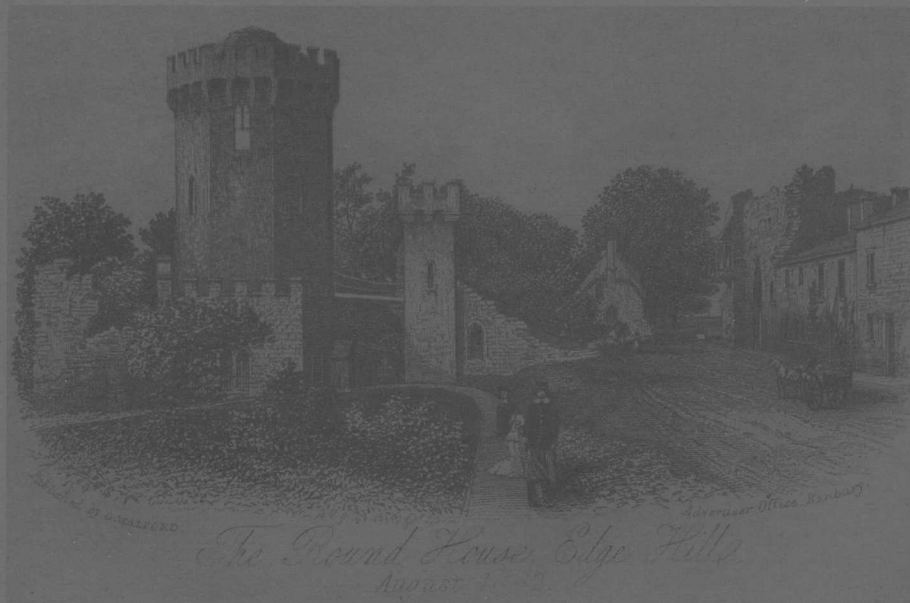


CAKE AND COCKHORSE



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BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

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One should never try to be too clever. Ross Gilkes has pointed out that the gentleman in the photograph of our Society's "worthies" in Brian Little's *Banbury* that we identified (p.268) as librarian Tom Muskett was in fact, and much more appropriately, Mr A.D. Rose, our first Chaiman, headmaster of the then Banbury Grammar School.

There have been some tiresome personal problems in producing the final issue of Volume 16. We owe enormous thanks to Bob Boyd and Mervyn Pascoe for at last seeing it through the press, so that 'Summer' does not seem too distant a memory.

Much needed now is a younger and more energetic editor with state-of-the-art IT equipment.

J.G.

What Jeremy describes as "tiresome problems" culminated early in August with a near-fatal double thrombosis. Since then he has spent six weeks (to date) recovering in the John Radcliffe Hospital, where the editorial above was written. He wishes to pass on his thanks for the scores of cards and verbal messages of good wishes that he has received.

The Committee

Cover: 'The Round House, Edge Hill', *The History of Banbury*, W.P. Johnson.

THE 1942 BARFORD CENSUS AND 'WAR BOOKS':

A unique record?

Colin Cohen

A version of this article first appeared in '224', the newsletter of the Deddington & District History Society, in March and June 2005 (of which the present author is editor); and subsequently in 'The Local Historian', vol.36, no.2, May 2006. It is republished here by kind permission.

Introduction: local defence committees in the Second World War

As anyone who has done local history research will know, a census has been taken every ten years since 1801, although they only become really useful for the details of individuals names from 1841. There is one exception, however: in 1941 no census was taken... well there was a war on. But for the parishes of Barford St John and Barford St Michael in Oxfordshire two very rare sources survive for 1942 – a local census and what are known as the 'War Books' – and, since both resulted from central wartime directives, it is possible that comparable material may exist for other parishes elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

Their origins are reasonably well-documented. Although preparations for war were in hand long before September 1939 (rearmament, including the construction of airfields, had started soon after the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933) it took time to establish a local civil defence organisation, usually known as the Local Defence Committee or LDC. The control of the LDCs was through a series of County Defence Committees, first set up under the Air Raid Precautions Act of 1937. County Emergency Committees for Civil Defence were formed following Home Office circular 57 of 1939, which required each county or county borough to appoint an ARP Controller and an Emergency Committee which, in the event of war, would exercise executive powers.

These committees were to be responsible for evacuation plans and making preparations for resisting an enemy invasion, as well as providing links between military and civil authorities. In Oxfordshire, sub-controllers were appointed for six civil defence areas, and they took on their responsibilities on 31 August 1939, just three days before war was declared. For north Oxfordshire, including the Barfords, the sub-controller was based in Banbury. All of this is well documented in The National Archives and, in the present case, in the Oxfordshire Record Office.

The County Defence Committee, which would also provide a direct link between the military and the civilian authorities in the event of an invasion, was composed of the members of the County Emergency Committee together with the area commander, Home Guard zone commander, county controller and chief constable. A system of area and local defence committees (representing essential services in each town or village) was set up to prepare for invasion and ensure compliance with military instructions. They were later called invasion committees, and each was expected to look after the interests of its own district.

In Oxfordshire the minutes of a conference held at County Hall on 18 September 1941 show that the majority of the four boroughs and three urban districts, together with the larger parishes, had established Local Defence Committees, and there were also committees in 75 per cent of the smaller parishes. However, it was not until a circular was sent out by the County Council on 1 October 1941, a full year after the Battle of Britain, that A.J. Woolgrove of Barford St John was formally approached, as 'one person of recognised authority in the community', to chair the Local Defence Committee for the Barfords and to have 'sole executive power in the event of an invasion'. He was given a week to decide whether to accept, though as a County Councillor one can assume he already knew of these plans.



The three-page duplicated letter started by pointing out that, in the event of an invasion, communities might be isolated and have to live off their own resources. It went on to explain the extent of the chairman's powers and, more importantly, the limits. The LDC was, as one would expect, made up of the great and the good in each community.

1. Albert Woolgrove of Barford St John: this is a still from a Central Office of Information film, 'Twenty-four square miles', which was made at the Barfords at the end of the Second World War.

Reproduced by kind permission.

In a further circular, in July 1942, a specific reference is made to the 'Stand Firm Policy' in the event of an invasion. The LDC had to provide every member of the public with a rôle, which meant that the very young or old and infirm would be required to stay at home (and thereby would not clog up the roads by fleeing – the lessons of the Fall of France in 1940 must still have been fresh in the minds of the authorities).

This requirement was a key reason for the census: an undated circular from the Banbury area says that the census exercise was to be carried out under the cover of distributing a circular about gas precautions, and it even provided a script: 'Here is the new leaflet on Gas for your information, and I am required to check on the number of occupants in this house to bring our records up to date and to facilitate rescue work in the event of air raid damage'. There were follow-up instructions on how to categorise the occupants. The census is considered in more detail below. The local committee was also instructed to set up an invasion HQ, was given further instructions about how invasion warnings would be given, and was told that a specimen 'war book' was being prepared so that these records could be standardised.

In the Barfords the LDC had been meeting since 29 October 1941. Its minutes were kept in an exercise book, which gives much illuminating detail of the day-to-day concerns of the period after the Battle of Britain. On 12 January 1942, for example, under the heading 'Food store', it was recorded that 'Mr Hudson [Bakehouse] reported that he kept approx four months supplies in hand, & he thought yeast in powder form could be obtained, which would keep, he said he would investigate further; Mr Hudson also stated that he had an adequate supply of coal'. Under the heading 'First aid' it was reported that provision was unsatisfactory because Mrs Sullivan was away and it was uncertain when she might return. It was agreed to ask Mrs Connor, of the Old Vicarage, to take charge.

The records include a letter from Vera Sullivan (dated 18 June 1942, from the Regal Hotel, Cleveleys, Lancashire) apologising for being away and saying that Mrs Connor would do the job very well. There is also an undated pencil note saying Mrs Sullivan was trying to let her house. Mrs Connor subsequently wrote with a list of eight first-aiders in the village, but the LDC deleted four of these and added two others. The minutes for 22 June 1942 show that the LDC recognised the need to select an invasion HQ and to appoint a woman member. They chose Mrs Mouldsdale,

wife of Lieutenant Mouldsdale, who was already on the committee, and whose home at Barford House in St Michael was selected as headquarters. The fallback HQ was to be Mead Farm in St John, the home of the chairman. His was one of the few houses with a telephone in the village.¹

Membership of the LDC was not remunerated, but limited expenses were repayable by the Department of Home Security. Postage and stationery were refundable as were telephone calls. Accommodation, travel for the chairman to meetings, hire of halls for public meetings, printing of 'posters and announcements to bring the existence of the 'Committee to the notice of persons living in the area, and questionnaire forms to elicit information required by the Committee, were all allowable expenses, and the county council could authorise expenditure up to the princely total of £15 per annum. The last meeting of which a minute survives was on 19 December 1942, but as late as 13 October the LDCs were reminded, by a circular from the regional commissioner, of the importance attached to the preparation of war books. Evidently, only a few LDCs had done so and a deadline was set for the end of the year.

