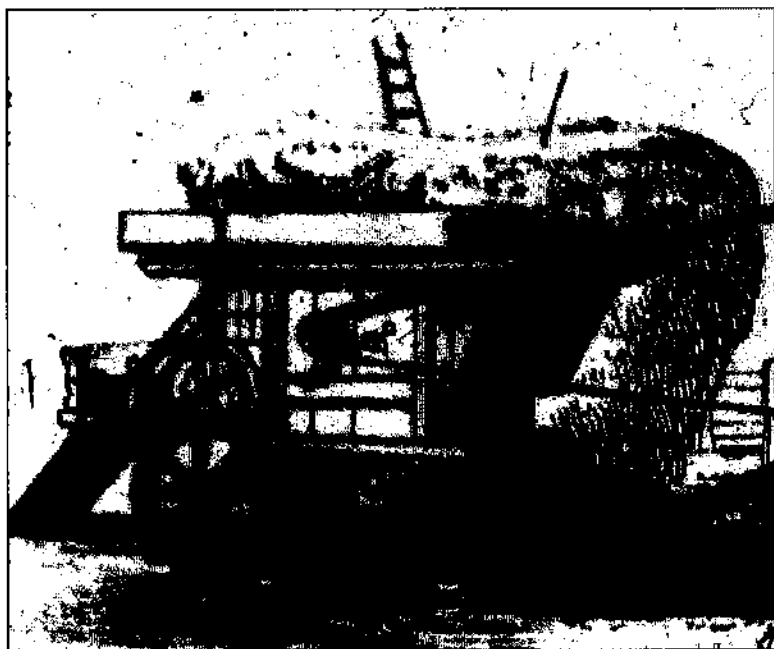


CAKE AND COCKHORSE



BANBURY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

Summer 2012 £2.50

Volume 18 Number 9

ISSN 6522-0823

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Registered Charity No. 269581
Website: www.banburyhistory.org

President

The Lord Saye and Sele

Chairman

Dr Barrie Trinder, 5 Wagstaff Way, Olney, Bucks. MK46 5FD
(tel. 01234 712009; email: <barrie@trinderhistory.co.uk>)

Cake and Cockhorse Editorial Committee

Editor: Jeremy Gibson, Harts Cottage, Church Hanborough, Witney, Oxon. OX29 8AB
(tel. 01993 882982; email: <jeremy.gibson@efhbroadband.net>)

Assistant editors: Deborah Hayter (commissioning), Beryl Hudson (proofs)

Hon. Secretary:

Simon Townsend,
Banbury Museum,
Spiceball Park Road,
Banbury OX16 2PQ
(tel. 01295 753781; email:
<simon.townsend@cherwell-dc.gov.uk>)

Hon. Treasurer:

G.F. Griffiths,
39 Waller Drive,
Banbury,
Oxon. OX16 9NS;
(tel. 01295 263944; email:
<gs@gfgriffiths.plus.com>).

Publicity:

Deborah Hayter,
Walnut House,
Charlton,
Banbury OX17 3DR
(tel. 01295 811176; email:
<deborahhayter@hotmail.com>)

Hon. Research Adviser:

Brian Little,
12 Longfellow Road,
Banbury,
Oxon. OX16 9LB;
(tel. 01295 264972).

Other Committee Members

Colin Cohen, Chris Day, Helen Forde,
Beryl Hudson, Clare Jakeman

Membership Secretary

Mrs Margaret Little,
c/o Banbury Museum,
Spiceball Park Road,
Banbury, Oxon. OX16 2PQ
(email: <bemelittle@btinternet.com>).

