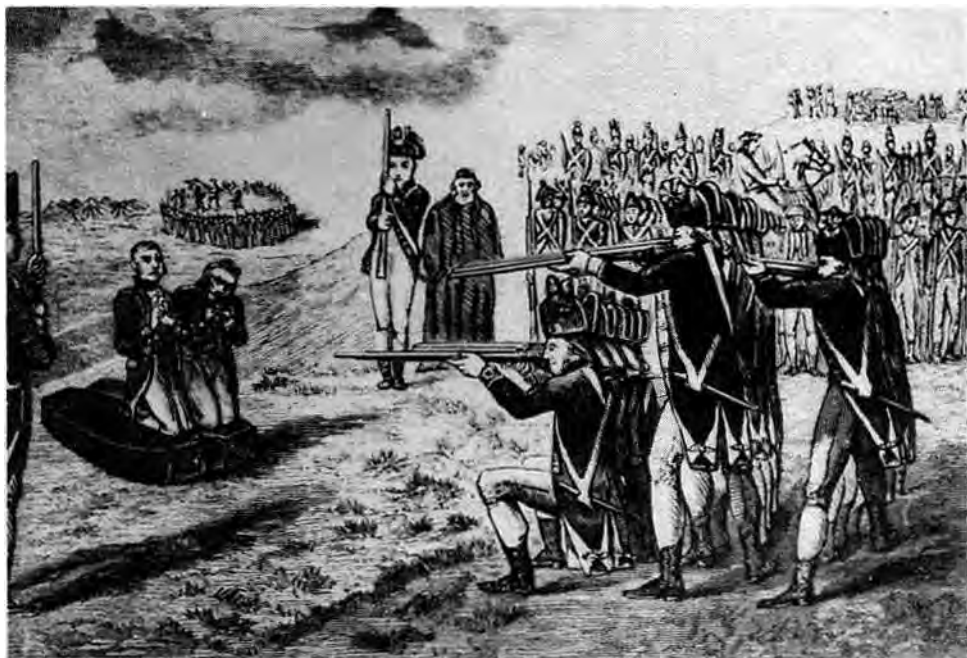


CAKE & COCKHORSE



BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Details about the Society's activities and
publications can be found on the inside back cover

Our cover illustration shows Cooke and Parish awaiting execution (see the article by Dr Pamela Horn). Cooke is on the left and Parish on the right, with head bowed.

CAKE & COCKHORSE

The Magazine of the Banbury Historical Society. Issued three times a year.

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There could be no greater loss to the Society than the recent death of Dr E. R. C. Brinkworth. Mrs Brinkworth has the sympathy of all of us.

Ted wished there to be no obituary in Cake and Cockhorse. With regret we respect his wishes. The Society is his memorial; he has nourished its life and safeguarded its professional standards.

XXXXXXXXXXXX

The republication of William Potts' History of Banbury is most welcome. It is in many ways a new book, revised and brought up-to-date by Edward T. Clark who edited the first edition from Potts' papers in 1958 and promoted its publication by the Banbury Guardian of which he was successor to Potts as editor.

It is doubly welcome that this new edition is the first venture of Banbury's own publishing house, Gulliver Press, domiciled in the Banbury Bookshop where the White Lion's garages used to be. We understand that Gulliver Press has in hand the republication of several books of interest to Banburians which are now out of print and almost unobtainable, including possibly Beesley's Banbury. We wish them every success.

Potts' History of Banbury was to have been reviewed by Ted Brinkworth. That cannot now be. A review will appear in a later issue. Meantime, overleaf are some notes on Potts, kindly supplied by Mr Ted Clark, and on Mr Clark himself.

The authors of A History of Banbury

William Potts was a big man in every sense of the word. He stood 6ft 6ins in height, he wore a wrist watch almost as big as a pocket watch and he used a fountain pen twice as large as the average size. He had a loud voice and a hearty laugh. He managed to pack into his literary life - for he was the third generation of his family to be Editor and Proprietor of The Banbury Guardian - a prodigious amount of work.

He inherited The Banbury Guardian when it was at a low ebb financially. He won through and turned the paper into a highly respected journal of which people used to say "If it's in the Guardian it's Gospel".

A local paper is an historical record of the life of a town and neighbourhood. Potts not only recorded current history but researched Banbury's past. He never took a holiday in the ordinary way but long weekends and used them to visit the Muniment Room at Lincoln Cathedral, as Banbury was for many years in the diocese of Lincoln; the Public Record Office; the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.

He was a bachelor and lived with one of his sisters, Kate. He spent the late hours of the night and the early hours of the morning in his study writing up his findings. From mid-morning until late afternoon he devoted himself to his newspaper. In the early hours of the evening he was often to be found lecturing, with the aid of lantern slides, to local societies on Banbury's history. These lectures were much anticipated and appreciated.

He was a keen Churchman and vice-chairman of St Mary's Parochial Council, Banbury, for many years. He was treasurer of the fund raised to restore the bells and to provide a carillon in honour of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. He wrote "The story of Banbury Parish Church", which is still used as a reference book, and three other histories on aspects of the town's past, first for The Banbury Guardian and these were later issued in book form. Quite early he decided to bring up-to-date Alfred Beesley's "History of Banbury" as he had access to records Beesley never had.

His "A History of Banbury" involved much research and very nearly never saw the light of day. The 1939-45 war, ill-health and shortage of time and paper made him postpone completion. It was ten years after his death that a successor as Editor of The Banbury Guardian, Ted Clark, decided that he would complete the work and publish it. This he did in 1958 and the publication put Potts in the unique position he rightly deserved to occupy.

William Potts left an indelible memory of benevolent kindness in the hearts of all his contemporaries.

Edward Thomas Clark was apprenticed as a journalist to William Potts on leaving Taunton School, Taunton, where he was educated.

The elder of twin sons of the late Mr and Mrs Theo Clark, who served Banbury on three occasions as Mayor and Mayoress, he quickly took an interest in politics and sporting affairs, becoming chairman of the Young Liberals, Assistant Secretary of the Banbury Cricket and Sports Club, playing for Oxfordshire at cricket and being a county trialist for rugby.

To gain further journalistic experience he left Banbury for Devon where he worked on morning, evening and weekly newspapers. On the outbreak of the second world war he joined the Devon Regiment as a Private. He was commissioned in the Royal Berkshire Regiment and served in Northern Ireland, Egypt, Palestine, Italy, and France. He was wounded and Mentioned in Despatches. He concluded his Army career as a member of British Army Staff, Paris, responsible for bringing home the thousands of men from the Mediterranean theatre of war. On returning home himself he commanded the 1st Bn. Oxf & Bucks L.I. Army Cadets in the rank of Major.

At the invitation of William Potts he rejoined The Banbury Guardian. He first ran successfully the advertising side of the paper and he was made a director when a limited company was formed. When later he became editor he greatly expanded and modernised the paper, its premises and equipment. When Mr Woodrow Wyatt purchased the publication he became North Oxfordshire manager for the Oxford Mail & Times and later Deputy Editor of the Stratford Herald. It was during his editorship of The Banbury Guardian that he edited and published William Potts' "A History of Banbury". It was also due to the extensive coverage in the paper of the talks given by Dr Ted Brinkworth on the history of Banbury that led to the formation of the Banbury Historical Society.

For over twenty years he was connected with the National Savings movement in Banbury and Oxfordshire and as chairman of the latter he was made M. B. E. in 1964. He was also president of Banbury Rotary Club in the same year. In 1975, as a past president of Banbury Rugby Union Football Club, he wrote the history of the club for their jubilee year.

He is currently chairman of the Spiceball Arts & Community Association and heads the appeal for £150,000 for the Jimmie Black theatre, over £100,000 of which has been raised. He is chairman of Banbury Road Safety Committee and a churchwarden at St Mary's, Broughton with North Newington. He is married with three children, all of whom are married.

Members are reminded that subscriptions for 1979 are now due. The Summer issue will be sent only to paid-up members.

THE MUTINY OF THE OXFORDSHIRE MILITIA IN 1795

'LEWES, Saturday, April 18. Yesterday morning, soon after the Justices went into Court to open the Quarter Sessions, the Constable of Newhaven arrived express, and delivered to Lord Sheffield, the Chairman, a paper, which gave an account that the Oxfordshire Militia had quitted their barracks at Blatchington, near Seaford, and notwithstanding the endeavours of their officers, had taken their arms and marched with bayonets fixed'. First leader in *The Times* of 21 April, 1795.

In any consideration of years of economic hardship for Britain, 1795 must surely stand high. For then the effects of poor harvests at home and the inflationary pressures of war with France brought many to the verge of starvation. In the course of that year the price of the quartern loaf (weighing just over 4 lb. 5 oz.) rose from 7d. to 1s. 1¼d. at a time when perhaps sixty per cent of a working-class family's weekly income was spent on bread.¹ To add to the general misery, the summer of 1795 was unseasonably cold, with the weather so severe in June that many sheep flocks perished and the growing crops, particularly wheat, were seriously affected. Wheat yields in Oxfordshire in 1795 turned out to be little more than half their normal quantity. In 1794 they had also been well below the average level.²

Oxfordshire magistrates responded promptly to the potential disaster of this situation by introducing a system of 'minimum wages' as early as January 1795. Under their scheme a married man and his wife were to have a weekly income of at least 6s., exclusive of rent, with 1s. per week for each child.³ And when 'the utmost Industry of a Family' could not produce the necessary sum, a rate-aided supplement was to be given. It was a less sophisticated version of the policy drawn up at Speenhamland in the following May by Berkshire magistrates, whereby minimum wages were linked directly to the price of bread. As that price increased, the minimum wage scale was advanced pro rata.

But with the deepening of distress, these measures proved inadequate. In some places, including Thame and Bampton, charitable funds were collected by the well-to-do to provide cheap food.⁴ In others, such as Burford, farmers agreed to sell their corn only to millers and bakers 'who shall consume the same at or near Home', instead of exporting it to other parts of England.⁵ Parliament, too, intervened to conserve wheat supplies by recommending that bread should be made of two-thirds wheat mixed with one-third barley, and that cheaper flour should be milled, with only the bran extracted. The rich were to set an example by cutting out pastry and second courses, and restricting each of their servants to a quartern loaf per week.

