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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.**

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Cake and Cockhorse

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

Volume 17

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Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration Saturday 20th October 2007

Next season will be the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Banbury Historical Society. The committee is planning a special day of celebration at Wroxton Abbey to mark this milestone, and we hope that many members of the society – both new and of long-standing – will wish to join us.

Wroxton Abbey is not open to the public as it is a college of Fairleigh Dickinson University whose main campus is in New Jersey, U.S.A. It is a wonderful house with a long and interesting history, and we are delighted that we have been able to book it for what should be a fascinating day.

Besides the opportunity to go round the house (and the grounds, if the weather permits) we have two distinguished speakers. Nicholas Cooper, who will be known to many members, will explain the architectural history of the Abbey. In the afternoon Professor Jeremy Black, of Exeter University, will give us a lecture about Lord North, who lived in the house and was, whilst Member of Parliament for the Borough of Banbury, Prime Minister to George III. His title will be '*Was Lord North wrong? Could Britain have won the American War of Independence?*'

There will also be lunch, coffee on arrival, and tea before departure. The price will be £15 to members, though as the actual costs are more than this we rely on additional donations as well. Please put the date in your diaries **now**.

D.H.

*Cover: A Civil War Siege (from *Edgehill and Beyond*, Philip Tennant, BHS 23)*

The DUKE of CUMBERLAND and the MUMMERS

Kevin Lodge, Eydon Mummers

One of the traditional pleasures of Christmas time was the arrival of the Mummers, whose anarchic pantomime fight between some hero like Saint George and his enemy, the Bold Slasher or the Turkish Knight, ended with the death of one of them, only for him to be brought back to life, after much 'business', by a quack Doctor. Until recently, if you asked the history of these plays, you would be told of pagan origins, with even hints of human sacrifice. If asked for evidence for this, an ahistorical mishmash of examples would be cited, from around the world and across time, without any explanation as to why or how these influenced Britain's Mummers' plays.

Modern scholars of Mumming plays, mindful of the excesses of their predecessors, are wisely unwilling to go beyond what the written evidence can prove. Thus, although a history of Mumming in Britain can be traced back to ceremonies at the Royal Court at the time of King Richard II's reign in 1377, records of Mummers' plays only date back to the later Antiquarian period, from the middle to late eighteenth century. Although there is an argument (see Appendix) that this is more to do with the history of Antiquarian interest in popular culture rather than the history of the Mumming plays themselves, modern scholars are reluctant to concede that the plays originate much before 1750.

Current studies of a wide range of documents have now thrown much light on various aspects of Mumming during this later period, such as the influence of theatrical plays, of pantomimes and of the *commedia dell'arte*. They have not yet however identified the source of either of the two most characteristic features of the Mummers' plays: the formula "In comes I..." and the fight, death and bringing back to life again motif. Nor have they found evidence for the existence of the plays back beyond around 1750.

There is however, a class of records that seem to have been little used in these studies, the internal evidence in the collected plays themselves. Although, due to the process of oral transmission of the script from one generation of mummers to the next (think of Chinese whispers), some of the plays are gibberish, there are still themes, phrases and characters that

hint of an earlier existence before the mid-eighteenth century. One of the best examples of these earlier characters is found in a group of plays collected from the villages around Banbury.

In these, to the east of the town, ranging from Eydon in the north, to Garsington (and Wooburn) in the south, the villain of the play is the Duke of Cumberland. To date, twenty plays or fragments of plays from fourteen different villages have been identified with a Duke of Cumberland (or Umberland, Thumberland, Blunderland etc) character. These villages are (from north to south): Eydon, Syresham, Sulgrave and Aynho (all in Northants.); Lower Heyford, Middle Barton, Oddington, Islip, Headington, Holton, Wheatley, Horspath and Garsington; and Wooburn in Bucks.¹

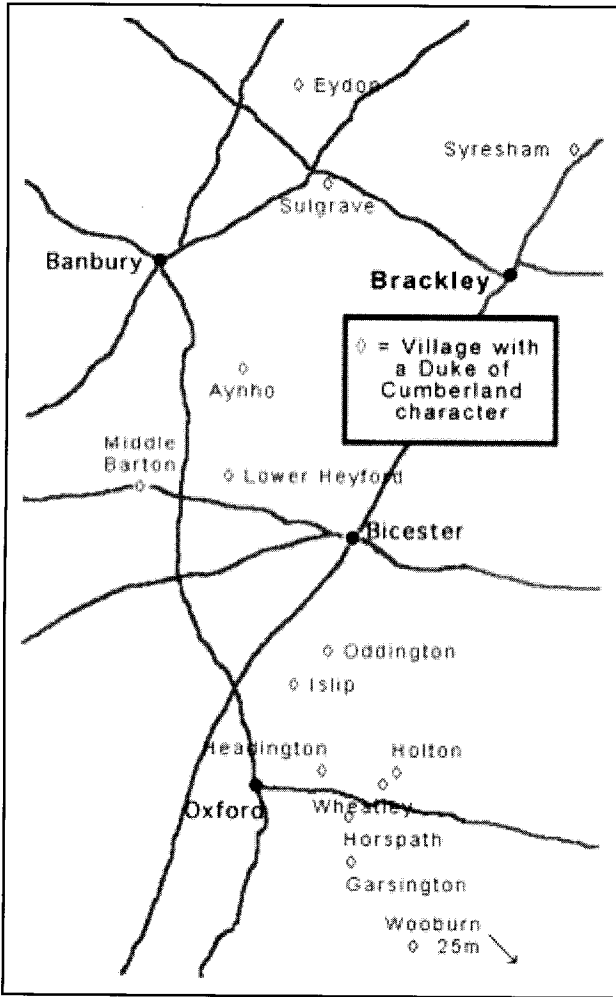
The Duke of Cumberland

The historical character usually identified as the inspiration for the Duke is either Prince George of Denmark (Duke of Cumberland from 1689 to 1708), who was married to James II's daughter Princess (later Queen) Anne, or William Augustus, the Hanoverian Royal Duke from 1726 to 1765, who was the victor at the Battle of Culloden in 1745. Ernest Augustus, fifth son of George III, made Duke in 1799 and who later became King of Hanover in 1837, has also been suggested. The main criteria for suggesting these candidates appear to be that their dates are compatible with the modern theory for the history of Mumming plays.

The problem with all these candidates is that there are no reasons given as to why this particular Duke, rather than say the Duke of Norfolk or Kent; nor why this particular Duke of Cumberland; or even why these particular villages near Banbury, and no others, chose to put a Duke of Cumberland into their Mummers' play. Prince George lived in seclusion before Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702 and died without issue in 1708. As far as we know William Augustus (or any of the others) had no land or interests around here, certainly not in south Northamptonshire, and he probably never visited the area. The fame and achievements of Ernest Augustus seem to have died with him.²

¹ Details and sources for all the plays are to be found in *In Comes I, the Duke of Cumberland*, Kevin Lodge, Traditional Drama Forum, No. 10, April 2004, on line at: http://www.folkplay.info/Forum/TD_Forum_10_Duke.htm ; apart from Aynho and Syresham, for which see *Folklore of Northamptonshire*, Peter Hill, Tempus Press, Stroud, 2005, p.221, ISBN 0 7524 3522 1.

² *HRH The Dukedom of Cumberland and Teviotdale* at <http://hereditarytitles.com/Page34.html>



North Oxfordshire and south Northamptonshire

There is however one other candidate Duke of Cumberland who can provide answers to all these questions. In early 1644, during the Civil War, King Charles I set up a parallel parliament to the one in London at his capital of Oxford. To enable Prince Rupert of the Rhine, nephew of the King – effectively Commander in Chief for the first part of the Civil War and his most dashing cavalry commander – to take a seat in the House of Lords, he was, before January 1644, created a peer with the English titles of the Earl of Holderness and the Duke of Cumberland.³

For most of the Civil War the King's capital remained at Oxford, surrounded by a ring of outlying defensive garrisons, including Banbury to the north. Now, all the sources of the Duke of Cumberland plays (except Middle Barton and Wooburn) lie to the east of the Oxford/Banbury axis (see Map). This was, for most of the war, just about the only semi-stable frontier between the two sides and as such was much fought over. These were disputed lands, between the Royalist garrisons of Banbury and Oxford and the Parliamentary regions to the east. These twelve villages would be subjected, from 1642 onwards, to pillaging and 'taxation' from both sides.

And chief amongst the pillagers was Prince Rupert. It is difficult even now to distinguish fact from propaganda about participants in the English Civil War, but it does seem that Prince Rupert had an unenviable reputation for pillaging.⁴ Let us for example, look at what happened in south Northamptonshire, the area around Eydon, Sulgrave and Syresham, in 1643, the second year of the war. In January, we find a force of Royalist troops led by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton raiding up towards Daventry from Banbury, looking for horses and weapons. They are reported to have stolen over twelve hundred horses, leaving many villages without horses to plough or to carry.⁵ Throughout the autumn it was reported that the area bounded by Banbury, Daventry and Towcester was the scene of heavy skirmishing, much of it led by the Prince.⁶ Finally, in October of the same year, Prince Rupert based himself at Towcester, and 'scoured' all the region between Banbury and Northampton.

