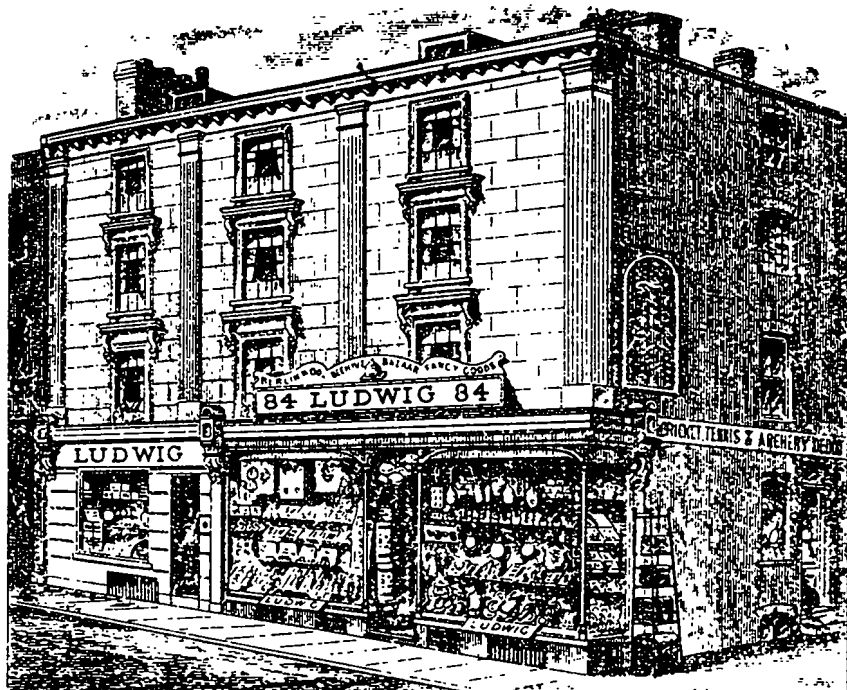


CAKE AND COCKHORSE



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**Details of the Society's activities and
publications will be found on the back cover.**

Cake and Cockhorse

The magazine of the Banbury Historical Society issued three times a year

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As the more observant of our members will note our Summer edition of *Cake and Cockhorse* is a little late. There are a number of reasons for this, but the main one is that there is very little copy arriving at my door. The solution is for members to either write about their own interests, encourage others to do the same or inform me of anyone they think may have an interesting article to write, and I will give the necessary help and encouragement.

We now have a new Secretary, I would like to welcome, on behalf of the Society, Simon Townsend, who can be contacted at Banbury Museum.

Two fascinating articles are in this current issue, one is part of the survey carried out for the proposed new development in Bridge Street, sponsored by Raglan Property Trust, and the other a piece of original research carried out on the unusual subject of the Jews in Banbury.

D.A.H.

Cover Illustration:- J.H.Ludwig's shop in High Street, see page 68.

A SURVEY OF BRIDGE STREET AND MILL LANE BANBURY.

Situated directly to the east of the partly infilled triangular medieval market place, Mill Lane and Bridge Street occupy part of the alluvial flood plain of the River Cherwell to the east, while on the west side, which is slightly higher, are terrace gravels. This geological change is probably reflected in contrasting land use patterns. When the town was laid out by the Bishop of Lincoln a distinction was made between areas of arable land to the west and pasture by the river; building being concentrated on the higher, drier land to the west of the flood plain. Until the arrival of the canal in the late 18th century, which evidently improved the drainage of the flood plain, these circumstances probably precluded tenement occupation near to the river crossing. This is born out by the evidence discussed below.

It is likely that both roads would have existed from an early period in the town's history, as thoroughfares either to the bridge or the mill, both known to be at least 13th century in origin. However, the first definite references date from around 1400; Bridge Street is mentioned in 1393 and the Mill Lane called 'Mullestrete' in 1407¹.

The bridging points over the Cherwell must have had a profound influence on the development of the area, and this area of Banbury must have always had a close relationship with the river. There is some evidence to suggest that the river was used for transportation of goods before the canal was built. If so, this, considered together with the operations of road-based carriers and the location of Banbury Mill, may already have led to the development of storage and transport facilities here.

Bridge Street runs from the River Cherwell up to the market place and is the main east-west artery out of the town, connecting Banbury with Buckingham to the east via the ancient bridging point over the Cherwell.

Mill Lane runs behind Bridge Street, connecting the Bishop's Mill to the market and creating a triangular plot of land up to the mill on the east side of the canal. This plot is itself dissected by the later insertion of Mill Street between 1825 and 1838. The curious kink in Mill Lane predates the canal, but is inexplicable in terms of visible topography of the area today, although it may follow an earlier property boundary - possibly of a house or barn or even an early wharf for the river rather than the canal.

The imprecise and general nature of the historical record prior to the 16th century is a major problem for the historian trying to piece together the tenement histories of a limited geographical area, especially when there are no major buildings that would have commanded a regular survey, such as castles, armouries or religious houses, to tie other information into. Unfortunately, the scanty survival of the records of the Bishopric of Lincoln compounds this problem, and allows only a brief glimpse of the individual tenements and their tenants, which can only offer generalised information about the development of land-use on a localised scale. However, after the Charter of Incorporation of 1554, the diligence of the new self-governing elite of Banbury allows a more detailed picture to be drawn.

The Rental of 1441 lists the properties of the Bishop of Lincoln street by street, and of the total of 307 tenements and 52 other properties so listed, 37 are recorded as fronting Bridge

Street. However, it is impossible to distinguish between those on the south and north sides of the street, or indeed where the surveyors have taken the street to begin or end. This is because the south side of the market, which was not developed at the time of the initial foundation of the market-place in the early 1100s, had experienced urban development by the time the 1441 Rental was compiled, probably in the 13th century (V.C.H. 1972,18-21).

Most of the estate associated with the castle passed directly from the control of the Bishops of Lincoln to the Crown in 1547 and, thereafter, to the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Northumberland, back to the Crown (1551 and 1651) and then to the Fiennes family - the Lords Saye and Sele (1563, 1595, 1619 and after 1651)². In 1552 this Lordship included the castle, courts and gardens, a fish stew, the water-mill and adjoining meadow and fisheries, the toll of the market and a tenement and garden by the castle gate. It has been argued that this land comprises most of the area to the north of Mill Lane including the castle.

The ownership of tenements fronting Bridge Street and Mill Lane probably follows a different route of ownership, from the Bishop of Lincoln to Somerset and Northumberland, and thence to the Crown in 1551. When the new borough was incorporated in 1554, property, including rents, lands and houses was retained by the Crown, and in 1606 comprised the rents of 76 tenants (£7 9s 6d.) and other property, notably houses and cottages values at about £41 10s. These were leased to the Corporation in 1573 for 60 years³. The occurrence of details of tenements in Bridge Street and Mill Lane in the Corporation records (B.H.S. 15 1977) suggests that these were included in the transfer. However, it should be noted that the presence of these tenements, or conversely their absence, in the historical record, is no guarantee that these were the only buildings in the area. For example, this is especially true of Bridge Street where the Survey and Rental of 1605-6⁴ mentioned a Richard Chitwood as a free-tenant, (i.e out of the jurisdiction of the Corporation) paying 1s. 6d. and 2s. 0d. Furthermore, there is a certain degree of confusion concerning the exact names of the streets concerned, especially Bridge Street, where in 1606 the north west end is called Hogmarket Street and in the Survey of 1616/7 it is once again called Bridge Street North, or later is merely referred to as the area north of the Beast Market.