The local press joined in the campaign, with *Jackson's Oxford Journal* issuing a list of rules to be observed by rich and poor alike as a 'Way to Peace and Plenty'.⁶ Among its suggestions were the destruction

of 'all useless dogs': 'Give to no dog, or other animal, the **smallest bit** of bread or meat', it declared solemnly. Care was to be exercised, too, in the distribution of charity, with the wealthy advised to: 'Prefer those poor, who keep steady to their work, and go constantly to church, and give nothing to those who are idle, or riotous, or keep useless dogs.'

The poor, for their part, were exhorted to avoid drink and bad company: 'Be civil to your superiors, and they will be kind to you. Be quiet and contented, and never steal or swear, or you will never thrive.'

However, in the darkest days some of Oxfordshire's working people forgot these pious suggestions about remaining 'quiet and contented'. In the early summer of 1795 a boat load of flour was seized by a mob near Deddington and was only released when the owner agreed to sell it cheaply to them.⁷ At Bloxham a few weeks later a waggon load of wheat was stopped by rioters, and about half of its contents carried away 'in aprons, sheets, and cloths', as the **Oxford Journal** reported.⁸ In the west of the county, the inhabitants of Witney 'seized some Grain as it was going to be sent out of the Country, brought it back, and sold it at a low price'. Similar action was taken at Burford, where a consignment of wheat was commandeered and sold at 8s. a bushel to local people.⁹ Not surprisingly, in these circumstances the magistrates became uneasy and on 14 August, Robert Charlwood, a Woodstock baker, wrote to the Home Secretary to complain that a consignment of flour he had bought at Witney market had been blocked by a Standlake magistrate. The flour was stored at Standlake and the magistrate 'refused to let [it] pass from thence to this place. . . Why the stoppage of circulating Corn or Flour sho^d. take place at a parish where plenty is to be had I cannot guess'. The Home Secretary's rather unhelpful response was to advise him that 'he [had] his remedy at Law for this as well as any other injury he may Sustain, & that he will have the advantage of its being decided by a Jury who will be best able to ascertain the amount of the injury done to him & the intention of the offending parties'.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it was not within the county itself but in Sussex that the most dramatic food riot involving Oxfordshire men took place. At that time the county militia was stationed at Blatchington barracks near Newhaven, part of a force of about fifteen thousand troops who were spread along the Sussex coast ready to repel a possible French invasion. The uprising occurred as a result of the soldiers' discontent at the high price and poor quality of the meat, flour and bread with which they were supplied, and at their inadequate pay. A further minor source of tension was that the men at that time wore pigtails, which they were required to dress with flour bought at their own expense. This was a very unpopular regulation, which some sought to overcome by using soap and a mixture of other ingredients. On a hot day, a pigtail so dressed was not unlike a tallow candle. But though the militiamen were primarily concerned with their own grievances, there is evidence that they also intended to benefit the

poorer civilians living in the area by reducing food prices for them, too.

It was in the middle of April that the men finally decided to take some matters into their own hands and to bring about price cuts by force if no other method would serve. To add to their anger there were rumours that the principal Newhaven millers, Messrs. Catt and Barton, were about to add to the general scarcity by exporting some of their flour to another part of the country, where still higher prices could be secured, or perhaps even overseas. As early as January 1795 an anonymous letter, sent from Brighton under the n^om de plume of 'A True Briton' had informed the authorities in London of the writer's suspicions that flour from Newhaven was being smuggled to France: 'there is in this Neighbourhood', he declared, 'a few . . . for I Cant find out that there [are] above foure or five, Buying up all the Wheat they can possibly lay 'old of and for what (to feed our Enemy) under this disguise. The Corne is [delivered] either at Shoreham or Newhaven & then is conveyed away in small vesells about 60 Tons burthen to Guernsey or Jersey, & then Reship^d. into what they Call neutral Bottoms & Conve^d. to France'.¹¹

So it was against this background of hunger and suspicion that after evening parade on 16 April a majority of the six hundred or so militia privates broke ranks, declaring that they were going to the neighbouring parish of Seaford to compel the butchers to sell their meat at a reduced price. However, their officers quickly intervened and on this occasion the men agreed to return to barracks.

But on the following morning their minds were made up. At 7 a. m. about four hundred of them gathered together and ignoring the orders of their officers, they marched out of camp, with muskets loaded and bayonets fixed, to seize the stocks of the Seaford tradesmen, whom they blamed as profiteers who were exploiting the poor for their own ends. Once they had reached the town they entered the butchers' shops and commandeered all supplies, dividing the meat among themselves and agreeing to pay 4d. per lb. for it. Some was also sold to local people at an impromptu market held in the churchyard.¹²

Heartened by their success, a number of the men now went to one of the principal farmers in the district and insisted on his selling wheat to the millers at £12 per load. They annexed some of his waggons to carry their booty away so that it could be ground into flour. Yet more of the 'mutineers' marched on Catt & Barton's large tidemill near Newhaven, where they seized a quantity of flour, valued at £5,000.. Other flour, which had already been loaded on to a small sloop lying alongside on the river was likewise seized, and placed under a guard of twenty men. Some of the soldiers took over a team of horses which were at plough in order to transport part of the flour back to Blatchington barracks, though the greater part was held at Newhaven. The men intended to take it from there to Lewes market on the following day to sell at low prices to the local inhabitants. The money thus secured was then to be paid over to the millers

as compensation.

Unfortunately by this time a number of men had got hold of large quantities of liquor. Thomas Barton, one of the millers involved, later claimed that he had himself lost 147 bottles of spirits and wine as well as three-quarters of a barrel of strong beer as a consequence of their depredations.¹³ He did not say what he was doing with such quantities of alcohol, though, given the conditions of the time, smuggling would seem a likely explanation. Two Newhaven brewers likewise claimed to have lost 123 gallons of strong beer between them. In all, a bill for over £68 was eventually submitted by Newhaven publicans and tradesmen to cover damage allegedly caused by the men. The proprietor of the White Hart Inn in Newhaven even claimed 18s. for the loss of two aprons and a gown by his servants, out of the kitchen, as well as 15s. for 'Tables Broke' and £1. 6s. for 'Windows, Doors & Locks Broke'.¹⁴

By now news of the mutiny was spreading and when details of it reached Lewes, a small detachment of horse artillery was sent to try to restore order. They quickly appreciated that the task was beyond them and so an urgent message was passed on to military headquarters at Brighton. It was from there that the Lancashire Fencibles were despatched to bring the disturbances to an end.

In the meantime, many of the militiamen had returned to barracks of their own volition, as evening drew on, encouraged by 'the very earnest solicitations of their Lieutenant-Colonel', as the *Oxford Journal* put it. But others remained behind, guarding the flour or drinking. When morning broke, these latter discovered that the Lancashire Fencibles had moved in, together with a detachment of horse artillery, and now surrounded the town. After some token resistance, in which no serious damage was done, the mutineers surrendered.

Rumours of this turn of events began to trickle back to their comrades at Blatchington, and they once more seized their arms with the intention of going to the rescue. However, this possibility had already been foreseen and two pieces of cannon had been strategically placed on a hill overlooking the route they would have to take. As the men marched down, shots were fired at them from the cannon. They immediately broke ranks and fled. After a short skirmish, they, too, were taken prisoners.¹⁵

Eighteen of the ringleaders were now selected to stand trial at a special assize to be held at Lewes, while thirteen more were placed under confinement to be punished according to military law. The latter were the first to be tried, at a court martial held at the Castle Tavern in Brighton in the middle of May. In the end two of the men were sentenced to death for their part in the 'mutiny' - Edward Cooke of Witney and Henry Parish of Chipping Norton. A third prisoner, John Haddocks of Chinnor, was initially also sentenced to death but the punishment was later commuted to service for ten years as a soldier in the penal colony in New South Wales. Six others were sentenced to be flogged - one to one thousand five hundred

lashes, four to a thousand lashes, and one to five hundred. The four remaining men were eventually released for lack of evidence.

On 27 May the special assize to try the rest of the accused, who had been held in Horsham gaol, opened in Lewes. By now their numbers had dwindled to four militiamen and two local labourers, the rest of the prisoners having been released. The trial lasted two days, with two of the men sentenced to death. But thanks to the absence of material witnesses, namely the captain and first mate of the sloop the men were accused of robbing, the trial of the other prisoners was postponed to July. In the event, one of the remaining militiamen, William Midwinter, was also sentenced to death, while the other, William Avery, was transported to New South Wales 'for the term of his natural life.'¹⁶

By now it had been decided that those sentenced at the court martial would be punished on the 12 June and their comrades from the assizes on the following day. So on the 3rd of that month, the former group were taken by artillery waggon, under guard of the Lancashire Fencibles, to Brighton, where the punishments were to be carried out.¹⁷ And it is a tribute to the impression made on local people by these events that both during the court martial and again before the executions, many Brighton residents took food to the prisoners, which they passed through the bars of their exercise ground. They also sent repeated petitions to the government, appealing for clemency.¹⁸

'Incendiary letters' were dropped in and about Brighton, threatening that five thousand men would appear to rescue the prisoners.¹⁹ Clearly the military authorities took these seriously, though there were perhaps also fears of disaffection among the troops stationed in the area. In any event, four additional regiments of dragoons and a battalion of guards were ordered into the town, to bolster up existing forces, in readiness for the day of execution. Indeed, these anxieties were carried to such an extreme that when on the morning of the 12th, the Prince of Wales's 10th Regiment of Light Dragoons had not arrived, the executions were postponed for a further day. The Oxfordshire Militia itself, which had only just been rearmed after the 'mutiny', had actually started to march from Blatchington to Brighton to witness the punishments before news of their postponement came through. Not until late afternoon were the final arrangements completed.²⁰

The next day - the 13 June - the Oxfordshire Militia arrived, as ordered, at Brighton camp at about 4 a.m. On the march the regiment had been halted and twelve of the privates who had taken part in the riot but had been acquitted, were called out and told to prepare their flints to carry out the death sentences. One sergeant and three corporals also joined the firing squad, whilst some of the regimental drummers were told to stand by ready to carry out the floggings. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, this choice of Oxfordshire militiamen to inflict the punishments was 'done to demonstrate to the men that state of obedience in which the

officers were determined to hold them; and by this measure they felt more pointedly the folly of their former conduct, when those persons, whom they had before made their leaders, were now to suffer death at their hands.²¹

The place of execution was situated about a mile outside Brighton, at Goldstone Bottom on the Sussex downs, and there the Oxfordshire militia marched, to be joined by all the other militia regiments in the area and by the cavalry. On the heights overlooking the scene the horse artillery were stationed, with guns pointed and fuses at the ready, in case there should be any attempt at rescue by the infantry men.²² In all, thirteen regiments were present, by direct command of His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, who had been appointed field marshal the previous February.