³ As footnote 2, *Dukedom*....

⁴ *Going to the Wars; The Experience of the British Civil Wars, 1638 - 1651*, Charles Carlton, 1992, Routledge, ISBN 0-415-03282-2.

⁵ *Edgehill and Beyond. The People's War in the South Midlands, 1642-1645*, Philip Tennant, Banbury Historical Society vol. 23 and Alan Sutton, 1992, ISBN 0-7509-0049-0, p.82.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.122.



Prince Rupert, from a Parliamentary account of his burning of Birmingham in 1643. Also shown is the Prince's dog, Boye.

Certainly Eydon for one felt itself to have suffered from the Royalists. When in 1646 it presented an account of Parliamentary damages to the village, it included at the bottom (later crossed out by someone) the line "~~But of ye Cavalleers, Honerilla lachrimae~~".⁷ This is a Latin tag, "Hunc Illia Lachrimme", meaning 'and hence these tears', implying that it is with the Cavaliers that their true troubles lay.

Although the evidence given here only relates to the events in south Northamptonshire, it is likely that similar stories could be told about all the villages in this disputed zone. We know for example that Islip was used as a Royalist regimental winter quarters in the first winter of the war and was

⁷ TNA/PRO Ref: SP28/239 - State Papers, Commonwealth. Eydon, Northants., Submission of costs to County Committee. 1646.

garrisoned thereafter. This garrison was strong enough to repulse a force of 2,700 Parliamentary troopers sent to seize its river crossing in the following summer.⁸ There must have been more fighting there later as the chancel of the church subsequently needed complete rebuilding after the war.⁹

Aynho seems not to have been garrisoned continuously, although it was the base for three troops of the King's horsemen in the winter of 1643/4.¹⁰ It was also used as headquarters at times by both sides. The King stayed in John Cartwright's house after the Battles of Edgehill and Cropredy Bridge and Lord Essex, leading the Parliamentary Army to relieve Gloucester in September 1643, also made his headquarters there. In the summer of 1643, the Queen, along with a convoy of arms and munitions from the Continent, made her way south from York towards Oxford. Prince Rupert was charged with her protection and troops were quartered on all possible routes that the convoy might take. "Then Banbury, and the villages along its various axial routes, like Aynho, must have witnessed almost continuous movement, quarter and plunder..."¹¹

Further south, Wheatley also had its band of soldiers, being at this time a 'Court of Guard' on the road between Oxford and London.¹²

These, of course, are examples from military histories and what is needed is information on the impact of all this on the villagers, and their reactions to them. We need to know the local details of the constant grinding down, the 'taxation', the looting and pillaging. What is needed is an extension of Phillip Tennant's excellent work on the impact of the war on the people of the South Midlands down into the villages east and south of Banbury and Oxford. This is real *local* history, and more detailed work, ideally by local historians in the Oxfordshire villages, will be needed to build this up (any offers of help will be gratefully received!). This will hopefully confirm the presence of Prince Rupert and his troops in these border villages during the first two years of the Civil War.

The other two villages with a Duke of Cumberland character in their Mummings' plays are slightly different. Middle Barton, although close to the other Oxfordshire border villages, was always under Royalist control.

⁸ *Prince Rupert: Portrait of a Soldier*, Gen. Frank Kitson, Constable, 1998, ISBN 0-09-473700-2, p.126.

⁹ As footnote 5, *Edgehill...*, pp.82 and 230.

¹⁰ *Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, Vol. 3, Oxfordshire Record Soc., Vol. 29, 1952-3.

¹¹ As footnote 5, *Edgehill...*, p.114. See also 'The 1996 Broughton Coin Hoard', N.J. Mayhew and E.M. Besley, *C&CH* 15.7 (Autumn/Winter 2002), p.237.

¹² As footnote 10, *Sir Samuel Luke*.

It may be that its position, on the road halfway between Banbury and Oxford, with a road leading west to another garrison at Enstone, made it vulnerable to plundering from all three and from any armies going west to Chipping Norton. Again, a local historian's knowledge would help to find evidence of the hand of Prince Rupert here.

The final village with a Duke of Cumberland villain is different again from all the rest. Wooburn lies thirty miles to the east and south of Oxford, just off the London to Oxford Road. As such it was always under parliamentary control, but was still subjected to raids. For example, on 14th June 1643, Prince Rupert led a raid out of Oxford. He rode right through the middle of the Parliamentary Army, killed or captured 170 dragoons, almost captured the army's pay chest, fought a battle and returned through the enemy's ranks to Oxford with his prisoners, all inside 24 hours and with a loss of only twelve men. On that occasion the Prince was five miles from Wooburn, but in the following weeks the Prince and his commanders carried out more and more raids, so that "the citizens of London itself were suffering from these raids which denied them the produce of much of the surrounding countryside".¹³ One such raid on 25th June, by Col. Hurry, sacked Wycombe, just three miles from Wooburn.

There is another Prince Rupert connection with Wooburn, albeit a little convoluted. Wooburn was, during the Civil War, the home of Philip, 4th Baron Wharton, radical Parliamentarian and committed puritan. At the start of the war he commanded a regiment of foot and a troop of horse at the Battle of Edgehill. These may have been raised on his own lands: the extensive family estates in Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as his large holdings in Buckinghamshire. Whatever their composition, they were "ignominiously swept off the field by Prince Rupert's impetuous charge. Reporting to Parliament Wharton stated, 'Before there was any near excuse three or four of our regiments fairly ran away – Sir William Fairfax's, Sir Henry Cholmley's, my Lord Kimbolton's and, to say the plain truth, my own.' Consequently Wharton was himself accused of cowardice – not merely running away but hiding in a sawpit. In his official report of the engagement to Parliament he accused Prince Rupert of wanton cruelty after the battle was won. In reply Rupert published a pamphlet with the sawpit accusation. Thus started the unpleasant nickname – Sawpit Wharton – which provided his enemies with a taunt

¹³ As footnote 8, *Prince Rupert*, p.129.



Philip, Lord Wharton, about the age of 19, ten years before the Battle of Edgehill, painted by Van Dyke in 1632. Reproduced by kind permission from the original portrait in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

for the rest of his life”.¹⁴ So there would have been no love lost between the Lord of Wooburn and Prince Rupert.

Thus, if Prince Rupert was the source of the Duke of Cumberland characters in these Mummings’ plays, he would provide both the geographical spread and the motivation to be incorporated into them all. There remains however the slight problem that history remembers him as Prince Rupert, not as the Duke of Cumberland. He may not however, have been incorporated initially as ‘Duke of Cumberland’. There was published, presumably shortly after his elevation to the Dukedom, a Parliamentary lampoon that poked fun at him as “Prince Robber, Duke of Plunderland”.¹⁵ If this gained temporary popularity amongst the much plundered peasantry of Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, it might have struck a chord with the village wags and gained a place in their Mummings’

¹⁴ *Philip, Lord Wharton – Revolutionary Aristocrat?*, K.W. Wadsworth, United Reformed Church History Society Jnl., 4 (8), 1991.

Also on; users.argonet.co.uk/gmg/lowrow/Wharton.pdf

¹⁵ As footnote 4, *Going to the Wars*.

play (or whatever it was at the time). Over time, as the memory of the plundering faded and the process of oral transmission continued, the villagers lost the point of the lampoon and turned it back to Blunderland, Thumberland, Umberland – or even Cumberland.

The topicality of the Duke of Plunderland lampoon implies that it must have been incorporated into the village Mumming custom at the time, in the winter of 1643-4, clearly well before the currently accepted date of the mid-eighteenth century for the origins of Mummers' plays. The evidence from south Northamptonshire of the Prince's activities just prior to his elevation to the Dukedom provides strong support to his being a hate figure for the villages in that area. If further similar examples can be found in the Oxfordshire villages around Banbury, the additional weight of evidence for him being the inspiration for the Duke of Cumberland character in their village performances may be the first step in pushing the history of Mummers' plays back another one hundred years.



Appendix

The argument goes that cultural historians have been systematically searching for lines, plots or characters from the Mummers' plays in drama records from before Chaucer onwards, and have found nothing until the antiquarian writings of the mid-eighteenth century onwards. Because of this systematic search, the total absence of earlier records of the plays is taken to indicate that Mumming Plays did not exist before this time. This argument is set out in the books of Ronald Hutton.¹⁶

The counter argument is that when the antiquarians collected the plays, Mumming was an oral, largely domestic, working class custom, that would not of itself generate written records. Nor, in their round of working class homes and pubs, would they be likely to impinge often on other, official, record keepers such as the Church or the courts. It was not until the antiquarians of the eighteenth century started to take an interest in working class culture, and actively sought out customs such as Mumming, that descriptions and scripts of the Mummers plays are found in the records. It may be significant that the Rev. Henry Bourne, the first antiquary to publish a survey of "vulgar antiquities" in 1725, was possibly the first from the working class. He started work as a glazier's apprentice before being taken up by a charity in Newcastle upon Tyne and educated for the Church.

