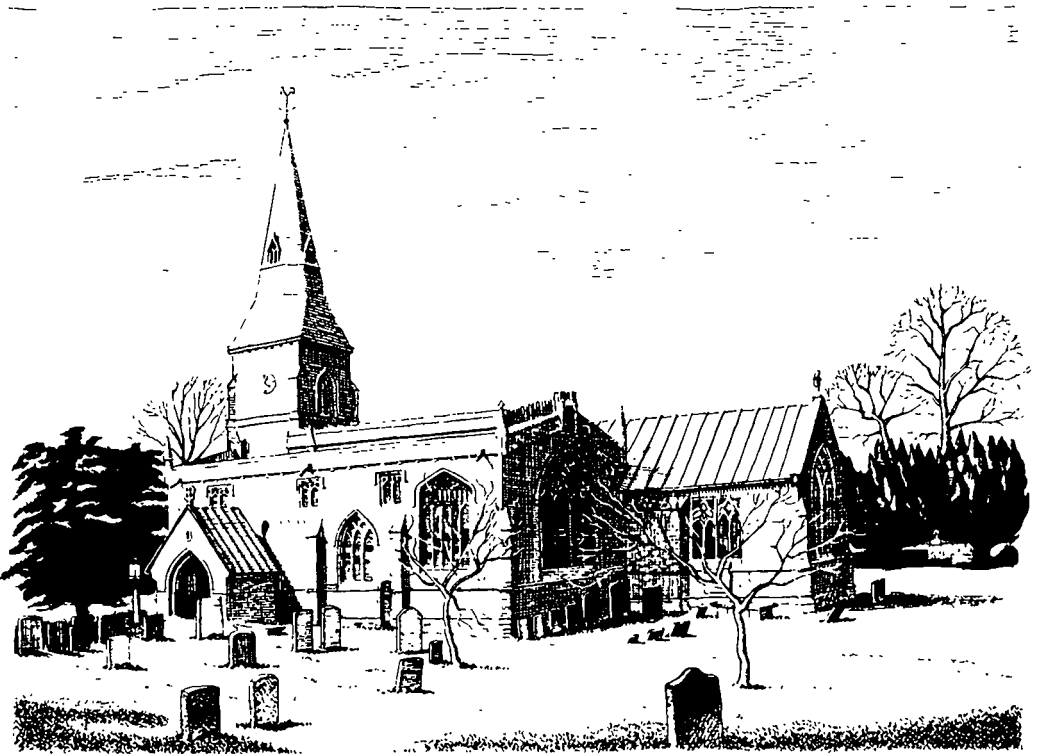


CAKE & COCKHORSE



BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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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 picture shows Broughton church and its tower, and is reproduced, by kind permission of the artist, from "Churches of the Banbury Area", by George Graham Walker.

CAKE & COCKHORSE

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

Volume 8

Number 2

Spring 1980

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With a most becoming, but I dare to suggest, unnecessary modesty, the Editor of "Cake and Cockhorse" has invited me to write this Editorial as he himself is the author of the principal article in this issue.

I am a little uncertain why I have been so honoured, but have accepted the invitation if only because it gives me - a very ordinary member of the Society - an opportunity to proclaim my admiration for the very real and important contribution which the Banbury Historical Society has made and is making to the study of local history. At the same time, I would like to express my gratitude to all the officers of the Society whose devotion and hard work have enabled it to avoid the perils which so often impede the work of local societies which on the one hand have to interest, instruct and maintain the enthusiasm of their members and on the other hand pursue their most important object, the editing and publication of archival material for the study of local history. If I thought that I was merely expressing a personal opinion, I would be nervous that readers would think that I was being patronising; far from it. I am simply grasping this opportunity with both hands in order to do something that the Editor himself could not possibly do, namely to express the thanks of us all to him and to all those whose enthusiasm fires our own interests.

Now that I have put on record something which I felt should be permanently recorded, I will disclose what I suspect to be the real reason why I have been invited to write this Editorial. Years ago - far too many years ago - I was asked to prepare a monograph on the Heraldry of the Banbury Area. At the time, I was living at Swalcliffe and had more leisure and fewer children than I now enjoy, so I accepted and did much of my homework, including a study of the heraldry at Broughton, both in Castle and Church. Can this invitation, I ask myself, be a gentle hint that the time has come to complete this opusculum? If so, then the hint is taken, more

particularly as Mr David Fiennes' excellent article has added greatly to my knowledge of the heraldry and cross-fertilisation in his family, which I have studied not only in the Oxfordshire context, but in the wider context of the descent of, in particular, the barony of Dacre of the South.

Let me conclude this apology for an Editorial by recounting my most intimate connexion with Fiennes heraldry. In 1970 Lord Saye and Sele very kindly arranged for me to borrow four of the hatchments from Broughton for an exhibition I was mounting at the Hammond Museum in New York State. The packers collected the hatchments and I did not meet them face to face until they were unpacked at the Museum, under the bald-headed, eagle eye of a U.S. customs officer. I was horrified to see that the frames of the hatchments were full of wood-worm. I expressed my concern to the director of the museum, who seemed remarkably unconcerned. However, she turned to one of her assistants and said: "Steve, go get something to fix these bugs." He did. He returned with a spray (this was before such things were considered ecologically unacceptable) called *Slug-a-bug*. The hatchments were sprayed; the Fiennes lions just lapped it up and the little Oxfordshire worms laughed until the very hatchments wobbled. *Slug-a-bug* is a specific against bed-bugs!

Mr Editor, thank you again for the privilege you have accorded me and for the fascinating picture which you have drawn of your family entanglements in the 15th century.

J. P. Brooke-Little

NOTES AND NEWS

In the New Year Honours our Hon. Treasurer, Mr Geoffrey Parmiter, was appointed an M.B.E. for his work in connection with Servite housing. Our congratulations to him for this well-deserved honour.

Spring Village Meeting

The 1980 village meeting will be at Shutford, on Thursday 10th April, at 7.30 pm. By kind invitation of Mr John Moore this will be held at Shutford Manor, most appropriately in this, the four hundredth anniversary of its building. For most of its history Shutford Manor was a possession of the Fiennes and Twisleton family. Shutford is doubly appropriate, as, for its entry in Oxfordshire Local History Competition (in Oxford Town Hall, Friday 18th - Sunday 20th April) the Banbury Historical Society is staging an exhibition featuring Banbury and Shutford plush-making. It is hoped to put on the exhibition in Banbury as well, and to produce a booklet to accompany it which will be distributed to members.

A Study in Family Relationships

WILLIAM FIENNES (d.1471) and MARGARET WYKEHAM his wife (d.1477).

"In a canopied recess in the chancel of Broughton church there are 2 fine alabaster effigies of a Knight and his wife. In 1805 they were lying on the ground sadly 'hacked and broke' (Bodl. Bradford Papers). The canopy of the chantry has been destroyed, but stone panelling of mid-15th century workmanship remains. This tomb is likely to be that of Sir Thomas Wykeham (d.1443) and his wife."

So says the Victoria County History whose photograph is, with permission, here reproduced.¹

In 1888 the *Archaeological Journal*² published an article by the Rev. C.F. Wyatt, then Rector of Broughton. Wyatt made the same attribution to the Wykehams, pointing out that the Wykeham crest, a buffalo's head, is traceable. He went on:- "With regard to the collars, it must be considered remarkable that man and wife should respectively wear the livery collars of the opposing factions of York and Lancaster, the Knight having the Yorkist collar of Suns and Roses, the lady that of the SS fastened with three trefoils, with a lozenge for pendant".

In 1846 a clearing up of the church was undertaken. The effigies were put together, and many new parts were supplied which are easily identified by the different alabaster which was used.³ The effigies are now on a rough base out of keeping with the fine work of the effigies and of the remains of the chantry. We do not know where in 1846 the effigies were lying, nor how and when they came to be broken. (In the *Archaeological Journal* Wyatt conjectured at length whether to blame the iconoclasm of Cromwellian puritans, the dislike of the Royalists for anything to do with Lord Say, or simply the construction of so many burial vaults under the chancel that the chantry was undermined causing shafts, tracery and effigies to collapse). It is therefore an open question whether or not the effigies were replaced in their earlier or original positions.

There is no reason to question the attribution of the female effigy to Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Wykeham and daughter of William Wilcotes. The fashion of her dress is consistent with the date; the Lancastrian SS collar was appropriate to the wife of a man who had several times been Knight of the Shire and Sheriff of Oxfordshire under Henry V and Henry VI.⁴ Her sister Philippa Byshopsden (d.1414) lies under the brass in the south aisle. In North Leigh church, between Woodstock and Witney, are alabaster effigies of her parents William and Elizabeth Wilcotes (of whom more below); they both wear virtually identical SS collars



Effigies in Broughton church identified as those of William Fiennes, 2nd Lord Saye and Sele, and of his wife's grandmother Elizabeth Wykeham neé Wilcotes.