With the preparations completed by 7 a.m., the prisoners were escorted on to the scene. The six men sentenced to be flogged were brought in a covered waggon, while the two condemned to be shot followed in an open cart, attended by the regimental chaplain, and with a formidable guard of one hundred infantry men and one hundred cavalry. Once the vehicles had arrived at the road leading down to Goldstone Bottom they were halted and the first six prisoners were ordered out. They were then marched through the lines of waiting soldiers before being brought back to the centre of the parade ground, where whipping posts had been set up. In the event, because of their physical weakness following the privations of their eight weeks' imprisonment, only three of the men actually received a flogging and their sentences were reduced to three hundred lashes each, since the doctor considered they could endure no more.²³ One of the remaining men was too ill to receive punishment, and was remanded for a further period of imprisonment, and the other two were pardoned at the last moment.

Now came the final scene in the drama. Edward Cooke and Henry Parish appeared with their escort and they, too, were marched through the lines. Despite their desperate position, they faced the ordeal with great dignity and courage. As a fellow soldier later wrote, they 'marched with [a] Firmness of Mind and Cool Intrepidity, as surprised all present', while **The Times** spoke of them meeting their fate 'with becoming decency and fortitude'.²⁴

Once they had reached the place of execution, they spoke briefly to the chaplain and then with composure knelt on their coffins to await the shots of the firing squad, who were assembled a mere six yards from them. Cooke died instantly but Parish was not quite dead when he fell and was therefore shot through the head with a pistol.

For those left behind the ordeal did not end there. Every regiment on the parade ground was ordered to march past the bodies before they were placed inside the coffins. This final phase was later described by a Sussex man as 'distressing beyond conception', and he also recorded that so great was the impression made on Brighton people that even the place

of execution was for many years marked 'by the form of the coffins, the position of the men firing and other incidents of the scene' being carved out of the turf by local shepherds.²⁵

The two men were buried at Hove churchyard, the burial party being under the direction of a Sergeant Masters, who later became a publican at Witney. He complained that the coffins were so badly made that although the two men were buried in their regimental uniforms, their blood oozed through and ran down the backs of their comrades as they carried them to their graves - thereby adding to the distressing character of the whole affair.

Meanwhile at Horsham, a few miles away, two of the other men sentenced to death, John Sykes and William Sansom, were hanged at 1 p. m., in the presence of a troop of Sussex yeomanry, but without any of the ceremonial which had attended the executions at Brighton. According to the *Oxford Journal*, as they reached the scaffold they 'behaved very penitent, and appeared resigned to their unhappy Fate. They begged the People never to engage in any Riot, and hoped they would take Warning by their untimely End.'²⁶

However, on the morning of his death, Edward Cooke had written a letter to his brother which perhaps summarised the philosophy of these men and his own steadfastness of character:

'I am going to die for what the Redgment done. I am not afraid to meet Death, for I have done no harm to no person and that is a great comfort to me; there is a just God in heaven who knows I am going to suffer innocently . . . I hope God Almighty will be a Guardian over you and all my relations, and I hope we shall meet in heaven, where we shall be ever happy without End.'²⁷

Henry Parish, in a last anguished letter to his mother at Chipping Norton, also proclaimed his innocence, declaring he had been wrongly accused by a Sergeant Small 'who swore his life unto me & god knows I never hurt the hair of his head'. But he, like Cooke, looked forward to a family reunion in the after life: 'I hope we shall meet again in the happenis were troble cannot come'.²⁸

Almost two months later the fifth victim, William Midwinter of Abingdon, was also hanged at Horsham, despite a last minute appeal for clemency to the Home Secretary by a brevet major of the 66th Regiment in which he had once served and from which he had been honourably discharged.²⁹ Only John Haddocks and William Avery remained to be dealt with. Haddocks was lying in a prison hulk at Portsmouth, awaiting transportation, and on 3 August a number of fellow villagers from Chinnor appealed to the War Office to give him another chance, declaring 'we never knew the said John Haddocks to be guilty of any Crime or Misdemeanour whatsoever before; and we most humbly recommend him to mercifull and Favorable Treatment'.³⁰ Their efforts were in vain and he, like Avery, was sent away.

MARTIAL LAW.

In the year 1795, a Mutiny broke out in the Oxford Militia, then stationed at Brighton, owing to the high price of bread. Several of the men were tried by a Court-Martial and punished. Among the number were EDWARD COOKE, the writer of the following letter, and HENRY PARRISH, who were shot, in the presence of thirteen regiments, in Goldstone Bottom, near Brighton, where the turf, cut by the humble hands of the shepherd, into the form of coffins, &c. still records the melancholy event.

Brighton, 13th of June, 1795.

Dear Brother,—This comes with my kind Love to you, and I hope you be well. I am brought very low and weak by long confinement and been in great trouble. Dear Brother,—I am sentenced Death, and must Die on Saturday, the 13th of June; and I hope God Almighty will forgive me my Sins. I never was no body's foe but my own, and that was in Drinking and breaking the Sabbath, and that is a great Sin. I have prayed night and Day to the Almighty God to forgive me and take me to Heaven, and I hope my prayers be not in vain. I am going to Die for what the Redgment done; I am not afraid to meet Death, for I have done no harm to no person, and that is a great comfort to me: there is a just God in heaven that knows I am going to suffer innocently. Dear Brother,—I should be very Glad to see you before I Depart this Life. I hope God Almighty will be a Guardian over you and all my relations, and I hope we shall meet in heaven, where we shall be ever happy without End. So no more from the hand of your ever loving and Dying Brother,

EDWARD COOKE.

The foregoing is copied, *verbatim et literalim*, from the original, which is in the possession of a friend of the printers. The hand-writing is in a free and bold style, unlike what might be expected from a man under sentence and at the point of death. It may be seen by applying to the printers.

PHILLIPS AND CO., 15 POPLAR PLACE, BRIGHTON.

The former comrades of the condemned men did not forget easily the events of the summer of 1795 and there was much bitterness aroused. It found expression in the following anonymous rhyme which was displayed at Lewes on the night of the 14 June:

Soldiers to arms, arise and revenge your Cause
On those bloody numskulls, Pitt and George.
For since they no longer can send you to France
To be murdered like Swine, or pierc'd by the Lance
You are sent for by Express to make a speedy Return
To be shot like a Crow, or hang'd in your Turn;
Ye Britons can you hear this and dauntless stand?
Arise with thoughtful Heads, and nervous Hands.
Let Prudence guide, and patriotic Valor give the Blow
And whelm in Ruin the Aristocratic Foe.
You have of Chief and Patriots a matchless Train
To end a Pitt and bloody George's Reign.
Haste Soldiers now, and with intrepid Hand
Grasp Sword and Gun to save thy native Land
For see your Comrades murder'd, ye with Resentments swell
And join the Rage, the Aristocrat to quell
Let undaunted Ardor each bold Bosom warm
To down with George and Pitt, and England call to Arms.³¹

Nor was the mutiny without its broader effects, for it led to inquiries being made throughout the country by the military authorities into the condition of the troops.³² Eventually the standard pay of every branch of the service was improved - by as much as eighty per cent for privates. Their rations were also increased and they were provided with more satisfactory quarters or barracks. Their clothing was improved, too, with greatcoats supplied to all.³³ And the powdered pigtail - one of the original points of contention - was abolished.

Only for the Oxfordshire regiment itself was the outcome less happy. Apart from the deep impression made on them by the savage punishments accorded their former companions, the men also saw the loss of the word 'Royal' from their former title of 'The Royal Oxfordshire Militia'. The blue facings worn on their uniform were changed to black as a mark of disgrace and punishment, and after a further lapse of time, yellow facings were adopted. These became part of the regiment's uniform into Victorian times.³⁴ It was the end of a sad chapter in the county's history.

Pamela Horn

FOOTNOTES

1. R. N. Salaman, **The History and Social Influence of the Potato** (Cambridge 1949), 496-497. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 19 December, 1795.
2. Returns of Corn Yields in Oxfordshire, 18 November, 1795, at Public Record Office, H. P. 42.36.
3. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 24 January, 1795.
4. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 21 February and 1 August, 1795.
5. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 4 July, 1795.
6. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 25 July, 1795.
7. Sir Frederic M. Eden, **The State of the Poor**, Vol. II (London 1797), 591.
8. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 8 August, 1797.
9. E. P. Thompson, **The Making of the English Working Class** (London 1963), 66.
10. Home Office Correspondence at the Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.407.
11. Home Office Correspondence at the Public Record Office, H. O. 42.34.15.
12. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 25 April, 1795 and J. L. and Barbara Hammond, **The Village Labourer** (London: Guild Books ed. 1948), Vol. I, 117-118.
13. Claim preserved at the Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.205.
14. Claim preserved at the Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.211
15. **Annual Register**, Chronicle, 20 April, 1795, 18.
16. Criminal Book, Vol. 10 at Public Record Office, H. O. 13/10, entry 3 August, 1795.
17. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 6 June, 1795.
18. John Ackerson Erredge, **History of Brighthelmston** (Brighton 1862), 170.
19. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 6 June, 1795.
20. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 20 June, 1795, printing a letter written on 13 June.
21. **Gentleman's Magazine**, Vol. LXV, Pt. I, 1795, 519.
22. John Ackerson Erredge, *op.cit.*, 171 and **Gentleman's Magazine**, 519.
23. John Ackerson Erredge, *op.cit.*, 171 and **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 20 June, 1795.
24. **The Times**, 16 June, 1795 and **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 20 June, 1795.
25. John Ackerson Erredge, *op.cit.*, 173.
26. **Jackson's Oxford Journal**, 20th June, 1795.
27. A printed copy of this letter is preserved in Brighton Museum and Art Gallery. I am indebted to the Keeper of Archaeology for her assistance.
28. Letter preserved at Brighton Museum and Art Gallery.
29. Home Office Correspondence at Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.329. In his letter John Burville, the brevet major, asked for a change of sentence: 'and his friends will be made from great misery very thankful if his life could be spared upon condition of his serving abroad for the remainder of it in any station His Majesty might graciously please to appoint'. The letter was written on 2nd August and on 8th August Midwinter was hanged.
30. Petition in Home Office Correspondence at Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.332. During the French Wars shortage of manpower made it necessary to recruit a few military prisoners into the New South Wales Corps. Since they were to maintain order and discipline in the penal colony they might truly be regarded as poachers turned gamekeepers. Information kindly provided by the Reference Librarian at the Australian High Commission in London.
31. Home Office Correspondence at Public Record Office, H. O. 42.35.29.
32. Lieut. Col. Frank Willan, **History of the 4th Oxfordshire Light Infantry Militia, 1778-1900** (Oxford, 1900), 31.
33. Alfred H. Burne, **The Noble Duke of York** (London, 1949), 231.
34. J. M. Davenport, **Sketch of the History of the Oxfordshire Militia** (Oxford, 1869), 11.