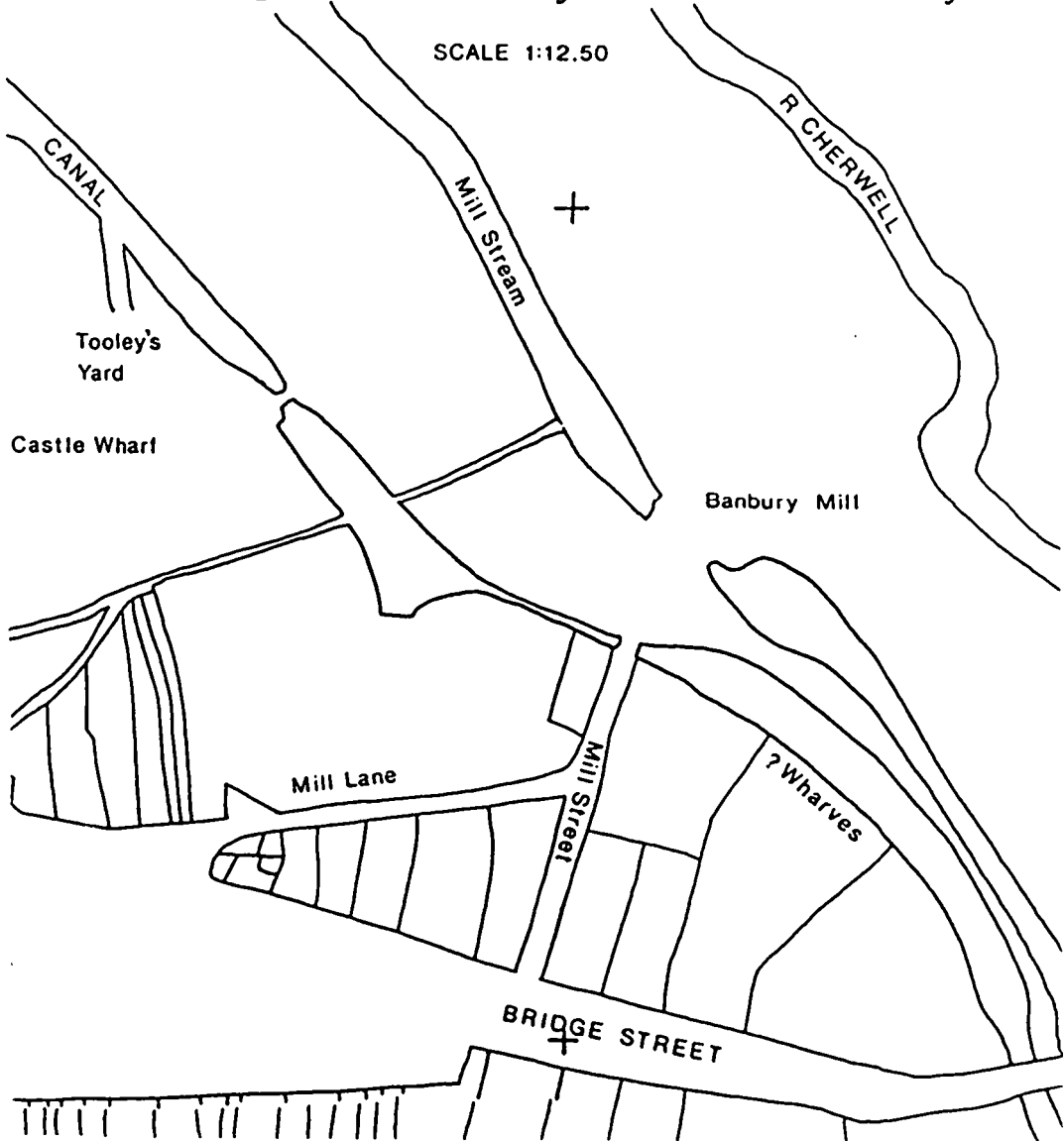
The first comprehensive survey of the town was made in 1606/7. The most relevant listings are given below. The information in the square brackets in the text is derived from the surviving probate inventories which have been transcribed by the Banbury Historical Society. The probate inventory is a list of the personal possessions of the deceased usually taken room by room, and can give important details about the quality of life of the dead person. The majority of the wills made by Banburians were proved in the Peculiar Courts of Banbury, this court was a residue of the ecclesiastical influence of the Bishops of Lincoln and continued to process wills into the 18th century. The reference for these are identified in bold typeface, and are for the B.H.S. transcriptions. However, the wills of wealthier citizens were proved at the Prerogative Court Canterbury, reference to these in the text are prefixed P.C.C. with the relevant accession number of the Public Record Office afterwards.

In Mill Lane 1606 "A bam formerly in the occupation of Simon Wickham [d.1608.Freeman 1554.] and now Thos. Foster [d.1621. mercer. Mayor 1610-11. **238**. left £2.00 of goods at death, and owed money to Richard Vivers. Rooms mentioned were: hall, buttery, kitchen, yeald house and shop.] with 4 bays and garden of 1 rod (304 sq. yards) rent 6d. value 13s. 4d."

BANBURY DEVELOPMENT

Townscape & Waterways Late 18th century

SCALE 1:12.50



In the Hogmarket, "another cottage in the occupation of Marjorie Yardley, [Yardley, Robert.d.1597. Married Drinkwater, Marjorie 1584. d.1618. 165. Left by Deed of Gift all her goods excepting £2.00 to a William Greeves (which was given to her son Richard.)] of 1 bay 40' x 10' rent 6s. 8d. value 6s. 8d.'" (this was originally leased by letters patent in 1590 by Robert Yardley 'a lease of a tenement at the upper end of the Hogmarket for 40 years 6s. 8d.' checked 1602 by the corporation.)

"another cottage in the occupation of Thos. Glover and Matthew Wynne [d.1614.tailor.will proved in the Prerogative Court Canterbury. P.C.C.Oct 9.111 Lawe].of 6 bays with garden and courtyard.2 rods. rent £1, besides 10s. for the mill annual value £1 13s. 4d."

"another cottage, formerly in the occupation of George Cowley, [d.1577], and now of John Sale [d.1621.glover.There is an Inventory for Sale 241, he is no longer listed as resident in Bridge Street by the Corporation records in 1616/17, but it is possible that he became a free tenant in the preceding decade and it could also be argued that the upheaval of moving house would be unlikely in the last five years of life. These provisos should be noted before consideration of this inventory. He left £32 2s. 6d. and the rooms noted are: hall, parlour, chambers over hall, parlour, buttery and entry, buttry, kitchen, room next to buttry and stable.] of 4 bays with courtyard, 10 perches, rent 10s. value 13s. 4d."

"one stable now a dwelling house, formerly in the occupation of Edward Palmer [d.1579. shoemaker.] and now of William White of 2 bays 12.1/4' rent 6s. 8d. Value 13s. 4d.'" These were all held by the Borough by virtue of letters patent dated 13 February 15 Eliz (1572-3).

By 4 Jan 1616 the half-yearly rents were listed as follows:- "Bridge Street North, Matthew Winge 5s. 0d, William White 3s. 4d, Widow [Margery] Yardley 3s. 4d, Thomas Glover 5s. 6d, John Dixe 5s. 0d, Thomas Pen 1s. 0d.[smith], Widow [Anne] Nicholes 6d. [second wife of George.burgess 1592/3.mayor 1608/9 d.1611. will P.C.C. April 9.63 Wood.] Thomas Udall [d.1624. tailor. P.C.C. May 31.66 Byrde.] his pale 3d."

At first sight there appears to be a discrepancy between the 1605/6 survey list of 4/5 tenement properties, and the rental of 1615/16 which lists 8 tenants on Bridge Street North. However, one of these was a shared property, and if the rent of the mill is subtracted from the 1615/16 survey then the total rents are very similar (the mill is known to have been demolished by September 1606, and the value of this land may have declined between 1606 and 1616). In addition the rents from Widow Nicholes and Thomas Udall are very small and probably relate to a plot of land, or a shared part of another tenement; certainly Thomas Udall's rent is listed as his 'pale' or a fenced-off area. The 1s. rent payed by Thomas Penn is likely to be the half-rent paid on 'a lease of the waste ground behind his shop for 21 years from 1603: rent 2s.' (B.H.S. 15, 1977 1602-3) a later entry confirms that a Thomas Penn (not necessarily the same) held a tenement in Bridge Street in 1653. However, an entry in the 1606 survey complicates matters. Here a Thomas Penn is listed as a free tenant in Birchley Street paying 3s. for which he was 2 years in arrears. No other reference for Birchley Street is contained in the Corporation records or in map evidence, and yet 49 tenants are listed on it! It is likely therefore that this an error that has crept into either the record made at the time or later transcriptions of it. However, as a free-tenant the

property would not have appeared in the 1606 survey or the later documents relating to the property of the Corporation, therefore they may be another tenement shop on Bridge Street, possibly the forge mentioned in 1630 'of Thomas Penn and the common pound, and other encroachments', for which the council was to sue to recover the land. Also, the relevant entry states that there were 2 tenements on the plot of land, if these were both covered by the free tenancy of Thomas Penn then the entries for the two documents tally.

While the information concerning the property and possessions of the deceased was not systematically listed by a professional assessor, but usually by friends of the family, it can be used to further add to our knowledge of this part of Banbury. Because the wills made by the wealthier citizens of Banbury were proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury during the 16th and 17th centuries it follows that Nicoles, Udall, Wynne and Bentley (see below) were probably men of some importance. Likewise Foster and Wickham held notable offices in the town council. It is noticeable that apart from Wynne, these men rented land towards the river-end of Bridge Street, and from the descriptions given it is likely that this land was not subject to tenement occupation - the tenants residing elsewhere in the town. Only Wynne may have been resident in the shop described as in the Hogmarket, and even he may have lived elsewhere. Once again this evidence reinforces the hypothesis that the land to the east of the town, by the banks of the River Cherwell, was not occupied by tenements.