**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.

Volume 18	Summer 2012	Number Nine
Joyce Hoad, ed. Barrie Trinder	Swing in Banburyshire: New light on the riots of 1830	... 286
John Dunleavy	Maffiking at Banbury: Official and Unofficial	... 301
Deborah Hayter	Snippets from the Archives: 5. Newbottle and Charlton in the Lay Subsidy of 1301	... 310
Book Reviews-		
Barrie Trinder	<i>Service, Sun and Settlement: Tales of Old Eydon Oxfordshire Friendly Societies, 1750-1918</i> ed. Shaun Morley	... 311 ... 312
Shaun Morley	<i>Mid-Victorian Squarson: The Diaries of William Cotton Risley, former Vicar of of Deddington, Part 2: 1849-1869</i> ed. Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson	... 313
	The Tours of John Loveday, 1728-1765	... 315
	Personal and Place Name Indexes to Volume 18	... 316

At long last we have been delighted to publish the second and concluding part of the *Diaries* of William Cotton Risley, sometime vicar of Deddington. Their forthcoming publication was first mentioned 23 years ago, and Part One was sent out in 2007. We thank members for their patience, but even more so the editor, Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson, for whom they have been in preparation for many more years. The original diaries comprise 39 volumes. The five hundred pages of extracts represent a mere fifteen per cent of the whole, but we can be sure that they represent the real meat of the diaries. For any who feel they must investigate just what he ate for breakfast and the daily weather, the originals are available at the Oxfordshire History Centre at Cowley. Indexes to each volume, together totalling well over a hundred pages, demonstrate the enormous range of subjects Risley touched upon, as well as his considerable acquaintance, official and personal, and how widely his interests extended beyond his home at Deddington. They will provide a quarry for all future historians of our locality.

With sorrow we record the death of Alan Donaldson earlier this year. He served on our committee from 1971 to 1979, the last three as Chairman. Railway buffs will have appreciated his regular contributions on the subject.

Cover: A threshing machine (see page 287)

SWING IN BANBURYSHIRE:

New light on the riots of 1830

*Based on information provided by Joyce Hoad,
edited by Barrie Trinder*

The English people were re-familiarised with the phenomenon of rioting during the summer of 2011, when over a period of four or five days demonstrations allied with looting spread from North London to other parts of the capital and to some provincial cities. Riots throughout history have tended to follow predictable patterns and while records of the Captain Swing disturbances of 1830 provide little evidence of the opportunistic theft commonplace in 2011, the pattern of imitation, the often indistinct lines between participants and spectators, and the charging and conviction of previously law-abiding citizens are common features.

The riot at Banbury on Tuesday 29 November 1830 impressed all who knew the town. A brief account of it was published by Dr Pamela Horn in 1967, and it is mentioned in most histories and memoirs, as well as in national surveys of the Captain Swing disturbances.¹ Thomas Ward Boss obviously felt obliged to refer to it in his *Reminiscences of Old Banbury*, but he was only five in 1830 and his account is inaccurate in many details and may be derived in part from reports of the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 in Manchester. Sarah Beesley (née Rusher), who was 18 in 1830, provides no first-hand recollections, but reproduces from the *Banbury Guardian* an account written about 60 years afterwards by one of the participants, the policeman William Thompson. George Herbert,

¹ Horn, P, 'Banbury and the Riots of 1830', *Cake & Cockhorse [C&CH]*, vol.3 (1967), pp.176-79; Trinder, B, *Victorian Banbury* (Chichester: Phillimore, & BHS.19, 1982); Potts, W, *A History of Banbury* (Banbury Guardian, 1958), p 191; Herbert, G, *Shoemaker's Window: Recollections of Banbury before the Railway Age*, ed C S Cheney & B S Trinder (BHS.10, 2nd edn, 1971; 3rd edn, Banbury: Gulliver Press, 1979), pp 77-80; Beesley, S, *My Life* (Banbury: privately published, 1892), quoting *Banbury Guardian*, 11 June 1891; Boss, T W, *Reminiscences of Old Banbury* (1903), reproduced in *C&CH*, vol.16 (2004), pp.50-77; Hobsbawm, E J & Rudé, G, *Captain Swing* (Harmondsworth: Penguin University Books, 1969), pp 113, 118, 186; Beesley, A, *The History of Banbury* (London: Nicholls & Son, 1841).

a 16-year-old apprentice shoemaker in 1830, provides the best account of the disturbance of which he was one of many spectators. Curiously, the riot is not mentioned in Alfred Beesley's *History of Banbury*, published only eleven years after the event. As one of our 2011 Local History Prize contributions, our member Mrs Joyce Hoad, of Swalcliffe Enoch descent, submitted transcripts of several eye-witness accounts of the Oxfordshire riots, preserved in The National Archives,² which give vivid first-hand impressions of what happened. We are reproducing below those relating to the Banbury area.