CLERGY AND PEOPLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: SOME EVIDENCE FROM A NORTH OXFORDSHIRE PARISH

Seventeenth century English history can, and largely has been explained by historians in terms of the constant, inextricable interplay of Church, State and People. At various crucial junctures in this momentous period it was on the Church, its relationship with the Crown and the implications of this for constitutional, governmental, economic and social affairs, that debate and conflict centred. The themes of Church, State and People range over all aspects of life at this time. There was the continuing ferment of doctrinal debate and of the search for religious truth and a society which would mirror that truth. There was the question of the nature of the Establishment of the Anglican Church, which sanctified kingship and was central to the debate over monarchical prerogative vis à vis parliamentary powers. There was the role of the Church in imposing social discipline on the population, and as the organ of secular government through the parish unit in the localities. Church influence far transcended the purely spiritual. It meant not just the administration of the sacraments of baptism, marriage and burial but also the official registration of these events. It meant the provision of any educational facilities and, using the parish unit, the administration of welfare and poor relief, highways, law and order, property (through Church probate courts), and taxation. Not for nothing did Charles I say that, 'Religion is the only firm foundation of all power'.¹ There was also the economic position of the Church as land and property owner, a position in which the lay people who owned tithes in the forty percent of livings which were lay fees, or had right of presentation to livings or the Oxford Colleges who owned similar rights and trained scholars for the priesthood, all had a vested interest. The payment of tithes, on which the income of many clergy depended, became symbolic of many feelings between Church and People - radical opposition to the vested interests and power they represented, religious dissent from Anglicanism, and the assertion of their dissatisfaction with existing social and economic alignments on the part of newly successful landowning and mercantile groups.

This outline of the inter-relatedness of Church, State and People is too brief to be adequate but must serve to convey the pervasive role of religious institutions and of the clergy in all aspects of seventeenth century life. The conflicts inherent in this relationship were worked out on the broad canvas of national history, and the Banbury region played its part in these events. For example, the battle of Edgehill was fought here, and the area acted as home ground for leading parliamentarians like Lord Saye and Sele of Broughton, and as the starting point of the Levellers rising. However the purpose of this article is not to rehearse these well-known facts but to try and gain some insights into the impact these events and relationships had at a local level, as revealed by evidence from one

parish, Swalcliffe, near Banbury. Two of the seventeenth century Vicars of Swalcliffe have left us glimpses of this, reflected in their attitudes and lifestyles, through a will and two household inventories dating from 1622-3 and 1679, either side of the Civil War. These reveal the contrast not only between two very different individuals, but also between two very different climates of opinion and practice. It is this contrast and the factors underlying it that this article illustrates.

During the late sixteenth century north Oxfordshire gained a reputation as a strongly Puritan area but there is no evidence to suggest that any of the practices associated with Puritanism like an increased emphasis on regular preaching, the abandonment of the use of the cross in baptism, not using surplices, or removing the communion table from the east end, applied at Swalcliffe. Indeed what is known points to a non-Puritan background. The parish was unusually unsettled during the reign of Mary I and had no fewer than four vicars between 1554 and 1559. The last of these, Robert Wood, was deprived of his living in 1559 at the time of the Elizabethan Church Settlement and the re-imposition of the Book of Common Prayer. Although the reason is not categorically stated it was almost certainly his Romanism.² This was the only such case in the area.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the situation was more stable but the incumbent Solomon Craiker showed no signs of a swing to Puritanism. Indeed soon after his death in 1623 the parishioners claimed they had suffered 'a continual failure of hearing God's word preached for many years'.³ Neither did Craiker's life suggest Puritan characteristics. In his secular involvements and educational and economic background he seems to have been typical of many Elizabethan clergy.⁴

Solomon Craiker became Vicar of Swalcliffe in 1590 and remained until his death in 1623 at the age of 62. Like the other seventeenth century Swalcliffe clergy he was not local. (He was ordained in Gloucester⁵ and his family disappear from Swalcliffe after his death.) He succeeded John Craiker, to whom his relationship is not certain⁶, after having been curate of Epwell, a chapelry of Swalcliffe. Unlike John, Solomon was not a graduate. This was not unusual at this period with 73 of 157 clergy named in Oxfordshire diocese in 1593 being non-graduates.⁷ From the marked lack of books amongst his inventory possessions, and the absence of preaching or teaching, it seems that Solomon was not a learned, or bookish parson. He was, however, like all his seventeenth century successors, firmly resident in the parish and not a pluralist. He seems to have been very much concerned with realities of his own family and household. The parish registers record the baptisms of four sons and four daughters of him and his wife Anne. Of these William died aged 9 in 1615 and another son Nathaniel had disappeared from the reckoning by 1622 when Craiker made his will.⁸ He made no charitable bequests and left no land but, with scrupulous fairness left two sons and four daughters 3s-4d each, and a similar sum to his grandchildren from his daughter Briget and

Philip Tapan, whom he had married in Swalcliffe in 1613.

The living was not a particularly rich one and Craiker engaged in one of what were to be many disputes to get tithes paid in full in 1611, when the value of the living was estimated at £30.⁹ Despite his large family and apparent income difficulties Craiker died a well-off man. His belongings were valued at £104 - 10s - 2d in the inventory taken in December 1623,¹⁰ and this shows that he was an active farmer on his own account. He obviously had no qualms about the suitability of such pursuits, (under his successors the glebe was leased out), and concentrated on arable work with crops of corn, barley, pease and oats. These entries in the inventory are an interesting indication of the growing importance of wheat in the seventeenth century and the variety of crops in the open fields, with pulse crops now included in the rotation. On this basis Craiker seems to have had a very comfortable life indeed. His clothing is valued at £12, a sum higher than the total value of some of his parishioners' goods. Craiker's inventory total comfortably exceeded that of a Swalcliffe shepherd of the period (about £17); a husbandman with a tenement and one yard land (£11); and a small scale sheep-farmer (£13); and it is comparable with the value of goods, stock etc. left by a sizeable mixed farmer with over 100 sheep, 10 cows and arable crops (£110). Only a successful yeoman farmer with 140 sheep, cattle and arable crops exceeds it (£220).¹¹ There is a substantial array of furnishings and tableware and some unusual luxury items - the silver spoons, the clock, and coal for the fire.

An Inventory of ye goods and Chattells of Solomon Crayker sometime Vicar of Swalcliffe in ye county of Oxon who deceased ye twentieth day of December viewed valued and praised by Thomas Butler and Richard Bannister of Swalcliffe aforesayd husbandmen ye fourth day of March Anno Dm predicto

	f.	s.	d.
Imprimis mony in his owne custodie	28	15	2
Item debts owing unto him by Richard Davis ye elder and his sonne Richard Davis of Sibford Ferris	4	0	0
Item owing unto him by Francis Soden of Hooknorton and Thomas Soden of Sibford goure	4	10	0
Item his apparell	12	0	0
Item 5 bedstedes	3	6	0
Item pillows bolsters and bedds	5	0	0
Item Ruggs coverlettes and blankits	4	12	0
Item sheetes and other linnens	3	10	0
Item a presse	1	0	0
Item 3 tables	14	0	0
Item 6 stooles with formes and chairs	8	0	0
Item a bench	3	0	0
Item 6 cushians	4	0	0
Item Chests boxes and deskes	10	0	0
Item pewter and brasse	3	5	0
Item silver spoones	10	0	0
Item barrells tubs and other wooden vessells	1	0	0

Item a clock		13	00
Item a malt mill		8	0
Item trenchers		1	6
Item a safe		1	0
Item fire shovels tongs and other chimney ornaments		6	0
Item A bible		7	6
Item leaden weightes		3	0
Item spitts		2	0
Item Coales		10	0
Item old timber plankes boardes and other wood		2	13 2
Item Iron		1	8 6
Item wedges		2	6
Item Bacon		1	0 0
Item 5 pigs		2	0 0
Item Hens		5	0
Item a horse		3	0 0
Item soyle in the backside		1	0 0
Item a ricke of corne		6	0 0
Item other barley pease and oats		6	13 0
Item haye	(illeg.)	0	
Item 2 carts with furniture		3	0 0
Item a carrt		2	6
Item harnesse for five horses and other things belonging to a teame		2	0 0
Item pitchforkes and rakes and fives and striks		3	4
Other things we cannot as yet value being out of his possession whereof we will give notice when we can have certain knowledge of them			
	Suma Totalis	104	10 2

The picture revealed is one of considerable material status, wealth and comfort, and of a wordly and practical involvement in the parish. There is little to indicate that this style evoked outright opposition or Puritan outcry from the parishioners. Indeed such a conflict, given the clergy's dependence on tithe income, would have gravely undermined such material wealth. Clashes arose only after Craiker's death as events developed toward the sort of confrontation which helps to explain the vast contrast between Craiker's inventory and that of Rev. Humphrey Smart in 1679.

