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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

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The cameras of Oxford Scientific Films were active in Banbury in October. They were filming for a short series entitled "The Pub Dig", of which the concluding episode will be centred on an archaeological excavation at the Reindeer Inn in Parsons Street. This will be shown on Sky TV before Christmas. More information is likely be in local press and our email newsletter. We hope to have a report on the dig and its discoveries in our next issue, but meanwhile, tune in and enjoy the television coverage.

Two new books by members will become available later in November. Barry Davis and Brian Little have produced an entertaining coverage and display of Banbury advertisements of the past century and a half. It is entitled *From Banbury Cakes to a Bushel of Sweetmeats* (Robert Boyd Publications, 96pp, £9.95) and is drawn entirely from illustrations in the authors' personal collection. With a caveat that "It is not the intention of this book to be a history of businesses in Banbury", nevertheless it is hoped that "readers will find much of interest which sits happily with their memories." As one fortunate to have had a preview I heartily endorse this. Available from Waterstones and elsewhere.

Nick Allen, already author of a history of Adderbury, has now published *An English Parish Church, Its Story: The Church of St Mary the Virgin, Adderbury* (154pp., lavishly illustrated, some colour, £18.50), on sale in Banbury at 'Pen & Ink' and the Tourist Bookshop, and also in Adderbury, from 19th November.

Cover: Bloxham carrier John Dipper's cart descending South Bar, 1833, by Joseph Scarcebrook (detail), OXCMS: BM 984.712, by kind permission.

BANBURY: METROPOLIS OF CARRIERS' CARTS

Barrie Trinder

For 150 years Banbury was celebrated as much for carriers' carts as for cakes and cockhorses. The historian William Potts (1868-1947) was one of many Banburians who took pride in the number of carriers travelling to the town. In 1860 the *Banbury Advertiser* calculated that 167 carriers made 395 weekly visits and enquired 'Is any other little town so visited?'¹ The *Lists* published by the Rusher family between 1796 and 1906 enable the progress of the trade to be charted with a degree of precision impossible elsewhere. Pigott's Directory in 1830 listed long-distance transport undertakings serving Banbury and added: '*Besides the above there were upwards of one hundred carts from the different villages in the neighbourhood; an account of which is annually corrected and published, and is generally distributed about the town*'. This study uses Rusher's publications, with other sources, to assess the significance of the Banbury carriers, and to investigate questions about country carriers nationally. It takes further the work published in 1976 by the late Professor Alan Everitt which was stimulated by the discovery of the notebook of a carrier who in the 1890s travelled from Walton-by-Kimcote to Leicester.² Since the mid-1970s enumerators' returns have become available from four censuses, while many trade directories are published on disk and on the University of Leicester's *Historical Directories* website <www.historicaldirectories.org>.

Everitt drew attention to references to country carriers by Charles Dickens, George Eliot, W H Hudson and Thomas Hardy but made only passing reference to a novel that deals specifically with the trade. *Cripps the Carrier* was published in 1876 by Richard Doddridge Blackmore (1825-1900), author of *Lorna Doone*, son of the curate-in-charge of Longworth, Berkshire.³ His mother died soon after his birth and his

¹ *Banbury Advertiser*, 1 Nov 1860.

² A Everitt, 'The Primary Towns of England', *Local Historian*, vol 11 (1975); A Everitt, 'Country Carriers in the Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Transport History*, new series, vol 3 (1976).

³ R D Blackmore, *Cripps the Carrier: a woodland tale* (London: Sampson Low, 1876).

infancy was passed in the care of his aunt, wife of the rector of Elsfield near Oxford, less than two miles from Beckley where the novel is set. It is a credible and informative account of carrying on the fringe of Banbury's hinterland. Sydney Tyrrell (1879-1976) in *A Countryman's Tale* (1973) describes the foibles of the carriers who served his native Eydon, and carriers are recalled in several memoirs in *Cake & Cockhorse*, as well as in *Lark Rise to Candleford* and *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe*.⁴

Year	Number of individual carriers	Journeys per week	Women carriers	Farmers, sons of farmers	Agricultural Labourers in households	Shop Keepers	Publicans
1796	16	34	-	-	-	-	-
1800	39	61	-	-	-	-	-
1805	65	97	-	-	-	-	-
1815	94	157	-	-	-	-	-
1821	133	227	7	-	-	-	-
1831	173	353	7	-	-	-	-
1841	187	379	6	-	15	5	1
1851	189	427	5	13	17	10	3
1861	187	387	5	8	35	11	15
1871	167	396	7	10	23	15	19
1881	168	400	5	8	18	8	8
1891	166	410	5	24	15	10	13
1901	162	385	10	11	14	15	11
1906	145	365	-	-	-	-	-
1907*	123	356	-	-	-	-	-
1911*	121	305	-	-	-	-	-
1939*	21	305	-	-	-	-	-
1950*	16	33	-	-	-	-	-

Table One: *Banbury carriers from Rusher's Lists, census returns and sundry directories. * = Kelly's Directory (1907-1950)*

Sources and Methodology.

William Rusher (1759?-1849), master of the Banbury Bluecoat School in the 1780s, resigned from the school in 1792 in order to concentrate on

⁴ S J Tyrrell, *A Countryman's Tale* (London: Constable, 1973); F Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Oxford University Press, edn 1957); M K Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe 1859-1919: A Study of English Village Life* (Cambridge University Press, 1961); D Loveday, 'Wardington: Memories and Hearsay', *Cake & Cockhorse (C&CH)* vol 3 (1966), pp. 46-60; W H Clark, 'Adderbury 1895-1905', *C&CH*, vol 2 (1965), pp 212-16; J L Langley, 'Memories of Late Victorian Banbury' *C&CH* vol 2 pp 51-55.

bookselling and publishing, as well as selling hats and keeping the town's Stamp Office. He published an almanac which he developed in 1795 into a short *Banbury List*, distributed free of charge. The following year he included a table of the carriers visiting the town, and brought out similar publications in subsequent years. His son John Golby Rusher (1784-1877) returned to Banbury after an apprenticeship with an Oxford printer and subsequently published the annual lists. In 1832 he appended to the *List* a classified trade directory, and the joint *List and Directory* was published annually, except in 1836, 1838 and 1840. In May 1875 Rusher presented his friend Henry Stone with a bound volume including most issues of the *List* from 1813, including that for 1841 on which survive his handwritten emendations to the text prior to the printing of the 1842 edition, an indication of the accuracy and topicality of the publication. In 1877 Jane Eliza Rusher (1822-1903) became publisher of the *List and Directory* but in 1896 she sold the title to the newspaper proprietor and historian William Potts, who produced it until 1906.⁵ The *Lists* provide a uniquely accurate chart of the rise, fluctuations and initial decline of the trade of country carrying. Data from the lists has been aligned in this study with material from county directories, census enumerators' returns and parish registers and intertwined with that from national sources.

Country carrying and trade directories prospered at the same time, and were interdependent. Directories can be tiresomely inconsistent and most were published at random frequencies. Nevertheless they are the best source for the study of country carriers. Most directories published before 1840 provide information only about towns but from the 1840s the county directories of William White, Samuel Bagshaw and Isaac Slater, and from the 1850s the Post Office Directories and those of Kelly & Co provide broader pictures. This study portrays carriers not just as visitors to towns but as members of rural communities. Carriers have been identified in the village entries of county directories and in census enumerators' returns, which reveal their by-employments and their family relationships. Most directories referred to carriers by their

⁵ L J De Freitas, *The Banbury Chapbooks* (Banbury Historical Society, 2004), pp.43-60; P Renold, 'William Rusher: a sketch of his life', *C&CH*, vol 11 (1991). Files of Rusher's *Lists and Directories* are held at the Centre for Banburyshire Studies; our Society expects to publish an alphabetical digest and CD of the *Directory, 1832-1906*, shortly. I am grateful to Jeremy Gibson for a loan of the bound volume presented in 1875 to his ancestor Henry Stone.

surnames only, which makes it difficult to distinguish women carriers. Counting the numbers of places served by carriers listed in directories can be misleading. Those served by carriers to Banbury ranged from nearby villages with populations in excess of a thousand, through deserted parishes such as Clattercote and Prescot with fewer than 20 inhabitants, to places like Costow that were no more than substantial farmsteads.

Lists in directories usually contain duplicate entries, which inflate the apparent numbers of carriers and weekly journeys. Villages may appear under more than one heading, Heyford and Upper Heyford, Earl Shilton and Shilton (Earl) or Long Sutton and Sutton (Long). Some directories listed all the possible connections made by a carrier while 'picking up on the way' (i.e. calling at farms or hamlets along his or her route), and by onward transit on journeys made to different towns on subsequent days. Kelly's directories in the 1890s detail more than a thousand weekly carrier services from Oxford, but in the list of 1895 there are actually only 108 carriers making only 258 weekly departures. Twenty seven advertised services depended on a single journey, that of John Weston of the *Red Lion*, Steeple Aston, who left the *Plough* in Cornmarket Street every Saturday afternoon nominally serving places as distant as Chipping Warden and Great Rollright. Albert Croxford, grocer and carrier of Chinnor, who attended the *Crown* in Cornmarket Street on Wednesdays and Saturdays, was credited with serving 30 different places along his route from the Chilterns to Oxford or accessible through his journeys to Marlow on Mondays, Thame on Tuesdays and High Wycombe on Fridays. The figures quoted in this study have been calculated by identifying each individual carrier and counting his or her actual departures.

Definitions.

A carrier for the purposes of this study was a village-based trader who made his or her living by conveying goods and passengers to and from a market town at least once a week, usually making the return journey in a single working day. In the nineteenth century such people were most commonly called 'country carriers', but Charles Waters of Middleton Cheney in 1851 was called a 'market carrier', men visiting Bicester in 1911 were 'village carriers' and in Berkshire there were 'errand carriers'. In 1851 Jonathan Sorrell of Charlbury was described as a 'stage carrier' and men from Hornton and Priors Hardwick were called 'common carriers'. In census returns the term 'carrier' generally refers

to a country carrier. 'Carters' and 'waggoners', grouped with carriers in aggregated occupational totals, were usually farm workers or the employees of millers or quarry owners.

Dorian Gerhold has shown that by the 1680s 'carriers' regularly took waggon to London from most parts of England.⁶ John Jordan of the *Hollybush*, Banbury, travelling weekly to London in 1681, died in 1689 leaving 'horses, wagons and other things as belongs to a carrier' to the value of £40. Long-distance carriers operated from the Banbury area until their trade was taken by the railways in the 1850s. Thomas Golby's Banbury wagons were remembered by Thomas Ward Boss. They were about 18 ft long and 12 ft high, had broad wheels and were drawn by eight horses. A punt was suspended between the axles to accommodate live sheep, pigs and poultry, stout mohair curtains secured the back, bags with food for the horses hung at the front, and a light ladder to reach the top of the load was tied to the side. These were formidable vehicles. A traveller who rode in one from Uxbridge to Leighton Buzzard about 1840 was impressed by 'its Norman roof of tarpaulin'.⁷ Long-distance wagons and vans operated from urban bases, and some owners developed extensive networks, but few country carriers worked more than one vehicle. One Jessop, of the Horsefair, travelled to Culworth and Thorpe Mandeville once or twice weekly between 1800 and 1820, but almost all the carriers serving Banbury in subsequent decades were country dwellers.