Other instructions demanded a limit to the number of official notice boards in the parish; that the voluntary food organiser had to live in the parish; that the location of the committee HQ had to be shown; and that the 'Central channel of communication' had to be located there. As late as August 1943 the risk of invasion was considered sufficiently great for the Southern Regional Commissioner to write instructing LDCs to fill in, on page 1 of their war book, 'a note containing in order of priority the action which will have to be taken and the official, service or authority responsible for initiating it if and when the chances of invasion recur', but it does not seem to have been done in this case. On 6 September 1944 the Home Guard was partially stood down. The final meeting of the Barfords LDC, its ninety-third, was held on 6 September 1945, almost four months to the day after the end of the war in Europe.

¹ Oxfordshire Record Office [ORO] Mss DD Par Barford St Michael c6 for all references specific to the Barfords. Four phone were given for the seven committee members. In 1924 even Barford post office had no telephone. In 1955 there were three private phones and three 'trade' phones including the post office in Barford St Michael, and one of each in Barford St John.

The war books and the census

War Books, such as those which survive for the Barfords, appear to be of great rarity. The National Register of Archives² only records examples

Name of Occupier <i>MacAlpine's</i>		District No. <i>Warwick</i>							
No. in House	Service	Civilian Name	Age	Occupation and Name of Employer	Part-time Service	1	2	3	4
1	<i>None</i>	<i>Edward</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>Engineer MacAlpine</i>	<i>—</i>				
2	<i>None</i>	<i>William Edward</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>Carver</i>	<i>do</i>				
3	<i>None</i>	<i>Robert Geoffrey</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Engineer</i>	<i>do</i>				
4	<i>None</i>	<i>Michael Thomas</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>Clark</i>	<i>do</i>				
5	<i>None</i>	<i>John William</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>				
6	<i>None</i>	<i>John William</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>Construction</i>	<i>do</i>				
7	<i>None</i>	<i>John William</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>Checker</i>	<i>do</i>				
8	<i>None</i>	<i>James</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>Construction</i>	<i>do</i>				
9	<i>None</i>	<i>Edward</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>				

2. A page from the 1942 census of the Barfords, showing some of the employers of MacAlpines who were temporarily resident in the villages during the construction of RAF Barford St John.

from Lechlade (now in the Gloucestershire Record Office) and Plymouth (in the Devon Local Studies Collection). In Oxfordshire there are Invasion Committee war books for the parishes of Kirtlington and Spelsbury,³ but across the country as a whole Access to Archives (A2A)⁴ only produces entries for a handful more. When one considers that Executive War Committees in every county instructed that each parish should produce two copies of a War Book it is astonishing that so few apparently survive. The only existing published text on the subject seems should produce two copies of a War Book it is astonishing that so few apparently survive. The only existing published text on the subject seems to be an article written by Ian Angus, vice-chairman of the Lymstone Society in Devon.⁵

² www.hmc.gov.uk/NRA/searches/DPdocs.asp?4475

³ ORO PC/V/6 (Kirtlington) and PC256/A1/1 (Spelsbury).

⁴ www.a2a.org.uk/seach/index.asp

⁵ www.Britannia.com/lympstone/warbook.html and *The Devon Family Historian*, no.54 pp.27-29 (April 1997) [both by Ian F. Angus].

The local defence committees were required to prepare the War Books in accordance with a standard *proforma* issued by the Ministry of Home Security. Should hasty evacuation become necessary, the war books were to be destroyed. The Barford War Book looks rather like a school exercise book and was filled in by the person designated by the War Committee. It detailed strategic information about the community, such as which people had telephones, cars, vans or first aid skills. Home Guard membership was listed and, perhaps most significantly, the able-bodied had to be distinguished from the rest. The information in the War Books might have seemed very obvious to a local person, but it was outside authorities would need to know that the existing water supply was from wells and that in an emergency there was a stream running through the village. Iron rations and flour were kept in store. Locally, farmer George Glassey was in charge of the emergency labour pool and the names of fifteen men were given as available for heavy work and no less than twenty women; there were also fourteen women available for light work. The book is full of what now seems either quaint or macabre information: the church was designated as the mortuary and there were only two lorries and three vans in the village as well as six cars, with the Mouldsdales and the Lovells having two each. Parking must have been easy then! A further sixteen names were given of those who could help in the village hall and school if they were needed as rest centres.

In order to complete the War Book, each local defence committee (in most cases, covering a single parish) had to have some formal way of making its assessment, bearing in mind this work was being carried out while there were still invasion scares, and at a time when many rural communities were already struggling to accommodate evacuees from the cities. On approval of the contents by the County Committee, one copy should have been kept by the county as their reference to local contacts, while the other was to be sent back to the LDC as its operational handbook. However, in the case of the Barfords that copy was not returned until 5 January 1943.

As noted above, one aim of the census was the identification of the old and infirm, so that they could be forced to stay at home in the event of an invasion and impede the military. The order from the county controller refers to 'Group IV Those who owing to age and infirmity, would be expected to adopt a purely passive role, namely to take shelter and "stay put", to obey orders, and so far as possible avoid becoming casualties'.

Those entrusted with the duty of making the survey were required to be discreet in their approach to members of the general public, and although it was considered that those questioned should be encouraged to furnish the particulars necessary to complete the form, no pressure was to be brought to bear on any who objected to doing so. However, a note to the effect that the individual had refused was to be made on the back of the form, and the necessary information obtained, if possible, from another source.⁶ It is still not quite clear *exactly* when the door-to-door census took place.

CIVIL DEFENCE O.C.C. - A.R.P. AND INVASION DUTIES									
Rignell Hall Barford St Michael					District No. Wardens Post				
Name of Occupier Jackson									
Serial	Surname	Christian Name	Age	Occupation and Name of Employer	Part-time Service	1 H.G.A.	2 Arms	3 Light	4 Other
	Jackson	Pamela	34						✓
	Ostler	Maudie	36	Canalier at Hall					
	Ston's	George	35	Aerodrome Station					✓
		John	9						
		John	15						
		John	1						
		John	72						
		John	50						

3. The page from the 1942 census which shows, at Rignell [sic] Hall, Mrs Pamela Jackson, one of the almost legendary Mitford sisters (John Betjeman described her as the 'most rural' of them): in 1943, on their release from prison, her brother-in-law and sister, Oswald and Diana Mosley, were briefly under a form of house arrest at Rignell Hall until the Home Office realised that Pamela's husband, Derek Jackson, was not only in the RAF but also engaged in top secret R&D work.

Some evidence is available from the data on the forms (most notably people's ages): for instance on sheet 532 Pamela Jackson [née Mitford] of Rignell, who was born on 25 November 1907, was 34, so – assuming that her age was accurate – the census must have been taken between

⁶ ORO Ms DD Par Barford St Michael c6 mimeographed letter 29 July 1942.

25 November 1941 and 24 November 1942. Other sheets indicate that it was between 28 May and 24 November 1942, while one county council memo indicates that it was after 19 August.

The fate of the records

The oddest aspect of these records appears to be that almost all were subsequently destroyed. The Barford census and war books, like at least one other set of war books, came to the Oxfordshire Record Office by way of the diocesan records and not those of the county council, indicating that this is a village copy which was initially kept in the parish chest. However, in minutes of a meeting on 2 November 1944⁷ the county controller reported the view of the Regional Commissioner that the Local Invasion Committees were no longer necessary, and it was stated that 'With regard to the War Books prepared by each Local Invasion Committee it had been arranged that the complete sets for their respective Areas in the possession of the Area Invasion Committees should be deposited at the County Hall for preservation amongst the County records; the second copy hitherto held by Local Invasion Committees should be deposited for safe custody with the local authority (Borough, Urban, or Rural or Parish council) or in cases where this was not practicable would be forwarded for deposit in the County muniment rooms at the County Hall'.