In trades, The leather industry is represented by Palmer and Sale. This was one of the key trades in Banbury until the 1650s when Northampton became a major manufacturing centre. Tailors, mercers and smiths were common service trades in any market town of importance, and the people represented in this part of Banbury all seem successful, apart from Thomas Pen[n], who had frequent legal skirmishes with the town council.

The next survey of Banbury does not occur until 1653, after the traumatic events of the fire of 1628 and the Civil War. The fire of 1628 was said to have destroyed about a third of the town - amounting to 103 dwellings and 606 bays of other buildings (V.C.H. 1972, 82). However, it has been inferred by Alfred Beesley, who mainly looked at the buildings in the town in the 1830's, that the fire affected the south-west part of Banbury, and would not have reached the area to the north-east of the Beast Market. Therefore it is highly likely that the extensive damage reported in the 1653 survey of the property of the late King Charles I in Banbury occurred during the Civil War, rather than before. Four tenements and one barn were described as burnt down in the Bridge Street area; this degree of destruction should be judged against the fact that of the 43 tenements listed in the survey only 10 were described as still desolate in the town as a whole, although others may have been rebuilt by this time. This suggests that either this part of Banbury was virtually destroyed in the war, or that other parts of the town were more important and were rebuilt more quickly. It is likely that the tenements described in the 1653 survey were some of the 30 houses that were burnt down during the first siege of the castle in 1644 because they were reported to have been giving cover to the besiegers operations. However, there were additional Parliamentary reports of other fires in 1643 and 1644 (Beesley 1842, 397-400). Joshua Sprigge may have exaggerated the physical destruction of the town when he suggested that Banbury had 'scarce the one half standing to gaze on the ruins of the other' but he probably expressed some of the psychological feeling of the time (Sprigge 1647, 251). Although Bridge Street is not specifically mentioned it seems from the topographical indicators used that this was in fact what remained of this once bustling part of Banbury, reflected in the relevant listings from the survey of 1653 as follows:

“A garden plot late Bentleys, near the Bridge, the Street South. Nathaniel Vivers gent. East. 35 perch worth 12s.”

“A plot of land lying waste where a tenement lately stood, William Boodle’s gent destroyed by fire in the late war, the Beast Market South, Mill Lane North, improved rent 2s.”

“A parcel of waste ground where a tenement lately stood, destroyed by fire in the late war in tenure of [blank] Read widow, the Beast Market South late the widow Green’s land the Hogmarket West 5s. 4d.”

“A parcel of waste ground whereon 2 tenements lately stood, destroyed by fire in the late war, in the tenure of Richard Bloxham and Thomas Penn containing 4 perch 3s. 4d.”

“A parcel of ground whereon a barn lately stood, burnt by fire in the late war and now encompassed within the lands of Mr. Vivers with a stone wall near Mill Lane, which barn did consist of 4 bays of building with 2 backside; the rent belonging to the soil thereof we value to be worth 6s. 8d.”

It is likely that the barn mentioned in the last entry is the same one attributed to Foster and Wickham in 1606/7. This entry points to a location near Mill Lane, while another entry confirms a situation to the east, near the River Cherwell. Again, this suggests that the land adjacent to the Cherwell was not housing but gardens. Robert Bentley is the only person mentioned who left a surviving inventory [P.C.C. Feb 8 1628.13 Barrington]: Nathaniel Vivers was a relation of a family that became increasingly influential in the years up to the Civil War; and Richard Vivers, a woolen-draper was mayor in 1621/22 and 1633/34.

After the 1650’s the Corporation records become sparser and there appears to be very little evidence relating to this area of Banbury from 1653-1778. This is a crucial period in the development of this part of Banbury, and until more evidence can be found many questions are left unanswered. The silence of the historical record may be due to a number of factors. Certainly in the late 17th century the town council was racked with infighting when two rival mayors considered themselves elected, and later in the 18th century the ‘great’ families of the area tended to step in to fill the vacuum, especially the conservative North family. An alternative explanation may be that after the rebuilding of Banbury in the post Civil War period the ownership of the tenements fronting Bridge Street passed into the hands of speculative developers, but this is only conjecture. It has been argued above that the landuse adjacent to the River Cherwell probably altered very little; however, it is the history of the tenements on Bridge Street and Mill Lane that is the most important in this period. There is only one surviving lease⁵, made in 1721, which mentions a large house, outbuildings, stables, orchards and gardens in Mill Lane. It is likely that this was located towards the river, where there would be space for this type of development.

The key question that remains unanswered in the historical records concerns the nature of the post Civil War rebuilding of Banbury. Namely, did this occur within the boundaries of the previously destroyed tenements, or were plots expanded or even curtailed to widen the market place? It has been suggested that despite the extensive rebuilding of Banbury around the 1650’s with the aid of Parliamentary grants of £300 worth of timber sequestered from a Royalist and the materials from the castle⁶, there is no evidence of any change in building plots or street alignment (Potts 1947,117-118). Until further evidence

can be found the only answer to this question may lie in the archaeological record, if it survives under the frontages of the buildings on Bridge Street.

The late 18th century growth of canal-side services is another area of vital importance to an understanding of the later historical development of Banbury. Mill Lane in the early nineteenth century was peppered with small warehouses of carriers and storage men, many of which probably originated with the building of the canal.

Nineteenth Century Development

Although much altered in the 20th century, Banbury still maintains something of the air of a Victorian market town, albeit, one structured by the plan of the earlier medieval market place. This is not surprising because the appearance of the town changed markedly between 1800 and 1850. Aided by the advantages of good communication first by canal and later by rail, the horizon of its hinterland expanded such that, in the words of the Banbury Guardian: 'to the 140 places within a circuit of ten miles it may be said to be a metropolis' and 'a distinguished market for almost every description of merchandise'. This mercantile expansion was mirrored by industrial growth, which submerged the small market town of George Herbert's childhood that he later tried to recall in 'The Shoemakers' Window'.

Both Bridge Street and Mill Lane were affected by these overall changes. Today only a few of the building frontages in this area appear to date from before the early 19th century.

Before the Victorian expansion and improvement the town was called 'a dirty ill-built town' (V.C.H. 1972,25); the streets were often choked by detritus of various sorts, and Herbert remembered that 'most of the buildings in the centre of the town had low walls of crumbling ironstone and roofs of thatch and Stonesfield slate.'

In the 1840s Mill Lane was lined by a number of dilapidated buildings and had a reputation as 'a well known rookery'. The working class yards of the area were described as 'havens of unsavoury characters such as pickpockets, prostitutes and pimps'; where, in the language of the reformist zeal of the time (which finds strange echoes today), there were 'places for the poor, where it was assumed work rarely happened' (Trinder 1982,9). Between this domestic housing were numerous small warehouses and carriers' yards, such as John Richard's and Joshua Rainbow's who were coal merchants and dealers (1841 Census Returns), which were gradually displaced by the larger warehouses immediately by the canal.

The buildings which replaced these slums were part of an attempt by reformers in Banbury to tidy up this notorious area of town so close to the commercial centre. It is hard to believe, looking at their remains today, that they were built as part of a moral as well as environmental crusade. However, this crusade was probably mounted for pressing, material rather than moral, reasons. Drunks would commonly hurl abuse at the houses of the respectable people of Castle Street, only to retreat beyond the pale of the borough boundary when the police arrived, where they could not be prosecuted in the extension of

Back Lane, and the solicitations of the so called 'nymphs of the pave' were open and common occurrences on Bridge Street.

The description of the slums in Mill Lane, and a report of the Northampton Herald concerning the viability of building a school in the area, confirm that the buildings must have been very poor examples of old housing stock: 'These dens of filth and immoral pollution which are no less disgraceful to the town than discreditable to the police and to the owners of the property that has long been so grossly and degradingly abused'⁷.

It appears that since the beginning of the revitalisation of local government in the early 19th century a concerted attempt was made to improve the area. The Paving and Lighting Commission stoneyard and warehouse were located at the back of Bridge Street by the canal in 1825. In the 1830s the gas works was built next to them, although until its relocation in the 1840s next to the railway it, too, contributed to the environmental pollution of the area. In the 1850s the Town Hall and Police Station were moved to the top of Bridge Street, as if to guard the rest of the town from the 'evil' lurking in the yards off Bridge Street. And the decision to site the Temperance Hall with a British Workmans Non-Alcoholic Public House in the centre of Bridge Street North must have been part of a later crusade in the 1870s.