The background to what came to be called the Captain Swing riots was described by Hobsbawm & Rudé.³ The introduction of threshing machines threatened to diminish the already low incomes of agricultural labourers in southern England, since on many farms the flailing of grain provided steady if ill-paid employment through the winter months. The situation was complicated by the application of the Speenhamland system of the poor law, by which paupers were directed to work for farmers in return for their relief. Once a pattern of protest was established other grievances were appended to the threat of threshing machines, the introduction of new machinery in the paper mills of south Buckinghamshire, moves towards enclosure on Otmoor, political questions in Banbury and a host of local issues. Disturbances began in Berkshire in mid-November, in the villages around Thatcham and on the eastern edge of the county adjoining Windsor Forest. Between 21 and 24 November there were outbreaks on the Oxfordshire border near Wallingford and in the Vale of the White Horse, as well as attacks on paper mills around High Wycombe and Bourne End (Wooburn). Rioting subsequently spread into Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire. There were also numerous incidents in Norfolk, Sussex, Kent, Hampshire and Wiltshire. As in similar situations throughout history those in government were suspicious that riots were caused by itinerant agitators. An Oxford newspaper on 27 Nov 1830 reported that strangers were trying to excite the labouring poor to acts of outrage,⁴ but it seems more likely that the disturbances were the result of imitation by poverty-stricken people led by local men who were experienced in challenging authority on other occasions.

² TNA: ASSI 6/2, 1830-31.

³ Hobsbawm & Rudé, *Captain Swing*, 104 seq.

⁴ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 27 Nov 1830.

The first disturbances on the fringes of Banburyshire appear to have taken place on Thursday 25 November when a threshing machine was burned at Steeple Barton, and on the following day when another threshing machine was destroyed at Chalford near Chipping Norton and a haymaking machine at Heythrop. Some special constables were sworn in at Banbury on Monday 22 November, and a small detachment of the county yeomanry was moved to the town.

The principal disturbance in Banbury took place on Monday 29 December, when a crowd in what is now High Street assembled outside the *Red Lion*, where the yeomanry had established their headquarters. They were throwing stones to break windows, and making threats to Lord Norreys, who at the age of 22 in the summer of 1830 had been elected Member of Parliament, but for the Oxfordshire constituency, not for the borough of Banbury.⁵ An effigy of Lord Norreys was paraded round the Market Place, burned, and taken back to High Street.

At about 9 pm the yeomanry left High Street for Neithrop, where rioters, according to various estimates between 200 and 500 in number, were burning a threshing machine belonging to Joseph Pain, timber merchant and farmer, in a field near the site now occupied by St Paul's Church. It appears that the mayor, with about 100 recently sworn special constables remained in North Bar since their authority did not extend beyond the borough boundary.

The yeomanry faced a hostile reception at Neithrop: brands from the fire were hurled towards their horses, and their commander, Major Stratton, was knocked from his mount by a stone. Some of the yeomanry dismounted and drove the rioters away from the fire on foot. According to George Herbert, rumours circulated that the yeomanry would be firing on the crowd, but when the part-time soldiers made another advance on foot they were repulsed by showers of stones from the recently macadamised turnpike road to Warwick. The yeomanry re-mounted and retreated into the town, under a hail of stones and derision. William Thompson recalled that they galloped up South Bar as far as the *Case-is-Altered*, before they could stop their horses. There were tussles in North Bar between special constables and the crowd following the yeomanry, but it seems that around or before midnight all those involved, rioters,

⁵ Montagu Bertie, Lord Norreys (1808-84), MP for Oxfordshire 1830-31 and 1832-52. He succeeded his father as 6th Earl of Abingdon in 1854. In 1830 he claimed to support moderate reform.

yeomanry and spectators had retired to their beds. The authorities nevertheless requested the assistance of the military, and a detachment of the 14th Light Dragoons was despatched to Banbury from Coventry.