According to an archivist at the Oxfordshire Record Office, 'The uncatalogued backlog of OCC records is enormous and not particularly easy to investigate ... it's possible that [the war books] might still be somewhere at County Hall (although I doubt it) ... The most comprehensive collection of OCC records we have is from the Clerk's/Chief Executive's Office. These were originally stored in the Modern Records Section created in the 1930s ... with the Archives section and under the control of the Clerk [so] if these records had been preserved as stated in the minutes they would have been transferred to us'.

The archivist went on to comment that 'Large numbers of records were stored in the basement and strong-rooms of County Hall and ... anything we retained has been recorded and accessioned [therefore] the War Books were either never collected or, if they were, they were destroyed at a later date perhaps for reasons of space ... I wonder if the Clerk in his role as County Controller occupied a separate office or building where

⁷ ORO CCI/27/A1/2. p.140.

these things were collected and later destroyed. The fact that a (very) few War Books have survived in parish collections supports the theory that they weren't returned as stipulated in the minutes'.⁸ This implies, quite clearly, that the original minute was disregarded and that most parishes destroyed their own copies. But, as every county was working under the same central government instructions, why do perhaps only a dozen or so other war books survive – and possibly *no* other census forms besides those from the Barfords? Can any local historians in other parts of the country point out comparable material for their own area?

And what of the current Town, Parish and Community Self-Help Emergency Plan which the government has recently sent to every community in the country, and which has remarkable similarities to the wartime documents. History, perhaps, is repeating itself.⁹

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Chris Gilliam at the Oxfordshire Record Office and to Ian F Angus for their help in the preparation of this article.

Note. Rignell Hall lies to the west of the Barfords, towards South Newington and close to Buttermilk Farm. The Ordnance Survey one-inch to one-mile map of 1946 (6th edition sheet 145, Banbury) does not show RAF Barford St John, which occupied the plateau between Milton and Barford St John including the area marked 'Tithe Barn'.

⁸ Emails to the author from Chris Gilliam (ORO) 23 and 27 November 2004.

⁹ www.guardian.co.uk/commentary/story/0,364,1670345.00.html (article by Hester Lacey, 'Help – send more guns', *The Guardian* 19 December 2005).

CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES' APPRENTICES FROM BANBURYSHIRE, SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Cliff Webb

Introduction

The records of the Livery Companies of London are one of the greatest archival treasures of the world. Dating from the early medieval period to the present, they provide a mass of information for a variety of historians of innumerable subjects.

A large proportion of these records are now deposited at the Guildhall Library, where they may be freely and conveniently consulted. Perhaps the two most important series of records tend to be those where people were apprenticed to a master, and those where individuals were admitted as freemen of the company in question.

In early records, persons who belonged to a given Livery Company would generally practise the trade to which that Company referred, but after about 1650 it became more and more common (until in some companies virtually universal) that members practised another trade altogether. Researchers, therefore, even if they know the occupation of a subject of interest, may not be able to find the right Livery Company to search at all easily. By no means all those apprenticed went on to become freemen. Some died, some left their masters before the term expired and others while completing their apprenticeship never took up the freedom to which they were entitled. On the other hand, not all becoming free had been apprenticed. Sons of freemen (born when the father was free) were entitled to freedom 'by patrimony' and in most companies you could simply buy the freedom 'by redemption'. Freedom by redemption, indeed, became commoner and commoner during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and Livery Company records tend to become less interesting.

The writer is editing a series published by the Society of Genealogists, designed to provide historians with the information contained in the records of apprenticeship of a number of the Livery Company. More than forty volumes have appeared, containing records selected from those companies whose apprenticeship records generally give good detail, principally, the name, parish and occupation of the apprentice's father.

The records have been sorted into alphabetical order of apprentice, and supplemental indexes provided of masters, places and occupations. Generally, the work of abstraction ends in 1800.

There are two alternate general sources for limited periods for London apprenticeships. Firstly, the original papers supporting a granting of freedom from apprenticeship survive in the Corporation of London Record Office from 1681. Though often very difficult to use – they were strung together through a hole in the middle – they are invaluable for companies whose records do not survive, or for which only undetailed records are extant.

Secondly, from 1710 until 1814, there was a duty on apprenticeship, and the records of this are preserved in The National Archives (P.R.O.). Until about 1750, the father's name, parish and occupation are given, and there is a series of indexes for the period 1710 to 1774 at the Society of Genealogists. There were, however, a large number of exemptions under this act, and naturally as many people as possible sought this exemption, so many apprenticeships, which might be expected to be found in this index, are not there. It is, again, however, an invaluable substitute, if partial, for lost records, and as a general index and lucky dip.

The abstracts in the series currently being edited are generally limited to the name of the apprentice, his father's name, parish and occupation, the name of the master and the date of the indenture. If the record notes that he was subsequently turned over to another master, or, as is sometimes recorded, became free, died etc. this has been noted. Details such as the street in which the master lived, the term of apprenticeship (usually seven years, but occasionally shorter or longer) and the premium paid have been omitted.

The abstracts below contain the records, so far abstracted, which refer to apprentices from Banbury and surrounding area. It is hoped that local historians may be able to link these to the local families and answer such questions as whether apprentices stayed in London or returned home (especially for burial).

**CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES'
APPRENTICES FROM BANBURYSHIRE,
SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES**

Cliff Webb

OXFORDSHIRE

BANBURY

Addyngton, Thomas s Simon tailor to John Rynge Jun 1505 Skinners
Awsten, Daniel s John yeoman to Nicholas Rand Aug 1676 Turners
Barnes, John s John victualler to John Williams Sep 1678 Turners
Bloxham, William s Thomas carpenter to Mary Kenning Sep 1713 Turners
Bolds, George s Thomas carpenter to Nathaniel Aylemore Jul 1691 Turners
Bolton, Anthony s John carpenter to Thomas Moore Jul 1628 Masons
Bowler, Frederick s Samuel distiller to Tobias Beale Oct 1691 Butchers
Bowler, Samuel s Samuel grocer to John Colston Jan 1689 Butchers
Bree, John s William husbandman to Thomas Bellamy Jan 1638 Blacksmiths
Butler, William s Joseph maltster to Henry Sandys Apr 1675 Skinners
Cave, Benjamin s Philip brazier to John Meadows Oct 1662 Tallow
Chandlers
Clements, John s Thomas shoemaker to Richard Shewell Jul 1607 Butchers
Collins, John s Thomas labourer to Ambrose Horsman Aug 1690 Blacksmiths
Croker, Richard s Richard gunsmith to Edward Thebridge Aug 1702 Turners
Crosbey, George s Richard tailor to Deodatus Pincheon Jul 1637 Turners
Goodwyn, Nathaniel s Nathaniel haberdasher to Godfrey Hern Jul 1700
Skinners
Greenall, Thomas s Robert maltster to Martin Wheatly Apr 1718 Tallow
Chandlers
Gulliver, Nathaniel s William wheelwright to Benjamin Clare Nov 1683
Skinners
Hall, James s Joseph barber to William Turner Mar 1734 Painters
Hall, Richard s Richard clerk to Roger Craven Aug 1620 Skinners
Hawes, Thomas s Robert husbandman to Simon Tuke Jun 1568 Skinners
Homun, John s Gabriel pinmaker to John Cosby May 1699 Blacksmiths
Kening, Richard s Martin mason to Nicholas Thorowgood Jul 1668 Turners
Kington, Thomas s Thomas butcher to James Scott May 1724 Tallow
Chandlers
Lamprey, William s John slater to Thomas Fisher Oct 1702 Turners
Lea, Thomas s Robert labourer to John Wood Jan 1691 Blacksmiths
May, William s Thomas carter to Charles Owen Sep 1669 Turners