This photograph, which appears opposite page 88 of Volume IX of the Victoria History of the County of Oxford, was taken by the late F.H. Crossley and is reproduced by kind permission of Canon Maurice H. Ridway, Vicar of Bowdon, Cheshire, the holder of the copyright, and by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art who hold the negative.

and Elizabeth's effigy is so strikingly similar to that at Broughton that in all probability they were carved by the same sculptor.

But for the male effigy the evidence of armour indicates a later date. And no-one would have worn the Yorkist collar of Suns and Roses before the accession of Edward IV in 1461. It is just possible that this effigy has nothing to do with Broughton and was imported, perhaps to replace an irreparably damaged one of Sir Thomas Wykeham. (One would think that he must originally have lain alongside his wife). That practice was not unknown; in Herstmonceux church two alien effigies from Battle Abbey lie on the Dacre tomb still wearing their original tabards with another family's arms.⁵ But if we discount that remote possibility, the long serious military face can only be that of William Fiennes, 2nd Lord Saye and Sele, who in 1448 married the Wykeham heiress of Broughton and in 1471 was killed fighting on the winning side for Edward IV at the battle of Barnet. If so, he lies through the fault of Messrs Edwards, Price, Butler and another who were the 1846 workmen,⁶ in uneasy incest with his wife's grandmother. The animal beneath his head is then the Say bull, not the Wykeham buffalo.

(The dating of the effigy and therefore its identification are confirmed by its striking similarity not only of armour but also in treatment of face and hair to that of Sir William Ryther of Ryther, Yorks (died 1475) and to that of Sir Nicholas Fitzherbert of Norbury, Derbyshire (died 1473); both are illustrated in Arthur Gardner's book *Alabaster Tombs of the pre-Reformation Period in England*, Cambridge 1940. Dr John H. Harvey, a modern authority and author on the perpendicular style, dates the remains of the chantry to the second half of the 14th century; if so, neither effigy belongs to it.)

Sir William Fiennes, 2nd Lord Saye and Sele, was the only son of James whose rapacious career ended on the block during Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450 and is memorialised in Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, pt 2.⁷ James was boss of Kent; his family was originally from Artois but had for two centuries lived in Sussex where in the 1440s his elder brother Roger had finished building Herstmonceux Castle, the largest and finest brick structure built in Britain since the Romans, now the Royal Observatory.

How did William come to marry Margaret Wykeham of Broughton in north Oxfordshire? How did he come to be a dedicated Yorkist, when both father and uncle had been prominent at the Court of Henry VI, and his wife's family had served that dynasty? This article will try to answer both questions.

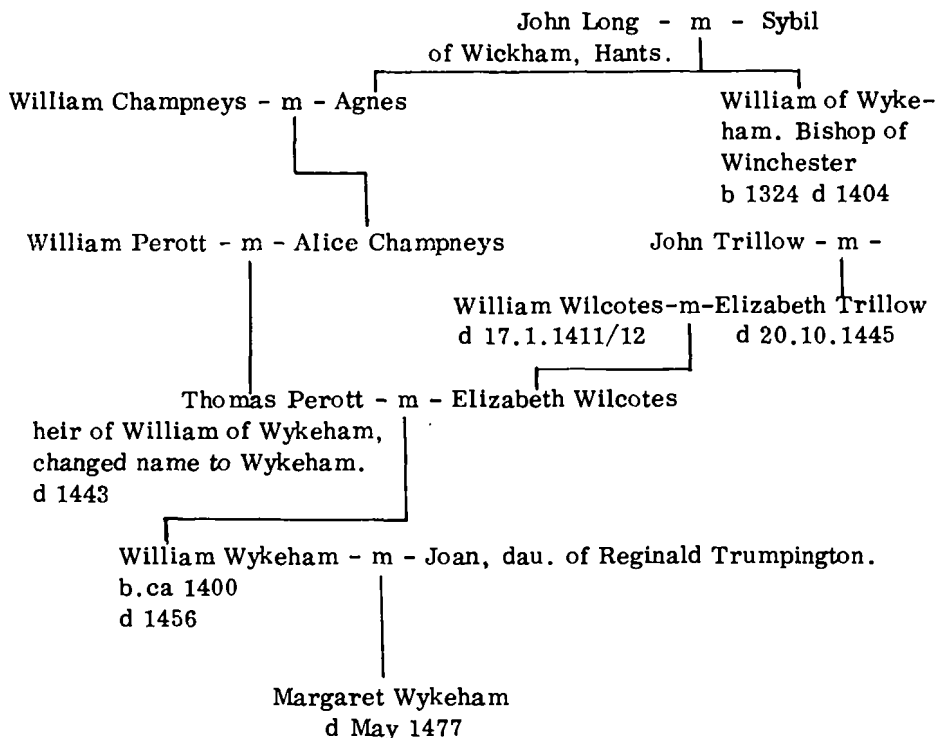
It is probable that 1448 was the date of their marriage. In that year her parents William and Joan Wykeham settled the manors of Broughton and North Newington on themselves for life and then on Sir William Fiennes, husband of their daughter.⁸ In the same year they made a similar settlement of manors in Hampshire.⁹

The fathers of both of them were still alive - James Fiennes was

executed in 1450, William Wykeham died in 1456. So it is likely that the marriage was parentally arranged; in those days boy did not meet girl at the disco, much less cohabit in a bed-sitter. They may however have had a mutual right of veto, as did John Filoll and Joan Dacre in 1445; in that case it was agreed in the indenture that "John should have to wyfe Johane daughter to the seid Sire Thomas yf upon sight and spech hadde bytwene them they can therto agree to".¹⁰ In fact, Joan Dacre did not marry John Filoll, jilting him for William's first cousin Richard Fiennes in 1446.

Whether William married Margaret for her beauty, her amiability or her estate we do not know, but most likely for her estate. The Fiennes had a 200 year old tradition of marrying their eldest sons to heiresses. In the context of the 15th century the answers to most questions lay in the web of power, patronage or family interest which constituted the matrix of everyone's life. The family connections of William and Margaret will therefore be examined. Let's start with Margaret, and with her Wilcotes relatives who have already been mentioned. Her immediate family tree is at Table 1.

TABLE 1
Ancestry of Margaret Wykeham



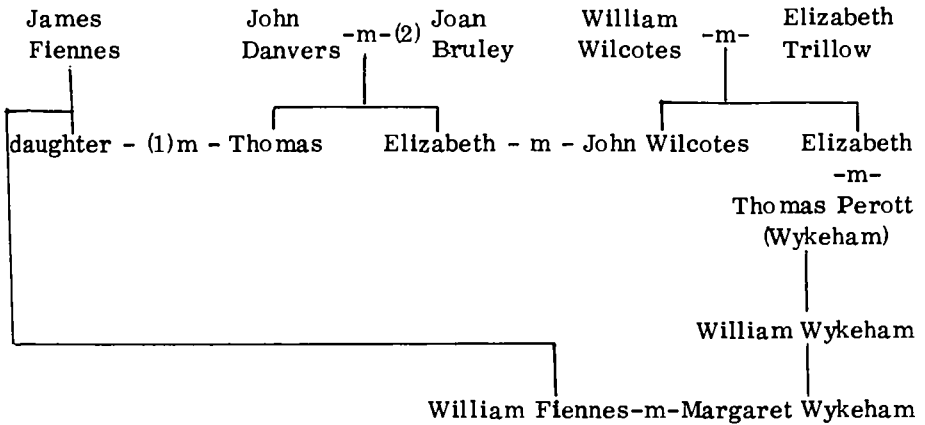
Her great-grandfather Sir William Wilcotes died in January, 1411/12, so she did not know him. However her great-grandmother, born Elizabeth Trillow, lived till October 1445 having married a second husband, Sir John Blakett, whom she also outlived. (Sir John Blakett died in 1431; there is a fine stone effigy to him in Icomb church, Gloucestershire, where he lived.) She died in fact only three years before Margaret's marriage and could well have been one of the drawers up of lists of potential desirable husbands.¹¹

The Wilcotes may have taken their name from the small village of Wilcote which is next to the parish of North Leigh; but that view should be treated with caution. William Wilcotes represented Oxfordshire in 7 parliaments, and was twice Sheriff. In 1399 he was granted the manor of Headington. He had two sons and five daughters; there is some evidence that the sons may have been by a previous marriage,¹² though the likely ages of the sons and daughters are against it. He and his wife Elizabeth Trillow are buried in North Leigh church, in a chantry for which a licence was granted in 1439, though that is not necessarily the date of the effigies which seem earlier.