On the same evening, Monday 29 November, there were disturbances directed against threshing machines at King's Sutton, and the following evening, Tuesday 30 November, another incident occurred on the edge of Banbury at Bodicote. This was a relatively small-scale event in which about 30 rioters put a mowing machine, from the farm of Zachariah Kilby, alongside a threshing machine belonging to John Wilson, and used straw from Barnes Austin's farmyard to set them alight. John Wilson, himself a special constable, attempted to make arrests, sent to Banbury for the Dragoons, but with help from some of Austin's workers put out the fire. As some of the crowd attempted to keep the fire going, they were dispersed by the dragoons. The same evening a hay-making machine was destroyed at King's Sutton.

Banburyshire remained in a disturbed state on the following day when rioters, about sixty in number and largely local men, visited the farms of John Painter, Joseph Bloxham, John Adkins and Thomas Wilkes at Tadmarton and Swalcliffe. One of the objects of their anger was Thomas Wilkes's draining plough, another implement whose use could materially reduce demand for manual labour. Threshing machines belonging to John Adkins and Thomas Bloxham were smashed as was John Painter's hay-making machine. William Thompson was sworn in as a special constable for the county and with six dragoons in the charge of a sergeant descended on Tadmarton in the early hours of the following morning, woke the whole village and arrested men wanted as ringleaders. One, Bill Cox, refused to leave his house, even when Thompson drew a pistol, and only did so when the sergeant threatened him with a drawn sabre. Another, Philip Green, a sweep, had gone to Kineton with a load of soot, which, according to the custom of 'sowing soot' he distributed across the fields of the farmer who had bought it. Thompson arrested him and took him with his cart and equipment back to Banbury.

There was a riot at Upper Boddington on 3 December, but those arrested, like those taken at King's Sutton on 30 November, were dealt with by the Northamptonshire authorities. Rioting continued throughout the week at no great distance, at Stony Stratford on 3 December, at Newport Pagnell on the 4th, at Fenny Stratford on the 5th, and at Flitwick on the 6th, but around Banbury itself agitation subsided, and the

unpopular yeomanry were stood down on Wednesday 15 December. Participants who were arrested were tried during 1831. Richard Cotton, a boat-builder, who was active at both Neithrop and Bodicote, was sentenced to seven years' transportation, while two who participated in the disorder at Neithrop were imprisoned for 15 months. George Herbert reveals that not all the ringleaders were arrested, and that one went to America to avoid being charged.

The reasons for the disturbances were complex. Those that involved fires – at Neithrop and Bodicote – attracted the attention of spectators. George Herbert described a town in the 1820s and '30s where shopkeepers and craftsmen worked long hours, and where rat catching in barns or the arrivals of itinerant entertainers quickly drew spectators appreciative of diversions from the tedium of working life. For many the riot was one such diversion. Herbert referring to the crowd watching the fire, remarked 'I of course as a boy was present among them', and recalled that 'pretty near the whole inhabitants flocked up to the fire'. William Mander observed in his affirmation that the crowd were '*mostly boys*'. The records which refer to a 'mob' at Neithrop do not distinguish between committed rioters and many who simply wished to watch a spectacle.

It was nevertheless appreciated at the time that in Banbury there were political motives. Herbert recalled that there were riots against machinery in other parts of the country and that '*as Banbury was always a Radical place, the people here thought they must follow suit*'. Philip Green, the Tadmarton sweep, was said in court to be a former sailor and a 'great admirer of Cobbett whose productions he is in the habit of quoting in the public houses he frequents'. There was furthermore a tradition of disorder in Banbury in the 1820s. There were riots during the election of 1820 and when the commissioners under the Improvement Act attempted to line South Bar with trees.⁶ Six months after the Neithrop riot, physical force determined that members of the corporation likely to vote against the Reform candidate in the general election on 2 May 1831 were kept out of the town, and the anti-Reform candidate, Colonel Henry Hely Hutchinson, was forced to flee across the River Cherwell towards his home in Northamptonshire. The mayor wisely decided not to inflame the situation by bringing in the yeomanry or the regular army.⁷

⁶ Lucas, B K, 'Banbury: Trees or Trade?', *C&CH*, vol 7 (1979).

⁷ Trinder, *Victorian Banbury*, 47-49.