Despite these various attempts to 'improve' the area with municipal buildings and places of 'rational recreation', it appears that a numerous canal-side community worked, laughed, occasionally fought, and died here until at least the 1870s, trying to make the best of life in the squalid underworld of the Victorian psyche. In 1861 a correspondent to the Banbury Herald complained that 'in other towns brothel keepers were punished, but that the Bawd of Mill Lane in the heart of Banbury seemed tenderly protected'; this brothel was based in the Jolly Waterman beerhouse kept by Thomas Matthews, which was next to 'The Struggler' on Mill Lane, kept by Gareth Jones. Prostitutes, whose occupations were given as 'domestic servant', 'sempstress' and 'washerwoman', were living in rooms adjacent to the beerhouse in the 1861 and 1871 census returns (Trinder 1982,9).

There were numerous drinking establishments in the area apart from the Jolly Waterman and The Struggler; The Leathern Bottle opposite Mill Lane in the Market Square, The Steam Packet, also in Mill Lane, and The Railway Inn in Bridge Street. These catered for the denizens of the area, many of whom worked the boats along the canal, or were employed in labouring or prostitution. By the 1850s Railwaymen begin to appear in the census returns, and the number of boatmen decreased rapidly, although even in the 20th century the area was still known as a watermen's abode.

The number of people living in Mill Lane is surprisingly large, especially in the period up to 1851. In 1841 114 people lived there, by 1851 it had dropped to 67, and by 1881 it was only 53, another 11 classed as living on canal boats in the wharves that night in 1851. Furthermore in 1841 there were 9 women listed as heads of households in Mill Lane, by 1881 only one is mentioned, Rose Ann Home, who was looking after her elderly father. It certainly appears that a distinct change occurred in the social composition of the residents of Mill Lane in these years, an improvement that reflected the wider social changes in Victorian Society, partially in response to the efforts of the reforming middle classes.

Bridge Street North is more complicated to assess. This is because the numbering system, when it is used in the census returns, does not appear to correspond either to that used in Rusher's Trade Directories (1788-1900s) or the present system used today. However, certain general trends are discernible. As may be predicted on a street fronting the market area, there is a greater concentration of businesses and manufacturing yards. Golby, a

carrier with a contract from Pickfords, had a large business on Bridge Street, and next door was Darby's timber yard. It is likely from the description given of the conveyancing of the property before the construction of the Temperance Hall that these would have been located just to the east of Mill Street. In addition, the social standing of the occupations of the residents of Bridge Street was higher than their neighbours in Mill Lane - many small businesses and retailers are listed, such as skilled craftsmen like carpenters and masons, lawyers and insurancemen. And even in the earlier census returns of 1831 and 1841 there is a preponderance of nuclear families, and young married couples who later made a successful living and moved to more salubrious areas of Banbury.

Mill Street (now confusingly called Mill Lane as well) was created between 1825 and 1838, as a private road to the flour mills. It was on the corner of this road that the new Temperance Hall was built in 1875. The conveyance of the property⁸ states that it would occupy;

'all those three newly erected messuages, tenements or dwelling houses with the yards, gardens, outbuildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, situate in Bridge Street, which were hitherto in the occupation of Thomas Davis and John Lovel respectively, but are now unoccupied, and the other was formerly in the occupation of John Lee Henry afterwards of John Cave and now of John Henry Bevie, and which said hereditaments have a frontage on Bridge Street of 48'5'', and a depth of 93' and are bounded on the North and East by property belonging to Thomas Clarke as trustee of the will of Thomas Stanley, on the South by Bridge Street and on the West by a piece of land lately occupied by John and Thomas Davis, previously Henry Adams Darby 46' front and 90' depth, to the West again being the private road to the mills from Bridge Street, the land of Thomas Clarke again lying behind.'

By 1870 the Banbury Temperance Movement had experienced a period of remarkable growth, such that a visitor to Banbury called it a 'hot-bed' of teetotalism. In common with the movement across the country the working class input had not only injected new membership, but also a radical confrontationalist approach to the 'evils' of drink. In 1871 the old hall that had been used since 1842 in Parsons Street was sold, and by 1875 building was underway at the junction of Bridge and Mill Streets. Facilities offered included an alcohol-free pub, library, reading room, Anglican Sunday School, a club for young men, a Y.W.C.A., a Y.M.C.A. and space for other specifically temperance promoting organisations.

The degree of social support that cut across the horizontal divisions of society and religion is indicated by the co-operation of Francis Litchfield, High Tory rector of nearby Farthinghoe, in erecting the doorway. As the Temperance Movement became more politicised in the 1870s in its demands for Parliamentary intervention against the drink industry, it came to reflect and channel that impression of late Victorian society that the vertical chasm between 'respectable' and 'irrational' citizens was the ultimate social

division. As a strategic intervention into the 'otherworld' of the Bridge Street and Mill Lane milieu, it appears that, sensibly, the move was timed to succeed. It seems clear from the evidence presented earlier that the social character of the area was probably already drastically altered by 1871.. This is reinforced by the mention in the deed of conveyance of the hall that its construction would entail the demolition of three newly-built tenements.

The unfortunate omission of this area of Banbury in George Herbert's memoirs is disappointing because it could have answered a lot of questions about its development. The reasons for this can never be known for certain; but silence may be explicable in several ways. It may have been because the area as it stood in the late 19th century, when Herbert began to think back to the days of his youth, was so new that he chose to ignore it, in a similar way that a contemporary chronicler may not include a 1960s tower block or a D.I.Y. superstore. Alternatively, his 'respectable' sensibilities may have precluded his admitting any knowledge of this 'other' side of Banbury. Furthermore, its industrial character may have offended his romanticised vision of what Banbury had been; the small market town, that, like Thomas Hardy's Casterbridge, was still the complement of the rural life around it, not its urban opposite. Certainly W.P.Johnson in his 'Strangers Guide to Banbury' written around 1860, gave Bridge Street short shrift. He notes, passing the bridge from the railway.

'Having passed the [bridge] gate, or rather the place where it once was, our traveller may be considered as now fairly in the town with ample leisure to view the beauties of Bridge Street. But unfortunately it happens that Bridge Street at its entrance - or indeed anywhere else - possesses few beauties to present his notice: for if we except a pillar letter box on the one hand and a drinking fountain on the other this part of Bridge Street offers little for either comment or commendation.'

The information contained in the respective property deeds of the surviving houses, when it becomes available during the preliminary stages of development, will then be applied to the documentary evidence already studied and contained in the Census Returns and Trade Directories to enable a far more detailed picture of the mid-19th-century development of this area to emerge. It is also anticipated that the Minute Books of the Banbury Board of Health, which required every house built after the 1850s to submit plans of the proposed sewerage and drainage for the property, may provide further detailed evidence concerning the precise dating and form of the surviving buildings in this area. For the moment, in summary, it appears that the buildings to the west of Mill Street comprise, with some exceptions, a more 'respectable' type of retail development, possibly contemporary with the re-siting of the Town Hall at the head of Bridge Street in 1854. It is known that prior to 1854, this area, although prominent, had been covered by old and dilapidated buildings (V.C.H. 1972,24) which explains why Johnson so scathingly dismissed the prospect that he encountered in the approach to the town (op.cit.). The Temperance Hall may then occupy a bastion position to this respectable area with the more 'down at heel' parts of Mill Lane and Bridge Street to the north and east respectively. The more commercial/industrial area of Bridge Street to the east may then only have come to assume the air of a poorer retail environment that it still retains today in the later 19th century, as the urban poor who had been forced to live in the cramped conditions of the infamous 'yards' began to be accommodated in the speculative, suburban gerry-built terraces extending to the south of Banbury.

The Bridge Street, Mill Street/Mill Lane area of Banbury will be affected by the construction of a new retail centre and the south-eastern termination of the link road to the north. These developments also involve the canal/riverside zone. Their contrast, in historic

terms, justifies the separation of the two zones for any discussion of their significance and potential in the light of the development proposals.

Unlike the Castle, no previous archaeological work or discoveries are documented in the Bridge Street/Mill Lane zone. The documentation of this area, incomplete though it appears for certain periods, combined with available knowledge relating to comparable areas in similar medieval market towns, is sufficient to provide a framework for both the potential and the appropriate options to development (Carver 1987). Some slight indication of the character of archaeological remains which might be anticipated here is also given by discoveries made at 27 Cornhill, now beneath the present Castle Shopping Centre (Fasham 1973, site A).

The documentary sources consulted so far are uninformative for this area prior to the 16th century. At its western extremity, development of the triangle defined by Bridge Street and Mill Lane is probably linked with that of the Market frontages. Permanent structures on this site probably originate from the 13th century, when market stalls could have evolved into fixed tenement properties, though still linked with their original mercantile functions. This process is exemplified more clearly by central infilling of what was originally a much wider market place further to the west. In view of its status as a main thoroughfare, the focus and layout of medieval urban properties will almost certainly have been upon Bridge Street and its frontage, rather than upon Mill Lane. The eastern extent of such development is uncertain, although later sources suggest that it did not extend all the way along the street as far as the Cherwell Bridge, and perhaps little further than the 19th century insertion of Mill Street.