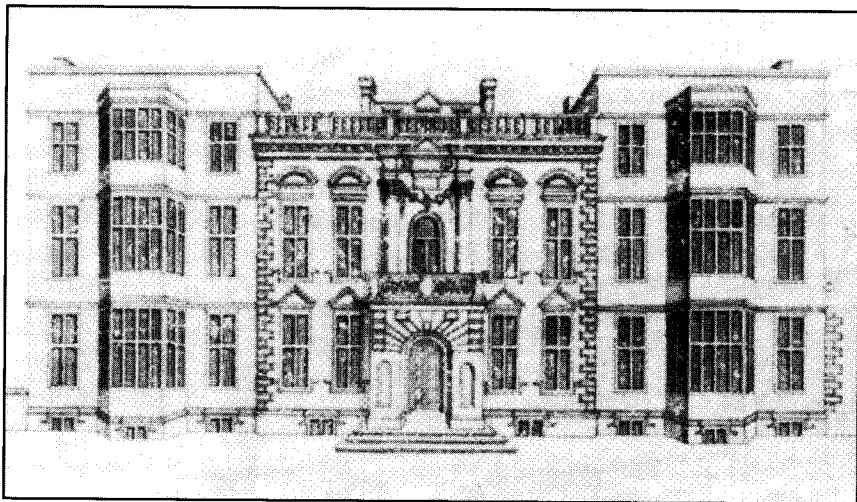
In this counter argument, the history of Mumming in England can be traced back to the court of Richard II.¹⁷ Thereafter this was an elaborate, masked, court entertainment, usually during the Christmas season, and usually done by amateurs – courtiers or even the King. Every monarch from Richard II to Elizabeth I (except during the Wars of the Roses) enjoyed Mumming, whilst Henry VIII actually wrote for performances.

Thereafter it fell from fashion, moved down the social scale and largely out of the official records. There are odd notes of Mummers' existence, though not of what they were doing, in churchwardens' accounts, in letters, poems, account books etc, right from this period and up to the early eighteenth century. They even continued to perform during the Interregnum, where a group of Mummers appear in the court records as witnesses to the prosecution of an unlicensed alehouse! It was this tradition of Mumming that the eighteenth century antiquarians became interested in and so recorded for the first time what the Mummers were actually doing.

Opposite: *A modern-day Duke of Cumberland appears again in Eydon's Mumming Play* (photo: Sue Lodge).

¹⁶ *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700*, Ronald Hutton, OUP, 1994, ISBN 0-19-285447-X; *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain*, Ronald Hutton, OUP, 1997, ISBN 0-19-285448-8.

¹⁷ *A Short History of Pre-Chapbook Mumming*, Kevin Lodge, to be published.



The Great House at Aynho in 1683. The flanking wings were part of the Elizabethan house, used by both Charles I and the Earl of Essex during the Civil War. It is featured on the leaflet for the Cartwright Archive Appeal.

AYNHO and BANBURY in the CIVIL WAR

In the foregoing article Kevin Lodge refers to the use of Aynho as headquarters by both sides during the Civil War, and the unsurprising demonization of the Duke of Cumberland (Prince Rupert) in subsequent Mummings' plays. The Cartwright family were involved on both sides, as described in Nicholas Cooper's *Aynho: A Northamptonshire Village* (BHS 20, 1984). The book was, appropriately, dedicated to the memory of the family's agent Robert Weston, who did so much to preserve this collection of family and estate papers. It is therefore timely to remind readers of the threat to the Cartwright archive, such an important source for the history of north Oxfordshire (especially Deddington) and southern Northamptonshire (see *C&CH* 16.8, Spring 2006, pp.262-3).

Prince Rupert also features on the front cover of the 'Letter' describing an incident during the siege of Banbury Castle in 1644, of which we print a facsimile of the original. Its content is well known, and was included in full in Alfred Beesley's *History of Banbury* (pages 367-70), but the flavour of the times somehow is conveyed much more compellingly by sight of the equivalent of the 'press reportage' as it happened and looked.

For the full story, see Beesley (1842), Potts/Clark (2nd ed. 1978), and of course the *Victoria County History, Oxon.* vol. 10, *Banbury Hundred*.

A
LETTER:

BEING

A full Relation of the siege
of *Banbury-Castle* by that valiant and
faithfull commander, Colonell WHETHAM
Governour of *Northampton*, now Commander
in chiefe in that service.

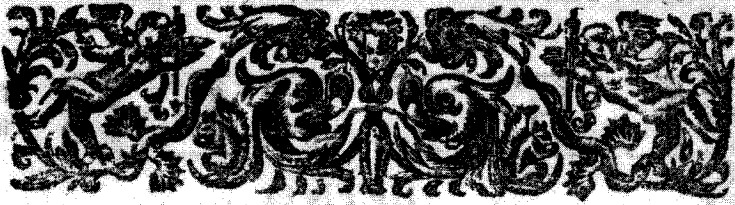
With their particular proceeding from the
the beginning, and how they have taken the Church,
planted their Ordnance, and are battering the
Castle continually.

As also,

How they tooke two Cavaliers vvhich vv ere
let downe from the Castle, with a Letter of great
concernment sent from the Governour to
Prince *Rupert*, which was found
about them.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old baily,
Septemb. 4. 1644.



SIR,



That I may give you and others satisfaction touching the siege of *Banbury*-castle, I must tell you that though we have for about a months space straytned their quarters, and hindred their forcing the Tax on the Countrey; which grew so heavy a pressure, that they had forbore the payment for divers weeks in many Towns, though threatned to be plundered of all for their neglect. This Castle is of more concernement to *Oxford* then any other, for besides the provisions of victuals by droves of Sheep and beast weekly, it is upon good ground aver'd that for a long time this Garrison hath payd 18000 *per* weeke to *Oxford*, divers Towns being taxed to more then the yeerely revenue of them; so that the taking of this Den of Theeves would much conduce to the straitning of *Oxon.* and give liberty of Trade to *London* from many parts.

On

(3)

On Thursday *Aug. 22.* they came out of the Castle with about 80 horse and fell on a guard of ours who retreating a mile to *Workworth* to their body, as many as took the Alarm followed them, beat them downe the hill, killed their grand rob-Carrier Lieutenant *Middleton* by a Carbine shot thorow the braine, and tooke his Cornet one *Smith* a stout plunderer, slew two others, and took two, and wounded 4 or 5 desperately, and beate the rest into the Castle.

On Sabbath day *Aug. 25* two Companies of our foot that lay for a guard to the horse advanced into the Town of *Banbury* and tooke possession of the Church about break of day, the enemy not taking any Alarm, untill some of our souldiers by knocking at divers doores in the Towne to looke for Cavaliers that lay in houses neere the Castle, awakned them. Our foot all this while were unloading their Ammunition, and planting their Drakes and Musketeers in the Church; and our Troops were all entered the Town, and stood to assist the foot neere the Church, if need should be. About an hour after day the enemy came out of the Castle with about 100 Musketeers, and all the horse they had; their Musketeers got into gardens and houses many of them, and shot at our

300

A 2 horse,

(4)

horse, and slew a horse or two, which made our horse to remove to the Towns end; and by this time we had drawn out three small parties of foot to encounter theirs, who made divers waies to the Church; and having slain three of them we did by degrees get them into the streets; and so drove them into the Castle againe, but still they came out in parties, untill about noone they saw a supply comming toward us from *Northampton*, and then they betooke themselves to their strength, and never stirred out since.