A few boats competed with country carriers. In the 1790s Couling's market boat travelled along the canal from Oxford to Banbury on Wednesdays, delivering produce for the Thursday market, and returning southwards at noon on Thursdays. Between 1802 and 1805 Beach & Co began to work a boat from Coventry arriving at Banbury on Thursday mornings and returning the same day. In 1821 Joseph Astell and Robert Wagstaff worked market boats to Oxford every Thursday. There were similar services on the rivers Severn, Trent, and Great Ouse and on the

⁶ D Gerhold, *Carriers & Coachmasters: Trade and Travel before the Turnpikes* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2005); see also J S W Gibson, 'The Immediate Route from the Metropolis to all parts...', *C&CH*, vol 12 (1991), pp.10-24; P Renold, 'William Judd and Banbury Corporation', *C&CH*, vol. 12 (1992), pp.41-44.

⁷ T W Boss, *Reminiscences of old Banbury* (Banbury: privately published, 1903, rep *C&CH*, vol 16, 2004), p.54; J Buckmaster, *A Village Politician: the Life Story of John Buckmaster* (Horsham: Caliban, 1982), p.74.

Kennet & Avon and Cromford canals. In the Lincolnshire Fens, where most villages were accessible along drainage channels, 21 'market packets' sailed to Boston for Wednesday and Saturday markets while 52 carriers travelled to the town by road.

Railways, like canals, were too rigid a mode of transport to rival country carriers who could call at hamlets and farms, although the opening of railways caused falls in carrier services from places served directly by rail. In Banbury in the 1850s services from Brackley fell from 11 weekly to four, those from Buckingham from six to two, and those from Cropredy from 13 to six, while direct carrier links to Abingdon and Leamington came to an end. Nevertheless the overall effect of railways was usually to stimulate trade in the market towns they served, and in Banbury, as in most places, carrier services increased after a momentary decline.

Preconditions.

Banbury's market in the 1790s was acknowledged as the best within 30 miles 'particularly for farmers, graziers, corn, cattle, butter, eggs, cheese, butchers' meat and other things'. The canal link to Oxford from 1790 put the town on the principal waterway route from southern to Midland England, and national carrying companies established warehouses on the local wharfs.

The management of the roads radiating from Banbury passed to turnpike trusts between 1744 and 1802.⁸ In a national context the roads passing through Banbury were of secondary significance. None was as busy as the ancient Watling Street through Stony Stratford and Towcester, and Banbury never equalled Oxford as a focus for stage coaches. The primary importance of the improvement of the roads through Banbury was for regional and local traffic. Their usefulness to country carriers was increased by the roads laid out by the commissioners who enforced the numerous enclosure acts passed for north Oxfordshire and the southern parts of Warwickshire and Northamptonshire between 1758 and 1835. Arthur Young remarked of Oxfordshire in 1813 that 'when you are at one town, you have a turnpike road to every other town'.⁹

⁸ A Rosevear, *Turnpike Roads to Banbury* (Banbury Historical Society, 2010).

⁹ A Young, *General View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1813), p.324.

Five weekly waggon services travelled from Banbury to London by three different routes, four went to Birmingham and a cart plying between Oxford and Coventry called weekly. This was characteristic of the pattern of road transport across England by the 1780s. Kendal was linked by waggon with London, Carlisle, York, Newcastle, Sheffield and Manchester. Waggon from Salisbury went to London but also to Bristol, Plymouth, Oxford, Southampton and Gosport. Provincial trade directories from the 1780s provide evidence of these regular flows of long-distance road transport, but they also reveal traces of complementary movements, daily journeys into towns by rurally-based carriers, returning on the same days, usually with carts rather than wagons. Sadler's Hampshire directory of 1784, for example, shows that Rook's cart left Bishop's Waltham for Havant every Tuesday morning.

Beginnings.

The earliest evidence about country carrying that is in any respect comprehensive comes from the *Universal British Directory* (subsequently the UBD), 'a fund of useful and important information equally interesting to the Nobleman, the Gentleman and Man of Business', that was published in London in five volumes from 1791. The directory is a disordered accumulation of data, uncertain in its chronology, and inaccurate on matters of fact. It refers, for example, to the cotton manufactory established by the late Sir James (*recte* Richard) Arkwright at Cranford (i.e. Cromford) near Matlock. Some anecdote-rich accounts of some towns, including Gravesend, Thaxted and Ulverston are excessively long; other places are dismissed briefly. Semi-digested nuggets of information from other sources include demographic statistics from the parish registers of Honiton and Liverpool. Of Doncaster the compilers declared 'we think it unnecessary to particularize the stage coaches or wagons as they are passing through almost every hour of the day', which appears to negate the purpose of a directory. The first volumes of the UBD are concerned with London and information in later volumes relating to the provinces appears to date from the mid-1790s. The people of Shrewsbury were said to be looking forward to the olive branch of peace and to the completion of navigations, suggesting a date after the outbreak of war in 1793, and before the opening of the Shrewsbury Canal in 1797. Rowland Burdon's iron bridge at Sunderland had been 'begun some years ago' (in fact in December 1792) but remained incomplete, suggesting a date before its formal opening in August 1796.

For all its faults the UBD provides positive and substantially accurate information about transport that, if interpreted with scepticism and imagination, illuminates the pattern of country carrying emerging at the end of the eighteenth century. It shows, unsurprisingly, that inter-urban regional carriers linked most large towns with their smaller neighbours. It further reveals that carriers providing local services visited many towns, although most lists do not distinguish country carriers from other transport providers. From Downton in Wiltshire two carriers took passengers and goods the six miles northwards to Salisbury on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and four carts a day took goods from Nuneaton and places en route into Coventry. The list of 'Carriers to and from Leicester every Saturday' totals 40 departures, most them to nearby villages, such as Blaby, Bruntingthorpe and Wigston, while middle-distance stage wagons serving Loughborough, Melton Mowbray and Nottingham are listed separately. It is unsurprising that a carrying network was emerging in the 1790s at Leicester, subsequently one of the principal carrying centres of the Midlands, but the UBD entry for Nottingham, which by the 1850s had even more carriers, lists only five local departures. The 30 or so carrier journeys into Bury St Edmunds include some from nearby villages such as Hartest, Walsham-Le-Willows and Barnham, while Exeter was visited by carriers from Dawlish, Exmouth and Honiton. Country-based carriers serving market towns were indeed emerging in the 1790s.

Some entries in the UBD suggest that country carrying as practised in the nineteenth century developed from earlier practices by which carriers from small communities travelled to large towns, where they spent one or two nights before returning to their bases, sometimes making overnight stops en route. Joshua Gear of Barton-upon-Humber sent one or two carts every Tuesday to Louth, returning on Thursdays. Three carriers from Attleborough set out on the 14-mile journey to Norwich every Friday evening returning on the following Saturday evenings. Thomas Crawford, 'common carrier', travelled 12 miles every Tuesday from Easingwold to York, where he made connection with a London waggon. He went home after the arrival of the return service from the capital on Thursdays. As late as 1854 the compiler of a county directory found it worthwhile to stipulate that a Swerford carrier accomplished his 14-mile return journey to Banbury in the course of one day suggesting that his predecessors may have stayed overnight.

The UBD complimented Banbury's market but named no carriers. Rusher's publication in 1796 listed 16 who made about 34 calls a week, suggesting that that carrying to Banbury was on the point of take-off. Rusher's printing office was in the Market Place near the corner of Cornhill, close to many public houses where carriers lodged their carts. He obviously understood the trade, and the pattern of expansion shown by his publications appears to reflect reality. By 1800, 39 carriers were making approximately 61 journeys per week. In 1805 65 carriers made almost a hundred; 133 carriers made 227 in 1821, and by 1851 189 were making 427 journeys.

The imprecision of some of the information provided in Rusher's early lists and the UBD reinforces the sense that country carrying was only beginning in the 1790s. In Rusher's first list Richard Constable from Bloxham and Edward Tompkins from Cropredy travelled to Banbury 'almost every day', whilst Stanley's cart from Eynsham went to the town 'most Thursdays'. In 1808 Humphris from Greatworth travelled on Thursdays and *sometimes* on Mondays. Regular carriers plied to York from Kirby Moorside but the UBD revealed that 'Richard Wrightson goes occasionally to Malton'. John Chapman who worked from the *George & Star* at Whittlesey reckoned to do four journeys a week to Ramsey but 'not regularly'. Pigot's directories published in the 1820s and 30s provide a second national view of country carrying. Comparison with the UBD suggests that by the 1820s significant numbers of carriers were travelling into most English towns, and that the trade had grown at a rate commensurate with that revealed by the Rusher's closely-observed Banbury lists. Directories published in 1828 show substantial numbers of village carriers serving Chesterfield, Derby, Mansfield and Nottingham, and busy carrying activity in industrial Lancashire. In 1830 Reading was linked with 74 rural communities, Newbury with 37, Abingdon with 30 and Wantage with 15. There were services from Bristol to about 160 local or regional destinations, and to 38 from Gloucester, and in 1835 substantial numbers of carriers travelled to Loughborough, Market Harborough, Melton Mowbray, Coventry and Warwick.

The development of carrying networks.

The years around 1850 marked the zenith of country carrying in most regions. Country carriers operated ubiquitously across England. They are portrayed in Warwickshire by George Eliot, in Dorset by Hardy, in Norfolk, by Dickens, in Wiltshire by Hudson and in central Oxfordshire by Blackmore. In Cornwall in 1856 nine village carriers made

17 journeys per week into St Austell, and 26 made 60 weekly visits to Truro. In Northumberland 56 carriers in 1858 journeyed weekly to Alnwick, making 65 calls, while twenty made 41 journeys a week into Morpeth and 20 travelled into Berwick-upon-Tweed. In the North West there were almost 50 departures a week from Carlisle in the 1840s and 50s, some of them crossing the Scottish border to Annan and Lockerbie, while communities along the Cumbrian coast were served by about two dozen weekly departures from Whitehaven, and those in the northern Pennines by carriers to Appleby, Barnard Castle and Richmond (Yorks).

The principal carrying towns in the 1850s were Nottingham, to which 238 carriers made 559 weekly journeys, and Leicester, served in 1855 by 258 carriers, who made 489 journeys per week. Carrying services to larger industrial cities were elements within complex patterns of short distance transport. Leeds in 1847 was visited by 132 carriers making 326 journeys a week, but the city retained coach services to such places as Otley, Wetherby, and Dewsbury and omnibuses went to Bradford, Armley, Hunslet and elsewhere. Birmingham in 1850 was visited by 114 carriers making 327 journeys per week, but omnibuses made about 80 departures a day to destinations across the Black Country and to such places as Lichfield, Bromsgrove and Belbroughton. The city was linked with Wolverhampton, Tipton and Dudley by five fast canal packets per day, and two companies offered regional carrying services for small parcels. Manchester in 1853 was served by 80 country-style carriers, making 281 journeys per week, but many transport needs were met by other means. Coaches carried passengers to Bolton, Buxton, and Oldham, while omnibuses plied to the suburbs, providing half-hourly services to Broughton and to Old Trafford. Ten canal packet boats departed daily for Runcorn, Worsley and Warrington. Gore's locally-published directory of Liverpool in 1853 included a list of 'Country Carriers' but it totalled only 12 individuals making 49 weekly journeys. The city's links with its hinterland were maintained by specialist road carriers, and by general carrying companies, who operated by road, rail and water. Hull in 1851 was visited by 193 carriers making 312 journeys per week, but its local and regional transport services were diverse. Twenty six carriers crossed the River Humber on ferries, and were dependent on tides. Market boats made 20 journeys a week to the city while steam packets and sailing vessels served towns and villages along the navigable tributaries of the River Humber, coaches plied to Hornsea, Cottingham, Beverley and other towns up to 15 miles distant.