Once again, the archaeological response to development of the new shopping precinct here will be conditioned by the scale and precise location of the foundation works, and the location of more recent destructive disturbances - notably, road frontage cellaring. With these factors in mind the specific targets for pre-development investigation and recording will be the surviving set of post-medieval structures currently occupying the site on the one hand, and on the other, the below-ground archaeological survival of earlier occupations and arrangements, and their evolution. Paradoxically, the mid-17th-century Civil War destructions may have served to preserve rather more information relating to earlier periods than might normally be expected in an intensively occupied urban environment. This aspect can only be proven following clearance of the extant Bridge Street/Mill Lane properties and should certainly be addressed by selective archaeological excavation. Subject to the provisions of the final development brief, attention could be targeted upon the western end of the triangle; beneath Mill Street - where pre-19th-century remains may be better preserved; and at the proposed junction of Bridge Street with the new link road northwards - for any evidence relating to the eastern extent of medieval or early post-medieval urban development. This latter area, though forming part of the overall development scheme, is outside the zone being developed by Raglan Property Trust. Should the opportunity arise it would also be desirable to investigate Mill Lane itself, which will disappear in the new development, and, in particular, to answer the questions about its alignment relative to Banbury Mill (referred to above).

FOOTNOTES.

1. P.R.O. E212/81, and Close Roll. 1407,349

2. P.R.O. Cal Pat 1547-8, 184.& 1550-3, 117-118.& 1566-9,153 & L.R.2/196 f 183v & Cal S P Dom 1628-9,502.& B.M.Stowe MS 184 f 235.
3. P.R.O L.R 2/196 ff, 180-4
4. P.R.O L.R.2/196 ff, 178.
5. O.R.O. Kem II/I.
6. Camd.soc.1st ser.lxxv 82,111.
7. Northampton Herald, June 24 1843
8. O.R.O. Gil XIII/iii/I

NOTE.

This article forms part of the archaeological assessment carried out by Iain Ferris, B.A. Peter Leach, B.A., F.S.A., M.I.F.A. and Stephen Litherland, M.A. for Raglan Property Trust prior to the proposed redevelopment of the area. The article is reproduced with their kind permissions. It is hoped to produce further articles based on this research in the future

D.A.Hitchcox.



BRIDGE STREET, c. 1900. (Oxfordshire Museum Services, Packer Collection)

THE HITHERTO UNKNOWN JEWS OF BANBURY.

The project was first mooted during a week-end visit to the Banbury Museum in October 1990, when I noticed that some of the old traders names were possibly Jewish. Having been a World War II Evacuee myself, in Balscote just outside Banbury, and aware that as an ancient Market Town, it was almost certainly visited by Jewish pedlars, I decided to proceed with considerable encouragement from Julia Nicholson the curator of Banbury Museum. My advertisements in the Jewish Press in the U.K. and Israel yielded 24 replies, that ultimately lead to in excess of 100 persons and documentary sources.

Without doubt the early history of the Jews of Banbury is closely linked to conditions in Oxford. Cecil Roth lists in his "History of the Jews of England",¹ as having a Medieval settlement. The earliest specific reference of actual persons that I have found is related to a David of Oxford, and his first wife Muriel, and the somewhat curious situation that arose as to the disposal of their properties when they divorced, presumably against the wife's will, in 1242. Muriel appealed to Jews in France for some redress, taking with her witnesses, a Vaalyn and Moses of Banbury,² listed as Jews³. David of Oxford took for his second wife the famous Jewish woman Financier, Licoria of Winchester, he himself dieing two years later, yet the acrimomy relating to the disposal of the property amongst the family went on for some ten years, but to date their is no further mention as to the two aforesaid Banbury Jews⁴.

Some 40 years on came the Expulsion of the Jews from England, which was on the 18th July 1290, and coincided with the day of mourning for all Jews commemorating the fall of the Temple in Jerusalem, Tisha B,Av.⁵. Cecil Roth quoting from ancient Mss., states that very quickly after the proclamation 'between the first and third hour of the day' the Jews were arrested, and 'immediately afterwards inquiries were held by juries concerning the extent of Jewish property and assets'. In Oxford this took place on the 2nd August 1290, I think we can conclude that any similar measures appertaining to this Edict for Jews living in the Banbury area would have been likewise. To date I have uncovered nothing further of this period. Banbury, an area long famous for it's wool, textiles and weaving, a trade that in Europe had heavy Jewish involvement, is I feel well worth researching further into for Jewish links in this field at this era in Banbury, and the possibility that some Jews maybe by outward conversion stayed as Marranos in the town.⁶

According to one of my informants, the famous cakes, first marketed to the public in 1608, (when there was no official English Jewish Community), have a Jewish Background. The first shop to sell them stood at 12 Parsons Street, but the commodity did not find general favour until 1770. The legend is that some Jews never left at the time of the expulsion, and that the filling of the spiced cakes, being quite different to other old English recipes, very similar to the Hamantuchen - Haman's ears, that Jews eat at the Festival of Purim.⁷ The possible root of the legend is it being recorded that there was a tree and plants, brought from Palestine, in the shop's rear garden.

Whatever the size of the early Jewish population, the local Gaol records for the 18th and early 19th centuries show no inmates with likely Jewish names, or any registered as such.

With Banbury Market, and its famous Michaelmas Fair, as well as being close to Birmingham, the centre of Jewish hawkers and pedlars, we can be certain that this form of visiting trader came to the town. It is in this connection that we have the early records of Jews. Jacksons Oxford Journal for 24th September 1785 reported the Bankruptcy of Wolf Benjamin, Silversmith and Jeweller. The same news-sheet, some three weeks later, advertised the sale of his stock.

We have another noteworthy item from this newspaper, when on 1st December 1787, it reported that a Solomon Abraham, silversmith and pawnbroker, of Red Lion Street, Banbury, was closing down the pawnbroking side of his enterprise to concentrate on his stock of silver and jewellery etc.

Somewhat hazy information is given about a person of the same entitlement 26 years later who could have been the same, or a grandson, as Jews, particularly Askenazim, do not name after the Father if alive at the child's birth. Here the information is listed as "an Admonition of Isaac Joseph, late of Banbury, bachelor, to Solomon Abraham,a creditor, who was duly sworn etc. no one else appearing, when cited to 200. Oxford November 1813".⁸ Billings Directory of 1854 lists a Saul Joseph as a pawnbroker at Parsons Street, Banbury, who was possibly of the same family. Another travelling Jeweller was Polish born Joseph Marks, who stayed at the Crown Inn in 1841.

Returning to Isaac Joseph, who later married Judith Jacob. They were the grandparents of Gertrude Joseph (1846-1935). She married Mark Nathan, (1846-1936), on whom the Jewish Chronicle of 11th November 1892, somewhat inadequately reported under Banbury, that "a Mr. Mark Nathan, was on Tuesday invested as Provincial Grand Sword Bearer for the Province of Oxfordshire", without in any way classifying to which organisation this information appertained to.⁹ We find Mark Nathan later listed as a Banbury Ironmonger/Hardware store owner. This business was carried on after his death,¹⁰ by his son Frank (1875-1962), who married an Ann Darling. Their daughter, Sylvia, married a Michael Beecham, of the Sir Thomas Beecham family.

As far as industry is concerned certainly the family that made the most important contribution to 19th. century Banbury prosperity, and workers well-being, and technical education, were the brothers Alexander and Bernard Samuelson.¹¹ Their father, Samuel Henry Samuelson, originated from Liverpool/ Hamburg. Sir Bernard (1820-1905), as he later became, resided at Bodicote Grange. He was enormously ambitious, and severed his connections with the Jewish community quite early in life, but as Liberal Member of Parliament for Banbury, for twenty years, his political opponents frequently reminded him of his origins.¹² Whilst his industrial undertakings went from strength to strength.

Many famous Jews were entertained in the country houses around Banbury during the 19th and 20th centuries. These included Ferdinand de Rothschild who regularly visited Broughton Castle, whilst at Garsington Manor, Phillip and Lady Ottoline Morell, entertained Leonard Woolf, husband of Virginia, but their favourite guest was Seigfried Sassoon.