Most of those involved at Neithrop and Bodicote appear to have been residents in Banbury, including two weavers, a coal dealer, a sawyer and a millwright. In some respects the riots reflected tensions between the town and the countryside. One Banbury magistrate referred to 'threats from the countryside to rise in large numbers to revenge themselves on the town', but rather than agricultural labourers expressing their anger against commercial and professional interests in the town, the riots at Bodicote appear to have reflected long-standing resentment amongst people in Banbury against interference in their affairs by a yeomanry largely made up of farmers' sons. Nevertheless the riots were also genuine expressions of anger about the threats posed by machinery to farmworkers' livelihoods, and the principal rural disturbance in Banburyshire took place at Tadmarton where over a long period relationships between farmers and their labourers were particularly bitter. One of those who threatened to destroy Thomas Wilkes's draining plough was James Bodfish, and it was an Isaac Bodfish of Tadmarton who in 1872 was at the centre of a notorious court case in which Charles Garrett, a Tadmarton farmer, was charged with savagely beating him to prevent him from joining the National Agricultural Labourers' Union.⁸ Throughout the mid-nineteenth century there were incidents of rick burning and the maiming of farm animals in Banburyshire.

The accounts transcribed by Mrs Hoad provide a valuable addition to sources on the riots. They have been re-ordered to deal in turn with the Neithrop, Bodicote and Tadmarton disturbances. Accounts of events at Heythrop, Steeple Aston, Crowmarsh, Beckley and Warborough have not been included. Some slight amendments have been made to the text to make grammatical sense, and some obvious errors in dating have been amended to avoid confusion. Place names follow modern usage.

Two affirmations from Thomas Page of the borough of Banbury, clerk to W Walford, solicitor:

Affirmation made 3 December 1830:

On 26 [?] November,⁹ I was standing near the public house called the *Star* when the yeomanry under the command of Major Stratton passed me, and I was informed there was a large mob of people burning a machine at Neithrop, the property of Mr Joseph Pain at Neithrop. In consequence of which [I] accompanied the yeomanry to Neithrop and

⁸ Trinder, *Victorian Banbury*, 150.

⁹ Every other source shows that the riot took place on Monday 29 November.

went into a field there with them immediately. I saw a large machine burning and a mob of about 500 people collected round it, as near as I can guess, and being a little behind the yeomanry, I saw Major Stratton falling from his horse, being, as I supposed, knocked from his horse by a stone, many of which were at that time thrown from the said mob so collected, and immediately ran forward to assist him and endeavoured to obtain hold of his horse's bridle, but could not as the horse plunged very much ... I waited and saw him remount his horse and then followed the yeomanry to the field. When I had been there a few minutes a number of stones were thrown at the yeomanry, one of which struck me on the breast, and immediately after a great number of firebrands were thrown amongst the yeomanry which put their horses into confusion.

Amongst the mob I particularly observed Edward Townsend of the borough, sawyer, Robert Cotton of Neithrop, boat builder, William Austin, ostler at the *Waggon & Horses* inn in the borough. I heard Edward Townsend say to Robert Cotton 'come along and let us go behind the hedge, there are plenty of stones, and we will dam'd well serve out the bloody yeomanry', in consequence of which they retired towards it, but it being nearly dark I couldn't tell whether they actually did go behind – didn't see them again until later when a large quantity of stones were thrown nearly from the spot where they went. Saw William Austin dragging behind him a large stick or stake, part of which was burnt, toward the yeomanry. He was going to throw it but the mob said not yet, not yet, go nearer, don't miss, went within 7-8 yards as near as I could judge and threw it with great violence and ran away. I ran after him and walked with him some distance on purpose to recognise him. Saw also Robert Cotton with a large stick or bludgeon about one yard long under his coat.

Second affirmation of Thomas Page made 24 February 1831:

Monday 26 [?] November,¹⁰ about half past six, as I was sitting in the office, I heard a great noise and shouting, apparently from a large mob. Soon after I was sent out on errand to Mr Walford who is an officer of the yeomanry and was at headquarters at the Red Lion inn. Found large mob there, great difficulty in making way through mob to the inn. Before I got into the inn some windows were broken, great number of stones thrown ... mob remained opposite the inn ... about 200. Between 7 and 8 I was sent out again, met mob coming up street as if from the

¹⁰ Every other source shows that the riot took place on Monday 29 November.