The twenty towns with the most intensive carrier services in the 1850s, all with more than 150 journeys per week, are detailed in Table 2. Places served by between 100 and 150 weekly journeys included Newbury with 154, Bath, with 141, Derby with 131, Cambridge and King's Lynn, each with 116, Guildford with 112 and Gloucester with 106. Several of Banbury's near neighbours, including Aylesbury, Buckingham, Daventry, Abingdon and Warwick had between fifty and a hundred, as did Cirencester, Winchester, Lewes, Stamford, Melton Mowbray, Chester and Chichester. Towns with between thirty and fifty included Bicester, Leamington, Towcester, Sleaford, Horncastle, Rugby, Durham, Burton-on-Trent and Lutterworth. Even the smallest market centres had modest carrier networks. Chipping Norton had 24 incoming journeys per week, Witney 21, Nantwich and Beccles each had 18, and Huntingdon had 23. Evidence in Rusher's *Lists* of carriers to Banbury who travelled to other towns on other days of the week suggests that carrying to the smaller market centres was well-established before 1830. The list for 1831 names five carriers who travelled to Woodstock, eight to Chipping Norton, nine to Bicester; and four to Towcester and Shipston-on-Stour.

The carrier's modus operandi.

Carriers delivered country produce, eggs, butter, cheese and vegetables into market towns. Some went to retailers for local sale, some to wholesalers for despatch to distant destinations, and some, as portrayed by Beatrix Potter in *Johnny Town Mouse*, to private customers with regular orders. Carriers provided connections with national freight carriers by road waggon and by water. Their best-remembered work was the conveyance of orders from country people to shopkeepers in the town whose errand boys and girls delivered specified goods to the carrier's calling point to be loaded on to his or her vehicle for the return journey. When visiting Oxford, Blackmore's Zachary Cripps had 'a great host of commissions at very small figures to execute in the Market' with farmers, butchers, poulterers, chandlers and grocers. Sydney Tyrrell recalled that carriers delivered hand tools, boots, ready-made clothing, fabrics for dresses, cough mixtures and pills, and that on Thursdays carts were weighed down by armfuls of *Banbury Guardians* and *Banbury Advertisers*. Dorothy Loveday remembered that in the 1890s the village carrier delivered fish from Banbury to her home at Wardington. Carriers handled varied one-off consignments. Zachary Cripps en route from Oxford to Beckley stopped at the *Black Horse* in St Clements to pick up

<i>Town</i>	<i>Directory</i>	<i>Number of carriers</i>	<i>Journeys per week</i>
Nottingham	PO 1855	238	559
Leicester	PO 1855	258	489
Banbury	Rusher 1851	189	427
Birmingham	White 1850	114	327
Leeds	White 1847	132	326
Hull	White 1851	193	312
Manchester	Whellan 1853	80	281
Norwich	White 1854	135	263
Coventry	White 1850	100	258
Reading	Kelly 1848	100	233
Northampton	PO 1854	114	226
Bristol	Slater 1852-53	72	217
Exeter	White 1850	84	213
Bury St Edmunds	Wright 1844	98	204
Lincoln	White 1856	127	204
Maidstone	PO 1855	71	178
Worcester	PO 1850	95	170
Colchester	PO 1869	49	167
Bedford	PO 1854	79	161
Salisbury	PO 1850	94	160
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	PO 1858	98	159
York	White 1851	118	158
Newark	PO 1855	117	158
Newbury	PO 1854	79	146
Bath	Slater 1852-53	55	141
Derby	PO 1855	61	131
Cambridge	PO 1869	73	116
King's Lynn	White 1854	54	116
Guildford	PO 1855	39	112
Boston	White 1856	52	108
Chelmsford	PO 1869	49	107
Gloucester	PO 1856	45	106

Table 2: *The principal carrier towns c.1850, in order of number of journeys per week.*

seed potatoes ordered by the local squire from a nursery near Maidenhead and deposited by the coach from Henley. William Cotton Risley (1798-1869), vicar of Deddington, ordered chairs in Oxford for an archdiaconal visitation in 1842 that were delivered by carrier, and two

years later sent a bath chair by carrier to his friend John Barber (1778-1854), lawyer of Adderbury.¹⁰ Dickens's Mr Barkis was delayed in a journey to Yarmouth delivering a bedstead at a public house. The carrier might also collect stock for his or her other businesses, groceries or haberdashery for village shops, yeast and flour for bakeries, seeds for smallholdings, or wines and spirits for pubs. Flora Thompson recalled that while most customers at the pub at Lark Rise (Juniper Hill) slowly sipped half pints of beer, the local doctor sometimes demanded a hot brandy and water.¹¹ Audrey Taylor described the 'spread of the banking habit' around Banbury in the early nineteenth century.¹² Trustworthy carriers maintained contacts between farmers and landowners and their banks and Tyrrell recalled that William Cherry of Lower Boddington exchanged farmers' cheques for cash to be paid out as wages.

Carriers doubtless contributed to the operation of rural industries, although there is little solid evidence of the rôles they played. They probably took yarn for making plush from warehouses in Banbury to weavers in villages as far away as Brailes, and perhaps returned with completed pieces of cloth. Plushmaking was declining, and the domestic industries that flourished in parts of Banburyshire in the mid-nineteenth century had their hubs elsewhere, glove-making in Woodstock, Charlbury and Witney and lacemaking in Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire. Other rural craftsmen relied upon country carriers for the delivery of tools and raw materials, and for the conveyance of their products to markets, shops and national carriers in Banbury. There were shoemakers in almost every village, tailors in most and saddlers in some, all of whom depended on suppliers in Banbury for materials and sundries. In 1871 there were basket makers in Alkerton, Cropredy, Milcombe, Sibford, Upper Boddington, redware potters at Adderbury and Barford, a wood carver at Milton, a white leather dresser at Shutford, a clock maker at Sibford, a herbalist at Middle Barton, a mop manufacturer at Chadlington and two spinster hat manufacturesses at Shotteswell. Quarry masters at Hornton and Radway would have been

¹⁰ G Smedley-Stevenson, ed, *Early Victorian Squarson: The Diaries of William Cotton Risley, I, 1835-1848* (Banbury Historical Society, 2007), pp.116, 155.

¹¹ F Thompson, *Lark Rise to Candleford* (Oxford University Press, edn 1957); (57, 60)

¹² A Taylor, *Gillets: Bankers at Banbury and Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964): (p 52).

constantly in need of new tools, while operators of steam ploughing and threshing engines required parts, and the many building workers who lived in the countryside obtained paint, putty, locks, nails and piping from Banbury's ironmongers.

Several carriers who travelled considerable distances to Banbury did purely rural rounds, collecting or distributing goods on the preceding or subsequent days. John Harvey of Whichford, after visiting Banbury on Thursdays in 1851, went through Stourton, Cherrington, Long Compton, Toddenham and Barton Heath on Fridays, while Joseph Higham from Woodford went to Preston Capes every Tuesday, and George Mansfield from Fringford did a circuit on Fridays through Hethe, Cottisford and Stratton Audley.

It was generally assumed that carriers conveyed passengers. W H Hudson enjoyed rising early to ride to Salisbury, overtaking carriers' carts, 'each with its little cargo of packages and women with baskets and an old man or two'. Thomas Hardy describes in *The Woodlanders*, '...a slight noise of labouring wheels, and the steady dig of a horse's shoe-tips ... there loomed in the notch of sky and plantation a carrier's van drawn by single horse. The vehicle was half-full of passengers, mostly women ... This hour of coming home from market was the happy one, if not the happiest of the week for them...' In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Michael Henchard sat himself in the darkest corner at the back of a carrier's van in which most of the other passengers were women going short journeys. Joseph Ashby's mother in 1870 reserved seats for herself and her son on the carrier's cart return trip from Banbury to Tysoe, but, with other families, the pair walked the outward journey along field paths.¹³ Similarly, a servant from Beckley walked into Oxford but hoped to ride home with Zachary Cripps. Walter Clark remembered that around 1900 young people from Adderbury found it exciting and pleasurable to make the three-mile journey to Banbury in Plackett's carrier's cart rather than on the train.

A carrier required an unblemished reputation for probity and the multiplicity of small transactions that he undertook necessitated functional numeracy. Gertrude Jekyll (1843-1932) recorded that carriers in Surrey in 1904 carried notebooks, but that 'older men who could neither read nor write could remember and would fill their vans with

¹³ M K Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe 1859-1919: A Study of English Village Life* (Cambridge University Press, 1961); p 26.

their many commissions without forgetting anything or making a mistake'.¹⁴ Sydney Tyrrell contrasted the perpetually confused George Hunt of Eydon with the efficient William Cherry of Lower Boddington. Some Banbury carriers, among them George Godson of Brailes and William Hayward of Heyford, were sufficiently financially literate to have accounts at Gilletts' Bank.

Carrying concerns were family businesses. Many carriers relied upon wives or mothers to take in consignments for transit to towns or to hold commissioned goods until they were collected by customers. Seven women in the Banbury region in 1851, 13 in 1871, and ten in 1881 were recorded on the census as 'carriers' wives', indicating that enumerators recognised that they contributed to the running of the business, as did the wives of butchers and home-based shoemakers. In *The Old Curiosity Shop* (published in 1841), Kit collects a box from a carrier's house where he receives it from the carrier's wife. In 1861 the census listed the occupation of Elizabeth, wife of Robert Fowler, carrier of Bloxham as 'Carrier (assists)'. Some men in their late teens or twenties were defined in the census as 'carriers' sons' and doubtless worked with their fathers, just as 'farmers' sons' obviously worked on the land. The occupations of the three sons of the Newbottle carrier Richard Page in 1881, aged 19, 16 and 13 were all given as 'Assists Father' and that of the 17-year-old son of John Cherry of Lower Boddington, carrier and coal merchant was recorded in 1881 as 'Carrier helps his father'. No occupation was recorded for his wife but his 14-year-old daughter's occupation was 'Carrier helps her mother'. Many sons succeeded their fathers as carriers, as it appears, did some sons-in-law. George Blaby, working from Hempton Road, Deddington in 1881 at the age of 25, appears to have taken over the business of his father-in-law Joseph Hemming, whose widow lodged with his family. A carrying business might pass smoothly from one generation to another, but inter-generational impatience or fraternal rivalry could create competition. The Hook Norton carrier in 1851 Robert Borsbury apparently succeeded his 80-year-old widowed father, but for a time afterwards he faced competition from another family member, probably his brother.

Some carriers were shopkeepers or publicans, whose carrying businesses may have originated as trips to collect supplies from towns,

¹⁴ G Jekyll, *Old West Surrey: some notes and memories* (1904. rep 1978, Dorking: Kohler & Coombes), p. 45.

which expanded as they undertook errands for others, and offered accommodation for passengers. Pubs and village shops could readily serve as points where a carrier's customers could leave goods for onward transit and collect their orders. Three Banbury carriers in 1851, 15 in 1861, 19 in 1871, eight in 1881, 13 in 1891, 11 in 1901 were landlords of public houses. Ten village grocery shops were carriers' bases in 1851, 11 in 1861, 15 in 1871, five in 1881, 10 in 1891 and 15 in 1901. Other carriers were butchers, bakers, maltsters, bootmakers and ropemakers, several served as parish clerks, and eight in 1871 also traded as coal dealers.