When Richard Lee, Portcullis, conducted the Visitation of Oxfordshire in 1574 he recorded the monuments and heraldic glass in many churches. Much of it has now disappeared. His notes on North Leigh show that there was there a wealth of heraldic glass in the windows; most were the arms of Wilcotes and their family connections. In the windows of Tackley church, south of Steeple Aston, he also recorded arms which included those of Wilcotes, Blakett and Trillow.¹³ In this century arms on the corbels of the nave roof at Tackley have been repainted; the notice posted in the church says that they are the arms of the families by whom the clerestory was built and the church new roofed about 1420. They include the arms of Moleyns (John Wilcotes and Elizabeth Moleyns were probably the parents of William Wilcotes), Wilcotes, Trillow, Wykeham, Beaufoy, Bishopsdon and Barton. The last four were the husbands of four of the Wilcotes daughters; Elizabeth married Thomas Wykeham of Broughton and is buried there; Margaret married Richard Beaufoy; Philippa (d. 1414) married Sir William Bishopsdon and is buried at Broughton; Isabel married John Barton and secondly Robert Shottisbrooke. The fifth daughter was presumably not married in 1420 when the arms were placed in Tackley Church, as her husband's arms are not there; she was Anne and married Thomas Conyers.

William Wilcotes' eldest son Thomas died unmarried in 1415, invalided home from Harfleur during the Agincourt campaign; his nephew William Wykeham was his man-at-arms. The second, John, died without children, having married Elizabeth Danvers - a name which crops up continually in the Oxfordshire marriage market. That marriage may provide the Fiennes-Wykeham link we are looking for.

TABLE 2



Elizabeth Wilcotes née Trillow, if she was the matchmaker, certainly knew everybody concerned. The Trillows were of Chastleton, west of Chipping Norton, and had land in North Leigh. John Danvers was of Calthorpe, Banbury, and Epwell, near neighbours of the Wykehams at Broughton; his second wife Joan Bruley brought with her Waterstock, between Oxford and Thame; it is the stained glass heraldry and inscriptions seen at Waterstock by Lee in 1574 which proves this, the first of four Fiennes/Danvers marriages, supplemented by Wood MS E.1 in the Bodleian.

Those facts only move the question a few miles to another family. How did Thomas Danvers of Calthorpe, Epwell and Waterstock come to marry the daughter of James Fiennes of Knole, Kent? John Danvers had sons by his first marriage to Alice Verney; the eldest, Robert, was Recorder of the City of London 1442-1450, when he was raised to the bench.¹⁴ He was probably the link. Please remember him; we shall meet him again dramatically.

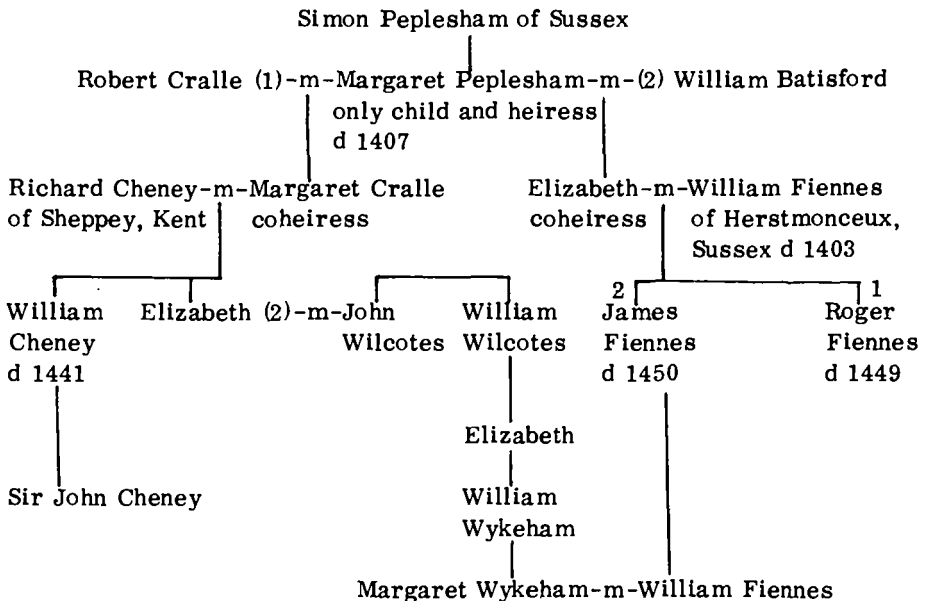
We know much of this through the descent of the manor of Epwell. John Danvers gave it as dowry on the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to John Wilcotes. On John Wilcotes' death without children Danvers tried to recover it. But the court ruled that it was to remain with Elizabeth during her life, with reversion to the Wilcotes heirs, John's sisters and their children. Presumably by an arrangement between the heirs, Epwell went to George Catesby, grandson of Philippa Catesby who was one of the two daughters of Philippa Bishopsdon née Wilcotes, sister of Elizabeth Wykeham. George Catesby, who married Elizabeth Empson who after George's death married Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, was the son of William Catesby, known to every schoolboy as the Cat of "The Cat, the

Rat, and Lovel our dog rule all England under a hog - "; he was one of the ministers of Richard III and was executed after Bosworth in 1485.

William Wilcotes was probably brother of John Wilcotes of Great Tew. This John's daughter Elizabeth by his second wife Elizabeth Cheney married Henry Raynsford and carried to that family the manor of Great Tew;¹⁵ two more Danvers marriages would follow.

Now, Cheney -

TABLE 3



(All this has had recent relevance. When Banbury Cross was being refurbished for the Queen's Jubilee, there was doubt about the colours of some of the coats of arms on it. On one, even the College of Herald's just replied with a question mark. It was the Coat of Trillow, now correctly repainted in eternal memory of that early 15th century heiress and probable matchmaker from Chastleton. To modern eyes some of the relationships seem remote. But the blood of heiresses was powerful. Families descended from co-heiresses not only shared the property but also quartered the arms of the joint ancestor. Those arms would, in halls, church windows and on tombs, advertise the relationship often for many generations, for over 500 years in the case of Trillow on Banbury Cross as too in Broughton Church and the Oak Room at the Castle, on the north facade of the Castle, in Tackley and North Leigh Churches, and at Chastleton. Such relationships were not forgotten.)

TABLE 4

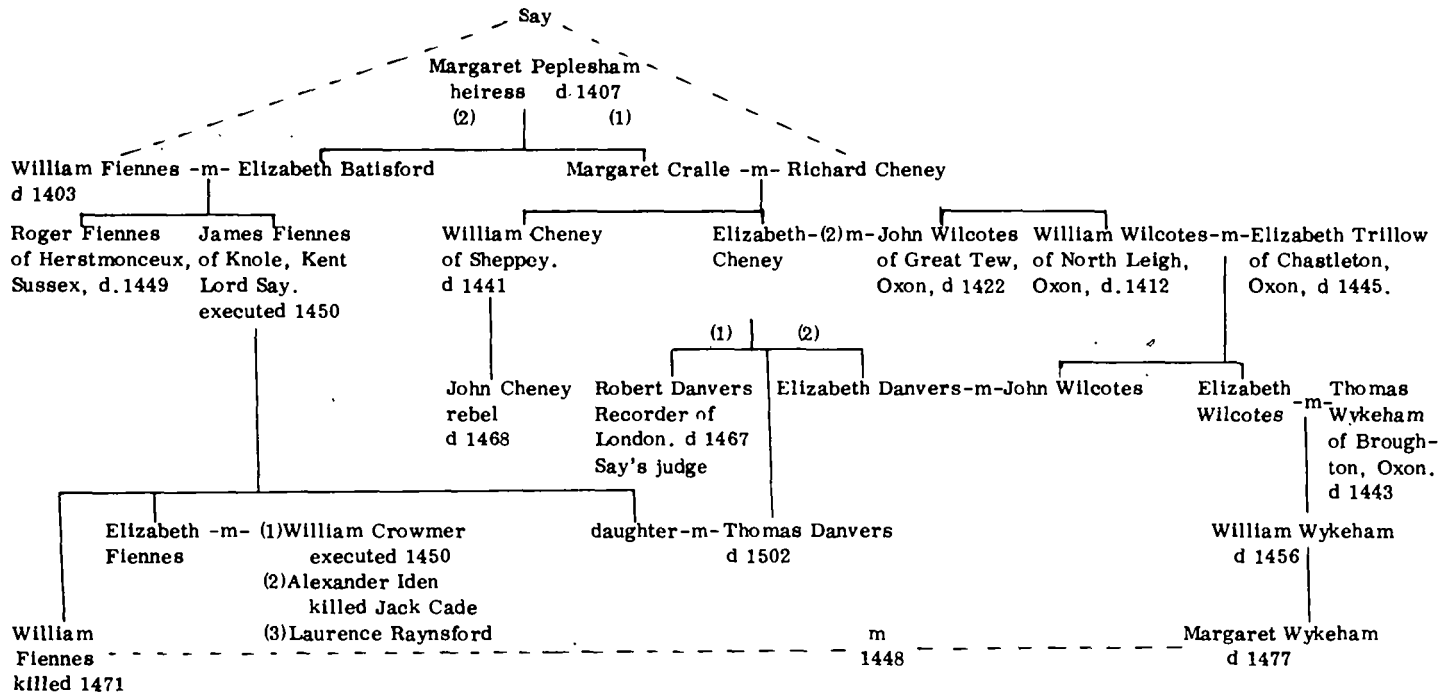


Table 3 takes the complex family relationship right into Jack Cade's rising of 1450. Table 4 combines Table 2 with Table 3 and should be referred to while reading what follows; it is complicated.