Lion. I noticed Thomas Wakes [a small dealer in coals] who was halloing out 'Norreys, I told you we would burn Lord Norreys, I told you he should be burnt'. He walked arm in arm with two others. First row of mob had linked arms across the road. I could not get through them, went back some distance. When mob reached house where Mobley [prisoner] lived [I] think Mobley came out and men halted and made way for him. He went into middle of them, formed a circle round him, had some conversations in low voice. Then 50-60 voices shouted 'we will do it, let us go'. Move on and I went to Red Lion. About an hour later I was standing in Red Lion Street, opposite the Star, the yeomanry under command of Major Stratton ... understanding they were going to quell mob I accompanied them. On arriving at Neithrop I saw a large fire in Drinkwater's close ... &c... thinks it was prisoner Cotton who threw the stone which hit Stratton. Known Cotton for several years, a boat builder in Banbury. Major hurt. Cotton incited horse to bolt. Stratton insensible. Saw William Austin mention Mobley. William Castle of Banbury, son of the poulterer, came to me and said he would knock my brain out, but was prevented by John Bloxham, a special constable.

Affirmation of William Bennett of Bloxham, carpenter, made 27 December 1830:

I am a member of the Bloxham and Banbury yeomanry commanded by Major Stratton. On Monday 29 November last a detachment of the corps was on duty at Banbury and about the hour of 9 of the night that day the detachment marched from Banbury into the adjoining hamlet of Neithrop. I accompanied it. On our arrival in the village [sic] I perceived a large fire in a field near to it. The detachment marched to the field. I saw a large mob collected round a thrashing machine the property of Joseph Pain which they were burning. As the detachment entered the fields the mob cried out to the yeomanry 'Cowards, cowards, come on, come on, and instantly took large pieces of timber from the fire and threw them amongst the yeomanry. The yeomanry had but just passed through the gate into the field when I observed a person whom I believe to be Joseph Upton throw a fire brand towards the yeomanry, and it struck my horse. A great many fire brands were afterwards thrown at the yeomanry, and I, with some others, dismounted and proceeded towards the fire. At that instant the same person, to the best of my belief, who had thrown the fire brand which struck my horse, was advancing from the fire with a large fire brand, and as he was in the act of throwing it at

the yeomanry, John Bormer, one of the yeomanry, and I seized him. I have since understood and believe that the person whom we so seized is named Joseph Upton, that he lived in Banbury, and is by trade a shoemaker.

Sworn by Daniel Stuart, William Bennett, C F Wyatt.

Deposition of William Bennett of Bloxham, Yeoman, 3 December 1830:

Is a private in Major Stratton's corps of yeomanry now stationed at Banbury. On Monday 29 November about 10 pm the yeomanry were called out and ordered to proceed to Neithrop where a mob of persons were destroying a threshing machine. On the arrival of the yeomanry they found a mob of 200-300 people assembled in a close burning a machine. The mob on the approach of the yeomanry hooted and made a great noise and threw fire sticks, stones and other missiles... The horses of the yeomen were much frightened at the fire and would not go near. In consequence of which this informant, with a few others, dismounted and drove the mob away from the fire. A man in a dark frock [later discovered as Thomas Stuckfield of Hanwell, labourer] sat on a piece of machine near the fire and this informant desired him to go about his business when the said Thomas Stuckfield said 'I'll be damned if I'll go off for any of the bloody set of you. I am not afraid of being taken by such beggars as you. I can always find 200 men to prevent that'. The informant took Thomas into custody but in consequence of the yeomanry being ordered off he left Thomas Stuckfield in the close.

Affirmation of John Howse of Banbury, hair dresser, made 24 February 1831 [makes mark]:

I am 18 year old and an apprentice to Mr Willetts, hairdresser at Banbury. I remember the night there was a riot at Banbury and a fire at Neithrop (which) is a hamlet in the parish of Banbury and adjoins the town. Between 8 and 9 o'clock in the evening I heard the fire bells ring and an alarm was given that Mr Pain's premises at Neithrop were on fire. I and my master immediately made the best of our way to Neithrop and went to Mr Pain's house. It was not, however, on fire. We then saw that there was a fire in a field across the road. We went towards the field. My master, I believe, stopped in the road. I went into the field and perceived a very large fire. There was a large mob and they were burning a threshing machine. The yeomanry went into the field just before me ... 300-400 in mob ... Saw ostler at Horse & Waggon ... saw

John Mobley, a wool sorter – he was tipsy, saw Martin Dew the wheelwright, Robert Cotton, the boat builder, Edward Townsend the sawyer, &c.