Most carriers belonged to that class within the rural community which had rather more independence than the wage-dependent farm labourer. Joseph Arch (1826-1919), leader of the farmworkers' trade union, could live without deference to his 'betters' because his hedging and ditching skills enabled him always to find work, and because his grandfather had acquired the freehold of the family home at Barford (Warwickshire).¹⁵ At least 13 of the 189 carriers who visited Banbury in 1851 and eight in 1861 occupied small farms, all but two of them of 12 acres or less. In 1871 ten of the 167 carriers who visited Banbury were farmers, with a median holding size of 25 acres, and two were the sons of farmers. Nevertheless 16 who visited Banbury in 1851, 35 in 1861, 23 in 1871 and 12 in 1881, shared their homes with unmarried sons, bachelor brothers, widowed fathers or fathers-in-law, or lodgers who laboured on the land. The Hanwell carrier Joseph Hazlewood in 1881 had two sons who were agricultural labourers, while the occupation of the 18-year-old son of John Watts, the other Hanwell carrier, was recorded as 'Assists with carrying and at odd times an agricultural labourer'. Some families were carriers over many decades but for others the occupation was precarious. Thomas Barber and William Haynes of King's Sutton, listed as carriers in 1871, were recorded as agricultural labourers ten years later. Nevertheless carriers seem to have avoided pauperdom, although in 1871 Joseph Curtis of Marston St Lawrence, a carrier, who had been temporarily crippled by a fall, was living with his pauper brother.

Rusher listed Thomas Padbury of Enoch's Colony as a carrier from Sibford between 1855 and 1865. He was recorded as a carrier in the

¹⁵ J Arch, *The Autobiography of Joseph Arch* (ed. J.G.O'Leary, Macgibbon & Kee, 1966), pp.20-21.

1861 census but as a farm labourer in 1871. An account of the Colony in 1873 recorded that Padbury combined carrying to Banbury with hauling stone from quarries.¹⁶ The Colony was founded in 1849-50 by the Quaker John Enoch who had visited the Charterville at Minster Lovell, one of the five settlements established by Feargus O'Connor's Chartist Land Company. Each of the eight cottages had a living room, parlour, pantry and three bedrooms, with a barn, hovel and privy outside, and a plot of 1½ acres.

In *The Woodlanders* Thomas Hardy described Mrs Dollery, a carrier to Casterbridge (Dorchester), who 'hopped up and down many times in the service of her passengers' and wore short leggings under her gown 'for modesty's sake'. A consistent minority of carriers were women. Rusher's Lists identified between five and seven female carriers in each census year between 1821 and 1891 and ten in 1901. In 1821 Ann Ellis and Ann Gilkes travelled two or three times a week from Adderbury to Banbury, Judith Dogget from Broughton, Mrs Howkins from Chalcombe, Mary Gubbins from Chipping Warden, Mary Tuckey from Moreton Pinkney and Phoebe Hartley from South Newington. Most women carriers were widows continuing their husbands' businesses, but some were spinsters and some were married women whose husbands pursued other trades. Mary Haynes, carrier from King's Sutton, was the wife of a farm labourer and Susanna Hitchcox, carrier from Alkerton in 1871, was married to a carpenter. In 1851, Mary Tugwood, the Radway carrier, employed a 'carrier journeyman' who lived-in. In 1881 Mary Mullis of Avon Dassett, the 34-year-old spinster daughter of a farm labourer operated her own business, travelling to the *Bear* in Banbury twice a week. Elizabeth French, widow of Deddington, was working at the age of 79, but with the assistance of her 43-year-old bachelor son, while the widow Sarah Heritage was carrying daily from Chacombe at the age of 76. Patience Tustain of Malthouse Lane, Shutford, also a widow, combined carrying with a bakery business. Sarah Packer, wife of a blind musician, operated a daily service from Tingewick into Buckingham in the 1860s. Several women carriers appear in almost every directory list, at least four at Leicester in 1835 and at Nottingham in 1855, five at Stamford in 1861, three at Northampton in 1854, at least three at York in 1851, and 26 amongst the 57 carriers who visited Leominster in 1913.

¹⁶ *Banbury Guardian*, 24 Dec 1873.

It was difficult for a country-based carrier to expand his or her business but a few town-based concerns fulfilled some of the functions of country carriers. John Bletchley's warehouse in Thomas Street, Bristol, was the focus in the 1850s for local as well as regional services. Vehicles were despatched to Southampton, Exeter and London, but they also went to places such as Malmesbury, Minchinhampton and Wotton-under-Edge, that might have been served by traditional country carriers. A carrier called Robinson travelling to several pit villages east of Durham, by 1890 offered services to destinations in a wide circuit around the city. Daily journeys from the framework knitting village of Ruddington were being provided in 1891 by the Ruddington Carrying Company but the firm served only one other village on its route into Nottingham. The potential for significantly expanding businesses came only in the 1920s.

Capital.

It was possible to enter the carrying trade at an early age from a labouring background. In 1861 John Hone was carrying from Adderbury at the age of 16 from the home of his father, a plush weaver. In 1881 Edward Waring, son of a Bodicote farm labourer, was working as a carrier at the age of 18 while still living in the parental household, as was George Tasker of Cropredy, son of a groom. John Taylor, farmer of 57½ acres at Balscott in 1871, had four sons, of whom the two eldest worked on the farm. The third, aged 27, was established as a butcher, while the youngest, aged 24, was a carrier to Banbury. John Benson defined as 'penny capitalism', enterprises that could be established by the investments of small windfalls, modest inheritances, spells of highly-paid work as a navy or itinerant harvester, or successful gambling.¹⁷ Contemporaries with the same resources might invest in a small shop, a beer house, a lodging house, or a steam threshing engine. In the mid-twentieth century working people in Banbury hopeful of winning the football pools, aspired to own fish-and-chip shops or seaside boarding houses.

A carrier required a suitable property, whether freehold or rented, with accommodation for a horse and a vehicle, and space for storing goods in transit. Public houses and village shops fulfilled these requirements as well as providing additional sources of revenue. Sydney Tyrrell thought that the home of George Hunt of Eydon might have been designed for a

¹⁷ J Benson, *The Penny Capitalists: a Study of Nineteenth-Century Working Class Entrepreneurs* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1983).

carrier. It had a recess in the wall open to the street about 10 ft across and 5 ft deep, with the floor of a bedroom above. To the left was the door of the cottage; to the right the stable door, and between the two the entrance into a hay and corn store.

The carrier's vehicle was traditionally a two-wheeled cart, but in the early days of carrying to Banbury some employed four-wheeled wagons. The 39 carriers in 1800 used 25 carts and three wagons, while vehicles used by the other 11 were unrecorded. The equivalent figures in 1805 were 52 carts and 4 waggons. The assurance in the UBD listing of carriers from Barton-on-Humber that 'All the carts and wagons have a covering so that goods or passengers may be conveyed very dry', suggests that the covered cart was a novelty in the 1790s. Between 1836 and 1839 Rusher changed the heading of his list of carriers from '*Waggon, Carts &c*' to '*Carriers, Carts, Vans etc*'. Two-wheeled carts were made by local wheelwrights (by *cartwrights* in northern England). A directory of 1854 listed 462 master wheelwrights in Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Northamptonshire. Tyrrell recalled that the Eydon cart had a light semi-circular roof, covered with tarpaulin to keep goods dry, but when weather was good a carter could, like Cripps on a summer day, take out the hoops and travel without cover. In the weeks before Christmas poultry might be carried in punts slung beneath the cart, or suspended from rods mounted on the top or sides. A carrier's equipment included oak wedges to secure his vehicle if he stopped on a steep gradient, such as Cripps used on Headington Hill. For the descent of hills the cart might be fitted with a drag to stop the vehicle running away, such as that lowered by Hardy's carrier as he prepared to descend Yelbury Hill to the accompaniment of the Casterbridge bells.

Some vans were made by coachmakers, 14 of whom traded in Banbury between 1832 and 1865. Coachmakers could buy axles from the Mason brothers' forge at Deddington, and steel springs and iron fittings from suppliers in the Black Country. Roofs might be made from paper board. The bodywork of the van from Wardington preserved in Banbury Museum is of commonplace softwood, and is perhaps the work of a wheelwright rather than a coachmaker. Vans were especially favoured by carriers from small towns who travelled to other towns, such as John Mace of Chipping Norton or William Edmonds of Bicester. Photographs of the late nineteenth century show both two-wheeled carts and four-wheeled vans in Banbury, some inscribed with the names and routes of their owners, 'Levi West, Byfield, Carrier to Banbury,

Daventry, Leamington' and 'Thomas H Deeley, Carrier to Banbury from Deddington & Clifton'.¹⁸ Dorothy Loveday recalled that John Mainwood of Wardington had 'an ordinary four-wheeled cart' but also a four-wheeled 'boxed-in' vehicle sufficiently elegant to be adapted to take gentry families to balls. Some carriers deployed additional vehicles, possibly those used at other times to deliver coal, to meet demand during Banbury's Michaelmas Fair.

Thomas Hardy described in *The Woodlanders* a carrier's 'old horse, whose hair was of the roughness and colour of heather, whose leg joints, shoulders and hoofs were distorted by harness and drudgery from colthood'. By repute horses grew to know their routes. Carriers usually walked beside their horses, and gave them nose bags while they rested at their urban bases. According to Blackmore, when the Beckley carrier's horse was in Oxford he was 'as happy as he can be with twenty five horses to talk to him'. The horse belonging to Richard French (1804-64), carrier of Deddington, was stolen in 1841 and was reckoned to be worth £12.¹⁹ A further and significant element of a carrier's capital was his goodwill. Some businesses in the Banbury region were certainly taken over by people unrelated to their predecessors, but there are no records of such transactions. Dickens related that the successor of C P Barkis paid well for his goodwill as well as his cart and horse.

Calling places.

Throughout England most of the calls made by country carriers in their destination towns were at public houses. As a Huntingdonshire directory of 1854 remarked of St Ives, 'The inns and public houses are very numerous, supplying entertainment and shelter to the dealers, farmers and others who resort to the town on the market day...' Most calling places were respectable old-established taverns, although six of the 28 carriers to St Ives in 1851 went to the beerhouse of John Ablett in Back Street. The yards of most hostleries could not accommodate the numbers of carts they attracted, and the inns named in directories served as repositories where consignments for carriers could safely be left while carts were parked in nearby streets. W H Hudson observed carts in Salisbury, 'drawn up in rows on rows – carriers from little villages on the Bourne, the Avon, the Wyiye, the Nadder, the Ebbic, and from all over the Plain'. *White's*

¹⁸ M. Graham & L Waters, *Britain in Old Photographs: Banbury Past and Present*. (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 32, 30.020

¹⁹ G Smedley-Stevenson, ed, *Early Victorian Squarson*, p 100.