In 1450 -

William Fiennes had been married to Margaret Wykeham of Broughton for two years.

Large numbers of the gentry of Kent and east Sussex (joined by others from Surrey and Essex) marched on London with their followers led by Jack Cade calling himself John Mortimer, with a list of requests including a change of government.

William's father, James Fiennes Lord Saye and Sele (since 1447) was Treasurer of England. He was one of the targets of the rising both as a member of the government and as the reputed leader and protector of extortionate officials in Kent. James was put on trial in Guildhall and, before his trial was completed, was hauled out to Cheapside and executed.

The judge at his trial was the Recorder of London, Robert Danvers.¹⁷ Robert Danvers was half brother to Thomas Danvers of Waterstock (their father was also of Epwell and Calthorpe) who was married to one of James Fiennes' daughters, and half brother to Elizabeth Danvers who had married John Wilcotes. (John Wilcotes was dead and she had remarried Sir Thomas Blount).

Also executed in Cade's rising was William Crowmer, Sheriff of Kent. His father, a draper, had twice been mayor of London. He was married to William Fiennes' sister Elizabeth. Elizabeth Crowmer then married Alexander Iden who chased and killed Cade and took the King's reward; she married as her third husband Laurence Raynsford.

The leader of the men of Sheppey in Cade's rising was Sir John Cheney.¹⁸ Among many gentry and a sprinkling of clerics he was the only Knight from Kent. The Cheneys and Fiennes shared a Say ancestry. They were also more closely related (see Tables 3 and 4); James Fiennes' grandmother Margaret Peplesham was John Cheney's great-grandmother. The Cheneys and Fiennes, with two other families, were coheirs of the estates of Simon Peplesham through his only daughter's four daughters and quartered the Peplesham arms. Moreover, John Cheney's aunt Elizabeth Cheney had married John Wilcotes of Great Tew as his second wife; it was their daughter Elizabeth who married Henry Raynsford.

Another side-light on the relationships is that among the Sussex supporters of Cade's rising was "Bartholomew Bolney, of

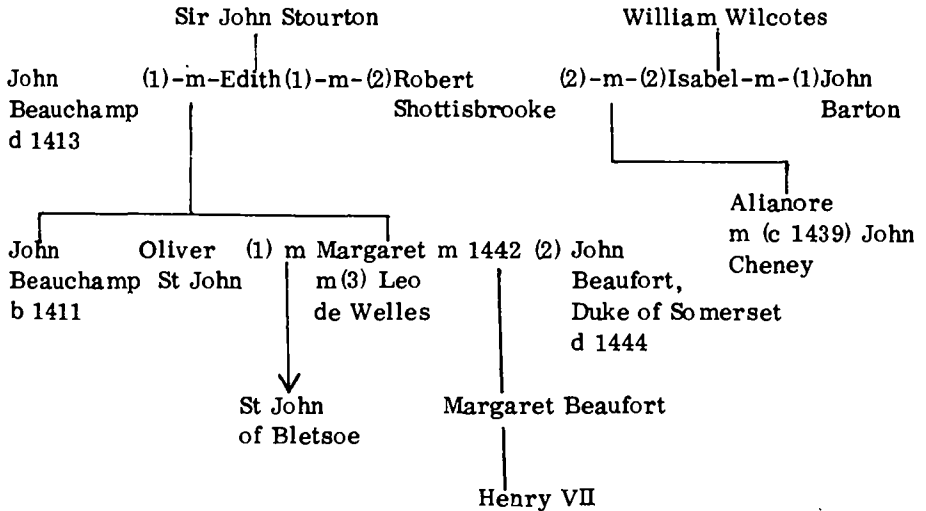
Westfyrle, gentelman, and all the men and servants of the said Bartholomew Bolney". Bolney was an old Wykehamist and had been a fellow of New College, Oxford, as founder's kin 1421-22. He was therefore distantly related to Margaret Wykeham.¹⁹

This is no place in which to rethink on paper the accepted histories of Cade's rising. But the relationship between the rebel Sir John Cheney and the rebellion's chief victim Lord Say asks a question. The same question is asked by the fact that Say was put on trial before Robert Danvers who was half brother to his son-in-law.

Another interesting family link is provided by Sir Robert Shottisbrooke (ca 1400-1471), of a family long prominent in Bucks and Berks. He served in the French wars and was present at Agincourt; at various times he was MP for Berkshire and Wiltshire, and Sheriff of Wiltshire. He served on embassies to the Hanse and to Denmark. His interest here lies in his wives.

His daughter and heiress by his first wife married Sir John Cheney. His second wife was Isabel Barton née Wilcotes, great-aunt to Margaret Wykeham. Through his first wife he was step-grandfather to Margaret Beaufort who was Henry VII's mother. Thus

TABLE 5



THE FAMILY HERALDRY OF WILLIAM FIENNES AND MARGARET WYKEHAM

In the 15th Century surnames were an uncertain means of identification and were spelt with confusing variety. Heraldry was a surer guide to relationship and provides the best clues for genealogists to follow. On tombs and in church windows it was an enduring record.

Here then are the coats of arms of sixteen families in the ancestry of, or linked in mutual cousinhood to, William Fiennes and Margaret Wykeham. Most can be seen in Broughton or other Oxfordshire churches. Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 14 are among the nineteen coats of arms on the tomb of William Fiennes (died 1662) in Broughton Church. Some may be seen in colour on the monument to Gregory Fiennes on the south wall of the south aisle at Broughton, others on corbels in Tackley Church and in windows at North Leigh.

A. THE WYKEHAM CONNECTION

1. WYKEHAM Argent two chevrons sable between three roses gules seeded or.
The arms of William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, and also of the Wykehams of Swalcliffe.
2. PEROTT Argent five mullets pierced or in cross sable. At Broughton these arms are found with the tinctures reversed. However, they were recorded as above in the 17th Century. This family was evidently not related to the Perotts of Pembrokeshire, a branch of which moved to Oxfordshire and was recorded in the 16th Century Visitation; the arms are totally different.
3. TRILLOW Argent a chevron engrailed between three escallops sable. Of Chastleton. To be seen in Broughton and North Leigh Churches, previously also at Tackley.
4. CHAMPNEIS Ermine a bend masculy gules.
5. WILCOTES Azure an eagle displayed argent beaked and legged or.
These were the arms of William Wilcotes of North Leigh. John Wilcotes of Great Tew bore the same arms augmented by a ducal coronet about the eagle's neck. Wood and Rawlinson's Parochial Collections recorded them in Broughton Church impaled by those of Wykeham.
6. TRUMPINGTON Azure a cross crosslet between two pipes or.
These arms were, according to Wood and Rawlinson's Parochial collections, in Broughton Church. Burke gives the arms of Trumpington,

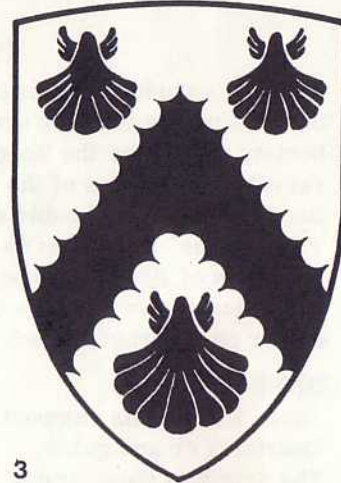
The Family Heraldry of
William Fiennes and
Margaret Wykeham