Affirmation of William Mander of Banbury, chairmaker [makes mark]:

I am employed by William Thompson of Banbury, chairmaker. I remember the night &c...saw a good many, mostly boys, but some men, going round with an effigy which they called Lord Norreys. [They] went round town 2-3 times and then carried [it] into Market Place and set [it] on fire, burnt him down to breeches, then carried what was left into Red Lion Street, and there went about the street amongst the mob. Broke windows of Red Lion inn. Neville of Cropredy carried the effigy. Jack Robinson, a basket maker, was among the mob, he hallowed 'No machinery! No machinery!', was joined by Martin Dew, Thomas Ryley, John Mobley, John Neal of Grimsbury &c. Mobley made a speech. They cried out 'to Jack Pain's – break his machine'. Jack Robinson and the rest followed up Red Lion Street, across Horse Fair, and down to Mr Pain's at Neithrop. About 300 people. When mob got to [the] gate of Mr Pain's rickyard it was locked. They lifted [it] off the hinges and, thrown down, went up yard to a hovel, found hay-making machine fastened by a chain and lock to a beam – caught hold of shafts. Found another waggon and cart &c. Lad in field named Herbert who was smoking a cigar said a chap named Penn had some matches – not found – but William Pain [son of John Pain of North Bar, shag weaver] went to first of cottages in Rag Row and fetched a candle. Ryley had a screw hammer and broke a little box which contained the wheels and let down the wheels. Herbert, a shag weaver, took screw hammer and finished breaking the boxes &c. I saw John Jackson throwing – had a lot of stones in his smock flock. Saw Jackson take plough share from Thomas Smith and help knock machinery to pieces.

Deposition of John Bonner of Bodicote, carpenter, 27 December 1830:

I am a private in the Bloxham and Banbury corps of yeomanry commanded by Major Stratton, (and was in the) detachment of the corps on duty at Banbury on Monday 29 November. About 9 pm the detachment marched from Banbury to Neithrop. In a close adjoining the village was a large concourse of people. .. saw William Bennett another member of the corps, came to his assistance, and took Joseph Upton.

Evidence of the accused.

Edward Townsend:

I have nothing at all to do with it. I was there. I never meddled with a stone or stick. I can bring witnesses that will prove that I helped Major Stratton on his horse and said 'don't kill him'. I went straight up the field to the soldiers and topped with them some time, and then went to the fire and had a warm.

Robert Cotton:

I was in at Greaves at the public house in Neithrop. I heard there was a fire at Neithrop but I didn't go near it till the soldiers came. I went with the soldier to the gate of the field where the fire was. I stopped at the gate and presently a horse came at gallop and the gentleman in regimentals fell off. I caught hold of the horse's bridle, and Edward Townsend helped him on his horse. I then went into the field and went up to the soldiers. I never struck or threw at any one. I know no more. I came away when the soldiers did and went to bed. I and Townsend went towards the hedge on the right hand side of the field. Townsend said they (meaning the mob) are throwing, and we went there to get out of the way of the yeomanry. I did not stop the horse until the gentleman was underneath the horse.

William Austin [makes mark]:

I heard the Banbury fire bell ring and I and William Herbert the baker went to the field at Neithrop where the fire was and stopped at the fire a long while. He was with me all the while at the fire. I heard some person say 'let us go up to the yeomanry'. I said 'where are they?' I did not know the yeomanry were in the field. I did not leave the fire till four or five of the yeomanry on foot came down to it. I and the rest of us then ran away. I stayed in the road some time and Herbert went into the *Duke of Wellington* public house. I afterwards went home and found the yeomanry come home.