Directory of York for 1895 describes the public houses from which carriers began their outward journeys as their 'booking offices'. The need for a base was summarised in a Hull directory of 1851 which pointed out that there was a warehouse at the *Humber Tavern* for the reception of goods brought by or to be forwarded by market boats. Kelly's directory for 1893 named the calling places of the 48 carriers who visited Beverley each Saturday either as streets, or alongside business premises including the Yorkshire Bank, Miss Fenwick, haberdasher, and Hobson & Son, grocers. In 1891 two dozen carriers departed each Saturday afternoon from Parliament Street in the centre of Nottingham. In Banbury in 1851, every Thursday some 23 carriers called at the *Plough*, which fronted Cornhill, where by 1900 there was a fountain from which horses could drink.²⁰ Carts parked on the north side of High Street formed a stockade which impeded the escape of the mayor, Thomas Draper, when he was attacked by a cow one market day in October 1863.²¹

The principal carriers' inns in Banbury retained their popularity. *The Plough* and the *Waggon & Horses* each had 40 calls per week in 1851, 45 and 38 respectively in 1881, 36 and 42 in 1891, and 40 and 25 in 1911. Other inns that had significant numbers of calls per week over long periods included the *Angel*, the *Bear*, the *Catherine Wheel*, the *Leathern Bottle*, the *Old George* and the *White Hart*. Some innkeepers turned away from carrying. The *Talbot*, important in 1831, did not cater for carriers in 1851 or subsequently, and the *Town Hall Tavern* which had 18 calls in 1881 was not visited by carriers in 1911, whereas the *Coach & Horses*, not a carriers' inn in 1881, had 20 calls a week in 1911. Fashions changed in most towns. In 1854 eight of Newbury's 79 carriers called at the *Jack of Newbury*, a prestigious inn of 1754 demolished in 1934, but by 1899 only four called there, and not at the hotel itself but at its 'tap'. Only a minority of carriers ended their journeys at places other than pubs. Rusher's first list in 1796 shows four of Banbury's 16 carriers calling at the warehouses of long-distance carriers, and in 1800 two called at the canal wharf. In 1821 five carriers made calls at the warehouses of trunk waggoners, two at the post office and one at William Rusher's print shop. Banbury's impressive alcohol-free public house of 1875-76 at the junction of Mill Lane and Bridge

²⁰ M Lester, *Those Golden Days* (Banbury: privately published, 1992), pp.32, 59.

²¹ *Banbury Guardian*, 15 Oct 1863.

Street was never a calling place for carriers, but in Abingdon, Truro, Hexham and Oswestry carriers were based at temperance hotels and six of the 22 carriers to Chester in 1902 went to the *Nag's Head* cocoa house. In some towns, including Farnham and Peterborough, carriers called at Post Offices or railway stations.

Banbury's Hinterland.

In the mid-1850s the printer Henry Stone published a map of the area ten miles round Banbury, which he evidently perceived to be the hinterland of his business and those of his neighbours. Every significant community within these bounds was consistently served by carriers to Banbury for the century up to the outbreak of the First World War, and there were equally regular services from sizeable villages up to 12 miles from the town, from Enstone, Priors Hardwick and Woodford Halse, for example. Carriers also travelled from more distant villages, some of them quite small places. Some services lasted only for short periods but the fluctuating frontier of Banbury's carrying hinterland testifies to the magnetic power of the town's market. The increasing length of Rusher's *Lists* in the late nineteenth century did not reflect an expansion of the hinterland but simply the inclusion of calls at places which had always been served by passing carriers, such as Baynard's Green, Clifton, Twyford Wharf and Hornton quarries.

The carriers travelling to Banbury can be divided into four principal categories. First those from large villages near to the town mostly visited on five or six days a week and did not travel to other towns. Adderbury, Bloxham, Middleton Cheney and King's Sutton all lay within five miles of Banbury. All had populations in excess of a thousand, and each enjoyed between 10 and 20 weekly carrier services to Banbury. In 1911 a Bloxham carrier visited the *Coach & Horses* twice daily. Carriers of this kind tended not to have other occupations, although some were also coal merchants.

The second group came from small towns, mostly between nine and seventeen miles from Banbury. Significantly carriers travelled to Banbury from such places, but no Banbury-based carriers went in the opposite directions. Such carriers provided connections to more distant places. Rusher in 1851 records that John Brightwell, the Daventry carrier who visited Banbury on Mondays and Thursdays forwarded goods to Northampton, Leicester and Lutterworth. These services were particularly subject to competition from railways which provided direct links to Oxford, Buckingham and Brackley in 1850, to Southam,

Leamington and Warwick in 1852, to Northampton and Towcester in 1872, to Chipping Norton and Cheltenham in 1887 and to Bicester in 1910. Carriers travelled to Banbury directly from Southam, Brackley, Daventry, Bicester, Charlbury, Shipston-on-Stour and Chipping Norton from the early nineteenth century, and there were regular services from Buckingham, with connections for Aylesbury and Bedford, until the 1870s. A waggoner from Coventry passed through Banbury each week northwards and southwards while travelling to Oxford, but ceased operating in 1846-47, after which, apart from the mail cart and the railway, there were no direct links with Oxford, although village carriers offered overnight connections. Southam carriers maintained next day links with Coventry and a Grandborough carrier with Rugby. For many years the Bugbrooke carrier Benjamin Ashby maintained a connection between Northampton and Banbury. There were direct services from Leamington and Warwick until the opening of the railway. Carriers from Towcester travelled to Banbury in the 1820s but from 1831 connections were maintained by men from Blakesley, Culworth, Helmdon and Woodend. From the mid-1820s a Stony Stratford carrier travelled to Banbury on Thursdays and returned at 08.00 on Friday mornings, working through to Newport Pagnell, but the service ceased when the Buckinghamshire Railway opened. The carrier continued to work from Stony Stratford to other towns. A carrier from Abingdon travelled the 30 miles through Woodstock to Banbury every Thursday from 1831 until 1857. Links with Witney were maintained from the 1820s by Charlbury carriers, while Woodstock, on the route of stage coaches and of four wagons a week from Banbury to London before the 1850s, enjoyed a direct carrier link only for a few years after 1850, although the town was visited by carriers from the Bartons, Charlbury and Sandford St Martin who also went to Banbury. A Stourton carrier before 1873 offered a service to Moreton-in-Marsh to which connections were subsequently maintained by Chipping Norton carriers. There was a direct service from Stow-on-the-Wold between 1845 and 1852. Job Coleman from 1826 travelled the 46 miles from Cheltenham to the *Buck & Bell* at Banbury through Stow-on-the-Wold and Chipping Norton also serving the village of Lower Swell. His route appears to have been continued by three other carriers in succession between 1839 and 1850. No carrier from Stratford-upon-Avon travelled to Banbury but connections were maintained by carriers from Kington, Long Compton, Pillerton Priors and Shipston-on-Stour.

The third group, who provided most journeys to Banbury, were carriers from the villages within a radius of 12 miles that were either too small or too far distant to require daily services. By 1800 carriers were travelling to Banbury from as far afield as Tysoe (9 miles), Sandford St Martin (9 miles) and Woodford Halse (12 miles). By 1808 services had commenced from Eydon (10 miles) and Steeple Aston (11 miles) and Hook Norton (8 miles). Most carriers in this group visited Banbury on Thursdays and on one or two other days in the week, usually Mondays and Saturdays. They tended to have by-occupations and many visited other towns on days when they did not go to Banbury. In the 1850s Stephen Godson from Brailes visited Banbury on Mondays and Thursdays, Shipston-on-Stour on Tuesdays and Saturdays, and Stratford-upon-Avon on Fridays. The characteristics of this group are best illustrated by case studies.

Hanwell was served in 1815 by Denzey from Mollington, a carrier who then travelled with a waggon although he subsequently used a cart. From 1821 there were carriers based in the village. There appears to have been rivalry between John and George Jarvis, perhaps brothers, the former visiting the *Hare & Hounds* and the latter the *Reindeer*. Samuel Hazlewood, born in Hanwell about 1791, and married to a wife from Maldon, Essex, set up in opposition to the Jarvises about 1829, travelling to the *Windmill* on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and to Leamington on Tuesdays and Fridays. George Jarvis ceased trading by 1835 and John Jarvis's journeys to the *Hare & Hounds* were taken over in the late 1830s by John Watts whose family shared the trade from Hanwell with the Hazlewoods for the next half century. By 1841 Samuel Hazlewood was landlord of the *Red Lion* (now the *Moon and Sixpence*), and in 1851 was assisted in carrying by his son Joseph, then aged 16. He dropped the service to Leamington after the railway opened in 1852. In 1861 Joseph was trading from the house as a butcher. By 1871 Samuel Hazlewood, then aged 80, was still managing the pub but the carrying business was taken over by Joseph, and subsequently by his widow. During the 1880s the *Red Lion* passed to the blacksmith John Hazlewood, Samuel's eldest son.

John Watts, then in his early 20s, took over John Jarvis's journeys to the *Hare & Hounds* in the late 1830s. In 1841 he was living with his widowed mother, but soon afterwards married a wife from Sibford by whom he had six children by 1851. He was still working as a carrier, but was recorded in the 1851 census as a farm labourer, and in 1861 as a butcher. His son, also John, took over the business in the 1890s and was still carrying to Banbury in 1912.

Rusher recorded in 1805 that Mr Hartwell's cart for Farnborough left the Town Hall Steps in the Market Place on Mondays and Thursdays. Joseph Hartwell was calling at the *Plough* on Mondays and Thursdays by 1815, and by the early 1830s was also going to Warwick, although he ceased to go there shortly before the railway opened. By 1851 he had retired but the business continued with his son Jonathan who shared a house with his widowed grandmother, keeper of the village shop. During the 1860s the business passed to Ezekiel Hartwell, his brother, whose wife kept the shop. Ezekiel's son Alfred was assisting with the business by 1891, and was still carrying to the *Plough* in 1912.

The Humphris (spellings vary) family carried to Banbury from Greatworth and Marston St Lawrence for more than a century. Rusher records Mr Humphris's cart visiting the *Queen's Head* in 1808 and by 1833 Thomas Humphris went to the inn on Mondays and Thursdays, while going to Brackley on Saturdays. By 1841 Ann Humphris, Thomas's widow, was carrying on the business sharing her house with a son, John, a butcher. By 1851 the carrying business was run by James Humphris, who farmed two acres, and changed his Banbury destination to the *Bear*. By 1861 he and his wife had five sons, two of whom worked as farm labourers, and two daughters, one of whom made pillow lace. By 1876 he was running a beerhouse which in 1891 bore the name *Waggon & Horses*. His son William was still carrying to the *Bear* in 1911.

John Boddington, was born about 1825, the son of a farm labourer at Weston-on-the-Green, and in 1851 was working on the land, supporting his widowed mother. Several of the numerous Boddington family were hurdle makers, an occupation which John had taken up by 1871 by which time he had married and had three sons and a daughter, and also ran a shop.²² Between 1876 and 1881 he moved to Upper Heyford where he took over the business of James Hitchcox, running a farm, and a beerhouse then called the *Woolpack*, while his son Josiah assisted him as carrier, visiting the *Catherine Wheel* at Banbury on Mondays and Thursdays, Oxford on Wednesdays and Saturdays and Bicester on Fridays. In 1895 Josiah Boddington was working from the *Barley Mow* at Heyford, but by 1901 he had moved to the farm worked by his brother Walter in the hamlet of Caulcott, and Walter was running the carrying business in 1912.

²² The enumerators' returns for the 1861 census for the Woodstock union, which included Weston-on-the-Green, are lost.