The arrival of Craiker's successor, Thomas Merriott, in January 1624 marked a major change of tone in parish affairs which was to coincide with, and relate to, developments nationally after the accession of Charles I in 1625, and which eventually led to the Civil War. Thomas Merriott was a scholar, a New College man who had graduated in 1615 and whom Anthony Wood pronounced 'a good Latinist and orator'.¹² He remained in Swalcliffe until his death in 1662 at the age of 73 and during those 38 years relations between Church and people in the parish altered greatly.

Merriott was more articulate, more assertive, and evidently more abrasive than Craiker. He had very definite views on the relative status of clergy and parishioners and the respect due to him. His incum-

bency seems to have begun quite well. In the first year his request to New College for an additional income by the annexation of the Shutford tithes to the vicarage of Swalcliffe won the support of thirty leading parishioners.¹³ This was agreed by New College and in the following year Merriott leased some of New College's lands in Shutford, perhaps seeking to emulate Craiker's farming activities.¹⁴ Yet by the time of his 'resignation' in 1658-9 Merriott was displaced, disliked and poverty stricken. What had happened to change matters?

In the interim Merriott had allied himself to the Royalist cause. It seems probable that he became associated with the Laudian High Church 'reforms' of the 1630's, which produced so strong and widespread a counter reaction. He also asserted his financial claims on the parish. The degree of the incumbent's dependence on tithe income is apparent from a valuation of the living made in 1675.¹⁵ The total annual value was £40 - 13s - 4d, of which £2 - 13s - 4d represented the New College stipend, £8 'ye profitts of Swalcliff, Sibford Gore, Sibford Ferris & Burdrop', and no less than £30 the tithes of Epwell. It was in this financial aspect of his relationship with his parishioners that the apparently amicable mood of 1624 most obviously broke down. By the time that Ship Money was levied in 1635 relations were bad. The precise allocation of payments was locally made and Merriott went to the lengths of petitioning the Council of State 'com-plaining of very hard measure offered him in the rate assessed on him for ship-money by his parishioners. The vicarage is of very small value, and the vicar poor, though very well affected to any public work for Church or Commonwealth. . . . it (is) very unjust that his parishioners should make the service of the shipping a stale to wreak their spleen upon him for another occassion wherein his forwardness merited encouragement and their disaffection was deservedly overruled.'

It was during this period in the 1630's that many new fittings were placed in the parish church some of which can still be seen. The pulpit (1639), and pews could be interpreted as a promotion of the preaching function of the clergy which would be welcomed by those of puritan persuasion. The elaborate wooden strapwork cresting which decorated the chancel screen, while it is in no way artistically comparable with the magnificent carvings which marked the Laudian High Church influence of Bishop Cosin of Durham, does suggest that Merriott's style of Churchmanship in the 1630's and 1640's probably matched his known royalism.

Although Merriott's name headed the list of those in Swalcliffe making the Protestation undertaking to support the rights of Parliament in 1641¹⁷ he was summoned before the House of Commons only the next year for using 'reproachful terms' against Parliament and publishing the last royal proclamation. This was a sign of things to come and in 1646 the living was sequestered by the Westminster Assembly. Merriott responded by petitioning the Committee for Plundered Ministers and was granted a 'full and legall hearing' by the county committee.¹⁸

The impact of the sequestration may be seen in Merriott's impoverished state in the 1650's. The sweeping condemnation of the payment of any clergy by tithe income by the Barebones Parliament in 1653 made any improvement in his lot seem unlikely. In 1654 Merriott as Vicar 'though at present but a Nominal one' renewed his pleas for help to New College. He asked for a small 'pension' so that 'though my shipp hath been sorely weather-beaten a long time and tossed up and downe among ye rocks, yet by your beneficence...I may still...keep me from drowning.' He feared the loss of the Shutford tithes, granted in 1624, for if these go 'What will become of ye poore Vic of Swalcliffe?'¹⁹

An account of his debts sent to the College by Merriott in March 1655 shows that they had bestowed the Shutford tithes elsewhere. He writes that 'notwithstanding you have given (the tithes) to my unneighbourly Neighbour...so that (what by my friends and foes I am quite stript of all livelyhood.' He was in fact in debt to the tune of £20 - 16s - 0d and asks New College to cover this sum.²⁰

On this embittered note Merriott's incumbency drew to a close leaving the Church locally in some material decay as well as a degree of spiritual chaos. This, and the introduction of civil registration under the Commonwealth, are reflected in the lack of parish register entries during the 1650's. When special church rates were levied in 1653 and 1664 for repairs 'the parish Church of Swalcliffe...was very ruinous and very much in decay in the Nave or body thereof not only in the walls but in the Covering or Roofe and also in windowes, seats, pavements, leads.'²¹ The vicarage despite Merriott's claim in 1655 to 'have layed out about 200 l in building these houses where now I am Vicar', was in disrepair, whilst Merriott himself had nothing to leave, 'dying very poore and worth nothing (his debts being paid).'²²

One aspect of Merriott's work that has not been mentioned is his educational endeavours. He was the most highly academically qualified of all the Swalcliffe clergy of the period having been a Fellow of New College from 1610-24 and having taught in the Grammar School there. He was a latinist and grammarian who published works on these subjects in 1652 and 1660. He set up a school in Swalcliffe in a former hovel attached to the vicarage and is said to have taught there right up to his death.²³ This was the only school in the parish apart from the endowed school at Sibford Gower and neither Merriott's predecessors nor successors seem to have made such efforts.

Merriott was displaced in 1659 by Humphrey Smart and in a curious overlap period lived on in the parish for another three years, being buried in the parish church in July 1662 at the age of 73. The event is recorded in the register as if his incumbency had been undisturbed - 'huis ecclesiae p. tringt oct annos Vicarius'. Even a year after Merriott's death Smart was still having trouble with the Widow Merriott over the state of the vicarage.

Before superseding Merriott Smart had been curate at Shutford, a part of Swalcliffe parish notable for its dissenting, Quaker population. This is probably a significant background to the contrasting attitude of Smart compared with his two predecessors. Certainly his incumbency coincided with the changed mood of the Restoration and the enactment of the Clarendon Code (1662) which enforced the definition of dissenting groups by imposing disabilities upon them in such matters as the holding of secular offices, and required the acceptance of a revised Book of Common Prayer by clergy on pain of dismissal from their livings. Bishop Fell of Oxford noted the clear emergence of separate Non-conformist groups in Swalcliffe parish in 1685 when he found that Mary Little had given land at Sibford Gower to the Quakers 'to build and bury where they must', and that the Anabaptists met in the house of Charles Archer. Dissent was concentrated in the Sibfords and Shutford whilst in Swalcliffe and Epwell 'no dissenter (was) returned'. This established a pattern that persisted into the nineteenth century when Edward Payne, coming to the parish as Vicar in 1837, found dissenting chapels in Sibford, Shutford and one in Epwell 'but thanks mainly to the sturdy Churchmanship of its farmers, none in Swalcliffe.'²⁵ Possibly in an attempt to counter dissenting influence Shutford Chapelry began registering baptisms, marriages and burials instead of requiring attendance at Swalcliffe Church from 1698.

The same financial problems which dogged his predecessors troubled Smart. The exaction of Church rates and tithes from dissenters or just unsympathetic parishioners remained a difficulty as for example when Matthew Goodwin of Swalcliffe Lea refused to pay the levy 1s 4d per yardland for Church repairs in 1664.²⁶ At the Hearth Tax of 1665 the vicarage rated second only to the Wickham household at Swalcliffe Park and equalled, with 5 hearths, the Loggins at the rectorial manor house and Goodwin at the Lea.²⁷ Yet this apparent style was in reality threadbare. Despite Merriott's references to building expenditure the vicarage was in a poor state as Warden Woodward of New College recorded during his progress of 1663:

'As to the difference between Mr. Smart and Mistress Merriott it was agreed 1st that Mistriss Merriott should returne unto Mr. Smart, the vicar, the barnes doore, that shee carryed from the vicaridge. 2ly. shee offer'd to make good another doore of the said Barne, and a little doore in the house, but Mr. Smart, . . . would not put her to that trouble, but repaire them himself. But to satisfie both and make them ffrriends, I was forced. . . to promise unto Mr. Smart. . . Timber to repaire therewith the remainder of his Barne. 2ly. some rafters in his house, and 3ly. the covering of that part of the house which heretofore was Mr. Merriott's Schoole. . . (it was aforesaid an Hovell). To make them ffrriends and take away all difference between them this I promised. . . .'

In 1673 Woodward found that 'Mr. Smart the Vicar's house doth want thatching, hee hath a little straw in the Gate, and some Yelmes but

the straw is old and rotten already.²⁸ It was here that Swalcliffe's vicars lived until 1838 when Edward Payne replaced this 'dilapidated thatched house or cottage.'²⁹ Like his predecessors Smart was married and the registers record the burials of two children of him and his wife, Susanna. The entries go beyond the usual factual record, particularly on the death of Susanna 'filia charissima Humphridi Smart' at the age of 18 in 1677. Her father could not resist an additional entry - 'Possidet hac coelum quae terram morte reliquit.'

The family's lifestyle was very different from the Craikers.³⁰

A true and perfect Inventory of all the goods chattles and Cattle of Humphrey Smart Clerk vicar of Swalcliffe deceased the 29th of November 1679. Taken by us whose names as hereunto subscribed This ninth day of December 1679.