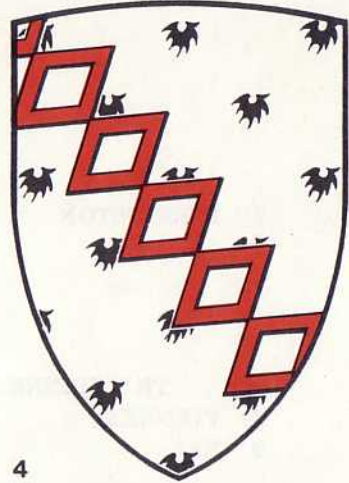
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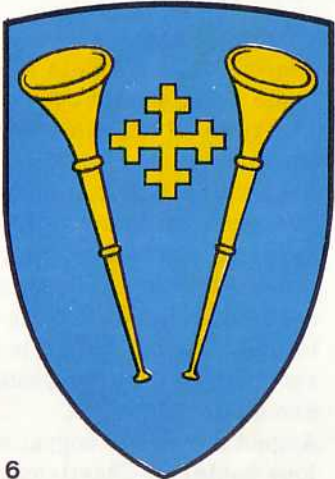
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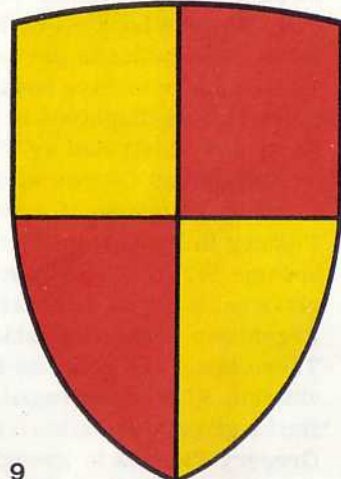
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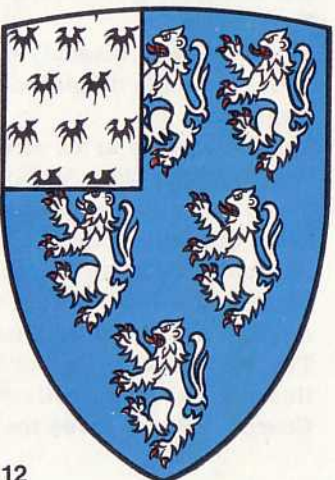
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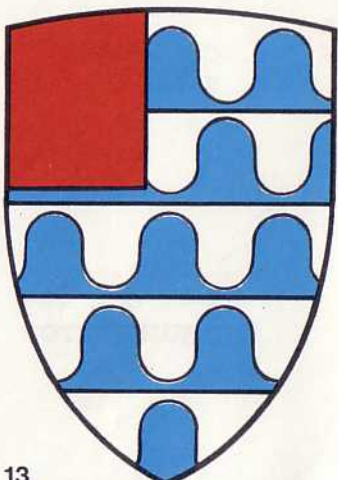
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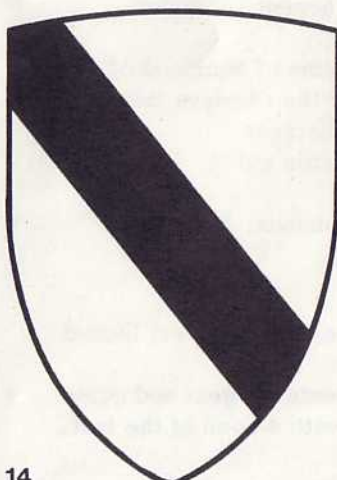
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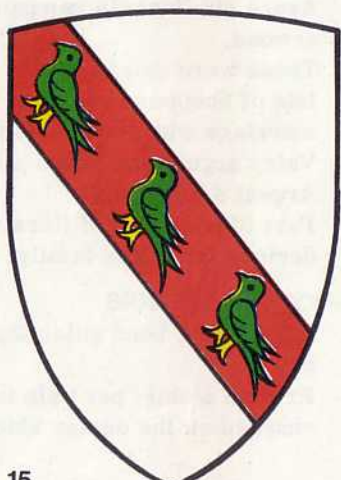
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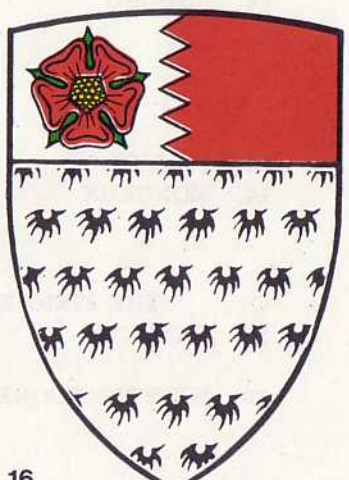
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14



15



16

County Cambridge, as azure two trumpets in pile between twelve crosses crosslet or. The Harleian Society volume on the Knights of Edward I gives yet other variations of the same theme.

7. BISHOPSTON Bendy of six or and sable a canton ermine.
These arms, somewhat damaged, may be seen on the brass of Philippa Byschoppesdon (died 1414), née Wilcotes, in Broughton Church, and are in colour on a corbel in Tackley Church.

B. THE FIENNES CONNECTION

8. FIENNES Azure three lions rampant or
9. SAY Quarterly or and gules.
The origin of these arms, and their connection to those of Mandeville and Vere, are discussed in J.H. Round's book - Geoffrey de Mandeville.
10. PEPLESHAM Sable three pelicans per pale argent.
These appear to have been the original 15th Century arms as displayed in Nettlestead Church, Kent, and illustrated by W. E. Ball in his article on Nettlestead Church windows in Archeologia Cantiana 28. (1909). On the tomb of William Fiennes in Broughton Church, the pelicans have become debased to oviparous ducks. Burke gives sable three ducks argent.
11. BATISFORD Argent two crescents sable, a canton gules.
These arms are given as in Nettlestead Church, where they impaled those of Peplesham. Burke gives a variation. On the monument to Gregory Fiennes in Broughton Church, they are argent two crescents gules, a canton sable.
12. CHENEY Azure six lioncels rampant argent, a canton ermine.
These were originally the arms of Shurland of the Isle of Sheppey, acquired by the Cheney's through marriage with the Shurland heiress.
13. FILLIOL Vairy argent and azure a canton gules.
14. MONCEUX Argent a bend sable.
Part of the name of Herstmonceux, Sussex, derives from this family.

C. THE FIENNES-WYKEHAM LINKS

15. DANVERS Argent on a bend gules three martlets vert legged or.
16. SHOTTISBROOKE Ermine a chief per pale indented argent and gules charged on the dexter side with a rose of the last.

The life story of William Fiennes, as summarised in the Complete Peerage, is straightforward. He was the only son of James Fiennes, the first Lord Saye and Sele who had, as a young man, fought at Agincourt, became King's Chamberlain and Privy Councillor in 1447 and Treasurer of England briefly in 1449/50. When James was beheaded at the Standard in Cheapside on 4 July 1450, William succeeded him as 2nd Lord Saye and Sele at the age, according to Dugdales' Baronage, of about 24. He was knighted and summoned to Parliament, was a Privy Councillor and held several official posts in Kent and Sussex, his home counties. A Yorkist, he fought with Warwick at the battle of Northampton 1460 and, from the accession of Edward IV in 1461, was given many additional appointments, including that of Vice-Admiral to the Earl of Warwick. When Edward IV was forced to flee to the Low Countries in 1470, William accompanied him and returned with him, to die fighting at Barnet in 1471. He was buried, according to Stow's Survey of London, in the church of St Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, above the crypt of which the Chapter House of Southwark Cathedral now stands.

Even when one adds the facts that in 1451 he accompanied Lord Rivers to France to defend Calais and Guisnes (these were the years of the final loss of the possessions of the English crown in France except Calais) and in 1453 was appointed to command the final expedition to help Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, hold Bordeaux (an expedition which never sailed as Bordeaux fell to the French on 19 October 1453);²⁰ his was to outward appearance the active but routine life of a minor noble of his age, apparently with some flair for military and administrative organisation.

Why was he a determined Yorkist, when his father was of the party which became Lancastrian? Why in 1451 did he sell to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the office of Constable of Dover Castle which his father had been granted in 1447 in tail male? Why did he sell his Kentish paternal inheritance, Knole, in 1456 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hever with Seal and other manors to Sir Geoffrey Boleyn in 1462? Why was he in 1461, on Edward IV's accession, appointed Commissioner to inquire into certain extortions in Kent when it had been his father James and his brother-in-law William Crowmer who had paid with their heads because, as alleged, they "had doon grate extorcion ther" ?²¹

To the sale of property one explanation was given by Leland²² who wrote in his itinerary of about 1540 that Lord Say "was twice taken prisoner, whereby he was much punished by the purse; whereupon he was fain to lay most part of his land to mortgage and sold clearly part of it". J. Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis in *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*²³ conclude however, probably correctly, that Leland muddled William with John Clinton who styled himself Lord Clinton and Say (the families were cousins, both being through sisters descended from the mediaeval barons Say); John Clinton had in fact been taken prisoner twice, laid his lands out to mortgage and was thereby much punished by the purse. There is no

contemporary evidence that William Fiennes Lord Say ever suffered that adversity; and with his wife Margaret he had an adequate inheritance. The remarks of his descendant Richard, who importuned Burleigh in the days of Queen Elizabeth for the recovery of the barony, that William wasted his estate through extravagance may be ignored as special pleading; there is no evidence that William was extravagant though he may have spent money on the west wing of his house at Broughton.

It is difficult to project oneself into the mind of a 15th century character without colouring one's thinking with present day values.

