concerned the Society is most grateful.

The Purefoy Letters. 1735—1753. Edited by L. G. Mitchell. Sidgwick and Jackson. 176 pp. £3.50.

Anyone interested in the eighteenth century who has not yet made the acquaintance of Henry Purefoy now has an opportunity to welcome him into the house at a moderate charge. So far as this goes it is good news, for there has not been a new edition of the Purefoy Letters for many years. In spite of this Henry Purefoy of Shalstone and his redoubtable mother already have an enthusiastic following, not only on account of their unusual characters, but also because their letters illustrate in detail the day by day activities of provincial life as seen from the point of view of a squire, even if this squire, for whom nothing ever seems to have gone according to plan, was not really typical of his fellows. The letters are almost all from Henry or his mother and were drafted into letter books before they were dispatched. They were addressed to neighbours, tenants, farmers, tradesmen, artisans, agents and in fact to everyone with whom they had contact and many were the problems which arose. Banbury fair is mentioned twice and there are references to Astrop which was frequently visited; as Shalstone is between Brackley and Buckingham there is plenty of local interest.

A splendid edition of the Purefoy letters was published under the same title in 1931, edited by G. Eland. It is surprising that the present editor makes no reference at all to the work done by his predecessor, the more so as both books were produced by the same publishers. The new edition is a pale shadow of the former; whereas Mr Eland's work was embellished with 28 plates, Mr Mitchell's has no illustrations at all and Henry's long sad face can only be imagined. The index which replaces one of the most comprehensive ever compiled in a book of this kind contains only personal names and many of these without initials. Instead of over 600 letters the reader must now be content with 220. The present day costs of publishing may partly account for this and if this book had been introduced as a popular edition its object would be clear. On the contrary it gives the impression that the eighteenth century Purefoy is a new discovery.

In each section Mr Mitchell uses the letters to illustrate his conception of the squirearchy of the period, but some of his assertions are certainly open to question. The landowners, solidly secure in their assurance of their place in society, would have been surprised to know that their code of behaviour was based on fear of the County or that London could have been regarded as a "dark, miraculous and awesome entity" to a gentleman living in Buckinghamshire. Mr Mitchell gives us no bibliography, but there is a useful chronology of national events (though containing certain errors). He has reduced the notes and references which are so useful to scholars to a minimum and his style of writing is strangely at variance with that of the people he discusses. Though the textbook generalisations tend to devitalise the Purefoys themselves there are still riches to be found and many people will think the book well worth buying; other readers, perhaps, will prefer to obtain the old edition from the libraries, where they can not only benefit from Mr Eland's erudition, but under his sympathetic guidance enjoy the humour and the pathos to be found in the Purefoy Letters.

Sarah Markham.

Workers on the Move, by Michael Mann. 265 pp. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge Studies in Sociology No. 6. 1973. £1.60 paperback. Also issued in cloth.

First and foremost this is a sociological case study whose conclusions challenge conventional wisdom over a wide range of social and economic questions. Dr. Mann observed in detail the complete move of Alfred Bird and Sons Ltd. (now General Foods Ltd.) from Birmingham to Banbury, analysing the effects on the firm, on those workers who moved with it, and on those who remained behind in Birmingham. The study has many practical implications for planners concerned with the problems of the great conurbations and the re-siting of industries in expanding or new towns. Dr. Mann establishes that when faced with a decision whether or not to move with his firm, a worker is more likely to be guided by factors connected with his employment than by social or domestic concerns. Skilled workers who have gained within the firm a high level of expertise which is not generally marketable are particularly likely to have a high degree of dependence on their employers. The importance of inducements to move is

demonstrated, and the deep suspicions aroused among workers by the move are emphasised. Dr. Mann shows that the success of the Birds management in persuading their workers to move meant that the establishment of the new factory brought to Banbury an influx of new citizens with a fairly balanced age structure which ensured that the unequal pressures on educational and other resources which are a feature of new towns with high proportions of young married couples were to some extent avoided. There is no space here to examine the full range of Dr. Mann's conclusions, but the book will be full of interest for anyone concerned however remotely with planning matters. Non-sociologists will find that it is refreshingly free of jargon.