On the same day came two great Guns with some more foot and Ammunition from *Northampton*, and with them Col. *Whetham* the Governour there, Commander in chiefe of this service; on Munday and Tuesday the enemy playd at us from the Castle where ever we appeared, to hinder us in our making brest-workes for our Ordnance or men: they played fiercely at the Church, where we had some with long Guns which did much annoy them in the Castle, and kild divers of their Cattell: on Wednesday we playd one of our Cannons at the wall and made about six shot, but they with their Cannon brake the Carriage of our piece, so that for that night we could do no more, but first we battered the wall so on the outside that

(5)

that we much weakned it, and beat a hole foure or five yards square. The same day Wednesday Aug. 28. there came to our assistance Colonel *Puresfoys* Regiment of horse, and Col. *Boswells* Regiment of foot, and with them three great Guns, one carrying 36 pound Bullet, the other two somewhat lesse, 3 Morter-pieces for Granadoes. On Thursday Aug. 29. they playd with their Cannon from the Castle to prevent our planting our great pieces. On Friday Aug. 30. the enemy fired divers houses stood neere the Castle, as they had done the day before, the fire burning fiercely both the daies, about 30 houses burnt, and the enemy still endeavouring to fire more; All this day they playd fiercely both with Cannon and Muskets from the castle at any house or place where they saw any man appeare, and we likewise playd at them; we about noone got our great piece planted, and playd 8 or 9 times that afternoone, and had our Cannoneere slaine with a Drake-bullet at night, and another piece we plaid with at the same time, but the enemy with a bullet of twelve pound weight brake one of the wheeles, and sleightly hurt the cannoneer. The enemy made about 40 cannon-shot that day, and some thousands of musket-shot, yet killed but that one man,

and

(6)

and hurt another in the thumbe, we not ceasing to ply them with small shot as oft as they appeared, and with cannon all the afternoone; about noone we plaid the great mortar-piece five times with a Granado of above 100 pound waight, twice it fell amongst them, and tore up the earth and brake as we could desire it, but what effect it wrought we know not, not having any intelligence from them. On Friday night we wrought to plant the rest of the pieces, the enemy preventing us the opportunity of doing it by day; We keep them in continuall worke, that so they may spend their Ammunition, which yet they do freely, as if they hoped we should not lie there long, they pleasing themselves with Pr. *Ruperts* coming to their ayd. I have been the more particular, that you may know we have need of your prayers, and that God may have the praises in our great preservation, so many shot being made and so few slaine, or hurt, and that we may account it a mercy worth praising God for if ever we be master of it, which though we must not looke for suddenly, yet we need not doubt of if we may have time. (though undoubtedly there are not many stronger holds in *England*;) our souldiers, through Gods mercy being supported with courage, as ever I saw them in any service.

Satur-

(7)

Saturday *Aug. 31.* we tooke two poore tattered rogues without hose or shooe put over the castle-wall early in the morning with intelligence to *Pr. Rupert*, Col. *Greene* the valiant Taylor Governour of the castle having writ a Letter in a shred of Paper close written and cut in the midst, that if but one of them had been taken we had not known what to have made of it, but having both the pieces I shall acquaint you with the substance of the Letter, which was, that our strength was not above 800 horse and 700 foot that did beleaguer them: that we had drayned three garrisons for them, and that the Towns-men were now left to keepe our garrisons, he therefore desired the Prince to come with, or send 1500 Horse and 500 Dragoones betweene *Northampton* and *Banbury*, and bids him not doubt of taking our Guns, and routing our Foot, and then he might be revenged on *Northampton* for the other designe he missed on before. By these two messengers being examined a part we finde that their chiefe Cannoneere was slaine on Friday, and another of theirs wounded in the eye with a musket-bullet, not like to live; that one of our Granadoes did fire in the castle, but did not much hurt.

On Sabbath day *Septemb. 1.* we planted our
three

(8)

three great Guns, having wrought all the night before, we plaid two of them all the morning on the meadow side; the third the great Demi-cannon not being ready untill toward night, we shot thorow the Castle but made but a small breach yet, but such as it was, and another Granadoe firing in the Castle made them lamentably skreeke out, and some vvomen vvould have come forth but vve vvould not suffer them; they shot from the Castle fiercely at our Worke, but yet have done us no hurt, we hope in time we shall coole their courage, though vve heare the Gentlemen and Officers have taken the Sacrament not to give or take quarter, and some bitter malignant Papists are there that will doe their utmost to keepe it. The good Lord give us courage, and patience to waight his leasure, and be content to stay for it untill he will give it us in mercy; Which is the desire of yours, &c.

Banbury,
2, Septemb. 1644.

What's materiall you shall have
as I can send it, *Vale.*

F I N I S.

WHO WERE THE ‘YOUNGER SONS’? BANBURY FAMILIES WHO APPRENTICED SONS TO LONDON LIVERY COMPANY MASTERS

Jeremy Gibson

In our last issue Deborah Hayter’s article accompanying Cliff Webb’s list of Banburyshire boys apprenticed to London livery companies asked ‘What happened to younger sons?’ An attempt is made here at least to provide the family background from which came the fifty-plus from Banbury itself.

Such a number spread over more than two centuries is not an impressive sample from which to draw conclusions, but at least it is far more than for any of the villages around. In fact only two apprenticeships were pre-1600, and the last was in 1734 – though the villages around have a wider range.

The alphabetical list has been re-arranged chronologically, by apprenticeship indenture, and references to individuals are quoted by these dates: see the table on pages 32-35. This includes livery companies but omits the names of masters (given in the earlier list) except when relevant.

What is immediately evident is that the preponderance of apprenticeships were entered into after the Restoration. Between 1607 and 1638 there were just twelve. From 1662 to 1675 there were fifteen, sixteen for 1676-99, and eighteen for 1700-34. This last figure includes three in Oxford and Warwickshire (from local publications) and earlier there were four for London companies in addition to those already listed. This does not necessarily mean that earlier there were fewer apprenticeships – just that the records from which the information is drawn may be sparser, less complete or missing entirely. Much must have been lost in the Great Fire of London. Although forty-odd companies have so far been published these are only a selection out of a total of about seventy.

Banbury apprentices seem to have been restricted to relatively few companies: Apothecaries (3), Blacksmiths (13), Butchers (8), Chandlers (Tallow) (9), Feltmakers (2), Masons (1), Skinners (8), Turners (15). From other sources there were two Stationers, a Cook and an Armourer.

Finding masters for apprentices

Some companies were more socially acceptable than others – apothecaries, for instance, were favoured by those with pretensions towards being gentry – and thus premiums varied. How were arrangements made with masters?

At least some were there through local contacts. Martin Wheatly, apprenticed to the Tallow Chandlers (1702), duly took on Thomas Greenall (1718), who himself in turn apprenticed Daniel Stepto (1726). Richard Kening or Canning was with the Turners (1668). William Bloxham (1713) was taken on as a Turner by Mary Kenning, surely Richard's widow or daughter.

Thomas Sutton (1671) went as an Apothecary to Francis Holbech. The possible local connection is underlined by the later apprenticeship of Charles son of William Holbech esquire of Farnborough to Edward Goodfellow of the Skinners (Farnborough, 1720).

Others might be through family contacts. John Clements was apprenticed to Richard Shewell of the Butchers Company (1607). He must have been at least kin to Richard Showell, a Banbury mercer, whose 1610 will left a legacy to John Tanner, 'Citizen and Grocer of London'. Joseph Sansbury (1733) was indentured to the Feltmakers. The wife of his uncle Thomas was aunt to Wyans Tidmarsh, apprenticed to a feltmaker in 1704 (information from Malcolm Pinhorn). Edward Stranke (1705) was another bound to a feltmaker, but then a Richard Strank had been master in this trade to Richard Borton, of Little Bourton, in 1681.

John son of Thomas Collins, a labourer, was indentured to the Blacksmiths Company (1690). It is surprising to find a labourer's son being so apprenticed, but then his father was evidently of some substance, signing the Association Oath Roll in 1695 and actually leaving a will. However, the interest is in his master: Ambrose Horsman. An Ambrose Horsman, second son of Ambrose, had been born in Banbury in 1665. His father, a maltster, had acquired his Freedom in Banbury in 1660 by paying ten pounds to the Corporation

I wish I could establish the Banbury connection of the exotically named Deodatus Pincheon of the Turners Company, who took on both George Crosby als Essex (1637) and Simon Taylor (1638). Frederick Bowler (1691) was apprenticed to Tobias Beale of the Butchers Company – any connection with Edward Beale, shoemaker, Mayor of Banbury 1649-50, who died in 1657? One suspects there were plenty more relationships and trade connections to provide Banbury boys with the right masters.

Apprenticing by the ‘Corporation’ families

Deborah mentions research done into the apprenticing of the younger sons of gentry in Surrey. Banbury is not a ‘gentry’ place: look to villages such as Deddington, Aynho and Farnborough for their sons. In the town, tradesmen formed the hierarchy. Even Banbury’s one armigerous family, the Halls, formerly of South Newington, were, one suspects, coming down in the world. Anthony Hall, the head of the family, married the daughter of the unforgettably named Organ Nicholls, Mayor in 1641-2; his nephew Richard, son of his younger brother Richard Hall, was apprenticed to Roger Craven of the Skinners Company (1620), father or son becoming an ‘upholder’ dying in 1644.

For the men and families who mattered in seventeenth century Banbury, look to the Corporation. Once elected one of the six Burgesses, progressing by seniority to promotion as Alderman, you were in place for life.

However, the same custom applied to tradesmen as it did to the gentry. The eldest son was trained in and inherited the family business. The second son was apprenticed to provide him with a separate livelihood. Of the 48 boys whose order of birth has been ascertained, 22 were second sons. There were nine youngest sons.

As many as fourteen were in fact eldest sons, but with several there were reasons for this departure from the norm. John Bree’s father (1638) may have suffered in Banbury’s fire of 1628. Thomas Vane’s father (1664) was a servant to Sir Richard Chamberlaine of Wickham in the parish of Banbury.

In Parsons Lane, Thomas Sutton’s father (1671), also Thomas, was vintner at the Reindeer, and did not have security of tenure (the inn still belonged to the Knight family). John Barnes’ father (1678) was victualler at the Poleaxe. Samuel Welchman (1688) was son of Edward, baker of the famous cakes, by his second marriage; there were four elder half-brothers, and only one younger brother. In any case, his father had died in 1685.