Another important industrialist family connected with Banbury residentially and philanthropically were the Bearstead's, founders of the Shell petroleum empire. The 1st. Lord was Lord Mayor of London in 1902, and Banker to the Japanese Government. the 2nd. Viscount Walter Samuel, first came to Banbury when he purchased Sun Rising House, as his base for the Warwickshire Hunt. Upon his father's death in 1927, he sold the family seat at Bearstead, Kent and bought the nearby fine mansion of Upton House. Since 1947 this house has been administered by the National Trust, on the understanding that the

family could always have the right of accommodation within if required, but the family still own Sun Rising House, and jointly farm the two estates. During World War II these residences were used by the family London Bank, Marcus Samuel. All the non essential staff were evacuated to Upton House. One of the employees a Mr. Barnett Adler, who had worked for the company from 1924, was married whilst there, which was probably one of the few Jewish marriages ever solemnised in the area.¹³

Regarding the aristocracy at the turn of this century, it should not be forgotten that the 3rd. and 4th. Earls of Bute, who resided at Wroxton, just outside Banbury, whilst being non-Jews, still paid a very important contribution to Jewish Historical research, when they placed in President Lucian Wolf's hands, their papers on the then unknown Jews of the Canary Islands, which enabled the Jewish Historical Society of England to instigate research, and publish most important findings.^{13b}

Banbury was a town in the 19th. Century with every facet of Christian denomination, but if at this period there was a fixed gathering of Jewish worship, we have no notice of it. There was the existence of the London Association for promoting Christianity, amongst the Jews, (formed 1842), which was supported by Weslyans and Quakers. It was also a place that attracted many immigrants, looking for work. In this connection we have an Isaac Botfish, who in 1872, was savagely beaten by his employer, Charles Garrett, to dissuade him from joining a Union.^{13c}

There is a picture of a shopping parade in 1880, with a prosperous triple fronted, fancy goods shop at 84 High Street, under the proprietorship of Mr. J.H. Ludwig. It shows 3 floors of living accommodation above.

There was a Mr. T.R. Goodman, who originated from Southampton. He traded as a Chemist/Druggist, at 5 High Street, Banbury between the years 1890-1906. and was possibly Jewish. Except for the Nathan family we have little notice of Jewish life during World War I in the town. The family of Donald Silk Q.C. also lived in the town trading as Grocers.

By the 1930's the known situation alters. A Mr. Harry Baum, his wife Anne, and their two children, lived on a property within the Manor of Finmere. He had a civilian post with the army. When World War II hostilities began, he and the Squire went to great trouble to accommodate other refugee members of the Baum family. This included Anne's sister Shifra Rosenbaum, and her husband Mick, who set up a business in the area. The children attended the village school.¹⁴

At the same period, we have notice of an Austrian Refugee Medical Practitioner, a Dr. Pheiffer, who attended from his surgery and accommodation in Broad Street, Banbury. The building still stands and houses the Royal Air Force Association Club. The doctor continued in practice after the War for quite a number of years.¹⁵

During the 1930's there were a number of Jewish stall holders in Banbury's market. Some were local residents, like a Mr. and Mrs. Cross, and others who came in from much further afield to sell their wares. Many nearby towns had well established Jewish Communities. A Minnie Boyd opened a clothing business, but had ceased trading by the outbreak of the war. Initially this lady lodged with the family of George Chilton.

During this period there was a number of multiple Jewish owned companies, who opened branches in Banbury. They included Kays Grocers, owned by John J Kay, who after World War II went into property, but as Grocers their slogan was: "Kays Ways Pays". One very lonely World War II, 9 1/2 year old evacuee, thinking it likely she would find

another Jew within the Kay's shop, vividly recorded her misery and feeling of isolation to me, still remembering 50 years afterwards, how she went unsuccessfully into the Banbury Market Place branch, in the hope of finding a fellow Jew.¹⁶

The British Government's sponsored evacuation, as well as private arrangements brought many Jews to Banbury and its surroundings. From London alone it was calculated that 14,000 Jewish children were nationally evacuated into Gentile homes with all the difficult problems attendant of keeping their religion, and much unhappiness and loneliness resulted. One of the worst long term effects of insufficient listing precluded finding the Jewish evacuees, once they were billeted, this state of affairs produced, not only much trauma, but a generation of non-attached children, who were later non-attached parents. This is not to belittle the tremendous efforts of the Jewish educational authorities,^{16b} who tried their best under the most limiting conditions. Even in a non-computer era, had the data included lists of Synagogue membership, whilst not all embracing, would have brought so many more into the known net of evacuees. All that was used was a schedule of State maintained schools with registered Jewish pupils on their rolls. This was done only in schools and centres of large Jewish attendance, and only partially in Jewish fringe areas of London's east end. Whilst in the suburbs, almost nothing was done at all to keep trace of the children. The Emergency Administrative body set up 65 part-time Jewish Education centres for evacuees across Great Britain, and had a total enrolment of 3,600 children, which may sound impressive, but was woefully inadequate, it being but 25% of the known Jewish evacuees.^{16c} Sadly many children heard nothing from any Jewish person, other than their families, during the period of evacuation, as I can myself testify. My sister and I were evacuated privately from Elm Park Essex, to Balscote, near Banbury. At home, our parents were Synagogue members, and we were registered at school as Jews, attending U.S. Hebrew Classes. Later we were again privately evacuated to a boarding school in Caterham, Surrey, and finally my sister was Government evacuated with her school in Wembley, in the last evacuation of children in the War, as the flying bombs fell, to Pontypool, South Wales. On each occasion nothing was heard from the Jewish educational authorities.

Of course not all children had been registered in their home schools as Jewish. One reason for this was the rampant anti-Semitism, and fear of a German invasion.¹⁷ In the fringe areas of heavy Jewish residence, like East India Docks, there was sometimes just one or two Jewish pupils in a whole school. Those living reasonably close to a Jewish area, who perhaps for economic reasons did not belong to a synagogue, could still keep kosher homes and identify, but as war clouds came ever closer this way of life was suddenly uprooted.^{17a}

That so many children were so ill-equipped to maintain their Jewish identity in the outside world was summed up in passionate terms by the Jewish Chronicle on the eve of the outbreak of the War:....." That large numbers of Jewish children.....acquire a smattering of religious instruction which will serve them ill, or not at all, in their contacts with the world".....(J.C. Editorial 23/6/1939.)

It would seem that all pre-WWII Jewish residents and traders in Banbury, had kept a low profile. Whilst most of the Christian children in the schools were totally ignorant of Jews in general, and quite un-prepared for the wartime influx. Many local Christian youngsters insisted that these perfectly normal looking new school mates could not be Jews, as nobody could see their horns! Arrangements were made for the Government sponsored evacuees to keep their religious dietary requirements. The Billeting authorities showed the

new foster parents how to apply for the extra fats and cheese permitted on the ration books for those not eating pork or bacon.

The constant theme running through the many letters I received in answer to my enquiries, was the memories of the so many kindnesses of the families that had taken the Jews into their homes, some half a century previously. It seems that many of the children kept in contact both by letters and visits to their Foster parents until they were Grandparents themselves, or the elderly folks passed away.

Two orthodox, teenage brothers, Aumi and the late David Shapiro, from Bow, made a considerable impact on the formulation of a positive Communal atmosphere, helping just after the children's arrival in arranging the holding of the imminent New Year, Yom Kippur, services. They also taught the children Hebrew. This is the same Aumi Shapiro who started the Springboard Trust, in the late 1960's that has collected so much important photographic data in the past 20 years of the Old East End of London,^{17b} and producing educational film biographies of Notabilities.

Most Jewish children were mainly billeted in the centre of the Town, and finally a Rev. Goldman, came as a teacher from the Mile End and Bow Synagogue. He was appointed to the task by the Chief Rabbi's Emergency Committee for Jewish religious education, (later the London board) to minister to the religious needs of these children, as he knew so many of them, but the children of families who arrived under private arrangements, or originated from areas outside Bow seem to have had no contact with any of this organised Jewish Communal endeavour.

Later in 1941 Rev. Goldman's wife, and two sons arrived, the elder of whom, Michael, was for many years until his retirement in 1988, Secretary of the Federation of Synagogues of Great Britain. When he reached 11 years of age.(1941), he attended Banbury County School. The Goldmans' stayed on in Banbury until 1943 when they were re-located by the Chief Rabbi to Bedford. During his Banbury sojourn, the Rev. Goldman held weekly Sabbath and Holy Day Children's services, at the Church hall of St. Leonards.

A number of parents followed in the wake of their children. A Mr. Morris Weinberg, came with his wife Lily, to join their son and daughter. He opened a business and traded, assisted by his wife, in Parsons Street, as 'The Leading London Tailor'. The business continued for a few years after the war, but the family eventually returned to London. After leaving school their daughter, Gwen^{17c}, worked as a Civil Servant, in the Food Office in Banbury.