Mills, John s William labourer to Richard Draper Feb 1719 Blacksmiths
Moxon, John s Richard farrier to John Drake Nov 1614 Blacksmiths
Nottingham, John s Anthony carpenter to Richard Ell Aug 1626 Blacksmiths
Pilkington, Edward s James yeoman to Hollis Sep 1612 Blacksmiths
Richards, Thomas s Simon labourer to William Pace Aug 1693 Blacksmiths
Rose, Robert s Robert shoemaker to Oliver Wildeman Aug 1668 Turners
Sabin, Paul s Paul weaver to Thomas Smith Mar 1700 Turners
Sansbury, Joseph s James mercer to James Cowell Jul 1733 Feltmakers
Shaw, Richard s Richard butcher to Thomas Guy May 1684 Blacksmiths
Smith, John s Henry ironmonger to John Greene Jul 1676 Tallow Chandlers
Smith, William s William husbandman to Edward Hill Nov 1700 Blacksmiths
Stepto, Daniel s William victualler to Thomas Greenall Aug 1726 Tallow
 Chandlers
Stranke, Edward s Thomas mercer to Thomas Pitstow Feb 1705 Feltmakers
Sutton, Thomas s Thomas vintner to Francis Holbech Dec 1671 Apothecaries
Sutton, Charles s Thomas vintner to Thomas Jenkins Oct 1675 Butchers
Taylor, Simon s Mathew shoemaker to Deodatus Pincheon May 1638 Turners
Thorpe, George s George bookseller to Thomas Bruce Sep 1716 Apothecaries
Tustian, Samuel s Samuel carpenter to Thomas Francis Aug 1669 Turners
Usher, Ralph s William butcher to John Jones Jul 1692 Blacksmiths
Vane, Thomas s Thomas butcher to Richard Nelson Sep 1664 Butchers
Vowe, Thomas s Francis mercer to John Rogers Jul 1637 Skinners
Watts, Joseph s William grazier to Peter Prince Apr 1646 Tallow Chandlers
Welford, Richard s Thomas victualler to George Parker Mar 1699 Butchers
West, Aholiab s John glazier to Richard Weight Oct 1671 Tallow Chandlers
Wheatly, Nathaniel s William saddler to William Smart Jul 1671
 Apothecaries
Wheatly, Martin s Nathaniel mercer to James Horton May 1702 Tallow
 Chandlers
Wheatly, Nehemiah s William apothecary to William Mace May 1670 Turners
Wright, George s Henry victualler to Henry Helmes Mar 1608 Skinners
Young, Thomas s Gabriel shoemaker to George Dolphin Jan 1609 Butchers

Adderbury Oxford

Barber, Richard s Robert esquire to Joseph Parker Dec 1638 Skinners
Blea, John s John butcher to John Wood Mar 1771 Butchers
Coles, Richard s Thomas clerk to William Allen Jun 1681 Tallow Chandlers
Paine, Joseph s Edward butcher to Devonereux Wall Nov 1776 Butchers
Phelps, John s Richard dyer to William North Jan 1729 Feltmakers
Samon, Robert s Christopher baker to Richard Lambe Dec 1656 Skinners

Stanton, John s Henry tailor to John Wilkinson Sep 1638 Blacksmiths
Willis, Edward s Thomas clerk to William Bartlemew Aug 1720 Apothecaries

Barford Oxford

Kempster, William s Christopher mason to Lancelot Vibart Oct 1740 Tallow
Chandlers

Bloxham Oxford

Braine, Thomas s Richard yeoman to William James Jul 1673 Butchers
Caby, George s James labourer to John Smith Jan 1637 Blacksmiths
French, George s William husbandman to John Cox Nov 1675 Turners
Hawkes, Robert s John labourer to William Normecott Nov 1637 Turners
Lovell, William s John yeoman to Samuel Burton Dec 1677 Turners
Parish, Hugh s Jeremiah tailor to John Richards Mar 1676 Turners

Bourton Oxford

Crosse, Thomas s Thomas weaver to Jacob Parham Mar 1677 Feltmakers
Dyer, John s John yeoman to Michael Plaice Sep 1609 Blacksmiths

Broughton Oxford

Butler, Richard s John shoemaker to John Stallwood Aug 1705 Painters
Hickucks, Joseph s Richard yeoman to Benet Adams Oct 1663 Skinners
Jackson, Edward s Richard mason to Philip Ell Mar 1609 Blacksmiths

Claydon Oxford

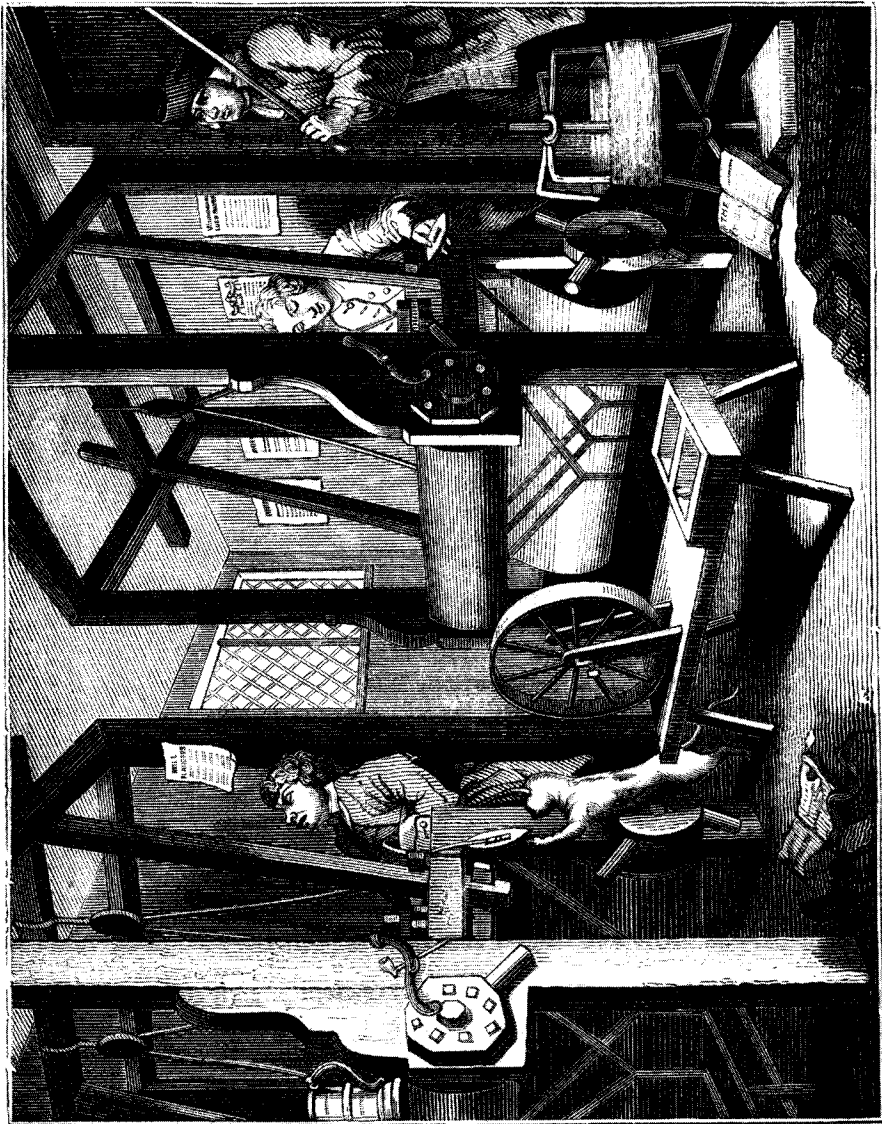
Pole, Timothy s Christopher clerk to John Vaine Dec 1587 Skinners
Stockley, Woodman s John husbandman to John Thompson Feb 1642 Butchers