Richard Welford’s father Thomas (1699) was sergeant-at-mace to the Corporation, though this was hardly a full-time job; he did have a trade as a glover. Mr James Wheatley, father of Nathaniel (1683), had died in 1666. Two others whose fathers had died were locally apprenticed: Edward Southam (1713) at Oxford, Edward Style(s) (1717) at Coventry.

During the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I Banbury was dominated by the Knight family: John Knight (d.1587) and, even more, by his son William (1558-1631). They owned extensive property in the town and had built the Reindeer. William went to Merton College, Oxford, followed by the Inner Temple. Twice Bailiff, he was instrumental in the

grant of the borough's second charter (1608), which replaced this office with a Mayor. Knight was content to be appointed 'life' Chamberlain, which he remained until 1627-8. On the down-side, it was the puritanical zeal of himself and his colleagues which saw the destruction of the town's crosses.

William Knight had numerous sisters who gave him close connections with Banbury's leading families: Shewells, Edens, Whatelys (the vicar was his nephew); Anne married Henry Wright, landlord of the Three Swans. From Wright's probate inventory of 1618 it is clear that, with its named chambers, this was a leading tavern and doubtless was used by his brothers-in-law for Corporation and other business as well as pleasure.

Martin Wright was the only surviving son from this marriage, but by his father's second marriage he gained three younger brothers. Of these George (1608) was the eldest and was duly apprenticed to Henry Helmes of the Skinners Company. A daughter of Mr Nickles Helmes, 'his wife a widowe', had been baptised at Banbury in 1598. In his father's will George was amongst those to share the value of the wine licence if Martin sold it.

Another with a link to this hierarchy was Edward Pilkington (1612), whose grandfather had been an alderman. Frustratingly for this pre-Civil War period, for which the corporation records are particularly informative, there are no other direct connections with burgesses or aldermen. Anthony Nottingham, father of John (1626), was a Toll-gatherer for the sheep market in 1612-3. Francis Vowe, father of Thomas (1637), was a Taster to the Corporation four times between 1624 and 1642 – he was another who was given relief after the 1628 fire. The relatively small number of apprenticeships recorded from this period, only twelve, must be borne in mind.

After the Restoration

Things were different after the Restoration. Of the 22 apprenticeships entered into during the reigns of Charles II and James II, over a third were sons of Corporation members – clearly Livery Company training and, more important, consequent freedom and membership, was considered valuable.

Of these, the two William Wheat(e)lys, fathers of Nehemiah (1670) and Nathaniel (1671), had both been Mayor, as was Thomas Sutton of the Reindeer whose sons Thomas (1671) and Charles (1675) were indentured in London. John Smith (1676), youngest son of Henry, was

apprenticed to the Chandlers after his father had died prematurely during his second term as Mayor. Samuel Welchman (1688) was another whose recently deceased father had been Mayor many years earlier.

There was an astonishing, if temporary, change in political power in 1687-8. King James II's Toleration Act, designed to give Roman Catholics access to borough government (hitherto restricted to members of the established church) had, in puritan Banbury, the opposite effect. Five years earlier Charles II had won a victory in the courts that resulted in many boroughs having their charters replaced with ones that allowed the Crown to remove at will any corporation members deemed to have inconvenient views. That monarch was too diplomatic to make use of these powers. Not so James II, who in 1687 arbitrarily removed many from the Whig-dominated boroughs whose members often made up the whole tiny franchise that elected Members of Parliament.

Banbury was one such, eleven out of twelve aldermen and five out of six burgesses being ejected. In their place, failing the hoped-for Catholics, the Crown was left with the need to find replacements from amongst the numerous dissenters. Three of these were parents of the London apprentices: John Awsten father of Daniel (1676), William, the wheelwright father of Nathaniel Gulliver (1683), and another Nathaniel, the mercer father of Martin Wheatley (1702). For good measure the Quaker father of Edward Stranke (1705) was appointed a Constable a year later, although by this time the former council members had been restored to office.

Minor office holders and Corporation favour

Others who were appointed to this minor office or others in the gift of the Corporation, such as Tithingman, Taster and so on, included, as well as those mentioned earlier, John Barnes, 1670-2, James Wheatly, 1663-5, Richard Shaw, 1666-91, and Samuel Bowler, 1655-7. Thomas Welford was sergeant-at-mace from 1686, and was joined in this post by the former apprentice Chandler, Aholiab West (1671), in 1699.

Other evidence of Corporation favour is seen in the grants of relief after the 1628 fire to Francis Vowe and William Bree, lease of the wool hall to Philip Cave and of a tenement in West Bar to Martin Kening or Canning. The council also had funds it could lend on bond, a valuable help in days before such capital was normally accessible. Kening was one beneficiary, as were John Barnes, William Gulliver, Richard Shaw and Thomas Bloxham.

The sheep-pen dispute; respectability

In 1656 there was a notable disagreement between the Corporation and various Banbury inhabitants, mainly living in Sheep Street, over an attempt to move the weekly sheep market from the road to a municipally-owned piece of land elsewhere. The Sheep Street residents had been accustomed to put out pens for the sheep, and understandably resented the arbitrary ending of the useful income they thus earned. It came to a head in a minor riot, and the subsequent court case with numerous depositions.

Amongst the deponents were Philip Cave, aged 58, a brasier and churchwarden; Richard Croker, father and grandfather of Richard (1702), who had stalls and standings outside his house; Martin Kenning, a freemason; Henry Smith, Justice of the Peace, a householder with pens, whose accounts when Mayor in 1664-5 included 17s. 'by which he was out of purse for the sheep 1688), a Burgess; and William Wheatley, a saddler and constable aged 33. All had sons who were apprenticed to London livery companies.

Another indication of respectability was the signing of a petition or oath of loyalty. As early as 1590 Thomas Clements, father of John (1607), was one of many supporting Thomas Brasbridge, who had been deprived of his living as vicar of Banbury.

A century later, after an attempt had been made on the life of William III, the Association Oath Roll was subscribed to in 1695 by many of Banbury's adult male inhabitants – over 250, most of them actual signatures, an impressive display of literacy in the town. As well as members of the Corporation itself, other much humbler fathers of apprentices signed: John Awsten, William Gulliver, Richard Shaw, Thomas Collins, Thomas Bolds, William Usher, Richard Welford, John Lamprey and George Thorpe.

Provision for apprenticing the poor

However, it was not only men of substance whose sons were apprenticed to London livery companies. Samuel Tustian (1669) and John Luckock (1670) were described as 'poor' at their burial (admittedly in 1705 for the latter). Simon Richards, father of Thomas (1693), was a labourer who had actually died nine years before blacksmiths' indentures were taken out. The Corporation had funds available for charitable uses, and providing a trade for a fatherless boy might be one of them.

Erratum: *Cake & Cockhorse*, vol. 17, p. 26. To replace para 2, lines 6-8.

'by which he was out of purse for the sheep pen business'; Samuel Tustian (1669), a joiner aged 36; Edward Welchman (1688), a Burgess; and William Wheatley, a saddler and constable aged 33. All had sons who were apprenticed to London livery companies.

Miss Dannatt, in her introduction to *Banbury Wills and Inventories* (BHS 13), is worth quoting on the subject of the cost and importance of binding a boy apprentice (though in these cases only locally). ‘George Helmedon (d.1634, no.342), although only a labourer, left 20s. to William Green, a mason’s son, “to be retained by the Overseers until he is bound prentice”. The widow Joane Borrowes (no.283) left a similar sum to Azarikam Graunte in 1627 towards placing him as an apprentice. Robert Gascoyne (d.1644, no.395) left the residue of his goods to be sold to pay for his children to be bred and placed apprentices. When Thomas Webb (no.171) died in 1616 his widow’s account included £7 spent on apprenticing their eldest son.’ The case of John Hughes is described later.

Future success – or failure

So, it has been possible to discover a certain amount about some of the fathers of these London apprentices – but what *did* happen to them, younger sons or not? Well, to start on a gloomy note, two died before or just after completing their term: Thomas Lea (1691) and William Bloxham (1713), both buried at Banbury.

William May (1669), trained as a turner, returned to Banbury where his children were being born from 1684 on – his trade, unsurprisingly, was as a turner, although in his will he described himself as a victualler. Edward Stranke (1705), apprenticed as a feltmaker, also returned to Banbury by 1715, trading appropriately as a hatter. Richard Crocker or Crockett (1702), another turner, was back marrying in Banbury by 1714, but clearly did not prosper, as even then, and thereafter, he was described as a labourer.

Of the sons of the two William Wheatl(e)ys, a genealogical account of the family tells us that Nehemiah (1670), trained as a Turner, ‘may have settled at Emsley in Ullenhall’, the Warwickshire village where his grandfather John Whateley had lived. Nathaniel (1671), indentured to the Apothecaries, duly became established as such, at Oxford, where his son, also Nathaniel, graduated as M.A.