According to Phyllis Gershon-nee Vogel, her family stayed until May 1944. Her Father Abraham Charles, known as Charlie, worked at a nearby Aerodrome¹⁸. Other Jewish families were named Kaye, Hart, Silver, Sampson, Sherman, Cross and a Mr. Wheat, who had a furniture shop. A number lived in an area known as West Bar. All the Jewish Festivals were kept, and meat and poultry were brought down from London. According to Mrs. Gershon, who seems to have been closely associated with this group, the younger children formed themselves into entertainers. The 4-6 year olds were known as "The Cherry Pips", and performed for local chanties. Phyllis, had a brother, who was presumably older as he worked as bus conductor on the Midland Company Red Buses.

There were Jewish children billeted in and around the nearby villages. The Squire of Shutford a Mr. Bauer, was almost certainly of German/Jewish origin. He took in 3 girls, from Cephass Street Infants, who were exceptionally well looked after in the comfortable

servants quarters, but rarely saw the Squire and family though,¹⁹ and seem to have had no knowledge of the attempts at Jewish Communal life in Banbury Town, or that there were other children in the next village, at Gardner's Farm in Balscote.²⁰

A Mrs. Edith Diner (nee Waldman), was with a friend, Rayna Benn, in Adderbury, 3 miles south of Banbury, and stayed until the end of 1942. Edith's mother, who was not with the child, but as a school teacher made provisions with the Jewish Staff at Banbury. From these links the two children had a visiting Hebrew teacher, which according to description was possibly one of the Shapiro brothers. Edith attended Banbury County, for one term September-December 1942, but as she had not come with the East End Jewish children who were taught separately, she was deprived of much needed social contact, which was a policy mistake repeated many times.²¹

The group of Jewish families that settled in the war years in the village of Brackley, just over the county line, I include, because all contacted expressed how they felt akin to Banbury, which was their nearest town, for any shopping or entertainment. This group of families were Orthodox, upper middle class Jews, mainly successful, established merchants, from London's more affluent suburbs. Many of their children were to make their mark in the Post-war world. Family names were Lazarus, Froomberg, Sklan, Israel, (then one of London's main Jewish food wholesalers), in addition, the Tibbers', parents of Judge Tibber, and his sister, famous author Rosemary Friedman, who were as children amongst this group. Other families were Brown, Deyong, a Mr. and Mrs. Glanville and their son Brian, who was to become the renowned sports writer. Included were Holocaust Refugee children, taken in, and adopted by the families, like Max Walker, and sisters Ruth and Anna Klarenmeyer²² but these latter persons, because of their status were restricted in how often they could travel even to Banbury.

The Froomberg's house was on the Banbury Road. They stayed, like the majority of this group for the duration of the war. Derek and his two brothers, John and Richard, together with Russell and Bradley Brown, attended the local Winchester House Prep. School. After the war ended they became boarders, finally gaining entrance to Rugby Public School.

Another older Froomberg cousin, who worked in the family metal business was Adolph (Dolfie), who later ended the war, perhaps understandably having altered his first name, as Major Alan Lazarus, 8th Army, Egypt, on General Montgomery's Staff²³. A girl cousin Elaine, attended Brackley High School, and today is living in Jerusalem. She wrote me of her wartime memories, and recalled that it was the Tibber family, who on High Holy days brought Sifre Torahs, (Scrolls of the Law), from London so that religious services could be held. It would seem from the numbers mentioned as residing at what was indeed a Jewish enclave, at Brackley, there would have been no problem about obtaining the necessary quorum of ten Jewish males above the age of 13 years, which under Jewish Law is a requirement for full services.

Another branch of this family, Ted and Gertie Warshaw, Mrs. Froomberg's brother and sister in law, lived in the nearby tiny village of Turweston. He was a glass merchant, and ran the family business in London, to which nearly all the Brackley adult men commuted. The Warshaw's twin sons, Marcel and Aubrey, were officers at the time with the British Army in India²⁴. Mr. Derek Froomberg has taken the most positive interest in this research supplying a large amount of information and help which we both trust will receive sponsorship to continue.

When the bombing of Liverpool began, two Jewish young women from there, Pearl and Hannah Schneider joined their 13 year old sister, Bella who was boarded out to a Bow family, by Norwood Jewish Orphanage in London, where she had arrived at the age of 8, ultimately being evacuated with them. Bella stayed on in Banbury after married a local non-Jew, George Chilton, and their children continue there. This family being of such long standing in the town, have been of invaluable help in this project. A company called Pawson and Leafs from St. Pauls Churchyard in London, removed to Wroxton Abbey and employed Bella and her Jewish evacuee friend, Eva Rozelaar, until the cessation of hostilities.

Another very important WW11 element was the large numbers of Commonwealth and American Jewish service men, many of who were stationed around Banbury, who with the aid of their Chaplains observed their religion. It was from the widow of Dr. Nathaniel Remes, of the U.S. Airforce, that such data was collected, including some pre-first world war photos, that her late husband had collected whilst there^{24a}.

Apart from those already mentioned, there is still a Jewish presence in the area²⁵ as my correspondence shows. In addition a few families have week-end cottages round about. A number of the latter, when hearing about this research contacted me as to the possibility of forming of an organised group. Another advantage from this project has been the number of people who have found old friends, having lost contact after the space of many years. In conclusion I think you will agree that Banbury does indeed have a Jewish history.

This paper was presented as part of a lecture series at the Museum of Oxford, Summer 1992, on the theme of "Jewish Communities in Oxon".

I would like to thank the Curators of the Museums of Oxford and Banbury, the British Council, Kessler Foundation, and the Oxford Jewish Congregation, 1992 Committee, and in particular Prof. David and Mrs. Barbara Lewis for their very positive interest in the research, and likewise Mr. Derek Foomberg, of London, who spent his childhood in this area.

Glora Mound.

Notes and Sources

1. Cecil Roth lists in his "History of the Jews of England". (3rd. Ed. reprinted 1989. Oxford.) p 277.
2. See entry in the Calender of Close Rolls, in the year 1242 (p.464).
3. Mr. M. D. Davis, in the J.Q.R. of October 1892. See Vol. V. p.p.158-165.
4. Further detailed mention is given to a "13th Century Jewish Family in Oxford," by the late Rev. Canon Stokes LL.d.Litt.D in the Trans. J.H.S.E. Vol. 10. p.193, 198-200, and J.H.S.E. Vol XIII. p.304, 307-309.
5. See Roth idem. p.86 and 'Cartulary of St. John ed. Salter II 152-4. "The Jews of Britain" by Pamela Fletcher Jones. p.57-58. Pub. Windrush 1990
6. See Ency. Judaica Vol 15. p. 1036-1040.
7. See testimony of Dina Shalom, Israel.
8. This last information comes without source from a data card of Cecil Roth, who received it in the 1950's. I am indebted to Prof. David Lewis of Oxford University for this information.
- 8a See "Victorian Banbury", by Barry Trinder. Pub. Phillimore, Chichester Sussex. U.K.1982. p.36. Hereafter "Trinder".