Clifton Oxford

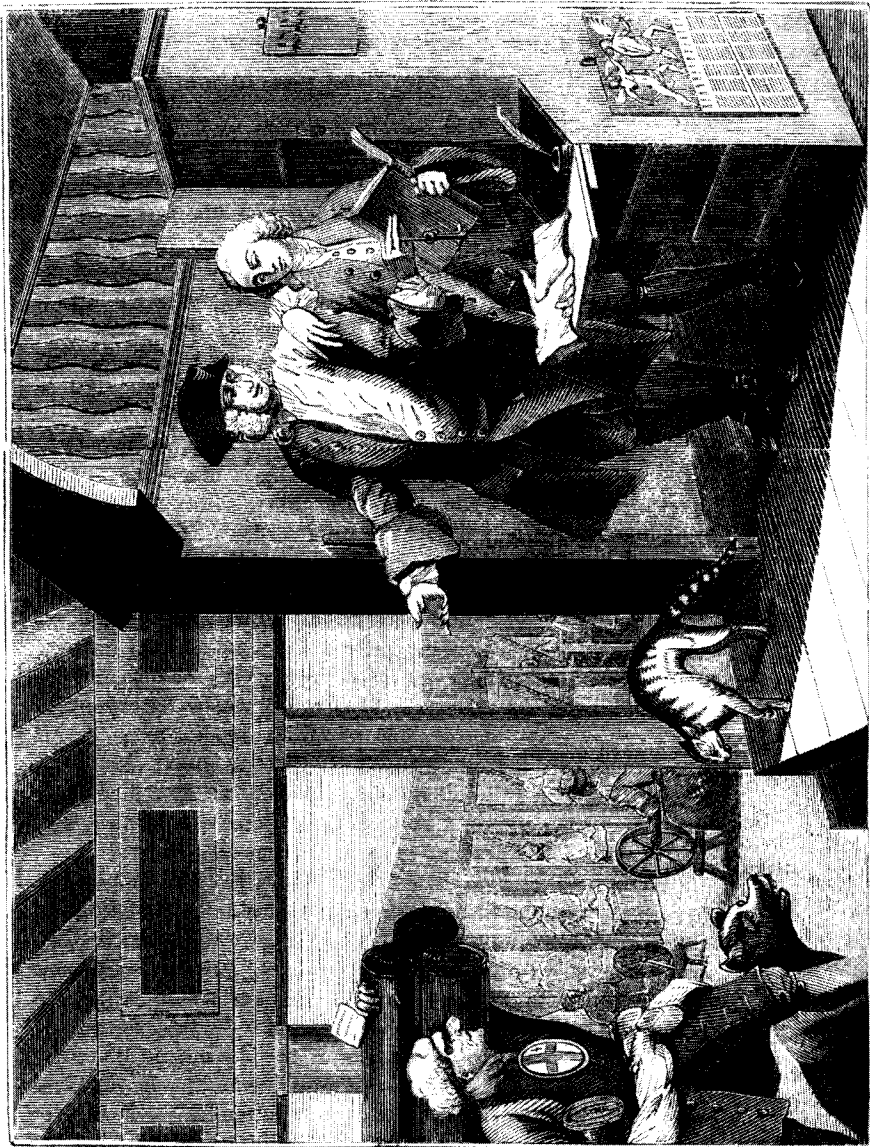
Slaymaker, John s Thomas victualler to Robert Hopkins Aug 1788 Tallow
Chandlers
Tredwell, Robert s Edward yeoman to Richard Oldnoll Dec 1642 Butchers

Cropredy Oxford

Denis, William s Richard blacksmith to Michael Keyes Dec 1658 Butchers
East, Henry s Thomas farrier to Elias Farfield Mar 1648 Blacksmiths
Haddocke, John s Edward butcher to Anthony Mills Jul 1633 Blacksmiths
Hudson, John s William husbandman to William Stone Oct 1608 Blacksmiths
Mansell, Nehemiah s Edward yeoman to Edward Abbott Apr 1685 Painters
Myles, Richard s Thomas husbandman to John Smyth May 1506 Skinners



2419. - Apprentices at their Looms.



2422. - The Industrious Apprentice in the Confidence of his Masters.

Deddington Oxford

Appletree, Thomas s Thomas esquire to Robert Davies Sep 1688 Apothecaries

Belcher, Samuel s Samuel apothecary to Edmund Warneford Aug 1693
Apothecaries

Bennett, Richard s William weaver to Robert Bowers Jul 1758 Turners

Boteler, Henry s Thomas esquire to Thomas Reeve Nov 1671 Painters

Burgis, Nathaniel s John brazier to Samuel Smith Nov 1696 Butchers

Hortin, George s John husbandman to William Due Apr 1662 Turners

Large, John s John carpenter to Simon Wynter Jul 1612 Blacksmiths

Makepeace, Nathaniel s George husbandman to Thomas Reade Jul 1666
Butchers

Makepeace, Samuel s George mercer to John Serjant Dec 1665 Butchers

Mason, Josias s William blacksmith to Edward Langley Mar 1636 Blacksmiths

Maynard, Thomas s Edward tallow chandler to John Allen Jul 1703 Turners

Minstrall, Samuel s John carpenter to Robert Higinson Jul 1677 Turners

Smith, Timothy s James labourer to John Highland Sep 1718 Blacksmiths

South, Augustine s Richard blacksmith to John Browne Jul 1614 Blacksmiths

Stevens, Thomas s Robert gentleman to John Foulks Dec 1651 Skinners

Stevens, Edward s William victualler to Roger Barnes Aug 1626 Masons

Welch, William s Christopher husbandman to John Renwood Feb 1746
Blacksmiths

Whitly, Thomas s Thomas yeoman to Thomas Upfould Dec 1674 Skinners

Wyar, Charles s James gentleman to Mathew Page Jul 1665 Turners

Draycot Oxford

Tipping, William s George esquire to Samuel Round Nov 1682 Skinners

Drayton Oxford

Dandridge, John s William yeoman to Thomas Postlethwayte Oct 1668
Painters

Leasingby, Joseph s Benjamin yeoman to Robert Thompson Feb 1705 Tallow
Chandlers

Epwell Oxford

Ancocke, Edward s Richard carpenter to John Holland Jan 1682 Butchers

Hawtyn, Francis s John husbandman to John Pyrren 1588 Butchers

Stanton, Thomas s Thomas gentleman to Thomas Burden Feb 1676
Apothecaries

Great Bourton Oxford

Claredge, Christopher s Clement tailor to Richard Claredge Jul 1689
Blacksmiths

Plant, William s William yeoman to Thomas Higgins Aug 1699 Tallow
Chandlers

Teste, William s John yeoman to Richard Newman Feb 1596 Skinners

Great Tew Oxford

Butcher, John s John husbandman to Henry Todd Apr 1699 Blacksmiths

Butler, Crispin s John butcher to James Predy Sep 1695 Painters

Butler, Thomas s John butcher to Crispin Butler Dec 1704 Painters

Evans, Philip s James gardener to Thomas Butler Jan 1719 Painters

Greenwood, John s John husbandman to John Miller Apr 1648 Blacksmiths

Predy, James s James husbandman to Isaac Worley Feb 1682 Painters

Taylor, Edmund s Thomas husbandman to Henry Lane Nov 1694 Blacksmiths

Worley, Isaac s William husbandman to John Vere Jul 1669 Painters

Hanwell Oxford

Bowers, Thomas s Samuel yeoman to Thomas Obbinson Mar 1701 Tallow
Chandlers

Eglington, James s James mason to Richard Williams Dec 1711 Tallow
Chandlers

Garner, William s Mathew husbandman to Robert Tully May 1710
Blacksmiths

Hardwick Oxford

Bullocke, John s William yeoman to John Kingstone Mar 1641 Blacksmiths

Bullocke, John s William yeoman to John Kingstone Mar 1641 Blacksmiths

Davis, John s Thomas yeoman to John Chitham Jul 1699 Butchers

Hook Norton Oxford

Clark, Anthony s Robert labourer to Robert Lane Nov 1594 Butchers

Clerke, Thomas s John smith to John Rumney Apr 1611 Blacksmiths

Croker, Michael s John esquire to Thomas Styles Jun 1611 Skinners

Gran, Nathaniel s Anthony husbandman to William Harwood Oct 1721
Butchers

Haines, Joseph s Thomas tailor to Edward Rogers Jul 1717 Butchers

Harrod, William s Nathaniel yeoman to John Perren Jan 1700 Butchers

Harwood, William s John yeoman to Anthony Ridley Jan 1718 Butchers

Parran, Thomas s Moses yeoman to Thomas Braine Dec 1689 Butchers

Prescott, Ingles s Alexander blacksmith to Richard Stock Nov 1696 Butchers

Smith, John s Richard yeoman to Henry Hilliard Dec 1677 Painters
Tredwell, Thomas s Richard labourer to Ralph Norton Dec 1707 Butchers
Young, Nathaniel s Nathaniel husbandman to Edward Holland Aug 1708
Turners

Hornton Oxford

Crosse, William s William yeoman to John Moncks Nov 1634 Tallow
Chandlers

Ledwell Oxford

Thompson, Thomas s William yeoman to John Hornidge Feb 1751
Apothecaries

Little Bourton Oxford

Borton, Richard s William husbandman to Richard Strank Feb 1681 Feltmakers

Little Tew Oxford

Calcutt, Richard s Walter yeoman to Simon Dolby Jun 1692 Butchers

Middleton Cheney Northampton

Cannon, William s William yeoman to Robert Sellowe Jan 1638 Butchers
Collins, Robert s Thomas husbandman to John Cooke Aug 1680 Feltmakers
Cosby, Francis s Thomas labourer to William Pace Dec 1690 Blacksmiths
Golbey, William s Nicholas mason to William Twelves Nov 1681 Blacksmiths
Malche, William s Fulk yeoman to William Hancock Aug 1618 Skinners