Probate records in the Banbury Peculiar Court for some thirty people, either parents or closely associated, were examined. Some former apprentices are just not mentioned by their probable or possible parents. Richard Southam refers in 1676 to James specifically as his ‘only son’ – if he was father of Daniel (1663), then the boy must have died. There are no references to Daniel Awsten (1676) by John Austin in 1708. Thomas Welford’s widow Ann leaves her son John the tools of a hair-cloth weaver, and legacies to her four daughters, but makes no mention of Richard (1699). Some have just disappeared.

However, others are still clearly around at their fathers' deaths. George Wright (1608) was the earliest, with his inheritance of part of the wine licence at the Three Swans. Richard Kening (1668), hardly out of his term, received £60 and part of the value of the household in 1675. His nephew John Barnes (1678), son of his much older sister Ann, as Martin Kenning's godson received 'the biggest brasse pott'.

In 1697 Nathaniel Gulliver (1683) together with his elder brother Samuel and his sister Sarah received 5s., the residue going to the wheelwright William's widow. In the fullness of time the former apprentice returned to Banbury, Mr Nathaniel Gulliver 'of London' being buried at Banbury in 1718. The following year a 'Mr William Gulliver, of London' (very probably Nathaniel's son) married 'Mrs' Mary Stokes, now freed from nursing her recently deceased father Charles Stokes, who in the 1680s had opened the Three Tuns, Banbury's leading tavern. By the 1720s it was being run by her brother Thomas Stokes. It has been suggested that Jonathan Swift stayed for a time in Banbury whilst writing his famous *Travels* (published in 1726). Maybe he met his landlord's married sister, or perhaps was familiar with the Dolphin in 'Brechle Street' near the Market Place, where Samuel Gulliver was innkeeper, and thus immortalised the surname.

Nathaniel son of Nathaniel Goodwyn (1700), haberdasher on the indenture but in the parish register always described as a tanner, was apprenticed as a skinner. His father's burial has not been found, but his widow, Sarah, was also described as a 'haberdasher of hats'. She left a 'joynted gold ring' to Nathaniel and, more important, her house. Even so, he does not appear to have returned to Banbury. Richard Shaw (1684) had been apprenticed to the Blacksmiths. His father, also Richard, a butcher, died in 1702, leaving his two eldest sons 1s. each, and Richard, the third, 40s. These were clearly already set up. The youngest son Charles received £20, as did an unmarried sister, whilst his elder brother Samuel inherited the business.

Samuel Welchman (1688) was, as already mentioned, the eldest son of the baker Edward Welchman's second marriage. In his father's will of 1685 he is the first to be mentioned, initially misleadingly, as 'my eldest son', but only left 5s. This implies that although he was then only eleven his future apprenticeship had already been arranged, as his younger brother and sister were to inherit a property in Warwickshire. These children Edward had by 'my now wife Dorcas'; only then are the four by his first wife mentioned, each being left a shilling. They had been born by 1650 and presumably had received their 'portions' long before.

Finally, amongst these legatees, there is Paul Sabin (1700), apprenticed to the Turners. He is clearly established, as his father Paul refers to him as 'Paul Sabin the younger, of London', leaving his wife a 'suit of mourning' (or perhaps wherewithal to acquire this), and £10 each to their children Sarah and David. Paul and his brother Thomas (who inherited the house in Calthorpe) were residuary legatees and joint executors.

These wills identify some of those who at least survived, some with a degree of success: Nathaniel Gulliver, Nathaniel Goodwyn and Paul Sabin. Others' success is shown by their subsequent appearance as masters of their own apprentices. Martin Wheatly, indentured to a chandler in 1702, as master took on Thomas Greenall (1718) to whom Daniel Stepto (1726) was in turn bound. Richard Kening (1668) was probably another such. We can surely add Ambrose Horsman (b.1665) of the Blacksmiths Company, to whom John Collins (1690) was apprenticed. Ambrose Horsman senior was able to buy his Freedom in Banbury in 1660, so is likely to have been able to indenture his son to a City of London livery company, even though the record has not been identified. One suspects this was the case with many others.

They are, I understand from Alan Crossley, who is preparing the city of Oxford sixteenth century register of apprentices for publication, typical of country boys who, once established in the big city, would offer the same opportunities to those from their home town. In Oxford there were regular freshly indentured arrivals from areas to the north and west. Because of the colleges and their countrywide estates, this may have been a special case, exerting the same lure in Lancashire and Wales as London did to those in the home counties.

The cost of upbringing and apprenticing an orphan

What was actually involved in bringing up and placing a boy as an apprentice? A poignant case is revealed by the accounts attached to the 1611 will and inventory of the fletcher Rowland Hughes (no. 116), whose widow died the following year. His orphan son John was only six at the time, but there were funds available, as he had been left his father's house.

The initial account of his upbringing shows the cost of '2 coates for John Hewes his son, twoe shirts, a payre of shoes and for the makinge of the shirtes and for 2 bandes, 15s.2d. Paid to Thomas Williams for his hose and shoes and for his dyett and schoolinge 3 quarters of a yeare, £1.19s.8d.; for 2 pare of hose and shoes and for his dyett and schoolinge for one quarter of a yeare being since midsomer last, £1.10s.' Later: 'A coute, 12s.; For skouleing, 3s.6d.; His diet, £1.10s.; a pear of shoues, 1s.8d.; 2 baunds, 6d.'

The final account is dated eight years later, and shows the conscientious care shown by the administrators. 'Thomas Middleton for five weeks bord at 18d. per week, 7s.6d. ... to John Walker, butcher, for keeping him, £3.6s. Goodwife Foster for healing a skalt head, 2s.2d., and for two sherts and two bands, 2s.; Maudline Wyse for five weeks diet and lodging at 16d per week, 6s.8d.; and for a pair of hose and a pair of shooes, 2s.4d.; for canvas for a dublet, a paire of breeches, 3s.6d., for making his dublet and breeches, 12d.; and for points, girdle and garters, 6d., in all 5s.' Next he went to Goodwife Elkenton, where his diet for 21 weeks costs 28s. She was given an extra 12d. because John was 'syke'.

A further vivid description of his clothes is given: 'For a hatt and two capps for his forehead, for points, 21d.; for dressing the long cotes for him, 14d.; and for a yd. and half of fustian for a dublett, 2s.6d., in all 5s.5d. For fower oyled skins for to lyne two pr. of breeches, 2s.8d.; for lyninge button and thred for two dubletts, 17d.; and for making a dublett and jerkin and two pr. of breeches, 2s.6d., in all 6s.7d.'

In due course he was apprenticed. 'For a fries jerkin at his going to London, 2s.8d.; for three shirts, 4s.6d.; for three plaine bands, 14d.; and two pr. of hose at 2s.2d., in all 10s.6d.; for a hatt, 21d.; for a pr. of shooes, 13d.; for a girdle, points and garters, 13d., in all 3s.11d.

'For bynding of John Hewes an apprentice at London to one Mr William Allostronge, £10; whereof received again when he runned away from his M[aste]r, £4; in all £6.0s.0d.

'For new clothes in fustian and linings, 9s.9d.; and for 16 weeks dyet when he came again from his Mr to me at 16d a week, 21s.4d., in all £1.11s.1d. For three new shirts at his coming home at 16d. a shirt, 4s.; for a pr. of shooes and a pr. of stockings, 3s.4d.; and for a frise jerkin, linings for a dublet and a paire of breeches and buttons for his clothes, 5s.4d.; for making of these garments, 3s.4d.; in all 16s.

'For making of his Indentures to Mr [William] Knight [a lawyer], 2s.; and to one Henry Evans to place John Hewes as his apprentice, £5; whereof received again, £4; £1.2s.

'Drawing and fair writing of this Account, £1.8s.9d.'

A John Hughes of Neithrop married Anne Wrighton on 20 June 1641, so perhaps it all ended happily.

* * * * *

Note. No attempt has been made to standardise personal names.

Conclusion

Attempting to answer Deborah's question has, like all historical research, taken far longer than intended, and thus enhanced the enjoyment and satisfaction in undertaking it.

Apprenticeship is an enormous subject, as important in its time as further education is today. It is not my purpose to discuss this as a whole. Boys' ages at indenture are shown but not discussed. The life and duties of apprentices are ignored, as are the premiums paid. There are plenty of topics which are worthy of investigation, but not here.

Even within the aims set, of discovering the boys' family backgrounds, their fathers' occupations and standing in the community, and trying to find out what became of them, research has been restricted mainly to locally published secondary sources, and no attempt made to examine material elsewhere, published or unpublished – this is not a thesis, and the article already over-long.

As it is, assumptions have been made about relationships that may be wrong. When there are three possible fathers, but the wills of two make no mention of the son, must the third, with no will, be the right one?