Imprimis	His wearing Apparell and money in his purs	2	10	0
It	In the parlour one pair of Andirons one pair of Tongues one fire shovel one iron hearth one old Table board some old chairs and other wooden Lumber and iron utensills	0	13	0
It	In the Hall one old Table board six old chairs one old Cup-board and an old form	0	12	0
It	In the parlour chamber one old bed and bedstead two old chairs one old stove and an old table board	0	15	0
It	In the Hall chamber one old feather bed one old wool bed with some old coverlets and the bedstead and one old bedstead in the study	2	10	0
It	In the Buttrey chamber one old wool bed and bolster one old blanket and the Coverlet and an old bedstead	0	10	0
It	Linnen of all sorts	2	0	0
It	Provisions of all sorts in this howse	0	4	0
It	Five little store pigs	0	16	0
It	Lumber of all sorts in outside howses	0	10	0
It	Brass and pewter and iron and Tinningware of all sorts	1	15	0
It	Books	2	0	0
		<u>14</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>

All Smart's personal and household goods were worth only £14 - 15s - 0d in 1679, compared with £104 - 10s - 2d for Craiker in 1623. Where Craiker's clothes and personal cash totalled £40 Smart's amounted only to £2 - 10s - 0d. Hardly an item of Smart's furniture, household linen and utensils is not prefaced by the adjective 'old' and there is no luxury of silver spoons or clocks. Like Craiker there are '5 little store pigs' the staple meat diet of North Oxfordshire households of every kind in the seventeenth century and into the present century. Smart was, however, no farmer and the Swalcliffe glebe had been leased out since Merriott's time. The one thing Smart did have more of than Craiker was books - a collection worth £2 compared with Craiker's solitary Bible, and also a study in which to keep them.

This mirrors not only a difference in the level of learning and in the temperaments of the two men but also something of the changes in the intervening years. There had been the dislocation of the relationship of

clergy and parishioners, the influence of puritan opinion, a greater emphasis on preaching and teaching, the clear emergence of dissenting congregations, the growth of a more modest (sometimes enforcedly so) lifestyle of the clergy, and also a reduction in the power and status of the clergy in the community which was noted both by contemporaries in the Restoration period and by later historians.³¹

Kate Tiller

Footnotes

1. Sir C. Petrie (ed.), Letters of Charles I (1935), pp.200-6.
2. S.S. Pearce: The Clergy of the Deaneries of Chipping Norton and Deddington and the Peculiars of Banbury and Cropredy during the Settlement of 1559 and afterwards, in Transactions of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Society (1916).
3. New College Archives, 555.
4. See for example M. Ashley: England in the Seventeenth Century (1961 edn), p.28.
5. S.S. Pearce: A Certificate of the Oxford Clergy 1593, in Transactions of the Oxfordshire Archaeological Society (1913).
6. John Craiker was ordained at Gloucester in 1571 and Solomon in 1582. John died in 1615 and Solomon in 1623. This suggests their probable age difference and that they may have been brothers.
7. S.S. Pearce: *Ibid.*
8. Bodl. Lib.: MS Wills Oxon 12/2/22.
9. Bodl. Lib.: MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers c25 f113.
10. Bodl. Lib.: MS Wills Oxon *ibid.*
11. *Ibid.* 295/3/66; 4/4/13; 18/1/6; 171/3/26; 297/5/17.
12. A. Wood: Athenae Oxonienses, Vol.iii, cols. 589-90. For full biographical details of Merriott see Wood: *op.cit.*; Foster's: Alumni Oxonienses, vol. iii, Warden Sewell's Register of Fellows and Scholars (New College Archives); A.G. Matthews: Walker Revised (1948), p.298; Dictionary of National Biography.
13. New College Archives 555. A petition of 1624.
14. Bodl. Library: MS Ch. Oxon 1958.
15. Bodl. Library: MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers d.708.
16. Calender of State Papers (Domestic), 1636-7, p.90.
17. Oxfordshire Protestation Returns 1641-2. Oxfordshire Record Society, vol.XXXVI (1955).
18. A.G. Matthews: *op.cit.*
19. New College Archives, 555. 'The humble requests of Tho. Merriott ye Titular vicar of Swalcliffe', n.d. but apparently 1654-5.
20. *Ibid.* An account submitted by Merriott on 14th March 1655. The Shutford tithes had been granted to a Mr. Ailiffe.
21. Bodl. Lib.: MS Oxf. Archd. Papers Oxon c 119.
22. The Progress Notes of Warden Woodward Round the Oxfordshire Estates of New College, Oxford 1659-75 in Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol.XXVII (1945), p.88. *op.cit.*, p.69.
23. Bodl. Lib.: MS Oxf. Dioc. Papers cf 708.
24. Memoirs of Rev. E. Payne, Vicar of Swalcliffe 1837-1886. (Bodl. Lib. MS dd Par Swalcliffe.)
25. Bodl. Lib.: MS Oxf. Archd. Papers Oxon c 119.
26. Hearth Tax Returns Oxfordshire 1665, in Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol.XXI (1940).
27. Woodward's progress notes pp.89, 91.
28. New College Archives, 1562.
29. Bodl. Lib.: MS Wills Oxon 86/4/9.
30. See e.g. C. Hill: The World Turned Upside Down (1975 edn), p.354.

THE KINMANS AND COOKS OF CROPREDY (1775-1884)

All you dear Friends that near my grave do come
Bear me in mind how soon you may want one
Early in Life my name it did decay
But when the Almighty call - we must obey
But now in heaven I hope to rest
Pray God protect the widow and fatherless. ¹

Looking round St. Mary's Churchyard, Cropredy, on a sunny day before 12 noon, this inscription shows up quite clearly. The stone lies on the south side of the church, near to the porch, in a row of seven headstones.

The following account was made to show the amazing amount of local information to be found, when I tried to discover more about Mark Kinman, his parents, his children, his in-laws, house and occupation.

The inscription belongs to Mark, a collarmaker who died on September 15th 1827, aged 44.

"The widow and fatherless" must refer to his wife Hannah and their six children, from Elizabeth then 15 years old down to George Hewens baptised only the year before.² Two other sons, William, 10, and Mark, 8, were too young to help carry on any family business. Looking around for any other adult Kinmans, I came across John Kinman, also a collarmaker, causing the family some unrest by having a filiation order made on him for a male child in 1829.³ Who John was and whether he was there to fill the gap until William took over remains as yet unknown.

They had some money, for although Mark made no will, an administrators Bond made in 1828 valued Mark's goods at under £200⁴, so at least they were not paupers. A witness to the Bond was Edward Railton, a saddler from Banbury. I hope he did more than act as a witness.

Some assistance may have come from Mark's in-laws who owned his house. Hannah Kinman's sister Evis Cook lived next door. Evis's husband Charles being the landlord⁵.

Looking first at the gravestones near to Mark's, I found five Kinman stones altogether and one flat tombstone⁶ at the head of the row, near the church, to Charles and Evis Cook and their nephew George Hewans Kinman. There are altogether eleven Kinmans commemorated from three generations. No apparent connections have been found between the Kinmans' row and a parallel 17th and 18th century row.⁷ Two Gills have stones in the older line, but whether these were yeomen or collar-makers requires a thorough search.

The first Kinman stone is dated 1794. It was becoming more fashionable to have a headstone in the 1780s and 1790s,⁸ for example the Cordwainers collection to the north of the church, began in 1783 when William Smith set a stone there for his wife Ann aged 61 years and two infants.⁹

Richard Kinman, an elder brother of Mark, died of Consumption at the age of 26 in 1794.¹⁰ Did he spend most of his life in the shop, bent over his work? His stone is similar to others of that decade and I presume was placed there fairly soon after his burial.

Richard was born elsewhere and arrived in Cropredy with his parents around 1775¹¹ where he was baptised and how many siblings came with him is not known. Richard and Mark are the only two who have gravestones.

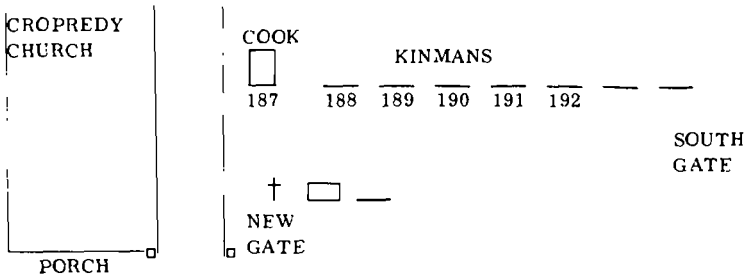
William and Esther Kinman brought Richard into a Collarmaking village at the time of the Enclosure of the Fields.¹² Other Collarmaking families were here in the 17C and 18C¹³ and not long after the Kinmans arrived William Spicer married a Cropredy girl, Penelope Leacock¹⁴ and began a saddlers business which continued up until the 1860s.¹⁵ The Spicers were taxed on their land from 1785-1831¹⁶ but the Kinmans owned no land, except the 3 roods and 15 perch attached to the freehold property purchased in 1789.¹⁷ This was mainly taken up by an orchard in an old enclosure and farm buildings. The Kinmans did pay levies and were rated at 1s. 3d. on a 1s. 0d. levy, as seen in the Highways and Overseers Account Books.¹⁸ In one later list of contributors to the New Church Pews and West Gallery for St. Mary's Church Cropredy in 1824¹⁹ the Kinmans' name does not appear amongst those who subscribed. Charles Cook was the Master Carpenter who undertook the work. The Cooks by the nature of their trade are far better documented than the Harnessmakers, for the vestry officials who needed the services of a carpenter, kept their accounts safe in the Parish Chest.²⁰

What kind of community did the Kinmans come to? There was no resident squire. The Boothby Manor was soon to be partly sold off²¹ and the Brasenose College Manor was acquiring more land. Many of the yeomen were tenants on these estates, others were just beginning to purchase freehold land from the Boothby Manor. The village supported a mason family, wheelwrights, carpenters, blacksmiths, many cordwainers, and a plumber and glazier business. At one time after the Enclosure there were four publicans.²²

In the Easter offering lists in the Vicar's Account Book for 1786 to 1790,²³ the Kinmans' name appears between the main farmers and tradesmen (but the reason for the positioning of names has not yet been looked at).