Milcomb Oxford

Makepeace, Richard s John yeoman to Samuel Burton Jan 1675 Turners

Milton Oxford

Bell, Charles s Charles husbandman to Edward Grove Feb 1697 Blacksmiths
Deakers, Thomas s Thomas husbandman to Anthony Martin Jan 1659
Butchers
Eustace, Richard s Hugh yeoman to Robert Bristo Sep 1632 Tallow Chandlers
Loe, Thomas s William gentleman to Arthur Reeves Oct 1692 Apothecaries
Olive, John s John farmer to Thomas Soden Apr 1715 Blacksmiths
Olive, John s John husbandman to Thomas Soden Feb 1716 Blacksmiths
Rawly, Henry s Henry husbandman to James Pipes Apr 1626 Blacksmiths
Smith, John s Philip husbandman to John English Jun 1611 Blacksmiths
Smith, Walter s William labourer to John Vaile Nov 1686 Blacksmiths
Starkye, John s Richard yeoman to John Harrison Jun 1624 Turners

Neithrop Oxford

Southam, Daniel s Richard husbandman to Richard Acton Apr 1663 Turners

Over Worton Oxford

Mees, Mathew s Robert esquire to Thomas Jenerye Jul 1648 Skinners

Shutford Oxford

Davis, Richard s John yeoman to Robert Fawcett Nov 1673 Tallow Chandlers

Sibford Oxford

Gunne, Isaac s Richard yeoman to Ralph Blackburny Feb 1632 Butchers

Souldern Oxford

Dawkin, Henry s Henry husbandman to Thomas Abrahall Aug 1666 Skinners

South Newington Oxford

Curnocke, Philip s William butcher to William Maul Jul 1688 Blacksmiths

French, Robert s Thomas farmer to John Perry Nov 1748 Tallow Chandlers

French, Thomas s Thomas husbandman to Robert French Mar 1760 Tallow
Chandlers

Tay, Richard s William husbandman to John Tay May 1694 Blacksmiths

Tustian, Richard s Richard yeoman to Richard Burnby Nov 1657 Tallow
Chandlers

Swerford Oxford

Day, Robert s William labourer to George French Nov 1703 Turners

Hands, Edward s John yeoman to William Bowler Feb 1648 Turners

West, Henry s William miller to John Alderman Dec 1631 Blacksmiths

Tadmarton Oxford

Pargiter, Joseph s Roger yeoman to Robert Smith May 1692 Apothecaries

Wardington Oxford

Bull, William s William husbandman to Thomas Winspeare Dec 1708
Blacksmiths

Gill, Thomas s Robert husbandman to John Wood Dec 1687 Blacksmiths

Muddin, John s John yeoman to Robert Rayton Jun 1703 Tallow Chandlers

Short, Richard s Thomas yeoman to Edmund Barcock Jun 1654 Tallow
Chandlers

Wadey, John s John carpenter to Robert Hoe Mar 1709 Blacksmiths

Wigginton Oxford

Geery, Jasper s Henry yeoman to Daniel Child Nov 1670 Tallow Chandlers

Williamscoth Oxford

Garner, Gabriel s Gabriel husbandman to Andrew Holchepe Jan 1607
Blacksmiths

Wroxton Oxford

Barcklett, William s John husbandman to Edmund Ruggman Jun 1615
Blacksmiths

Cox, Moses s George husbandman to Edmund Rugman Oct 1626 Blacksmiths

Goodwyne, Thomas s Richard smith to William Hale May 1608 Skinners

Graunt, William s Richard husbandman to Nehemiah Wallington Aug 1637
Turners

Mills, Richard s John husbandman to Richard Robynson Jun 1627 Skinners

Mountfort, John s John gentleman to Roger Toogood Aug 1655 Tallow
Chandlers

Robinson, Richard s Richard husbandman to William Hayle Jan 1609 Skinners

Tasker, Henry s George husbandman to Ralph Tasker Oct 1649 Blacksmiths

Tasker, Thomas s George husbandman to Ralph Tasker May 1646 Blacksmiths

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

Aynho Northampton

Aram, John s Robert yeoman to Samuel Williams Dec 1746 Painters

Burton, Edmund s Joshua gentleman to William Ellis Jun 1728 Painters

Cambridge, Robert s Robert gentleman to Timothy Matthews Dec 1744
Skinners

Coates, James s Benjamin to Edward Butcher Jul 1738 Tallow Chandlers

Gabell, William s Henry clerk to William Heckford Nov 1757 Apothecaries

Garrett, Thomas s Thomas maltster to William Debnam May 1669 Turners

Gilbert, Thomas s John gentleman to Josiah Higden Apr 1758 Apothecaries

Lane, John s William yeoman to William Harris Apr 1761 Painters

Marshall, John s Charles farmer to William Lucas Oct 1756 Tallow Chandlers

Watts, Robert s shepherd to George Stretton Apr 1613 Butchers

Chacombe Northampton

Shrosebury, Mathew s John yeoman to John Draper Jul 1673 Butchers

Chipping Warden Northampton

Lovell, Charles s Richard farmer to James Stratford Aug 1784 Butchers

Meacocke, Henry s John yeoman to Roger Deacon Dec 1594 Skinners

Farthinghoe Northampton

Adames, Robert s Thomas to Zachary Bennet Dec 1587 Skinners

Dunckley, Arthur s John yeoman to William Slutter Aug 1618 Turners

Kings Sutton Northampton

Carpenter, Thomas s John carpenter to Edmund Carpenter Jun 1737 Turners

Clarke, Henry s George butcher to John Jeffkins Oct 1743 Turners

Jarvis, William s Robert husbandman to Uriah Graygoose May 1674 Butchers

**Jufkings, Charles s Thomas husbandman to Edmund Carpenter Feb 1713
Turners**

Jufkins, John s Thomas yeoman to Charles Jufkins May 1725 Turners

**Kendricke, Thomas s Robert esquire to Peter Gelsthropp Jul 1680
Apothecaries**

Parris, Joseph s William husbandman to Edward Walker Apr 1637 Turners

Rawesam, John s Edward labourer to John Wilkinson Sep 1638 Blacksmiths

**Tibbets, Jeremiah s Jeremiah husbandman to Edmund Carpenter May 1716
Turners**

Wyatt, Thomas s John yeoman to John Lowe Feb 1726 Tallow Chandlers

Warkworth Northampton

Leake, Thomas s John tailor to Thomas Pemberton Nov 1668 Butchers

WARWICKSHIRE

Avon Dassett Warwick

Alman, John s William yeoman to Richard Deakes Feb 1618 Skinners

Burton Dassett Warwick

**Buckstone, George s Thomas husbandman to Thomas Hatton Jul 1641 Tallow
Chandlers**

Green, Philip s Henry weaver to Thomas Lee Jan 1705 Butchers

Tustian, Thomas s Baruch yeoman to George Stretton Jul 1618 Butchers

Usher, William s Thomas butcher to Thomas Wight Oct 1633 Butchers

Farnborough Warwick

Durhamy, Jonathan s William yeoman to John Ely Mar 1759 Blacksmiths

Holbech, Charles s William esquire to Edward Goodfellow Jul 1720 Skinners

**Rathbone, George s Martin gentleman to Thomas Burdett Sep 1675 Tallow
Chandlers**

**Tusten, Thomas s John husbandman to Lawrence Garrett Jun 1641
Blacksmiths**

Fenny Compton Warwick

Bustin, Charles s John butcher to Luke Sherborn May 1783 Butchers

Maycock, William s Thomas husbandman to Richard Cowdery Feb 1711
Blacksmiths

Pearson, John s William labourer to William Maycock Sep 1723 Blacksmiths

Quinney, John s Thomas butcher to Thomas Dance Aug 1669 Turners

Watts, Aaron s Richard carpenter to Richard Watts Aug 1675 Turners

Willes, William s Richard to Edward Hamond Nov 1608 Skinners

North End Warwick

Tooley, John s William husbandman to Thomas Briggs Jun 1682 Blacksmiths

Shotteswell Warwick

Harris, John s Geoge tailor to John Broxon Apr 1651 Blacksmiths

Warmington Warwick

Goodwin, Job s Henry blacksmith to John Reynolds Nov 1650 Skinners

The will of Richard Showell of Banbury, mercer, dated 1610,
leaves 'my best cloake and my best ruffe band' to 'my brother
[-in-law] John Tanner, 'Citizen and Grocer of London.'

Banbury Wills and Inventories, no.117, BHS 13.

WHAT HAPPENED TO YOUNGER SONS?