And I have committed the cardinal sin of examining Banbury in isolation. Belatedly I have glanced at the lists for the villages in Banbury's hinterland, and realised there was a feltmaker Richard Strank apprenticing a boy from Little Bourton in 1681, years before Edward Stranke (1705) was indentured to the same company. Great Tew has a splendid sequence of apprenticing to the Painters Company: John Vere took on Isaac Worley in 1669, who in turn took John Predy (1682), who took Crispin Butler (1695), who took Thomas Butler (1704) who took Philip Evans (1719) – how's that for village exploitation and migration!

For those who want to find out more, in particular see the late Joan Lane's study, *Apprenticeship in England: 1600-1914*, UCL Press, 1996. The introductions to *Oxford City Apprentices 1697-1800*, ed. Malcolm Graham (Oxford Hist. Soc. 31) and *Warwickshire Apprentices and their Masters 1710-1760*, ed. K.J. Smith (Dugdale Society 29) give briefer summaries and local context. However, these all deal mostly with the eighteenth century. The London Livery Companies listing provides information on the earlier decades, at least from the 1660s.

Joan Lane's descriptions of apprentices' clothing are in general for the better-off. An important aspect of a master's obligations was the provision of clothing. One can be sure that the orphan John Hughes' clothes were in great need of replacement after he had 'runned away'.

CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES' APPRENTICES FROM BANBURY, 1505-1734

Italics: Livery Company and apprentice's subsequent career; plus master if not in earlier list. Bold: date of indenture.

Appr.	Bapt.	Age	Son	Name of apprentice & father's occupation	Company	Father's Status	Father Died	Probate
1505				Addyngton, Thos s Simon tailor	<i>Skinners</i>			
1568				Hawes, Thomas s Robert husbandman	<i>Skinners</i>		1580	
1607	1585	21	2nd	Clements, John s Thomas shoemaker	<i>Butchers</i>	Petition supporting vicar, 1590	1603	
				<i>John Clements to Richard Shewell; connection to Richard Showell of Banbury?</i>				
1608	1592	15	2nd	Wright, George s Henry victualler	<i>Skinners</i>	Three Swans tavern	1617	Pec. will
				<i>George Wright part-heir of wine licence in father's will, 1617</i>				
1609	1588	21	2nd	Young, Thomas s Gabriel shoemaker	<i>Butchers</i>			
1612	1589	23	3rd	Pilkington, Edward s James yeoman	<i>Blacksms</i>	Son of alderman		
				<i>Edward Pilkington</i>				
1614	1597	16	2nd	Moxon, John s Richard farrier	<i>Blacksms</i>		?1626	Pec. inv.
1620	1603	17	2nd	Hall, Richard s Richard clerk [upholder]	<i>Skinners</i>	Family in Heralds' Visitation	1600	
				<i>Richard Hall jnr. could be the upholder d.1644</i>				
1626	1613	13	2nd	Nottingham, John s Anthony carpenter	<i>Blacksms</i>	Toll-gatherer, sheep market	1642	
1628				Bolton, Anthony s John carpenter	<i>Masons</i>			
1637	1616	20	y'st	Crosbey [alias Essex], George s Richard	<i>Turners</i>		1658	
1637	1619	17	2nd	Vowe, Thomas s Francis mercer	<i>Skinners</i>	Taster to Corpn.; 1628 fire relief		
1638	1623	15	1st	Bree, John s William husbandman	<i>Blacksms</i>	?1628 fire relief	1645	
1638	1620	18	2nd	Taylor, Simon s Mathew shoemaker	<i>Turners</i>		1627	
1646				Watts, Joseph s William grazier	<i>Chandlers</i>		?1646	
1662				Cave, Benjamin s Philip brazier	<i>Chandlers</i>	Rented wool hall	1672	
1663	1648	15	1st	Southam, Daniel s Richard husbandman	<i>Turners</i>	Neithrop	1676	Pec will
				<i>Richard Southam's will refers to his 'only son' James</i>				
1664	1644	20	1st	Vane, Thomas s Thomas butcher	<i>Butchers</i>	Servant to Sir Thos Chamberlaine	1701	
1667	1652	15	2nd	Austin, Nathaniel s John scrivener	<i>Cooks</i>	Corporation, 1658-62	c.1662	
				<i>[to William Hide]</i>				
1668	1653	15	y'st	Kening [Canning] Richard s Martin	<i>Turners</i>	Leased tenement in West Bar	1675	Pec will
				<i>Richard Kening in father's will; Mary Kenning 'master' [Turners Co.] to William Bloxham 1713</i>				

Appr.	Bapt.	Age	Son	Name of apprentice & father's occupation	Company	Father's Status	Father Died	Probate
1668	1649	19	1st	Rose, Robert s Robert shoemaker	<i>Turners</i>		1675	
1669	1653	16	1st	May [Mayo(w)], Wm s Thos carter	<i>Turners</i>		1691	
				<i>William May, turner/victualler, children bapt. in Banbury from 1684</i>				
1669				Tustian, Samuel s Samuel carpenter	<i>Turners</i>	'poor' [bur. reg.]	1673	Pec. will
1670	1655	15	2nd	Luckock, William s John [glover]	<i>Armourers</i>	'very poor' [bur. reg.]	1705	
				<i>[to William Satchwell, June 1670]</i>				
1670	1656	14	2nd	Wheatly, Nehemiah s Wm apothecary	<i>Turners</i>	Corpn 1639; Mayor 1648-9	1658	PCC will
				<i>Nehemiah Wheatly 'may have settled in Ullenhall'; proved brother William's will (PCC 1672)</i>				
1671				Wheatly, Nathaniel s Wm saddler	<i>Apoth's</i>	Corpn 1659; Mayor 1667-8	1671	PCC will
				<i>Nathaniel Wheatly, apothecary at Oxford; son Nathaniel MA Oxon 1710</i>				
1671	1655	15	y'st	West, Aholiab s John glazier	<i>Chandlers</i>	Corporation 1660-66	1666	Pec. bd
				<i>Aholiab West, chandler</i>				
1671	1655	15	1st	Sutton, Thomas s Thomas vintner	<i>Apoth's</i>	Reindeer Inn; Corporation	1685	PCC will
				<i>Thomas Sutton indentured to Francis Holbech; Farnborough, Warw., connection?</i>				
1675	1661	14	2nd	Sutton, Charles s Thomas vintner	<i>Butchers</i>	Mayor 1679-80	from 1668	
1675				Butler, William s Joseph maltster	<i>Skinners</i>		1685	PCC will
1676	1660	15	y'st	Smith, John s Henry ironmonger	<i>Chandlers</i>	Corpn 1656; Mayor 1664, 1674	1684	
1676	1660	15	1st	Awsten, Daniel s John yeoman	<i>Turners</i>	Corpn & Mayor 1688	1675	Pec. will
				<i>No ref. to Daniel in father's will</i>				
1678	1663	14	1st	Barnes, John s John victualler	<i>Turners</i>	Constable 1670-2; Poleaxe inn	1688	Pec. bd.
1678	1664	14	?1st	Wheatly, Nathaniel s of Mr James, decd.	<i>Stationers</i>	Tithingman 1663-5	1666	
				<i>[to John Wright, printer]</i>				
1683	1669	14	y'st	Gulliver, Nathaniel s William wheelwright	<i>Skinners</i>	Corpn loans; ?on Corpn 1688	1697	Pec. will
				<i>Nathaniel Gulliver in father's will; Nathaniel Gulliver 'of London', buried at Banbury</i>				
1684	1670	13	3rd	Shaw, Richard s Richard butcher	<i>Blacksms</i>	Corpn taster 1666-91; Corpn loan	1702	Pec. will
				<i>Richard Shaw in father's will</i>				
1688	1674	14	1st	Welchman, Samuel s Edwd baker decd.	<i>Stationers</i>	Corpn 1652, Mayor 1661-2	1685	Pec. will
				<i>by 2nd mge [to Thomas Dalton, printer, free 1696]; Samuel Welchman in father's will (1685, pre-appr.)</i>				
1689	1674	14	1st	Bowler, Samuel s Samuel grocer	<i>Butchers</i>	Constable 1655-7	1683	
1691	1677	14	2nd	Bowler, Frederick s Samuel distiller	<i>Butchers</i>		1683	
1690	1677	12	2nd	Collins, John s Thomas labourer	<i>Blacksms</i>	Signed Assn. Oath Roll 1695	1720	Pec. will
1691	1676	14	2nd	Bolds, George s Thomas carpenter	<i>Turners</i>	Signed Assn. Oath Roll 1695	1724	