With that proviso, it does seem possible to reconstruct the character of William with some degree of likelihood, as an honest and uncomplicated soldier who was loyal to the cause and men whom he chose to follow, was patriotic and even nationalistic at a moment of national decline and humiliation.

His father, uncle Roger Fiennes and father-in-law William Wykeham had fought in the French war under Henry V; so had his relative Sir John Cheney who joined Cade; his wife's eldest Wilcotes great uncle had died of dysentery contracted at the siege of Harfleur.²⁴ He had been young at a time when England ruled most of France and Henry VI was crowned King of France in Paris. And now, in 1450, all France was lost except Calais and a small enclave round Bordeaux from which Talbot was unsuccessfully trying to recover the southern lands. The disgrace of it all strongly coloured Cade's manifesto, which sought the dismissal of the guilty men.

Against that background William took a force to help defend Calais in 1451, and in 1453 was in command of an expedition being prepared to relieve Bordeaux, too late. His motive was surely more than to defend the claret supply line. He was made Privy Councillor during the period when the Duke of York controlled the government of Henry VI.

In Sussex two of the main centres of recruitment for Cade were around Herstmonceux where William's first cousin Richard lived (his father Roger had died in 1449), and around Hamsey where their cousin John Lord Clinton lived.²⁵ Clinton had recently returned from six years as a French prisoner of war, much impoverished by his ransom; he soon became a fighting supporter of the Duke of York. Richard Fiennes is not recorded as an open Yorkist until the accession of Edward IV; but he then appears to have been so close to the King that it seems likely he was being rewarded for earlier services to the Yorkist cause.²⁶ In 1446 or soon after, Richard had married Joan, eldest daughter and eventually sole heiress of Sir Thomas Dacre in whose household Cade was said to have lived, and was perhaps then living. Richard's and Joan's daughter would marry John Clinton's son. Richard Fiennes, John Clinton, Thomas Dacre and Bartholomew Bolney (the old Wykehamist supporter of Cade) were all close neighbours in Sussex.

A possible conjecture is that a family caucus in Sussex, in touch

with cousin John Cheney in Sheppey, was righteously indignant at the policies of appeasement and disarmament which had led to the loss of Normandy and other lands in France, and which were affecting the pockets of all of them in one way or another. On that interpretation James Fiennes, identified with those policies, was a traitor to their traditions and interests and modern historians are agreed that he was guilty of the crimes of corruption and extortion in Kent of which with others he was accused. One may go on to conjecture, from the appointment of his son-in-law's brother Robert Danvers to try him, that his death was not intended, though his removal was, and that the mob took control. That view can also be argued for other reasons which are not relevant here.

Such an interpretation would also explain why William ridded himself of everything to do with his father. James, when he obtained his title, dropped the Fiennes arms and adopted those of Say, making an agreement with John Clinton purporting to give him the exclusive right to the title and arms.²⁷ That was part of his ploy to disguise his Artesian ancestry in order to join the Norman-descended upper crust of society. William re-adopted the Fiennes arms.

James got himself made Constable of Dover Castle in tail male and Warden of the Cinque Ports. It was surely he who invented three Fiennes ancestors "Kinsmen of the Conqueror, hereditary Constables of Dover Castle and Wardens of the Cinque Ports" from 1067.²⁸ William sold Dover to the Duke of Buckingham. He also sold all the family manors inherited from his father. (The manors his father obtained while in office were resumed by the crown in 1451.)

So far as one can now tell, there were no compelling financial reasons for those sales. We do not know what he did with the money; he may have used some on building at Broughton. Perhaps he used it to finance his military contributions as a Yorkist. As heir through his wife to the Wykeham estates, which were not inconsiderable, he did not lack monetary security.

In the first year of his reign, 1461, Edward IV surely had a sense of humour as well as a feeling for rightness when he sent William to enquire into extortions in Kent,²⁹ in expiation presumably of the sins of his father and brother-in-law; William may even have offered himself – his personal sackcloth and ashes.

Yes, all conjecture. But look at the strong serious face in Broughton church, the suns and roses of York on his chest. Who can doubt that it is William?

Only at one other time, two hundred years later, has Broughton been so close to the heart-beat of national history.

References

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Archaeological Journal vol.3, no.4 (January 1898) (Macnamara Journ.).

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The Families of Lennard and Barrett by Thomas Barrett-Lennard (Barrett-Lennard).

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- for biographies of Robert Shottisbrooke and others. For Shottisbrooke

see also Berkshire Visitations vol.2 (Harl. Soc.57) under Cheney and

Visitation of Warwickshire (Harl. Soc. 12) under Bishopston.

1. VCH, Oxon, vol. IX p.100 and picture facing p.88.
2. Royal. Arch. Institute. Archaeological Journal vol.45, (1888).
3. The Rev. C.F. Wyatt's notes in Broughton Parish Records (now in the Bodleian with a copy at Broughton Castle).
4. The Parliamentary History of the County of Oxford 1213-1899 by W.R. Williams.
5. Parish Church of All Saints, Herstmonceux. Sussex Arch. Coll. 58.
6. As 3.
7. CP XI, p.482. Shakespeare Henry VI, pt.2, act 4, Sc.7. Shakespeare's delineation of Lord Say was largely anachronistic and may derive from the Broughton of his own day. His reference to a paper mill would be the North Newington mill which he would pass on his way from Stratford to London; his reference to a grammar school would reflect the connection of the Fiennes at Broughton with the founder of Winchester through the Wykehams.
8. VCH Oxon IX p.88.
9. VCH Hants IV pp.198-200.
10. Barrett-Lennard pp.57-60.
11. Information on Wilcotes derives largely from Macnamara Journ, where original references are given.
12. The Trillow inheritance seems to have been divided among the daughters as coheiresses during the lifetime of the second son.
13. Harl. pp.30,31,53,54.
14. A Biographical Dictionary of the Judges of England 1066-1870 by E. Foss.
15. Harl. pp.165-169.
16. Derived mainly from Ball and Macnamara Journ.
17. Wyrester.
18. Cooper Kent.

19. Cooper Sussex. Winchester Scholars by T. F. Kirby.
20. English Gascony 1399-1453 by M.G.A. Vale. OUP 1970.
21. CP. Knole and the Sackvilles by V. Sackville West. Hasted's Kent.
22. Leland's Itinerary ed Smith. II, 14.
23. The House of Lords in the Middle Ages by J. Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis. Weidenfeld and Nicolson 1968.
24. Agincourt. A contribution towards an Authentic List of the Commanders of the English Host. 1850, Joseph Hunter.
25. Cooper Sussex.
26. Paston II, p.122. CP under Dacre. Richard became Lord Dacre in right of his wife in 1458.
27. As 23.
28. J.H. Round disproved that story, which was accepted printed history as early as the 16th century, in his Commune of London. See. Lambarde's History of Kent among other sources.
29. CP XI, p.482.

Note:- Throughout this article, except in verbatim quotations, this spelling of Fiennes is used; it has been standard for over 3½ centuries. In the second half of the 15th century Fenys and Fenes were the most common of many variants, of which over 30 have been used in official documents over the centuries. Similarly Saye and Sele is given its modern spelling; but the first and second barons are often for convenience referred to as Lord Say, as in the 15th century.

The heraldic art work is by Malcolm Lawson-Paul.

Records Volumes

To date records volumes have mostly been concerned with Banbury borough and parish, with three from nearby Oxfordshire parishes and one on clock-making throughout the county. However, Banbury itself until the late 19th century was partially in Northamptonshire, and much of the southern tip of that county lies within 'Banburyshire'. An opportunity of recognising this has now arisen, in an offer of joint publication with the British Record Society of a Calendar of 18th century Administrations for the Archdeaconry of Northampton. These abstracts, covering the period 1711-1800, were originally made by the late Rev. Henry Isham Longden, and have been edited for the B.R.S. by Mrs Clare Baggott. The probate jurisdiction of the Archdeaconry of Northampton covered most of the county apart from the extreme northern end and the Soke of Peterborough, and thus includes all the Northamptonshire hinterland of Banbury. The abstracts, records of people dying intestate, include names and occupations of both deceased and administrator, their relationship if any, and the parish in which the deceased lived; associated probate records, such as inventories and accounts, are also briefly included. There are indexes of surnames, places and trades and occupations. It is hoped to issue this volume to subscribers later this Spring.

The delayed Part 1 of Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1620 (vol.13) and Banbury Burial Register, 1724-1812, continue in preparation, and will be issued as soon as possible.

Broughton Castle, Oxfordshire, by H. Gordon Slade, reprinted from "The Archaeological Journal", vol.135, for 1978, published by the Royal Archaeological Institute. 58 pp., 13 halftone illus., 10 plans, 3 genealogical tables. No price.