Mark Kinman's father William died in 1804,²⁴ leaving his widow to manage. She did until 1818, when aged 75 she applied to the Overseers of the Poor for help. They continued to help her until she died in 1822.²⁵ Several questions which cannot be answered arise - why could not Mark and Hannah support her? Was she ill and in need of constant attendance? Hannah had three small children (and possibly a fourth one expected), and the price of bread had been very high for over twelve months²⁶, they may also be feeling the pinch. Trade books often showed more debts than

ST MARY'S CHURCH-YARD

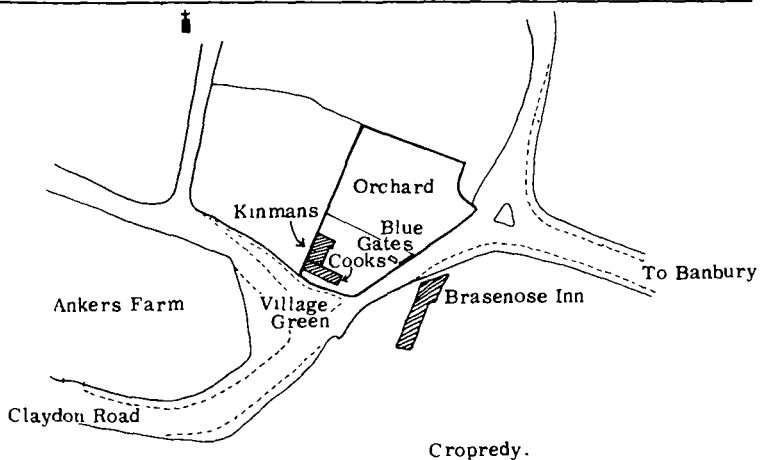


KINMANS

WILLIAM KINMAN = (H)ESTHER
 SADDLER d1804 d1822 [189]
 [189]

RICHARD d1794 [188]	SARAH bap1775	THOMAS bap1779	MARY bap1781	MARK = HANNAH 1782-1827 [191] COLLAR MAKER	d1856 [191]
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ELIZABETH bap1812 M J ⁿ HAWKIN	MARY 1814- 1828 [192]	WILLIAM 1817-1878 Bach. HARNESS- MAKER [190]	MARK 1819- 1884 HAR- NESS MAKER [190i]	EVIS d. [191]	EVIS 1823- 1875 spin- ster [190]	GEORGE HEWENS 1826-1855 CARPENTER [187]
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Cropredy.

payments.

Esther's husband William had owned property. In 1789 he joined with John Arnold, a wheelwright of Wardington, to purchase an old farm house facing west on the village green for £116.²⁷ The farm entrance was on the south side opposite the Brasenose Inn. Peartree House and Wingsmore which today make up the old farmhouse, still have the same entrance.

On the 1775 Enclosure Award Map, the house stood in the Boothby Manor.²⁸ In 1788 Samuel Anker, another tenant of that Manor, purchased land and several properties in Cropredy. This farmhouse was amongst them. Dyer Toms the previous tenant moved out to a new farm amongst the fields now called Cropredy Hill Farm.²⁹

The Kinmans' farmhouse with all the outbuildings made an excellent site for a Saddlers, and at least from 1799³⁰ a carpentry business as well. The yard gates were referred to as "Cooks Blue Gates" as late as 1844.³¹

In 1799 William Kinman and John Arnold sold the whole property to Charles Cook. The Kinmans remained as tenants in the larger part, the Cooks having the smaller southern end. Sometime after 1789 the two communicating doors were sealed off, and remained two properties, although owned by one landlord.

Charles Cook's deeds to the house and his will³² showed that the Kinmans were relatives of his wife Evis, whose younger sister Hannah had married Mark. Charles and Evis do not appear to have had any children. They left a moiety to Mark's eldest boy William, who will be mentioned again.

In 1811 "Chals Cuck" was drawn to serve in the Militia.³³ Fortunately he had paid four guineas to a Militia Club, and was able therefore to get a Bounty of £52 paid for a substitute. This record appears in the Overseers to the Poor Account Book, which goes on to mention that John Lambert an Innkeeper at the Red Lion and one of the Overseers for that year, borrowed Mr. Roberds, the Bakers, horses and set off to Banbury to hire a man.

The Census records of 1841 and 1851 show the two households side by side on the Green, but no house names are given. Evis Cook and Hannah Kinman, widow, were both born at Tysoe, Warwicks. George Hewans lived with the Cooks first as an apprentice and later as a carpenter. He died aged 29 years.³⁴

The elder two Kinman boys William and Mark remain as Bachelor Harnessmakers and only the eldest sister Elizabeth married. Evis Kinman the youngest surviving daughter kept house for her brothers.³⁵

When the Cooks had died, their mortgaged property was put up for sale at an auction on the 27 February 1854³⁶ and William Kinman, Harnessmaker, was the highest bidder at £445. He purchased both the properties which had been partly in the tenure of William Kinman and his mother and the other - up to the time of his death occupied by Charles Cook and afterwards

by his widow Evis Cooke deceased and now unoccupied.³⁶

Bachelor William has added to the Deeds a clause stating that "no woman shall be entitled to Dower in or out of the said messuages".³⁶

William obtained a mortgage from Thomas Arnold³⁷ of Manor Farm Cropredy, and the house remains in Kinman hands, with tenants at Wingsmore until William died without making a will in 1878. His brother Mark had to prove his succession rights.³⁸ When rights were being proved, the property was described as "a freehold property of two messuages with a Saddlers' Shop". Lucius Goodman, Saddler, was carrying out the business there and paying a rent of £12 per annum.³⁹ When had the Kinmans retired?

John Daniel and Mark Kinman, relatives, sold off the property, and the £500 in the bank, trades books and furniture were put in trust by John Daniel to pay an income to Mark until his death.⁴⁰ James Lambert a Cropredy builder purchased the property in January 1880.⁴¹ Mark lived on until 1884 when an inscription on William and Evis gravestone is made to commemorate the last of the Cropredy Kinmans.⁴²

Charles and Evis were buried at the head of the Kinman row, and were the first and the last Cook family in Cropredy²⁴ in the 19th Century.

Lucius Goodman continued as a Saddler but whether at the old premises I do not know.⁴³ Shortly after, James William Bonham arrived from Middleton Cheney and had a shop⁴⁴ on the north side of the green, carrying on the Harnessmaker's business there.

Pamela Keegan

1. Gravestone No. 191 Saint Mary's Churchyard Cropredy.
2. Baptism Registers of Cropredy 1812-1826.
3. M.S D O. Par Cropredy e.10, item C) A. F. 14
4. Mark Kinman. Collarmaker. 20 May 1828 Act Bk 199 at the Bodleian.
5. Charles Cook Will proved 2 April 1853. Tucker Deeds.
6. Gravestone 187: Charles and Evis Cook and nephew George Hewans Kinman. No.188 Richard Kinman d 1794; No.189 W^m Kinman d 1804 and Hester Kinman. Wife. d 1822. and Hester Chuster, granddaughter d 1804; No.190 Evis Kinman d 1875; William Kinman d 1878 and Mark 1884. Children of Mark and Hannah. No.191 Mark Kinman d 1827, Hannah Kinman, wife d 1856 and Infant. No.192 Mary Kinman Mark d 1878.
7. Gravestones 203 Thomas Gill of Gt. Bourton d 173 - Aged 33 and No.204 Tho^s Gill d 17-8.
8. The number of names commemorated in the 1760^s = 8; 1770^s = 12; 1780^s = 21; and 1790^s = 29. These were outside the church.
9. Gravestone No.154a (fallen) to Ann Smith, wife of W^m d 1783.
10. Gravestone No.188 "A Pale Consumption gave the fatal blow".
11. Baptism of Sarah Kinman, daughter of William and Esther on 19 May 1775.
12. Inclosure Award 1775. Oxford Record Office.

13. One Collarmaker George Gardner, Collarmaker and Whittawers will proved 1698. He left 'unto my son Samuella Gardner all my leather and all the materials belonging to my trade' and his Inventory notes "In the shop, leather and part made up Harnis and working tools £13-10 00".
In the Tithe Book M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy e.26 George pays a tithe for the Brasenose Inn, page 32. Aug. 1697 "George Gardner for ye Brasenose 3s 4d".
Victorian County History Vol.X, p.167. John Pare Collarmaker W Inv.1610.
14. Marriage Vol. 6, 19 May 1785.
15. Census Records 1841 and 1851 in Red Lion Street. 1863 Directory.
16. Land Tax assessment Q S. D.L.90, 1785-1831 at O.R.O.
17. Tucker Deeds.
18. "Leavey Book" 1795-1814 M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy b.15. Highways 1789-1837 M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy b.16, b.17.
19. List in the 5th Baptism Register. Church Wardens Papers of Cropredy. Box C8 item c) Papers Church repairs and new pews 1824-8 with a plan of pews.
20. Highways b16 pages 56-64 (M.S.D.O. Par Cropredy b16).
21. V.C.H. Vol.X, p.162. "The Boothby estate in Cropredy ... was broken up in 1775 and 1788".
22. O.R.O. Victuallers Recognisances 1753-1822. Vol.Q SD/V 1-4. There were 4 in 1778 W^m Smith, Sam^l Ankhor, W^m Hemmings, and Sam^l Simcox. In 1786 call the Red Lion; Brasenose; Rose and Crown; and Navigation Wharf. This was the Rose and Crowns last year. Parish Registers for other tradesmen.
23. Vicars Account Book M.S.D.O. Par Cropredy c.28 pages 11-57.
24. Gravestone No.189 and 4th Burial Register (1719-1812).
25. Overseers to the Poor. M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy b.12 and b.13. 14 Nov. 1818 ff 2/6 to Widow Kinman; to December 19th 1818 - 3/- ff to Dec. 29th 1821 - 2/- ff to the last entry on 31st Aug. 1822.
26. Overseers to the Poor. M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy b.12 eg page 182 Bread on June 1817 = 2^s 11^d. Highest price recorded that year.
27. Tucker House Deeds. John Arnold of Wardington in 1786 had a wife and 2 servants M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy c.28 page 12 column 2.
28. 1775 Inclosure Award Map. O.R.O.
29. Tucker House Deeds. V.C.H. Vol.X page 162.
30. Tucker and Amor Deeds.
31. Highway books M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy c.15 (1844/5) page 23.
32. C. Cook's will proved 2 April 1853 in Tucker Deeds.
33. Overseers to the Poor. M.S.D.D. Par Cropredy b.11 pages 115-119.
34. Tombstone No.187.
35. Census records 1841-1871 for Cropredy.
36. Tucker and Amor Deeds.
37. Mortgage Papers dated 15 June 1854 for £290. Tucker Deeds.
38. Succession of Real Property of Mark Kinman. Reg.1878 Folio 277 pages 1 and 3. Page 4 values it under £100, Tucker Deeds.
39. Tucker Deeds.
40. 31 Dec 1878 Deed of Trust ref Tucker Deeds.
41. Conveyance of Property dated 27 Jan. 1880. Tucker and Amor Deeds.
42. Gravestone No.190.
43. Directories 1883 and 1881.
44. In 1891 Directory James W^m Bonham, Saddler.