Sydney Tyrrell recalled that George Hunt, whose family carried from Eydon to Banbury over three generations, was not a first-rate carrier: 'He and his father were poor folk – I doubt if they were any better off than the farm labourers'. Hunt took three hours to reach Banbury with eight gates to open between Eydon and Trafford Bridge and seven through Edgcote Park. The earliest record of an Eydon carrier is in 1805 when the journey was made by a man called Lynes. A Mr Hunt was visiting the *Catherine Wheel* on Thursdays and Saturdays by 1821, when he also went to Daventry on Wednesdays. By 1831 he had changed his destination to the *Waggon & Horses*. Jesse Hunt was a weaver, and the carrying business was probably started by another member of the family. In 1841 it was in the hands of Jesse's son William, who had married a woman from Duns Tew. He was still working to the *Waggon & Horses* in 1881 when he was a widower of 69, but his son George, then aged 30, was assisting in the business. George Hunt had taken over the business by 1891 and was still travelling to the *Waggon & Horses* in 1911. The Hunts faced competition for about 20 years from the mid-1870s from William Herbert, the Banburian landlord of the *Royal Oak*.

The first recorded carrier from Charlton and Newbottle was a Mr Pipkin, who by 1815 was travelling to Banbury through Aynho, terminating his journeys at the *Waggon & Horses*. During the 1830s his business passed to Henry Harris, who lived at Newbottle, while another carrier, Edward Uperton, travelled from Charlton to the *Talbot*. By 1851 James Bull was carrying from Charlton to the *Queen's Head* on Thursdays and to Brackley on Wednesdays and Saturdays. By 1861 he was landlord of a beerhouse, and was assisted by his 13 year old son, also James, while an older son worked as a farm labourer. He was still keeper of the *New Inn* at Newbottle in 1871, although by then a widower. In 1891 the *Rose & Crown* at Charlton was kept by Charles Critcher, a carrier, born at Wargrave, Berks, and married to a woman from Mollington. By 1901 the pub and the carrying business were in the hands of Thomas Frost, who was still visiting Banbury in 1911.

John Weston, born about 1846, and possibly the son of a gamekeeper, appears to have succeeded William Elmore as carrier from Steeple Aston in 1867-68, visiting the *Waggon & Horses* at Banbury on Mondays and Thursdays, and the *Plough* at Oxford on Saturdays. By 1881 he was keeping the *Red Lion*, and ten years later was employing his son as an assistant in the carrying trade and working a farm. He had given up the pub by 1901, but continued to work as a carrier, and became

an assessor of taxes. He is notable for the extraordinary number of destinations that he claimed to serve from his Saturday afternoon departure from Oxford.

John Rouse, born about 1824, began carrying to Banbury from Oxhill in the early 1860s and by 1864 was the only carrier from the village. He was succeeded before 1900 by his son, Willoughby Ernest Rouse, born in 1872, who in 1901 was living on the main street of the village with his two brothers, a builder and a schoolmaster. He went to the *Catherine Wheel*, Banbury on Thursdays, to Stratford on Fridays, and also traded as a coal merchant. He was still carrying to the *Dog and Gun* at Banbury in 1939 and 1950, and the family's bus still left Bridge Street for Oxhill every Thursday afternoon in the mid-1950s.

The fourth group of carriers travelled to Banbury from communities between 12 and 20 miles away, from an area of more than 1200 square miles. Carriers were not deterred by physical barriers. Few of those visiting Shrewsbury crossed Wenlock Edge,²³ but Banbury carriers ascended the Jurassic Ridge at Tysoe Hill, Sunrising, Knowle End and Warmington, although they may have asked their passengers to dismount on the hills. The hinterland stretched almost to the Fosse Way in the west, Watling Street in the east and Akeman Street to the south. It extended into parishes like Kidlington and Wolvercote that are now suburbs of Oxford and into Tachbrook and Whitnash now overtaken by the urban sprawl of Leamington. Most such carriers travelled to Banbury only for the Thursday markets, and went to other towns, Oxford, Northampton, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick, Leamington, Coventry or Rugby, on other days of the week. The villages from which carriers travelled more than 12 miles to Banbury are detailed in Table 3 (pages 242-243).

Carriers maintained constant services to Banbury from several large villages in Warwickshire. The first record of carrying over the 13 miles from the ironstone farmsteads of Priors Marston is in 1821, and in most years for the rest of the century three carriers journeyed weekly to Banbury. The link with nearby Priors Hardwick was similarly first listed in 1821 and continued throughout the century. Carrying to Banbury from the notorious open village of Harbury began in 1825 and continued into

²³ C Evason & P Marsh, 'Shrewsbury's Country Carriers', B Trinder, ed, *Victorian Shrewsbury: Studies in the History of a County Town* (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Libraries, 1984), p.52.

the twentieth century, although the village had a direct rail link. William Shepherd from Napton-on-the-Hill, on the Oxford Canal, began to carry to the *Angel* at Banbury in 1868, and in the early 1870s was joined by two other carriers from the village. He survived the competition and was still travelling to the *Angel* every Thursday in 1907. Services, from Lighthorne were maintained in most years from 1825, from Tachbrook between 1828 and 1862, and from Whitnash, between 1836 and 1857. Chesterton, celebrated for its seventeenth-century windmill, had a service in 1857 only, and a carrier from Hatton travelled 26 miles to Banbury only in 1865. On the other flank of Warwickshire carriers travelled regularly from Long Compton from 1831, and from Great Wolford between 1857 and 1867. Samuel Parker from Ettington carried to the *Plough* on Thursday from the early 1880s and services from Pillerton Priors were constant, with short interruptions, from 1833.

The north-eastern extremity of Banbury's hinterland was Grandborough, a village 20 miles distant on the fenny plain from which emerge the tributaries of the River Leam. William Timms, born in 1805, appears in Rusher's List in 1840 as carrier from Grandborough, travelling to Warwick and Leamington on Tuesdays and through Dunchurch to Rugby on Saturdays. He is not mentioned in Rusher again until 1846 after which he is recorded as travelling to the *Waggon & Horses* on Thursdays until 1859. He was still carrying, if not to Banbury, in 1871. William Hudson, born in 1823, shopkeeper and carrier at Grandborough in 1861, appears to have taken over the Thursday journey from Grandborough to the *Waggon & Horses* in 1864.

Apart from Bugbrooke, whose carriers linked Banbury with Northampton, the most distant Northamptonshire village from which carriers travelled to Banbury was Syresham, 13 miles distant, which had regular services from 1836. From the 1880s carriers also made regular journeys over the 16 miles from Farthingstone and the 17 miles from Greens Norton.

Several Buckinghamshire villages enjoyed direct services to Banbury, Tingewick between 1815 and 1852, Preston Bissett in 1844-47 and Lillingston Dayrell in 1823. Carriers travelled 20 miles to Banbury in 1821 from Thornborough and in 1823-27 from Gawcott. John Busby, born in 1827, was recorded as the village carrier at Shalstone in the 1871 census and Rusher records him making the 15-mile journey to Banbury between 1872 and 1874, but his occupation was listed as farm labourer in 1881 and 1891.

There were direct services to Banbury from Gaginwell in Enstone parish between 1815 and 1830, and from nearby Radford between 1861 and 1874. From 1829 until 1835 a carrier travelled to the *White Horse* from Wolvercote and a service from Kidlington and Wolvercote was listed between 1841 and 1856. There were intermittent services between 1828 and 1847 over the 16 miles from Hampton Poyle. Carriers from west of Chipping Norton went to Banbury, 16 miles from Churchill between 1828 and 1836 and 17 miles from Kingham between 1861 and 1873.

Decline.

William Potts succeeded his father as editor and proprietor of the *Banbury Guardian* in 1892, took over the Rusher family's *Banbury List & Directory* in 1897 and published it until 1906. He recorded meticulously the carriers visiting Banbury and the calls that they made each week. Rusher in 1890 listed 166 carriers making 410 calls, and in 1897 when Potts took over there were 171 making 406 calls, suggesting that the trade was buoyant. Subsequently Potts recorded a gradual process of decline until in the last list he published in 1906 there were 145 carriers making 365 journeys, a fall of 11 per cent since 1890. Potts regarded the establishment of the parcels post in 1883 as a reason for the decline. Subsequent developments can be traced through Kelly's directories which in 1907 recorded 133 carriers making 358 journeys, and in 1911 listed 122 carriers making 307 calls.

This slow decline was reflected in most other towns in the region. In the two decades after 1890 the number of calls made by carriers to Brackley fell from 28 to 10, to Chipping Norton from 33 to 16, to Coventry from 148 to 122, to Daventry from 75 to 67, to Leamington from 86 to 76, to Northampton from 368 to 315, to Rugby from 63 to 53, to Stratford from 100 to 84 and to Warwick from 64 to 38. Decline was not universal however. The number of carriers serving Oxford grew from 108 to 118 and the number of journeys they made increased from 258 to 268. While this increase might be explained by the prosperity of a city whose population increased from 46,000 in 1891 to 53,000 in 1911, where many carriers served the outer suburbs, there were also increases in the number of journeys made to Bicester, from 37 to 51, to Towcester, from 43 to 50, and to Witney, from 31 to 36.

After 1918 privately-owned motor cars and delivery vans proliferated reducing the demand for common carriers. The Birmingham & Midland Motor Omnibus Co (Midland Red) opened a garage in Canal Street in

1919, and made Bridge Street into a hub of country bus services, some of them following routes developed by country carriers. Potts observed in 1938 that most surviving carriers had replaced carts with motor vans which enabled them to visit Banbury more than once daily, but that 'A few relics of the past in the form of the horse-cart' could still be seen.²⁴ A directory in 1939 recorded 21 carriers making 54 journeys a week into Banbury, while 25 made 74 journeys into Oxford, and there were still residual services to Bicester, Thame and Henley. Country carrying even survived the Second World War. Kelly's Directory in 1950 recorded that 16 carriers made 33 weekly journeys to Banbury.

Retrospect.

The image of a country carrier plodding patiently alongside his horse from village to town has at first sight little in common with the scenes characteristic of the economic changes of the late eighteenth century, of flames, steam, constructional daring, mechanical ingenuity and multitudes of people working in large buildings. Yet carrier networks were part of the same quickening of economic activity as the proliferation of steam engines in the 1790s, the building of many blast furnaces in Staffordshire, Shropshire and South Wales, and the multiplication of textile manufacturing capacity. Carriers provided the capillaries of a distribution system that was central to economic growth. They collected and delivered many of the goods carried by trunk waggoners, by canals and later by main line railways. As Blackmore remarked of Beckley, '...this little village carried on some commerce with the outer world; and did it through a carrier'.²⁵ Increased consumption was a necessary concomitant of increased production, and carriers helped to make it possible. The late Professor T C Barker remarked that 'In the interpretation of the Industrial Revolution too much attention [is given] to making things, especially to making things in factories, not enough to buying and selling or to providing services of all kinds, which are also wealth generators'.²⁶ Carriers offered one of those services, and one that stimulated consumption in rural communities.

²⁴ W Potts, *Banbury through One Hundred Years* (Banbury Guardian, 1942), pp.62-63.

²⁵ R D Blackmore, *Cripps the Carrier* (Sampson Low, Marston, 2876), p.1.

²⁶ T C Barker, 'Business as usual? London and the Industrial Revolution', *History Today*, vol 39, 1989, pp. 45-51.