Appr.	Bapt.	Age	Son	Name of apprentice & father's occupation	Company	Father's Status	Father Died	Probate
1691	1669	20	2nd	Lea, Thomas s Robert, labourer <i>Thomas son of Robert Lea, buried</i>	Blacksms		1697	
1692				Usher, Ralph s William butcher	Blacksms	Signed Assn. Oath Roll 1695	1696	
1693				Richards, Thomas s Simon labourer	Blacksms	'poore' [bur. reg.]	1684	
1699	1682	17	1st	Welford, Richard s Thomas victualler [glover] <i>Thomas's widow Anne (d. 1725, Pec. will) refers to son John, daus, no Richard</i>	Butchers	Serjeant-at-mace from 1686	1712	Pec. will
1699	1681	17	2nd	Homun [Hom(e)wood], John s Gabriel	Blacksms		1734	
1700				Sabin, Paul s Paul weaver <i>Son Paul Sabin 'the younger, of London' co-exor with brother Thomas of father's will</i>	Turners	of Calthorpe Lane	1720	Pec. will
1700	1682	18	2nd	Goodwyn, Nathaniel s Nathl haberdasher [tanner] [Goodwin, Mrs Sarah, wid. haberdasher of hats]	Skinners	Cons 1674-5, Asst 1683-4	1712	Pec. will]
1700	1686	13	2nd	Smith, William s William husbandman [higler]	Blacksms		1700	
1702	1686	16	y'st	Wheatly, Martin s Nathaniel mercer <i>Master to Thomas Greenall [1718]</i>	Chandlers	?Dissenter; Corpn/Mayor 1688	1707	Pec. will
34 1702	1683	18	y'st	Croker [Crockett], Rd s Rd gunsmith <i>Richard Crocket/Crocker, labourer, mar. 1714; bur. at Banbury</i>	Turners		1694	
1702				Lamprey, William s John slatter	Turners	Signed Assn. Oath Roll 1695	1709	
1705	1689	15	?1st	Stranke, Edward s Thomas mercer <i>Edward Strank, hatter, children 1715-on, wife bur. at Banbury 1728</i>	Feltmakers	Quaker; Constable 1689		
1713				Bloxham, William s Thomas carpenter <i>William Bloxham indentured to Mary Kening [Martin Kenning 1668]</i>	Turners	Of Tadmarton; Corpn loan 1688	1737	Pec. will
[1713				Southam, Edward s Giles gent., decd. <i>William son of Mr Thomas Bloxham, joyner, bur. at Banbury</i>		Jacob's Well inn; bur. Aynho	1720	
[1716	1706	11		House, James s Benjamin upholsterer <i>to John Smith, Oxford, saddler. "Oxford City Apprentices 1697-1800", Oxford Hist. Soc. 31]</i>		Reindeer inn; Corpn, Mayor 1712-3	1716	
1716	1700	15	y'st	Thorpe, George s George bookseller [haberdasher] <i>to John Sears, Oxford, cordwainer. "Oxford City Apprentices"</i>				
[1717	1701	16		Style(s), Edward s William gent.; attorney, decd. <i>to Richard Adderly, Coventry, weaver & clothier. "Warwickshire Apprentices... 1710-60", Dugdale Soc. 29]</i>	Apoths.	Corporation 1691-on Town Clerk 1706-on	1715 1716	PCC will

Appr.	Bapt.	Age	Son	Name of apprentice & father's occupation	Company	Father's Status	Father Died	Probate
1718	1703	15	2nd	Greenall [Grenway], Thomas s Robert maltster <i>Thomas Greenall apprenticed to Martin Wheatly [appr. 1702], Tallow Chandlers Co. Thomas Greenall master to Daniel Stepto [appr. 1726], Tallow Chandlers Co.</i>	Chandlers	Corporation	1734	
1719	1703	16	1st	Mills, John s William labourer	Blacksms		1713	
1724	1708	15	?1st	Kington, Thomas s Thomas butcher	Chandlers		1712	Pec. bd.
1726	1714	12	2nd	Stepto[e] Daniel s William victualler <i>Daniel Steptoe apprenticed to Thomas Greenall [appr. 1718]</i>	Chandlers	Bell inn, Parsons Lane	1734	
1733	1718	14	yst	Sansbury, Joseph s James mercer <i>(one younger)</i>	Feltmakers	Calthorpe Lane; uncle Samuel Sansbury on Corporation	1743 1758	Pec. bd. PCC will
1734		?1st		Hall, James s Joseph barber	Skinners		1757	

Sources

The list of apprentices from Banbury indentured to City of London livery companies was published, with an introductory article, in *C&CH.16.9*.

Banbury Parish Registers (BHS 2, 3, 7, 9); *Banbury Corporation Accounts: Tudor and Stuart* (15); *Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650* (13, 14).

Cake & Cockhorse: 'The Whately and Wheatley Family of Banbury', 4.3; 'Trouble over Sheep Pens', 7.2; 'The Three Tuns in the Eighteenth century' (the Stokes family), 8.1; The Association Oath Roll, 1695, 10.4.

'Taxpayers in Restoration Banbury' (Hearth Tax etc.), 9.5. Nine fathers of apprentices listed. Not quoted above.

The Visitations of ... Oxford[shire] ... 1634, Harleian Soc. 5, Hall of Banbury family, pp.270-71.

The only original (manuscript) sources consulted were amongst the probate records of Banbury Peculiar Court now at the Oxfordshire Record Office, ref. 'Pec.' followed by the number given against burial entries in *Banbury Parish Registers* or in the index to the Oxfordshire Peculiars included in British Record Society vol. 109, and Oxfordshire Record Society vol. 61; also, with obsolete references, in *Index to Wills proved in the Peculiar Court of Banbury* (BHS 1 and ORS 40).

My special thanks go to the staff of the O.R.O. for facilitating this search by allowing me to see the fragile original documents rather than having to struggle with the microfilm reader.

Lecture Reports

Thursday 14th September 2006

The History of Banbury's Boatyard and Canal – Matthew Armitage

Report held over to our Spring 2007 issue, to accompany an article on Tooley's Yard.

Thursday 12th October 2006

From Knights to Dames in the history of Temple Balsall – Beryl Ellerslie

This was a highly factual account of the evolution of Temple Balsall near Solihull revolving around the Old Hall, a local headquarters of the Knights Templar from the twelfth century, and the associated nearby church built circa 1320.

Originating with nine French knights who in 1118 had banded together to provide protection to pilgrims to the Holy Land, these monastic knights of the Order of the Temple of Solomon, or Templars, soon established a base in Jerusalem. Initially poor soldier knights, they attracted others to the cause and gradually accumulated substantial funds. They acquired Balsall from Roger de Mowbray and the name was altered to Temple Balsall. Other land in Warwickshire came their way but Temple Balsall was the headquarters of a substantial estate and training establishment. As the slides revealed they dressed in striking black or white mantles according to status but all wore the red crusader's cross, as do their Masonic namesakes today.

Early in the fourteenth century, the order fell foul of the King of France and the Pope. They were arrested, stripped of their possessions and most tortured and executed for supposed crimes. Their possessions at Temple Balsall passed to the Knights of St John (the 'Hospitaliers'), another order whose roots were in the Holy Lands and founded about the same time as the Templars. Sadly little is known about their time at Temple Balsall except that they ceased residence there in the 1470s. Subsequently their possessions were listed and valued for Henry VIII. These included the Old Hall, a part timber and part stone structure.

Beryl Ellerslie concluded her talk with some account of the Church restoration work and how today Temple Balsall has developed into a thriving Christian Community based on an initial seventeenth century foundation by a Lady Leveson for the teaching of children. It is manifested in the Sheltered Court, the Leveson Centre and St Mary's Church.

B.L.

Thursday 9th November 2006

Recent Work of the Oxfordshire Victoria County History – Dr Simon Townley

The idea of having a comprehensive study of a county's history based on original research dates from 1899. Local academics became involved and the series was dedicated to Queen Victoria. Funding was a problem until London University adopted a supervisory role. In Oxfordshire finance has come from Oxfordshire County Council, Oxford University, an independent trust and recently the Lottery Heritage Fund.

Up to the present two thirds of the county has been covered: Bloxham and Banbury, in 1969-72; Volume XVI, Henley, is expected in 2007. New developments also include paperbacks covering Burford and Henley and the creation of a web site for all 260 volumes. Dr Townley commented especially on the enthusiastic support of people with interest in their own local history. At Burford this takes the form of transcribing wills and photographing buildings.

Our speaker then turned his attention to parts of West Oxfordshire in order to show how landscapes can be reconstructed especially with the help of surveys carried out by District Valuers. This was illustrated in some detail by reference to Witney, which like Banbury was a medieval planned town, and to Carterton, which began as smallholdings but boomed with the growth of Brize Norton aerodrome.

Despite the apparent scale of all this challenging work the *VCH* remains a modest organisation faced with the constant problem of having to balance needs across every county.

B.L. and N.A.

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**.

All members' names and addresses are held on the Society's computer database for subscription and mailing purposes only. Please advise if you object to this practice.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Winter 2006/7 Programme

All meetings are held at Banbury Museum.

Thursday 14th December 2006

The Battle of Edgehill and Edgecote Trail Project, David Buxton.

Thursday 11th January 2007

The Making of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Alex May.

Thursday 8th February 2007

The Battle of Naseby and the Battlefields Trust, Martin Marix Evans.

Thursday 8th March 2007

Sanderson Miller of Radway, Gentleman Architect, Will Hawkes.

All meetings are at the
Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury,
at 7.30 p.m.