Deborah Hayter

*'BENEFACTIONS. HAYNES'S GIFT. The sum of £100, bequeathed by John Haynes in 1688, the interest to be distributed among poor persons of the parish not receiving parochial aid, has been applied towards the purchase of a poor-house for the parish, and the yearly sum of £5 is paid under the denomination of rent by the parish officers in respect of this charity.'*¹

John Haynes' will, copied in the nineteenth century and now in the Northamptonshire Record Office [NRO ZA 204], reveals him to have been a carpenter "of St James' parish in Westminster". He had obviously done well, as, quite apart from the "residue and household goods" which were to go to his "dear wife", the sole executrix, he owned various properties in Westminster which were to be sold to pay for his legacies, which totalled £435. These included gifts to various nephews and nieces (he seemed to have no children of his own), £25 in bread and clothes for the poor of St James Westminster, £60 for his own funeral and £60 for that of his wife, of which £10 was to be expended "in a stone with a memorial thereon of me in some humble and decent inscription"; but the largest legacy was the £100 which he bequeathed "to the poore of Kings Sutton in the County of Northampton the place of my nativity ... to be disposed of by the minister and churchwardens". After his wife's death the residue of his estate was to go to Thomas Haynes the younger of Kings Sutton, who seems to have been his nephew.

This Thomas Haynes is revealed in the Kings Sutton Churchwardens' accounts to be farming one yardland and owning two cottages.² He had inherited the elder son's portion – the family farm – while the younger had gone off to London to seek his fortune. Primogeniture – the unquestioned assumption that only the eldest son would inherit the family business, whether it be gentry estate, a village smithy, a farm large or small – meant that younger sons had to be provided for in other ways, and apprenticeship was one of those ways.

¹ G.T. Baker: *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton* (1836-1841), vol.1, p.701.

² Paul Hayter (ed.): *Kings Sutton Churchwardens' Accounts 1636-1700*, B.H.S. vol. 27 (2001).

We are grateful to Cliff Webb for making available to us the list of apprentices from Banbury and the surrounding villages, which he has extracted from the records of the London Livery Companies. We hope that this might provide the raw material for local and family historians to pursue their own researches. It would be interesting to know how many of those who went off, like Dick Whittington, to seek their fortunes, returned home having made money, or where they set up their businesses. Their own or their fathers' wills might reveal this. How many, like John Haynes, left money to the "place of his nativity", or to other charitable causes?

A number of those in the list are the sons of gentlemen: the problem of the younger sons of the gentry was particularly acute in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before the rise of the professions which provided respectable employment for those who were born and bred as gentry but grew up without income.³ In his study of the Civil War gentry of Surrey, Cliff Webb has found that the first sons of the gentry were very unlikely to be apprenticed, the second sons twice as often, but that approximately half of the third sons were apprenticed. So it would be interesting to know whether this is true of the gentry sons we have represented here.

For any local or family historians out there who would like to pursue any of these questions, the place to start would be, after preliminary checking with parish registers, the wills, of the fathers and the sons.

In Oxfordshire, registers of *all* parishes in the (pre-1974) county have been transcribed and indexed, available at Oxfordshire Studies (Oxford Central Library) and Oxfordshire Record Office. Moreover many for the north of the county should be at the Centre for Banburyshire Studies. These can confirm the baptism, some dozen to fifteen years earlier, of the apprentice, and the name of his father. The burial register can show the date of death of the father and thus when to seek the will. Indexes to probate records in the Oxford diocese have been published for the whole period, 1516-1857, and the records themselves are at Oxfordshire Record Office. Probate records for the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (P.C.C.) are at The National Archives (P.R.O.), for which published indexes are available to 1700 (detailed), 1750-1800 (much less so), whilst the Society of Genealogists holds a microform index for 1701-1749.

We would be pleased to publish the results of any such research.

³ See J. Thirsk: 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century' in *History* 54 (1969), pp.358-377.

Book Reviews

Sanderson Miller and his Landscapes, Jennifer Meir, (hardback, Pp.xii & 260, 39 plates, 121 illus.), ISBN 1-86077-387-7, Price £30. Chichester, Phillimore, 2006.

The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway, William Hawkes, editor, (Pp.xiv & 449, 46 illus.), ISBN 0-85220-084-6. Dugdale Society Publications 41, in association with the Shakespear Birthplace Trust, 2006. Issued to subscribers.

Banbury and its neighbourhood has not been much of a nursery for architects. Many years ago, an architect whom I used to know set up in business there because, on graduating, it seemed to him that there would be less competition in Banbury than anywhere else in the country. Philip Webb, William Morris's close friend and one of the most important architects of the late nineteenth century, attended Aynho grammar school, but he disliked it and in any case his home was in Oxford. Probably the area's most distinguished architect – albeit an amateur – was Sanderson Miller, the eighteenth century squire of Radway, and though he has been known about for many years, suddenly two books about him have appeared together, one a biography and the other an edition of his two surviving diaries.

Their appearance together is coincidental, but they are not in competition. Jennifer Meir's biography, though starting with an account of his life and placing his commissions securely in the context of his circle of friends and connections, is mainly concerned with his buildings and (still more) with the parks and landscapes that he laid out. William Hawkes's edition of the diaries, undertaken with the late Anthony Wood, discusses his life and his buildings in a long introduction, but the transcriptions that form the bulk of the book describe his day-to-day activities, social and as a landlord quite as much as architectural. The works are complementary, and anyone who wants to know about Miller will need both.

Miller's reputation has rested on his work as one of the earliest architects of the gothic revival: most readers will be familiar with Egge Cottage and the Edge Hill tower which he built in 1745-50, overlooking the site of

the battle. The ruined castle that he built soon afterwards at Hagley for his friend George Lyttleton was famously praised for its authentic appearance by Horace Walpole. But Jennifer Meir has set out to establish his importance as a landscape architect, and in this she has succeeded. The fact that Miller's advice seems often to have been given informally and for nothing, in walking round their grounds with his friends, has meant that there is not a vast body of plans, drawings, bills and the like (which professional commissions might have generated) on which to draw, and often his work has to be identified by inference: by a line or two in a letter, or a brief diary entry which served to point Dr. Meir in the direction of further sources which she has explored thoroughly. And she has drawn attention to his possible influence on Capability Brown.

Thorough, too, has been her search for Miller's surviving work, and even after two hundred and fifty years she has found a surprising amount. Particularly satisfying are her descriptions of a number of places near Banbury where Miller's advice was obviously taken, and where her evident pleasure in tracing on the ground the work that was done – the terracing, the tree planting, the ponds and water-courses and the garden buildings of which sometimes only the foundations still just survive – shows in the ease and clarity with which she writes about it. By profession, Jennifer Meir is herself a landscape gardener, and her eye for a landscape certainly shows. I have not walked around Radway, Farnborough or Honington with her book in my hand, but it would be interesting and enjoyable to do so.

Dr. Meir is rightly interested in the ideology behind the gothic ruins and the naturalistic landscapes that Miller purveyed and with which his grand friends liked to improve their grounds; she rightly recognises that these were often seen at the time as symbols of British liberties – of what were believed to be immemorial traditions of freedom from royal tyranny, guaranteed by hard-won, ancient laws. Such an ideology, of course, precisely suited the Whig aristocracy who in the mid-eighteenth century ruled through their domination of Parliament. (The fullest expression of this ideology is at Stowe, where there were – and remain – all sorts of temples dedicated to such concepts. The gothic temple at Stowe is one such, where Miller may have been responsible for the decoration of the ceiling with the imaginary coats of arms of Saxon kings.) Old castles – even invented ones – stood for Old England.

But to claim, as she does, that ‘the Gothic Revival had its origins in a literary movement interested in fantastic and romantic history’ is either a wild misunderstanding of the seventeenth century historical scholarship that lay behind this belief in ancient liberties, or else refers to the late-eighteenth century gothic romances like *The Castle of Otranto* which actually post-dated the early gothic revival buildings that she is writing about. And to state that ‘the Saxons had submitted to the Romans’ is something that even Whig aristocrats never believed. Probably Dr. Meir does not believe it either, but her editors ought to have realised that when she wrote Romans she meant Normans (or, instead of Saxons, the Britons). Her endeavour to place Miller’s work in a broad social, intellectual and ideological context, though brave, leads her into inaccuracies and misleading over-simplifications, and her book is best used as a straight-forward descriptive account of Sanderson Miller’s known work and of the circumstances in which it was undertaken. But why, in the lists of his architectural work at the back, are Edge Hill Tower and the next-door Egge Cottage – both of which she describes earlier on – not included?