The growth of country carrying from the 1790s is also evidence of the small-scale entrepreneurship that flourished in the period. Hundreds of rural families of the higher echelons of the labouring class decided to take up carrying between 1790 and 1840. Similar decisions motivated families in other parts of England. Some miners invested in tools that enabled them to assume roles as sub-contractors (or butties) accelerating the growth of coal production. Families in Lancashire extended their houses to accommodate spinning jennies or hand looms. Young men who had learned their trades in Birmingham and Sheffield established workshops shaping metal in innovatory or accustomed ways. The changes that historians have called the Industrial Revolution depended not just on the actions of Richard Arkwright, John Wilkinson, Matthew Boulton and Josiah Wedgwood, but on decisions to start businesses by thousands of men and women most of whose names are lost.

Carriers were involved in an increasingly complex pattern of food supply, taking eggs and dairy produce not just to the market towns that they served directly, but to national carriers who conveyed them to the great cities. Carrying was intricately connected with the emergence of village shops. Some shopkeepers may have commenced carrying to bring goods from wholesalers, and most relied upon carriers for at least some of their supplies. Carriers were a small element in the pattern of country banking that developed from the late eighteenth century, and they contributed to the prosperity of rural industries and crafts. Above all carriers made towns accessible to country people - and not just for the mundane purposes of exchanging goods. W H Hudson wrote of early morning travellers, by carriers' carts and other means, that 'all of us (were) intent on business and pleasure, bound for Salisbury, the great market and emporium and place of all delights for all the great Plain' and that 'The one great and chief pleasure, in which all participate, is just to be in the crowd - a joyous occasion which gives a festive look to every face'.²⁷

The carrying trade reflected the ways in which people identified with the regions (or in the French term, *pays*) in which they lived.²⁸ Sydney Tyrrell declared that for the people of Eydon Banbury was 'our town'.²⁹ This was a sense of identity distinct from county and parochial

²⁷ W H Hudson, *A Shepherd's Life: Impressions of the South Wiltshire Downs* (London: Methuen, 1910), p.85.

²⁸ F. Braudel, *The Identity of France, Vol.1* (Fontana edn., 1989), pp.20, 37, 43.

²⁹ Tyrrell, *A Countryman's Tale*, pp.130-31.

affiliations. The carriers' routes listed by the Rushers are the best means of delineating the extent in the nineteenth century of the nebulous but acutely perceived 'pays' of 'Banburyshire' that was undefined by conventional political, ecclesiastical or administrative boundaries. It incorporated parts of six counties, five Anglican dioceses and 15 poor law unions, and land that drained into the Thames, the Severn and the Wash.³⁰ Richard Jefferies wrote of the 'kingdoms' centred on market towns that had no visible boundaries, that were unrecognised on maps, and fitted into no political or legal limits, but that could be recognised by peculiarities in the landscape, even by the design of farm gates.³¹ Mr Tulliver, in George Eliot's *Mill on the Floss*, when contemplating sending his son to boarding school, remarked that 'we won't send him o'reach of the carrier's cart'³². When the young Joseph Ashby was repairing the road from Southam to Banbury at Michaelmas in the early 1880s he observed many sorts and conditions of humanity riding in carriers' carts or walking in their best clothes to Banbury Fair. He was told by one man that he had not missed a fair for 40 years and by another that he would know that he was old when he could no longer get to Banbury for the fair. In his teens Ashby was so excited by the energy surging around Banbury market that he compared the town with Nijni Novogod, of which he had read in a school book.³³ The magnetic forces exerted by towns demand analysis in any historical period, whether in classical antiquity or twenty-first century China. Country carriers were a feature of English history for about 150 years, but that period was one in which market towns generally and Banbury in particular displayed remarkable vitality, and carriers provide the best indication of how that vitality extended into their hinterlands.

³⁰ Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcester-shire, Gloucestershire; dioceses of Oxford, Peterborough, Lichfield & Coventry, Worcester, Gloucester; poor law unions centred on Banbury, Bicester, Woodstock, Witney, Chipping Norton, Brackley, Towcester, Daventry, Northampton, Stratford-upon-Avon, Shipston-on-Stour, Southam, Rugby, Warwick and Buckingham.

³¹ R. Jefferies, *Hodge and his Masters* (Fitzroy edn., Macgibbon & Kee, 1880), vol. I, p.36; vol. II, p.127.

³² George Eliot, *The Mill on the Floss*, (Nelson edn, nd), p.5.

³³ Ashby, *Joseph Ashby of Tysoe*, pp. 27, 112.

Table 3: Carrier services to Banbury from villages more than 12 miles distant, 1800-1900, in order of distance.

<i>Village & county</i>	<i>Miles from Banbury OS Grid re</i>		<i>Services</i>
Bishop's Ichington, Warwickshire	13	SP 3957	First service 1828, then spasmodic until 1900 with gap between 1857 and 1872.
Blakesley, Northamptonshire	13	SP 6250	First record of direct service 1823. Thereafter intermittent.
Butler's Marston, Warwicks	13	SP 3250	Chiefly served by Kineton carriers but in 1823-36, and 1855-56 carriers appear to have been based in the village.
Finmere, Oxon	13	SP 6333	Direct service 1866-69.
Caulcott, Oxfordshire	13	SP 5023	From the 1840s base of carriers who travelled to Banbury through Heyford, Somerton, North Aston and Deddington.
Gaginwell, Oxfordshire	13	SP 408251	Direct services 1815-30. Thereafter served by Enstone carriers.
Ladbroke, Warwickshire	13	SP 4158	Direct service 1858-63, otherwise by Southam carriers.
Lower Heyford, Oxfordshire	13	SP 4824	First recorded service 1823. Thereafter constant.
Lighthorne, Warwickshire	13	SP 3355	First recorded service 1825. Thereafter services in most years.
Priors Marston, Ww	13	SP 4957	First record 1821. Thereafter constant.
Syresham, N'hants	13	SP 6341	First record 1836. Thereafter constant.
Wappenham	13	SP 6245	First record 1851. Thereafter constant.
Woodend, Northamptonshire	13	SP 6149	First record 1851. Thereafter linked with Blakesley carriers.
Abthorpe, Northamptonshire	14	SP 6546	Served by Helmdon carriers but direct services in 1880s.
Combrook, Warwickshire	14	SP 3050	For long periods Kineton carriers appear to have begun their journeys at Combrook.
Ettington, Warw	14	SP 2649	Direct services in 1880s and 90s.
Long Compton, Ww	14	SP 2832	First listed 1831. Thereafter constant.
Over Norton, Oxfordshire	14	SP 3128	Served by Chipping Norton carriers but direct services in 1880s & 1890s
Radford, Oxfordshire	14	SP 4123	Direct service 1861-74. Otherwise served by Middle Barton carriers.
Bradden, Northamptonshire	15	SP 6448	Service only in 1856; otherwise by Wappenham carriers.
Chesterton, Warw	15	SP 3558	Direct service 1857 only.
Dean, Oxon	15	SP 3422	Direct service 1839-49.
Fringford, Oxfordshire	15	SP 6028	First record of service 1830; thereafter constant.
Great Wolford, Ww	15	SP 2534	Direct service 1857-67.
Kiddington, Oxon	15	SP 4122	Services from 1890s.

Kirtlington, Oxon	15	SP 5019	Direct services 1844-52.
Shalstone, Bucks	15	SP 6436	Services 1872-74.
Tackley, Oxon	15	SP 4720	Direct services in 1828-29 only.
Tingewick, Bucks	15	SP 6532	Regular services 1815-52.
Chesterton, Warwickshire	16	SP 3558	Direct service 1857, thereafter by Harbury carriers
Churchill, Oxfordshire	16	SP 2824	Service 1828-1836., thereafter by Chipping Norton carriers.
Farthingstone, Northants	16	SP 6155	Direct services in 1880s and 90s.
Hampton Poyle, Oxfordshire.	16	SP 5015	Intermittent services 1828-47. From 1848 served by Kirtlington carriers.
Harbury, Warwickshire	16	SP 3760	First recorded service 1825. Thereafter constant.
Moreton Morrell, Warw	16	SP 3155	Services 1846-52.
Bletchington, Oxon	17	SP 5017	Regular services from 1881.
Greens Norton, N'hants	17	SP 6749	Regular services from 1881.
Kidlington, Oxon	17	SP 4912	Regular services 1825-57
Kingham, Oxon	17	SP 2523	Regular service 1861-1873.
Little Compton, Warw	17	SP 2630	Services 1843-47.
Napton-on-the-Hill, Warwickshire	17	SP 4661	First recorded service 1868. Thereafter constant.
Preston Bissett, Bucks	17	SP 6530	Direct service 1844-47 only.
Tachbrook, Warw	17	SP 3161	Services 1828-63.
Wellesbourne, Warwickshire	17	SP 2755	Regular service by Kineton carrier from 1867.
Launton, Oxon	18	SP 6022	Regular service 1823-27.
Lillingstone Dayrell, Buckinghamshire	18	SP 7039	Only recorded service in 1823
Whitnash, Warw	18	SP 3263	Services 1836-57.
Marton, Warw	19	SP 4068	Service 1850 only.
Bugbrook, Northants	20	SP 6757	1828-1868 Bugbrook carriers provided services between Banbury and Northampton. From 1869 Bugbrook was served by Moreton Pinkney carrier. In 1882-90 a carrier to Banbury was based in the village.
Gawcott, Bucks	20	SP 6831	Direct service 1823-27.
Grandborough, Ww	20	SP 4966	Direct services most years 1840-70.
Thornborough, Bks	20	SP 7432	Only recorded service in 1821.
Wolvercote, Oxfordshire.	23	SP 4809	Direct service 1823-27. Served by Kidlington carrier 1836-56.
Hatton, Warw	26	SP 2266	Only recorded service in 1865.

SNIPPETS FROM THE ARCHIVES

Deborah Hayter

Newbottle Glebe Terrier, 1682 [N'hants R.O., Newbottle Glebe Terriers.]

'A Terrier of the glebe-lands and other the possessions of the vicaredge of Newbottle taken by the view and estimation of those whose names are underwritten

Anno Dom' 1682 April 23'

One dwelling house of two bayes; One kitchin of one large bay

One stable of one bay; One barn of one bay

One small orchard one churchyard somewhat lesse than half an acre

One close of an Acre and somewhat more

Four Acres onely of glebe-lands and those lyeing in the fields of Charlton

In the East field, one Acre abutting into Steane-hedge, Line on the East,

Matthews on the west

One land at Sandford, Matthews on the West, Phipps on the East.'

The terrier goes on to list eight more 'lands' which were the parson's strips in the open-field system of Charlton, and at the end adds *'Eight sheepes common belonging to the vicaredge which lye in Newbottle-side-fields of Charlton throughout them.'*

The terrier is written and signed by Thomas Harris the vicar, and Francis Wyatt, William Line, John Jarvice, John Evans and Martin Atkins all assent to the document with their individual mark.

There were no maps of Charlton before the Ordnance Survey so a terrier was a verbal map giving the position of each strip in a sub-division of the open-field system (East field), and then in the particular furlong or groups of strips (Sandford), and then pinpointing it exactly with the neighbours on each side. Glebe terriers were drawn up to list the possessions of the benefice whenever the archdeacon or the bishop made a visitation. We can see from this terrier that the vicar of Newbottle was very poorly-endowed with only four acres of land for crops, and his house was small and mean to match, with a detached kitchen; a later terrier of 1820 still lists the detached kitchen, so there had not been any money to rebuild a better house by then. Thomas Harris was living in a smaller house than many of his parishioners in 1682, whereas, shown by other contemporary glebe terriers, many parsons lived in the largest houses in their parish, with sizeable establishments, farming anywhere between fifty and a hundred acres of land.