"The Archaeological Journal" for 1978 contains the fullest account yet written (or likely to be) of the architectural history of Broughton Castle. It is not always easy to follow, but this is because the Castle has an exceptionally complex history. There are no documents surviving that give any first-hand indication of what was done when, and it is only by a close examination of the fabric itself that the story can be deciphered. Mr Slade, an architect with the Ancient Monuments section of the Department of the Environment, is particularly well qualified for the task and he has done it with great thoroughness: having said that the article is not easy to follow, it must be said that it is written with great clarity, and that the building itself is to blame.

To summarise very briefly what must now be the definitive account of the castle's history: the castle began in the mid-13th century as a house on the site of the present chapel and parlour, east of the hall. Early in the next century (c.1290-1346) the present Great Hall was built, with a vaulted corridor linking it to the present chapel and parlour on the site of the older house, and with a tower to the south of the chapel. West of the hall lay a great kitchen. 1377-1443: the space between the chapel and tower was filled in by a tall, vaulted loggia with a belvedere on top - an extraordinary structure whose uniqueness Mr Slade remarks on. 1457-71: the hall was extended to the west and the kitchen replaced by a full range of service rooms whose external walls remain as the shell of the present west wing. At the same time the private rooms in the eastern wing were rearranged to make them more easily defensible, 'a castle within a castle', and the loggia remodelled to form more normal rooms.

So much for the mediaeval work. The 16th century work is of great importance. Broughton is one of a small group of houses (Lacock, Dudley Castle and old Somerset House are others) to show the first import of Renaissance architectural design from Italy. Here it is shown in the bay window on the north side, second floor of the house, in the grand stairs to the south, and in the great chimneypiece warming the second floor. These were all executed in the 1540's and 1550's for Richard Fiennes, who raised the house a full storey, formed state rooms in the western wing, made a great gallery on the second floor to link these state rooms to the private rooms on the east, and built a new range of service rooms round a courtyard on the south side. His work may not have been completed: the great parlour in the west wing was decorated, c.1600, by his son.

During the Civil War the house was besieged by the Royalists and damaged, the buildings round the south courtyard being destroyed. The south wall of the hall also suffered. Repairs were undertaken, but there was no more substantial work until the 1760's when the owner's friend,

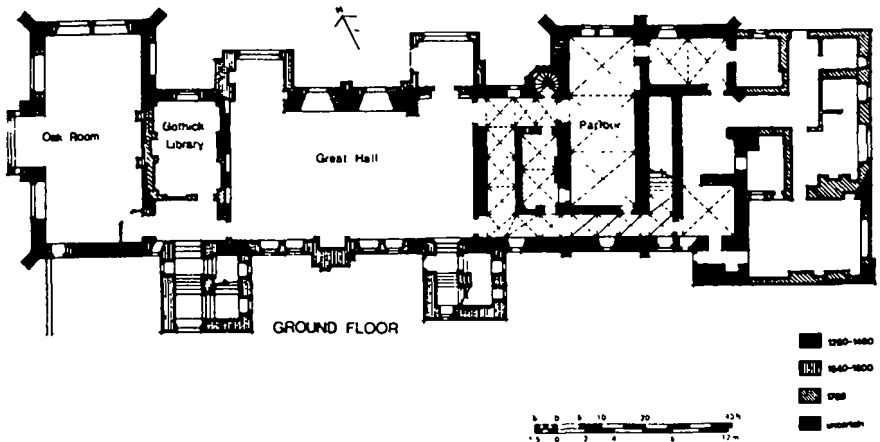
neighbour and remote connection, Sanderson Miller of Radway, was engaged to design the present hall ceiling and much of the internal decoration in a fashionable gothic manner. After another two generations of neglect the house was again ready for a major restoration, this time undertaken by George Gilbert Scott, the gifted son of a more famous architect father (Sir George Gilbert Scott), whose work is documented and from whose letters one can deduce much of what was discovered, destroyed and repaired in the 1860's and 1870's. The present Lord Saye and Sele has undertaken fresh repairs and redecoration with tact and taste, and it is clearly a good moment to publish this historic description of the Castle. (But if I might be allowed a personal plea at this point: the internal walls of the great hall, stripped of their plaster in the 19th century, are sadly gloomy. Stripping them of plaster is an anachronism, too. In the middle ages they would have been plastered and painted with scenes from chivalry or mythology, or lined with painted hangings. To do so again would enhance the mediaeval flavour of the place, and cheer it up ...)

This summary of Mr Slade's article occupies a page; the original occupies 57. But this piece is not to be read as a substitute for that, because one of the strengths of Mr Slade's work is that he constantly relates the alterations that he has recognised to changes in living conditions, to fashion, to the political conditions of the age and to the known characters of successive occupants. Without such interpretation any architectural account becomes not much more than a 4-D jigsaw puzzle - three dimensions and time as well. But with these interpretations, Mr Slade has made successive generations' treatment of the Castle comprehensible as history. Members of the Banbury Historical Society ought to read it.

National Monuments Record

Nicholas Cooper

BROUGHTON CASTLE, OXFORDSHIRE



ICEHOUSES : AN INVESTIGATION AT WROXTON ABBEY

This article has been compiled as a record of an excavation undertaken by the authors at Wroxton Abbey in 1977 and 1978. The scale drawing of the interior of the Wroxton Icehouse has been constructed from a survey made at that time.

Icehouses, as their name suggests, were buildings in which ice could be collected during the winter and stored (for up to two years) for use in the summer months. Success in keeping the ice solid depended on maintaining a constant temperature and dry atmosphere in the chamber, which was designed and insulated to achieve this.

The icehouse is thought to have been introduced from France and Italy. Early examples in England - such as the one in St. James's Park, London¹ - date from the sixteenth century, although some mediaeval monasteries may possibly have used them. By the eighteenth century, they were a well-established feature of the country house. It certainly was a great advantage to have a constant source of ice for food preservation and preparation in the main house, and for cooling wine! The introduction of machine refrigeration in the mid nineteenth century, and the commercial importing of ice from Norway and the USA, rendered the icehouse obsolete, and by the early twentieth century many were fated to a gradual decay. Some were converted for other purposes, like bulb storage (as at Tackley Park, Oxfordshire) or as air-raid shelters.

Icehouses are normally built of stone or brick, covered by an earth mound; internally, they are egg- or beehive-shaped. However, square icehouses are also found.² It is interesting that as yet no two icehouses in Oxfordshire or neighbouring counties, have been found to be identical in shape or size. The size probably depended on the requirements of the house to be served, and the shape by the high standard of insulation needed to keep the ice from melting. The worst problem in storing ice is excess moisture, and it is essential to remove any water melting naturally from the ice; an egg-shaped icehouse provides an ideal solution to this, since it allows water to flow freely down to the base, where there is normally some form of drain or soak-away.

For obvious practical reasons, ice was collected from a nearby source. This was not always easy, because even in the harshest winter the ice might be fit to collect for only a few days; conversely, some winters were too mild to allow ice to form.³ The ice would be transported to the icehouse, and there pounded into small fragments, bonding it into a cohesive mass, and thus slowing down the melting process; a saline solution helped in this:

"by dissolving 10 pounds of salt in 10 gallons of cold water, and pouring it on the ice through a common garden watering pot every two feet of thickness as the house is filling, and finishing with a double quantity of salt water. The icehouses filled in this manner will be found when opened in summer to

be as firm as a rock, and to require at all times, the force of a pick axe to break it up. Thus prepared it will be found to keep three times as long than as by the common method in the house . . . having a less capacity for heat than fresh water or fresh ice."⁴

Barley straw was a common insulating agent, packed around the ice at the base, against the walls, in layers between the ice, and even in the entrance-passage itself. The passage was further divided by three or four "doors", to insulate the icehouse from the outside air. The "doors" were not hinged, but rebated and chocked into the stone sides of the passage. Presumably they consisted of several horizontal sections for convenience in handling. It is commonly assumed that food was stored in the icehouse. This is unlikely because small quantities of ice could be kept for a short time in the food and wine cellars of the main house, thus requiring infrequent openings, and greater conservation, of the principal ice store. However, shelves have sometimes been found along the entrance-passage - their original purpose remains a mystery.