The list in William Hawkes’s book is more complete. Hawkes is an architect who has worked on buildings which Sanderson Miller designed, and he has been familiar with Miller for nearly forty years. The late Anthony Wood, who was initially to have been the principal editor of the two diaries which the Dugdale Society has just published, was Warwickshire County Archivist, and his standards of research and editing were of the highest. But these have been maintained by Will Hawkes, and although he makes generous acknowledgement to Tony it is just that Hawkes’s name should be on the title page. His book is a model of its kind.

In an introduction, Hawkes paints an informative and delightful picture of Miller’s life – of his daily routines, his growing family, his practical, well-connected and much-admired wife, and their large circle of friends. Hawkes’s understanding of the social context is sounder than Meir’s is. Miller’s grandfather had been a member of the gentry; his father, a younger son, had (like so many of his class) had to make his own way in trade, but he had succeeded in doing so to the extent of being able to buy the Radway estate a few years before he died, thus re-establishing his son in the class in which he himself had been born. Miller’s own charm,

knowledge, talents and tact did the rest, making him a favourite guest with the Temples at Stowe, the Lyttletons at Hagley, the Coventrys at Croome, the Hardwicks at Wimpole and many others, and accepted in the public duties that were then the natural responsibilities of the county elite. 'There is a certain simplicity and ingenuity in your Carriage and Discourse which in a week discovers your worth and goodness as much as if one had known you a year' wrote Lord Dacre to him.

For landowners keen to display not only their property but their taste in laying it out, Miller's experience and taste provided guidance and ideas, probably the more welcome because given informally and for nothing by a member of their own social class. In an age when culture was valued more in the parsonage and the country house than at the universities, Miller was bookish without being boring; at a time when there was a widespread interest in antiquities, Miller could design brand-new architectural antiques. It is questionable whether he shared all of his friends the Temples' political beliefs; he kept out of politics, seems (like many of the squirearchy) to have had romantic leanings toward the Jacobites, and his own enthusiasm for gothic was probably more the expression of his long-standing interest in history and historical remains than in any personal wish – like the Temples - to make a political point. In any case, as Hawkes says, gothic buildings, like Chinese, could just be indulged in as fashionable fun.

As an architect, Hawkes is perceptive in his descriptions of Miller's work and of its relationship to other buildings and designers of the early gothic revival. Miller's library included many of the standard architectural works of the age, but these were, necessarily, about classical buildings rather than about gothic ones on which there was as yet virtually no literature other than engravings in a relatively small number of historical works such as Dugdale's *Warwickshire* and *Monasticon*. The classical models were useful to Miller in his own classical works – notably the County Hall at Warwick and Hagley Hall. But otherwise, for gothic he had to rely on his observation and his memory, and though to our eyes his buildings look very unlike genuine medieval ones, it is clear that they satisfied contemporaries very well.

The bulk of William Hawkes's book is a transcription of Miller's two surviving diaries and of a memoir of a friend – which actually tells us more about Miller. The transcription is exemplary. Most of the entries are

about his day-to-day activities – whom he visited, who came to see him, the sermon in church, what he read, what was the weather, and on the face of it this sounds boring. But two things make the difference. One is that his entries, however brief, somehow evoke pictures: ‘Dined on venison pasty at the Castle,’ ‘Went to see the reapers with the children,’ ‘Measuring tapestry and contriving where to put it up in the new house,’ ‘Rode to Tysoe windmill, which was surprisingly damaged by lightning on Tuesday the twentieth instant,’ ‘Went in landau to Swalcliffe with wife, Nanny and boys. Robert thrown off the box. Not hurt.’ The other is the extraordinary lengths to which the editors have gone to identify, and if called for to describe, the books, places, people, activities and buildings that are named in the diaries themselves. The result is a book that will be usefully consulted and referred to by anyone interested in the life of the mid-eighteenth century, and although most of the entries, inevitably, relate to the immediate neighbourhood of Radway and to the daily round of the conscientious squire, Miller’s wide acquaintance brings in men, women and places from further afield and a wide social spectrum.

But despite all his friends and interests, either his hard work, his exceptional conscientiousness, or some more deep-seated cause increasingly drove Miller towards – and finally deep into – what we would now know as clinical depression. His loyal and practical wife did what she could. His friends offered advice and sympathy. Such afflictions were hardly understood at the time, and much of Miller’s later life was spent in what, in effect, was a private asylum. This was evidently run humanely, and although occasional remissions allowed him periods at home, his illness cut him off more and more from his earlier life. It is sad that a man who evidently brought so much pleasure to the lives of his family and his friends should latterly have derived so little from his own. But there are now few greater pleasures, in the countryside around Banbury, than to walk on Miller’s long terrace at Farnborough, to enjoy the view, to rest afterwards in his little oval summer house at the end and to remember gratefully the man who created them.

Nicholas Cooper

OBITUARY

Penelope Renold, M.A., F.R.Hist.S., 1916-2006

I first met Penelope at a meeting of the Oxfordshire Family History Society, still in its early years, around 1980. I had helped found that Society, and was editor of its journal *Oxfordshire Family History*. She had recently moved from Newbury to north Oxford.

Fortuitously for us, she had a few days before visited Banbury and its museum, and had somehow learned of the official journal kept by the keeper of Banbury Gaol between 1829 and 1838, still in the museum's possession. Already an historical scholar, she was seeking a worthwhile project, and I was able to encourage her in her interest in this rare if not unique survival of a rural gaoler's journal. As long ago as January 1965 (*C&CH* 2.11) the late Alan Pain had written a brief article about this unusual book. Penelope embarked on the task of utilising the existing transcript and analysing what was indeed a fascinating record, like the later published but two-centuries-earlier 'Bawdy Court' volume: both reveal the seamier side of life in Banbury, much more fun than sanitised accounts in more formal records.

The eventual records volume (no. 21), *Banbury Gaol Records*, published in 1987, was undoubtedly one of our most unusual and entertaining volumes. Reviews in *C&CH* 10.6 by our vice-president Barrie Trinder and in *Oxoniensia* 52 by Geoffrey Stevenson (editor of the forthcoming Risley diaries) were amongst those who welcomed the work done not merely on the actual gaoler's journal, but also what could be discovered of the gaol itself before and later, and the relevant local and national administrative records.

This was (being published) Penelope's enduring legacy to our Society. She also contributed regularly to *C&CH* – her article on William Rusher, of *Banbury List* and chapbook fame (11.9), particularly comes to mind – and only in our last issue I mentioned the entertaining extracts she provided from the mid-nineteenth century *Banbury Guardian*.

However, that was just the lasting contribution she made to our Society. Of equal importance, though transitory and thus unsung, was her work as programme secretary, from 1985 until 1992, remaining a committee member for another two years. Our Society is fortunate in having such dedicated programme organisers – half a dozen talks a year. Somehow over nearly fifty years we have maintained a standard of excellence in which Penelope was in no way unique – the late John Rivers and the now-retiring Nick Allen show this. Nevertheless such a rôle is essential to our Society.

Although she had retired from our committee over ten years ago, she remained an enthusiastic member regularly attending our meetings and excursions. A month or two ago she was entertained by nephews and nieces at a ninetieth birthday party. She was with me at Kelmscott and especially enjoyed Great Coxwell Barn when we went there on Thursday 22nd June. She died that Sunday.

J.S.W.G.

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 historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Well over a hundred issues and some three hundred articles have been published. Most back issues are still available and out-of-print issues can if required be photocopied.

Records series:

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

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

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).

Oxfordshire and North Berkshire Protestation Returns and Tax Assessments 1641-1642 (vol. 24).

The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury and Cropredy 1625-38, ed. R.K. Gilkes (vol. 26).

King's Sutton Churchwardens' Accounts 1636-1700, ed. Paul Hayter (vol. 27).

The Banbury Chapbooks, by Dr Leo John de Freitas (vol. 28).

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

In preparation:

Selections from the *Diaries of William Cotton Risley*, ed. G.W. Smedley-Stevenson:

Part 1: *Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848*;

Part 2: *Squarson of Deddington 1849-1869*.

Turnpike Roads to Banbury, by Alan Rosevear.

The Society is always interested to receive suggestions of records suitable for publication, backed by offers of help with transcription, editing and indexing.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. on the second Thursday of each month, at Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local historical, archaeological and architectural subjects. Excursions are arranged in the spring and summer, and the A.G.M. is usually held at a local country house.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer being needed. The annual subscription is **£10.00** including any records volumes published, or **£7.50** if these are not required; overseas membership, **£12.00**.