9. There were a number of Friendly Societies, (Foresters, Oddfellows etc) in the town at that period.
- Editors Note Nathan was in fact a Mason and became Grand Master at the Banbury (Cherwell) Lodge.
10. See plans B/C. Transactions Jewish Historical Society of England. Vol.XXIV p.28. by Dr. Anthony Joseph, Birmingham, and papers of Jewish Genealogical Society, wife Gertrude (nee Joseph of Birmingham 1846-1931). We have considerable data on this couple, with information that they traded in Banbury, as Ironmonger and Hardware store owners, in the Market Place. Certainly Mark Nathan, resided in the town, as people alive today remember him playing chess in the evenings, but records show he possibly continued with a Birmingham residence too He may have been the grandson of Aaron Nathan who died in Cheltenham in 1859, and was connected to the Joseph and Vandelyn families in Birmingham. (See information, Geo Chilton, and Dr. Joseph. JHSE Birmingham and Cheltenham Synagogue Archives. U.K. Memories of Mark Nathan and his business, which it seems he retained until his death in 1936, were supplied to me by Geo and Bella Chilton 30/10/91.
11. See Jewish Ency. Vol.XI p.32. Anglo-Jewish Notabilities for Coat of Arms.) Who's Who 1905
12. See "Trinder"
13. The young couple then moved to a bungalow at Edgehill nearby. This proved but a short sojourn, as Mr. Adler was one year later seconded to the Board of Trade at Bristol. (Testimony of Mr. R. V. Adler, U.K.). Later received from Robert Waley-Cohen confirming connection with Banbury. Also TJHSE. vol.XIII. p.163 re family's origins.
- 13b Jewish Historical Society of England "Jews in the Canary Islands". being a Calendar of Jewish Cases extracted from the records of the Canarote Inquisition in the Collection of the Marquess of Bute. Translated and Ed. by Lucien Wolf 1926
- 13c. Isaac Botfish p.150. Re. in June 1872, this weakly labourer being severely beaten by his employer, Charles Garrett of Tadmarton, to prevent him from joining a Union. Case heard at Magistrates Court at Neithrop Police Station, Banbury. Garrett acquitted. "Over the Hills to Glory" by J.R. Hodgkins, p.68-69. pub. 1978. Also 15th August Banbury Advertiser and 3rd April 1873 Banbury Guardian.
14. Testimony of Shirley Gur, Israel.
15. Chilton Correspondence. (as note 10.)
- 16a. Testimonies of Minnie Linden (Nee Cohen) of London, and Midge Gadiel (Nee Shapiro), Kfar Mordecai Israel, who was also in Banbury for short spells as her family were evacuated there, whilst she herself was in the Women's Land Army. She later worked at Kay's in London, at their Head-Office.
- 16b. The Board of Deputies of British Jews, and the United Synagogue, who through the Joint Emergency Committee for Jewish Education, pooled their administrative, professional and financial resources.
- 16c United Synagogue Board of Jewish Education Archives U.K
17. Testimony of Hillel-Bar-Joseph, Kibbutz Eilon, Israel.
- 17a. "A Century of Anglo-Jewish Life 1870-1970." by S.S.Levin. "Jewish Education in Great Britain" by Dr. Bernard Steinberg. Transactions of 10th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University Jerusalem 1989. Vol II.p.376
- 17b. "Take a Basket" by Gloria Mound. Pub. Perpetua Press 1980. Midge Gadiel, formerly Shapiro Kfar Mordecai Israel.
- 17c. Testimony Lily Weinburg, and daughter Gwen Greenwood, (Nee Weinberg), London 1991.
18. Phyllis Gershon U.K. Correspondence 3 letters to Gloria Mound, 1991.
19. Correspondence to Gloria Mound from Ruth Wiseman (Nee Latner), Ilford. U.K. October 1991.

20. "Take a Basket" p.8. by Gloria Mound. Pub. Perpetua Press 1980. The ancient Gardner Farmhouse has been in the same family for generations, and is one of the oldest farmhouses in the county. These young evacuees, Glona and Betty Jameson, like others in the outskirts of Banbury received no contact with other Jews whilst they were there, even though their parents were long standing registered members of a London area Synagogue.
21. See correspondence between Mrs. Edith Dinar (nee Waldman), Bat-Yam Israel and Gloria Mound, Gan Yavneh, Israel Nov 1991
22. See testimonies of Max Walker, Ashkelon; Derek Froomberg, Finchley London and Elaine and Meir Abelson, Jerusalem.
23. See genealogical tree supplied by Derek Froomberg, which shows the inter-relationship, between some of the families.
24. Idem
- 24a. Information Photos and postcards supplied by Norma Remez Pichel, Rehovet, Israel, about the service of her late husband.
25. See letters from Mr. and Mrs. Chilton, Mr. Craig U.K. and Phillip Campbell, Amirim Village, Gallil, Israel.



Banbury Market Place 1907
 Note Nathans on the right

Banbury Historical Society - Lecture Reports

Thursday 9th January 1992.

David Clarke "To the Frontiers of the Roman Empire: Germany and Jordan".

For most people the typical package holiday embraces sea, sun and fun. Not so when the party has an archaeological slant. David Clarke belongs to this band of intrepids that does the sites. And what sights they are. January's audience was able to share the beauty of the glassware, the delicacy of the mosaics and the fine elevations of gate, wall and fortress.

His talk had two distinct parts; one wood and European, the other desert and African. David's theme was the tale of the barriers, both major frontiers of the vast Roman Empire. In Europe the line joined the Danube to the Rhine and formed a natural defence for the superbly agricultural Rhinelands - wine and much more. Along the route were several forts, some excavated, and a series of villas with wonderful mosaics commemorating the gladiators or recording Mediterranean urban life. His final port of call was Cologne with its superb museum, a fitting tribute to the high quality of German archaeology.

Meanwhile the Jordanian deserts posed different challenges to Roman skills. However everywhere there are mosaics and forts but uniquely and locally there are massive stove doors on original hinges and inevitably Petra for those with determination and a head for heights.

David's talk will long be remembered not just because it was about Romans, Germans and wood and desert. It was an essay in scale and sheer magnificence. Somehow his final slide of the sun setting over the sea of Gallilee was more a part of this splendour and much less 'and now we say farewell'.

Thursday 13th February 1992.

Christine Bloxham "Sweethearts and Valentines".

History has given us a rich tapestry of cards, dolls, utensils and cushions which have captured the spirit of 19th century. Cards especially were more an expression of culture and less what they are today an explosion of commercial gimmicks. Dolls often progressed through the total wedding experience and pre-empted the games of children whose actions echoed love and marriage.

With her museum service background Christine Bloxham was able to draw on a vast array of collection material. This ranged from a large format card featuring hunk man to delicate East Midlands lace bobbins with their passionate but cryptic messages.

During the evening it became apparent just how important symbols had been. The love spoon, the flower head, and birth stone and a good luck favour were essential ingredients in the persistence of love and affection messages.

The Romans may have started the Valentine craze but subsequent generations have given it innumerable manifestations. 19th century man may have sold his wife for 5/- but late

20th century man still fires his February arrows and hopes that one at least will stick and change his fond hopes to wedding bells.

Thursday 12th March.

R.A.Chambers ‘Mediæval Banbury what next?’

Undoubtedly the most significant part of Richard Chamber’s title was the question mark. Not only are there many unknowns about Banbury’s early growth but even less certain is the future of archaeology in the town.

A large audience assembled to hear a very wide ranging survey of Banbury from Pre-Conquest Britain through the to late Medieval times. This extensive coverage was punctuated by a number of challenging comments about the Saxon town, a possible Minster Church and exploitation of dry sites at Grimsbury and along the line of Hennef Way.

Dr. Chambers referred to the various sequences of archaeology and the associated finds and noted especially that the M40 excavation had added little to the more specific dig results from Banbury Castle, Inner Relief and Sainsbury sites.

The lecture was a very good example of how to draw inferences from other towns and their structures. Chalgrove especially was scrutinised for comparability of treatment of medieval strips.

Richard Chambers likened Banbury to a medieval Milton Keynes. Further investigations of this and other matters could well depend on initiatives by the Banbury Historical Society as well as on the availability of small locations for excavation.

In an era of ‘mission statements’ yet another about town investigation might not come amiss.

Brian Little.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Banbury Historical 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 and Cockhorse* is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local history research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Well over one hundred issues and approaching three hundred articles have been published. Most back issues are still available and out-of-print issues can if required be photocopied.

Publications still in print include:

Old Banbury - a short popular history, by E.R.C. Brinkworth.

The Building and Furnishing of St. Mary's Church, Banbury.

The Globe Room at the Reindeer Inn, Banbury.

Records series:

Wiggington Constables' Books 1691-1836 (vol. 11, with Phillimore).

Banbury Wills and Inventories 1591-1650, 2 parts (vols. 13, 14).

Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart (vol. 15).

Victorian Banbury, by Barrie Trinder (vol. 19, with Phillimore).

Aynho: A Northamptonshire Village, by Nicholas Cooper (vol. 20).

Banbury Gaol Records, ed. Penelope Renold (vol. 21).

Banbury Baptism and Burial Registers, 1813-1838 (vol. 22).

Current prices, and availability of other back volumes, from the Hon. Secretary, c/o Banbury Museum.

In preparation: Lists of Tudor and Stuart Banbury Taxpayers, including the May 1642 subsidy for the Hundreds of Banbury, Bloxham and Ploughley (mentioning almost as many as the Protestation Returns of a few months earlier, for which Banbury Borough and Ploughley Hundred returns do not survive). Others planned: documents showing how the Civil War affected those living in the Banbury area; selections from diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848; selected years from Rusher's *Banbury List and Directory*, 1795-1880; news items from the Banbury area from Jackson's *Oxford Journal* (from 1752) and the *Oxford Mercury* (1795-6); and letters to the 1st. Earl of Guilford.

Meetings held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. at the North Oxfordshire Technical College, Broughton Road, Banbury, on the second Thursday of each month. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local historical, archaeological and architectural subjects. In the summer, the A.G.M. is held at a local country house and other excursions are arranged.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer or seconder being needed. The annual subscription is **£8.00** including any records volumes published, or **£5.00** if these are not required.

Applications forms may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, c/o Banbury Museum, 8 Horsefair, Banbury, Oxon. OX16 0AA.

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