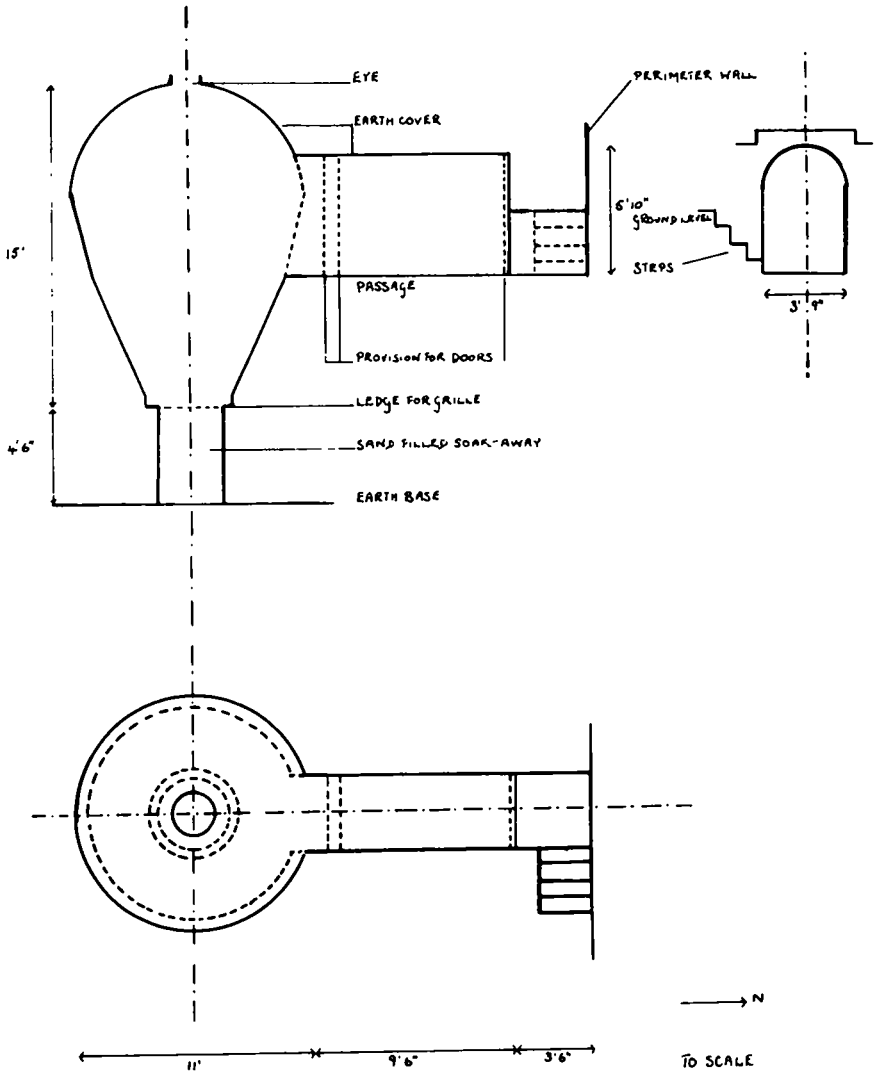
ICEHOUSE - WROXTON ABBEY

The icehouse at Wroxton Abbey is egg-shaped, with a central drain, and built of North Oxfordshire ironstone from the local quarries at Hornton. It has not been used for storing ice within living memory, but as an alternative store special pits, for this purpose, are known to have been dug by the side of the Abbey lakes in the early years of this century. When investigations began in 1977, the chamber and entrance had been filled in, partly by nature, and partly by man. Serious excavation began in the spring of 1978, and removal of the debris gradually revealed the shape and dimensions of the icehouse, as shown on the accompanying plan and section drawing.

From the outside, the Wroxton icehouse appears as an earth mound approximately 30 feet in diameter, beside a trackway leading along the northern perimeter of the grounds.⁵ It is 300 yards from the Abbey, a quarter of a mile from the most likely source of ice (the Abbey lakes) and has direct access, through an adjacent gate, to the Abbey Farm. In earlier times, and before the Wroxton estate was divided, the farm dairy may have had use of the stored ice. Ivy and tree roots now cover the mound, which is itself among trees. Many other icehouses are similarly sited, in order to shade the mound, but some early writers criticize the practice on the grounds that trees made the whole area damp. At the highest point of the mound is a central eye allowing access to the chamber; this was stopped by a cement plug around 1960. The eye may have been used to load the ice from the top of the mound, but as there is an easily accessible side entrance it probably served only as a source of light.

Like many other icehouses the Wroxton icehouse has a north-facing entrance. Clearance of debris at this entrance revealed four steps leading down from ground level into the mound; along the entrance-passage

Ice House Wroxton Abbey



TO SCALE

CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL:
HORNTON STONE

SJR / JRS 1978

there were clear signs of three "doors", one on entering the passage, and two near the edge of the chamber. When discovered, the chamber had been filled in to within two feet of the floor of the entrance passage. This was probably done in the early twentieth century, and the debris consisted of a mixture of earth, brick rubble, and pieces of rusting metal. Among this was found the remains of a pair of late nineteenth-century leather "lawn boots", worn by horses when rolling lawns, and a few fragments of faced and carved stone. On excavating down to the lip of the soak-away, debris gave way to clean sharp sand, in which were embedded four upright oak timbers, in a square. These were driven down to the very base of the soak-away, and probably supported the grille, grating or old cart wheel on which the ice was laid. The sand presumably acted as a soak-away; no special drainage channel was found beneath it, the base of the icehouse being hard-packed natural soil. The possibility of a cavity wall to the chamber (a feature of some other icehouses, e.g. Cornbury Park, Oxfordshire) which would significantly improve the insulation of the building was investigated both externally and internally but avoiding excessive disturbance of the structure. There appears to be no cavity wall at Wroxton, but the external face of the stone is covered by an impervious layer of puddled clay.

The Wroxton icehouse cannot be dated with certainty. There are no early plans on which it is shown, nor any records of its construction or subsequent use. Comparisons with other dated icehouses in the area have proved unsuccessful, particularly as most of these are built of brick rather than stone.

One possibility is that it formed part of the overall plan for the grounds devised by Tilleman Bobart between 1727 and 1732. This included not only some magnificent formal and classical gardens, but also a well laid out kitchen garden, and his interests may well have extended to designing and constructing a functional and finely-built stone icehouse in the same area. Bobart had worked with Henry Wise, who had built an icehouse for the Marlborough's at Blenheim Palace and which is known to have been completed by 1710.⁶ No plan of eighteenth century Blenheim shows an icehouse, neither does the Wroxton estate plan of 1729.⁷ Such functional buildings may not have been considered a part of the landscaped garden. Bobart built a formal canal at Wroxton, which was sited within a hundred yards of where the icehouse is now located. It is reasonable to suppose that the canal was lined with puddled clay and it is possible that this general engineering principle was applied by Bobart to the construction of an icehouse.

Less than a decade after Bobart had completed his work, the first Earl of Guilford had the grounds remodelled and extended down the valley (away from the earlier landscaping) in the newly emerging informal style of gardening. The design was the work of Sanderson Miller, a leading exponent of the eighteenth century gothic revival and an early adviser and practitioner of picturesque gardening. It is unlikely that he was respon-

sible for an icehouse. An estate plan by Francis Booth of Wroxton Park in 1770⁸, like that of 1729, does not mark it. There is no correspondence or accounts concerning its construction in the Warwickshire Record Office and the location of the icehouse is physically distant from Miller's other works at Wroxton (though the same could be argued for the dovecote).

However, the first Earl of Guilford wrote to Sanderson Miller in July 1749 "I hope we shall have the pleasure of your company to cold meat and iced cream at the Chinese House."⁹ Ice was clearly available and a novelty during that summer at Wroxton.

Although the evidence is sparse and speculative, the Wroxton icehouse may date from the early eighteenth century. Its relatively small size; the absence of a brick cavity wall; the use of well dressed local stone and the known connexions between landscape gardeners of the time indicate an early "prototype" in Oxfordshire. If the estate plans (1729 and 1770) are to be believed it was not built until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Is this a cartographical aberration or technological regression?

Structurally well-preserved today, the Wroxton Abbey icehouse is a fine example of its type, set in a landscape which the Historic Buildings Council regards as one of outstanding historic interest. A grant of £15,000 towards the restoration of the gardens, from the HBC, will be used in part to restore the adjacent north boundary wall to protect the entrance of the icehouse and to expose the "eye" in the top of the chamber.

Sue Read and John Seagrave

Footnotes

1. 'Icehouse'. **Ancient Monuments Society Transactions**, New series Vol.4. 1956. Old and New London Ed. Walford (Cassell)
2. 'Bakewell'. **Derbyshire Countryside** J.W. Allen 1957 p.89
3. 'Stocking Northumbrian Icehouses : An Exercise in Relating Climate to History' **Industrial Archeology** Vol.9 J.W. Bainbridge 1972 p.164
4. **Encyclopaedia of Cottages, Farms and Villas**. J. Loudon 1836 pp.365-366
5. OS 151 1:50000 First Series ref.418417
6. **Memoirs of John, Duke of Marlborough** W.C. Coxe 1820 Vol.II pp.262-3; 273-4.
Vitruvius Britannicus 1725
New Descriptions of Blenheim Mavor 1808
7. Estate Plan at Wroxton Abbey 1729 (Banbury Museum)
8. Bodleian Library
9. Warwickshire County Record Office. Sanderson Miller Correspondence CR12513/939.

Note: See also 'Miller's Work at Wroxton', W. Hawkes, in C&CH, Vol.4, no.6 (Winter 1969).

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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