Book Reviews

Banbury Workhouse Records, 1835-1843, A5, card cover, indexed, 72pp., 2011, £4.50; *Banbury Constables, 1775-1925; 150 years on the Beat*, A5, card cover, illus., indexed, 48pp, 2005, £3.50; each transcribed and compiled by Carol Richmond, + £1 p&p, from Oxfordshire Black Sheep Publications, 14 Meadow View, Witney, Oxon OX28 3TY

These modestly presented and priced but substantial booklets provide a wealth of information. The first is on the 'under-class' of Banbury Poor Law Union in its earliest years. The 'new' Poor Law of 1832 transferred responsibility for the poor from individual parishes to a union with a central workhouse. The Banbury Union covered north Oxfordshire from Bloxham and Adderbury, and parts of Northamptonshire (Middleton Cheney north to Boddington) and Warwickshire (to Avon Dassett and Farnborough).

Mainly based on the Guardians' Minute Books in Oxfordshire Record Office, the selection is almost entirely of items relating to the unfortunate inmates (including employees), generally omitting detail of regular administration. Nevertheless the minute of 21st January 1836 records: "William Frost of Neithrop attended ... and offered to make 200,000 bricks upon the land purchased for the new Workhouse upon being paid £1.6s. per thousand. To have the clay already dug on the premises... the brick to be common sized 10" long by 5" wide by 3" deep...".

Routine entries were of inmates being allowed out to Divine Service but not attending; the birth of bastards and attempts to discover the father; the movement of inmates to other Unions, and *vice versa*; disputes between the cook and the porter; inmates being taken before Magistrates for various misdemeanours.

Although the workhouse was built to take in paupers, in these years at least, there remained frequent out-relief: usually in kind, "Edward Tredwell, of Hornton: 3lbs mutton. Four children ill"; "John Welch, Adderbury East. Nurse 1s. Coal 6½d, gin 9½d" (was the gin for the nurse?); and so on.

There are regular references to lunatics being placed in or removed from Mr Tilsley's asylum at Hook Norton. This was Henry Tilsley who ran the long-established asylum there from 1826 to 1842, described in William Parry-Jones' *The Trade in Lunacy* (reviewed in *C&CH* 5.5, Spring 1973).

Inmates included children who required education, of a sort. The priority is shown in that the porter was paid more than the schoolmaster. "6th June 1839. Reuben Gardner, James Mold and Thomas Jarvis ran away... and returned this morning... several others had ...run away. Ordered [they] be solitarily confined for 12 hours..." A week later Reuben Gardner was off again and brought back by a Police Officer... "put to oakum picking in a secure place for a week."

‘4th July. “... the schoolmaster had complained ... that the proper order of the boys could not be preserved whilst Reuben Gardner and Thomas Jarvis were permitted to mix with the others.” 25th July. “... superintend the erection of a cover to that part of the wall over which the school boys make their escape.”

And so it went on. One pities the inadequate schoolmaster, but in 1841 he is being directed “not to cane the boys *much*.” [my italics] “He considered that he has the ... authority to whip the boys and that he does so on occasion, but not excessively ... not cruelly.” He, rather than the punishment, was not acceptable, and he got the sack.

As its name implies, Carol Richmond’s “Black Sheep Publications” deals in the seamier side of life, and she has now produced a whole series relating to Oxfordshire (and Reading) criminals, police and coroners’ inquests. *Banbury Constables 1775-1925* does just that – biographies, long and short, of all those who applied the law in Banbury borough until this was taken over by the county force in 1925. Prominent amongst them of course is William Thompson, our first Superintendent, who served for fifty years, from 1825 to 1875.

No reference is made to *Banbury Gaol Records* (BHS 21, 1987): a pity, as those so meticulously name indexed are likely to appear in that too. I would also have liked a place-name index: all places in the Union occur frequently, and there are more further away. These are minor omissions. Carol deserves our gratitude for the immense amount of research she has put into compiling these books. They reveal usually ignored and very human aspects of our local history.

J.G.

Politics and Loyalty in Post-Revolution Oxfordshire: the ‘1690’ County Parliamentary Poll [and] the Association Oath Rolls, 1695-6, compiled and ed. Jeremy Gibson. A5, card cover, 80pp, Oxfordshire Family History Society and The Family History Partnership (ISBN 978 1 90280 30 7), 2011. £5.00 (+ £1 p&p from Jeremy Gibson, cheques payable to him, address on front cover).

The poll book for the infamous Oxfordshire election of 1754 has long been available, providing an invaluable and oft-used source for political, family, local and many other kinds of history. Unfortunately we have, until now, had no similarly accessible evidence for the 1690 election – which, coming so soon after the revolution of 1688, was arguably even more important in revealing the political (and religious) sympathies of the county. Now Jeremy Gibson has filled the gap, having serendipitously stumbled across a 23-folio document amongst the Risley collection in the Bodleian Library which turns out to be a county-wide record of the voting in 1690.

The list itself is not an official poll book, as Gibson explains in his informative introduction. Rather it appears to have been prepared for canvassing, possibly in 1695, and intermixes the names of the 1690 voters with those who, in some cases, had superseded them a few years later. This is nonetheless the closest we yet have to a full record of the voting in 1690, and as such it constitutes an invaluable new source for historians of many shades.

The original list was copied by one Edward Sawyer from a now-lost poll book, itself compiled in the haphazard order in which the votes were cast. Each individual's voting (Whig or Tory) and place of 40s. freeholding is given alongside his name. Gibson's new transcript systematically re-arranges the information by place, and provides indexes both of places and of individual voters. A considerable attempt has been made to identify individuals (around 90%) from standard sources such as probate records, parish registers, *VCH*, and *ODNB*, although as Gibson himself cautions many of the identifications are necessarily provisional.

As a supplement to the transcript, Gibson includes a partial place-name index to related and equally important documents preserved in The National Archives: the Association Oath Rolls of 1695-6. These arose from a requirement, after an attempt to assassinate King William III, that all public office-holders should take an oath of loyalty to the Crown. In the end a much larger proportion of adult males took the oath, producing (for Oxfordshire) a list of over 14,400 names which (in Gibson's words) are comparable with the Protestation Returns and the Hearth Tax. Unfortunately the manuscript lists (which contain many autograph signatures) are confusingly arranged.

Well over a hundred lists of signatories preceded by the essential place-names have been found, but many other such lists have no indication of place. In an additional experiment, by painstaking comparison of the names with other evidence, the editor has succeeded in locating lists for a further dozen otherwise unidentified places. Together these provide the working place-name index, making around half of the information in county rolls truly accessible for the first time. These places are mainly in Hundreds north and west of Oxford itself. (Boroughs were on separate rolls: Banbury and Woodstock have been in print for some years.)

This cheap and cheerful booklet (though attractively bound) retains a 'home-made' feel, which belies the tenacity and expertise behind the work it contains. Perhaps inevitably there are a few typos, and some of the cross-referencing seems at first sight a little cumbersome or confusing. In his defence Gibson quotes the great H.E. Salter, who wisely remarked that 'those who are long past middle age should print their material, if it can be of use to others, and not wait to make it more perfect'. That this particular publication will be of use to others for long to come is beyond question, and I am sure that readers of *Cake and Cockhorse* will join with me in wishing Mr Gibson many more years of happy transcribing, indexing and editing.

Simon Townley
Victoria County History (Oxfordshire)

Lecture Reports

Brian Little

Thursday 8th September 2011

Instruments of Medieval Music: a presentation including live music

Richard York

This was a most entertaining and instructive talk made all the more interesting by our speaker's delving into the 'realms of best guesses'. Few instruments have survived the passage of time and their actual sounds are little understood.

Richard York's chosen instruments were set against pictures of the social environment when they were in regular use. Musicians were usually professional rather than members of the gentry.

One of the most fascinating was his opening choice, a pipe organ dating back at least a thousand years and used for teaching in churches. A demonstration of its potential was followed by a performance on bagpipes, common in most European countries but of either Greek or Arabic origin.

Throughout the evening it was clear that Richard needed all his considerable skill to demonstrate the range of musical instruments and their capabilities. This was especially true of a hard-to-play recorder which needed a reed to produce sound.

The finale was some music played on what were dubbed freehold pipes. This drum and pipe combination made for a memorable end to a remarkable evening.

Thursday 13th October 2011

The Seventeenth Century Village: Who was in charge?

Deborah Hayter

'How did the village work?' Seventeenth century villages lacked an elected local government. In its absence much depended on a chain of command involving crown officials, particularly JPs, the Lord of the Manor, his steward and surveyors and church officials.

From the mid-sixteenth century parishes began to emerge as units of local government and the Poor Law placed duties on parishes to look after the poor. Critical to this were church vestry meetings and the rôle of churchwardens. In addition to their duty to look after the church buildings and land they were guardians of the community's morals. The meetings also guided the work of overseers in respect of the Poor Law and who had the right to relief. Parallel with this was the growing importance of parish constables who acted as intermediaries between the manor and crown officials on the one hand and the village people on the other. They supervised the apportioning of common land and kept an eye on felons, vagabonds and behaviour in ale houses.

[Reports condensed to ensure room for Deborah's regular 'Snippets' feature.]

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Winter 2011/2012 Programme

*Meetings are held at Banbury Museum at 7.30pm,
entrance from Spiceball Park Road.*

Thursday 8th December 2011

The South Warwickshire Hoard: The story so far
Dr Stanley Ireland

Thursday 12th January 2012

**A Poor Place for the Industrial Population:
Oxford's Victorian and Edwardian
industrial buildings**
Liz Wooley

Thursday 9th February 2012

**Milestones and their place in the history of
British travel**
Mervyn Banford

Thursday 8th March 2012

Medieval Food and Drink
De Elizabeth Gemmill

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. Approaching one hundred and fifty issues and five hundred articles have been published. All but the most recent issues have been digitised and are available on the Society's website (see inside front cover). Most back issues are also still available in their original form.

There are now thirty volumes in the records series. Those still in print include:

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

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

The earlier registers, *Marriages 1558-1837, Baptisms and Burials 1558-1812*, are now out-of-print, but are available on fiche and CD from Oxfordshire Family History Society, website at: www.ofhs.org.uk

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

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

The Banbury Chapbooks, by Dr Leo John De Frietas (vol. 28).

Early Victorian Squarson: The Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington, Part One, 1835-1848, ed. Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson (vol. 29).

Banbury Past through Artists' Eyes, compiled by Simon Townsend and Jeremy Gibson (vol. 30).

Turnpike Roads to Banbury, by Alan Rosevear (vol. 31).

Current prices and availability of other back volumes, and of *Cake and Cockhorse*, from the Hon. Editor (Harts Cottage, Church Hanborough, Witney OX29 8AB).

In preparation:

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

Part 2. *Mid-Victorian Squarson, 1849-1869*.

Alphabetical Digest of *Rusher's 'Banbury Directory' 1832-1906*.

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. The annual subscription (since 2009) is **£13.00** which includes any records volumes published. Overseas membership, **£15.00**.

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.