Workers on the Move is not intended to be a history book. Obviously a study of this kind, written so soon after the events it describes, must preserve the anonymity of individuals. It is nevertheless an important contribution to Banbury's history, and doubtless Dr. Mann's thesis on which the book is based, and his accumulated data, will be fruitful sources for any future historians examining the development of the town in the 1960s. Dr. Mann shows that many of the Birds employees regarded Banbury both as 'a nice, pleasant relaxed country town', and as a place where 'there's nothing to do', although in contrast to the latter view, surveys showed that many of the new arrivals found plenty to do in their leisure time. One consequence of the existence of these two attitudes was that many Birds employees choose to live in villages around Banbury rather than in the town itself, thus furthering the trend towards the suburbanisation of the villages.

Workers on the Move is pleasantly produced and reasonably priced, although the blurred printing of pp. 80-81 of the review copy is not what one expects from a university press.

B. S. Trinder.

Index to Volume Four

After a regrettably long delay the indexes, of places and subjects and of personal names, to the twelve issues of *Cake and Cockhorse* comprising Volume Four (Autumn 1968 - Summer 1971) have been completed and printed.

Copies of these, together with a title page and list of contents, are being sent to all corporate members. They are available free to any individual member on application to the Assistant Secretary.

Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit

The Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit, directed by Tom Hassall, M.A., F.S.A., has now taken over the organization of archaeology in the Oxfordshire area.

In particular we must welcome the appointment of Mrs Kirsty Rodwell, an experienced urban archaeologist, to deal with the problems of small town development. She is hoping to be digging the Banbury castle site shortly. Another appointment is that of John Hinchcliffe to supervise motorway excavations. We look forward to close co-operation with these professional archaeologists, whose work can be of the greatest importance to Banbury in the coming months.

Recent Publications

Northamptonshire Militia Lists, 1777, ed. Victor A. Hatley, Northamptonshire Record Society, vol. 25, 1973, £3.50. Lists of 'able-bodied men' throughout the county, by parish (with certain significant exceptions) - embellished by a delightful Rowlandson wash drawing (in colour) of the Militia parading at Brackley in 1807.

The Administration of an Eighteenth Century Warwickshire Parish: Butlers Marston, by Joan Lane, Dugdale Society Occasional Papers No. 21, 1973. The study of a parish between Banbury, Shipston and Stafford, and bordering Tysoe - an interesting comparison with Wigginton, as revealed in Douglas Price's recent edition of the Constables' Accounts.

The activities and publications of some or all of the following bodies should interest readers:

- Arts Council of Banbury (Miss Rosemary Hall, Flat 33, 20 Calthorpe Road, Banbury).
Minimum £1.05
- Banbury Art Society (Hon. Sec., R. Edgson, Print's Cottage, Bloxham, Banbury) £1.00
- Banbury Geographical Association (B.E. Little, 2 Burlington Gardens, Banbury) 53p
- Bicester Local History Circle (Hon. Sec., Miss G.H. Dannatt, Lammas Cottage, Launton Road, Bicester, Oxon.). 50p
- Buckinghamshire Record Society (Hon. Sec., E.J. Davis, County Record Office, New Council Offices, Walton Street, Aylesbury, Bucks.). £2.10
- Council for the Preservation of Rural England, Oxfordshire Branch (Mrs E. Turner, Woodside, Woodgreen, Witney, Oxon.). Minimum 50p
- Dugdale Society (publishes Warwickshire records) (Shakespeare's Birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon). £2.10
- Heraldry Society (59 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.). £1.50; or to include 'The Coat of Arms', £2.50
- Historical Association (59a Kennington Park Road, London, S.E.11.) (Oxford Branch: A.J.P. Puddephatt, 93, Old Road, Headington, Oxford). £1.00; or to include *History*, £1.75
- Northamptonshire Record Society (Délapre Abbey, Northampton). £2.10
- Oxford Architectural and Historical Society (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). 75p or to include *Oxoniensia*, £2.10
- Oxford Preservation Trust (The Painted Room, 2 Cornmarket Street, Oxford). Minimum 50p
- Oxfordshire Record Society (Dr W.O. Hassall, Hon. Sec., Bodleian Library, Oxford). £2.00
- Shipston-on-Stour and District Local History Society (H.G. Parry, Hon. Sec., 8 Stratford Road, Shipston-on-Stour, Warw.) 50p
- Warwickshire Local History Society (47 Newbold Terrace, Leamington Spa.) £1.00
- Woodford Halse Historical Society (J.W. Anscomb, 7 Manor Road, Woodford Halse, Rugby, Warw.) 50p

The Local Historian, published quarterly is available from the National Council of Social Service, 26 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1.-single copies, 28p
annual postal subscription £1.05

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