BOOK REVIEWS

Canal People. Anthony J. Pierce. A.&.C. Black. 1978. Price £1.95.

The way of life of the canal people may at first sight have seemed romantic and colourful to the outsider - working in the open air, on gaily painted boats, with the freedom to move up and down the various canals, always on the move, like the gypsies. In fact, although the boatman may have had some advantages over the factory worker in his grim Victorian factory, life on the canals was extremely hard work, and it was not always easy for the boatman to make ends meet.

This book is designed as a reference book for children, and it clearly and simply describes different aspects of canal life such as the boatman's wages and working conditions, how his family lived, the other people concerned with the canals such as maintenance men and lock-keepers, different types of boats, the horses, and canal art, in a way which should stimulate children's imaginations. For example Anthony Pierce describes the sparse and sporadic education received by the canal children, which forms a great contrast to education today. However, he glosses over the hardships some children suffered - they were very much a part of the boat's crew, and sometimes quite small children spent long exhausting hours walking along the canal bank, leading the horses. Sleeping conditions were perhaps even more cramped than in most working class homes - there are records of two children sleeping on the small tables in the cabins, or even under their parents' bed.

Obviously the book is designed as an introduction to the subject, and being slanted towards children is simplified, but perhaps one or two points could have been brought out more clearly. Where mention is made of the boatmen's wages, comparing them generally with others, it would have been interesting to specify some comparable wages such as those of agricultural labourers and factory workers. As it is the figures given in isolation of boatmen's wages are meaningless. I would have liked to see a map of the canal system, indicating wide and narrow canals, and when they were built, to back up references to different canals in the text. An interesting facet on Measham ware not mentioned in the text is that special inscriptions could be added to order, and many canal people had their own names, or names of their loved ones, put on the teapots. There is one strange error of fact - Anthony Pierce states that boats were not painted in bright colours until the twentieth century. Clearly he has not read that extremely good book by Tony Lewery on 'Narrow Boat Painting', which mentions a description of a narrow boat journeying on the Grand Union Canal ('Household Words'. 1858) and the bright colours it was painted.

However, the photographs, which form an important feature of the book - there are photographs on every page - have been carefully chosen, though many are from familiar and well used sources. Narrow boats were so colourful that it is a shame to have only the cover in colour -

and the narrow boat chosen for that not illustrating the painting as well as it might, but at £1.95 asking for more colour is unreasonable, and it is more important to have a cheaper book that more children can afford to buy. All in all this is a well produced book, very reasonably priced and should well suit its market. It will prove particularly useful in the current educational climate where projects are such an important feature.

Christine Bloxham

Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History by Philip Styles. Reader in History, Birmingham University 1948-1970. Roundwood Press, Kington. For the Philip Styles Memorial Fund. 1978. £6.

The last Philip Styles had, before his death in 1976, revised most of his Warwickshire essays, hoping to publish them together with two unpublished articles on Worcester and Bewdley. They had appeared in various publications, particularly the **University of Birmingham Historical Journal** and the **Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society**. He did not live to complete the task himself, but his friends, pupils and former colleagues have, with the aid of six societies and funds, now published the volume as a tribute to a man they held in affection and esteem.

The essays have been edited with great care and precision by Dr. D.M. Barratt and Mr Paul Morgan and as might be expected the result is a scholarly book of professional expertise and high merit. It is also enriched by two introductory accounts of Philip Styles; one by Professor H.A. Cronne commemorates his character and personality; in the other Dr. E.A.O. Whiteman assesses his gifts as a writer and researcher. These are of value not only to his friends, but as providing a fuller understanding of his ideas to those who did not have the privilege of knowing him.

One of the most interesting aspects of his work is that he was a pioneer in the art of statistical survey; these articles appeared from 1946 onwards and have already, no doubt, provided scholars and students with invaluable information. He found it in parish registers and records, in royal charters and heralds' visitations, in tax returns and statutes. Having assembled a vast quantity of facts he was able to analyse them in ways which had not previously been attempted and to invest them with his own enthusiastic insight, so that they became a vivid reconstruction of seventeenth century society.

Two of the essays of particular interest to people in the Banbury area are on the social structure of Kington Hundred in the reign of Charles II - a fascinating exposition of the local class system in those days - and the census of a Warwickshire village, Fenny Compton, which also discusses family and social relationships. There is plenty of similar information in a long account of the heralds' visitation of Warwickshire in 1682-3. But not all the essays are based on statistics; there is a delightful biographical study of Sir Simon Archer, the friend and collaborator of Sir William Dugdale and another equally sympathetic account of the Rev. Thomas Pilkington, a vicar of Claverdon who kept his living, through all

the changes and vicissitudes of the times, for fifty-six years.

The accounts of Bewdley under the later Stuarts and of Worcester during the Civil Wars enlarge the scope of the book; but on the whole there is too much local detail for it to be of especial interest to anyone who does not know the West Midlands; it is certainly of great use to researchers into seventeenth century local history to have so much information with inspired comment in one volume; it is also of value to students of the eighteenth century to know from what roots and by which channels their conception of Warwickshire and the surrounding country developed.

Sarah Markham

Baptism Register of Banbury, Part 3, 1723-1812, transcribed and edited by J.S.W. Gibson. Banbury Historical Society, Vol.16, 1978. x, 190 pp., map, indexes. Free to records subscribers, £5.00 (plus 35p post and packing) to nonmembers (from Banbury Museum).

When I was first asked to review the latest publication of the flourishing Banbury Historical Society, the 'Banbury Baptism Register 1723-1812', I thought this was rather a peculiar request because the previously published volumes have all been of an extremely high quality, both in content and layout: a volume that would sing its own praise! However, on reflection I am glad to have the opportunity to add my personal appreciation of this publication which contains even more information than I had presumed!

Once more the BHS has benefited from Jeremy Gibson's expert knowledge of printing techniques and costs so that the finished product is modest in price but maintains a very professional appearance. Not only did Mr. Gibson transcribe and edit the baptism register, he also then produced the camera-ready copy for the printers! It is worth mentioning that the BHS electric typewriter was used for this purpose and I am sure that he considers the money they spent on it to be money well spent - an investment that other similar societies would do well to emulate!

Following the Society of Genealogists recommended rules for transcription the surname is quoted first in capitals thus presenting the register in the most useful format especially for genealogists. However, if this were not enough, the comprehensive names index should more than satisfy the needs of any genealogist, local or family historian and social-demographer. The value of an index cannot be underestimated. Many is the time that an otherwise excellent work is rendered less useful by its lack of an index.

The original parish register itself is particularly interesting in that the fathers' trade or occupation is given throughout and if he also came from another parish or hamlet, this information has been dutifully recorded. This extra bonus must have originally meant more work for the incumbent or parish clerk but how fortunate Banbury is to have inherited this register.

Now we are reaping the benefits by having before us a unique statement of the people and times of Banbury. The register had been extremely well kept and written in an unusually clear hand. Unfortunately because of Banbury's importance and proximity to the boundaries of Warwickshire, Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire the register had suffered with almost continual use in the Bodleian. With its publication, the register can now be restored to its original state and obviously it will only be made available for reasons of paleography. This means that it will no longer suffer as it did and will now be preserved in the Bodleian for posterity. Good conservationists take note!

I mentioned above that this publication had a comprehensive names index but I did not say anything about the additional indexes of trades and occupations, place names and the very interesting inclusion of regiments. The benefits derived from this need no expatiation, but perhaps when one considers the variety of trades and occupations etc. - I cannot think of many places which have such a cross-section of society, including such people as jockeys, brandy-merchants, musicians, shagweavers and slaughtermen - one can imagine the number of people, pursuing different areas of Banbury history, finding this index to be an unexpected luxury! Finally on this matter I should add that the indexing is in accordance with the Society of Genealogists in that the year in which the event took place is quoted rather than the page on which it occurs.

To complete this excellent piece of work Mr. Gibson has included another unexpected bonus in the form of a collection of transcripts of the often forgotten or neglected non-conformist registers, whose location and existence is usually an exercise in itself:

Society of Friends Banbury Monthly Meeting-births, 1723-1812;
Banbury Independent Society or Congregationalist Church -
baptisms 1794-1806.

Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, baptisms - 1807-1812.

Banbury Methodist births and baptisms - 1805-1813.

Bloxham and Milton Presbyterian Meeting (including Banbury) -
baptisms, 1786-1812.

Banbury, Warkworth and Overthorpe Roman Catholic baptisms -
1771-1812.

(all entries from the above transcripts have been included in the indexes referred to)

The Banbury Baptism Register 1723-1812 is Vol. 16 of the Banbury Historical Society's publications and complements the previously published Marriage Registers 1558-1837 (Vols. 2, 3, and 9, 1965/6, 1968). The Burial Register 1723-1812 will be published in due course.

Colin G. Harris

Department of Western Manuscripts,
Bodleian Library, Oxford.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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 has also published fifteen records volumes to date. These have included **Banbury Parish Registers** (in six parts: Marriages 1558-1837, Baptisms 1558-1812, Burials 1558-1723); **Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart**; **Banbury Wills and Inventories 1621-1650**; **A Victorian M. P. and his Constituents: The Correspondence of H. W. Tancred 1841-1860**; **South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684**; **Wigginton Constables' Books 1691-1836**; and **Bodicote Parish Accounts 1700-1822**. Volumes in preparation include **Banbury Wills and Inventories 1591-1620 and 1661-1723**; **Banbury Burial Register 1723-1812 and Baptisms and Burials 1812-1837**; and an edition of letters to the 1st Earl of Guilford (of Wroxton, father of Lord North the Prime Minister).

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 pm. 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 £4.50 including any records volumes published, or £3.00 if these are excluded.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Membership Secretary.

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