Examination of Thomas Strickfield:

I knew nothing about [the] machine till I heard it was on fire. I was there. I said it was a shame to burn them. While the yeomanry were being abused I went up to the staves in confusion. I had nothing in my hand. I knew they could not get the horses near the fire and I saw a party of them dismount. I say to William Hobday one of the yeomanry 'well done Bill' when he said he did not know his friends from his foes. I neither threw stick nor stone, nor aided or abetted in any respect. I sat

down on part of the machine because I would have nothing to do with the mob. One of the yeomanry took hold of me and I made no resistance whatever.

The Bodicote Riot: Tuesday 30 November.

Deposition/complaint of John Wilson of Bodicote in the parish of Adderbury, farmer. 3 December 1830:

On Tuesday 30 November I had a thrashing machine in a field near to my dwelling house at Bodicote between the hours of 9 and 10 of the clock. On the night of that day a mob of about 30 persons assembled in the fields. They brought with them a hay-making machine which I understood they had taken from the farm of Zachariah Kilby, a farmer residing in Bodicote. They placed the hay-making machine close to my threshing machine. They then went to the farmyard of Mr Austin whose premises adjoin mine, and brought from it a quantity of straw which they carried to the machines. They then set fire to both the machines. Whilst the mob was thus employed I went up to them and seized two of them. One of them was a sawyer, of Banbury; the other man's name is Edward Hoble, of Neithrop, labourer. I desired the special constables to take charge of them and five or six of them did so. I then returned to the fire and seized a third, and whilst I was in the act of taking him the persons cried out 'it is of no use, the constables have let the other men go'. On hearing this I quitted my hold on the third man and sent a message to Banbury to request the assistance of the yeomanry for some short time. There was a pause, and I, with the assistance of some of Mr Austin's men, endeavoured to put out the fire. I also declared aloud that I was a special constable and charged all persons present to depart. They did not however attend to my directions and in a few minutes the said Henry [Edward, crossed through] Townsend and some others of the mob came to the fire, collected the scattered pieces of burning timber, and piled them together, and they kept up the fire. Presently a detachment of dragoons arrived and dispersed the mob. The said Henry Townsend was amongst the most active of the mob who committed the above mentioned depredation.

Nathaniel Page, a labourer from Bodicote affirmed that on 3 [or 1] December 1830 between 30 and 40 people assembled to burn a threshing machine belonging to a Mr Wilson in a close at Bodicote. Amongst the most active of them were Henry Irwardson of Banbury, baker, and Robert Cotton, also of Banbury, boat builder, whom he assumed to be ringleaders.

Two members of the 14th Light Dragoons, Henry van Strawburzee, a cornet and Samuel Yates a private soldier related briefly that the regiment was summoned from Banbury to Bodicote where they found a crowd burning a threshing machine, and that another private soldier, James Yates, had seized a man at the fire.

Thomas Cole of Banbury, draper, related that he heard in Banbury that there was a mob at Bodicote, went there on horseback and saw a troop of soldiers come to quell the riot. He went with the soldiers to a field 'behind Bodicote', and saw a threshing machine being burned. The soldiers gave a man into his custody whom he put on his horse before him, but he slipped off and escaped. He believed that the man was John Bloxham.

John Bloxham, plush weaver of Bodicote, insisted that the part of the charge against him saying that he damned the soldiers was false. He said that he ran from the fire to a sunken fence in the fields where there was a wall, but recollecting that he had a son at the fire he determined to go back and see if he could get him away. He went back to the wall where he saw a boy who was much frightened, to whom he said 'don't be frightened, they can't hurt you, they can't come any further'. A soldier then drew a pistol and took him prisoner, leaving him with Thomas Cole, who allowed him to escape. Bloxham insisted on his innocence.

Subsequent disturbances in Banburyshire

Deposition/information of Thomas Wilkes of Tadmarton, 3 December 1830:

On Wednesday 1 December about 7 pm a mob of 60 plus persons came to my house in Tadmarton. Amongst them were William Cox, Samuel Cox, James Bodfish, William Moreby, Philip Green, Thomas Barlow, John Barlow, all inhabitants of Tadmarton, Cox and Bodfish came to me and said [they were] come to break my draining plough if they could find it. George Freeman of Tadmarton, labourer, was also there, and he told them where the plough was. They went to look for it. I followed. William Cox swore by his maker he would break it to bits. Cox, Bodfish and others had sledge hammers, axes &c. Green had a blacksmith's hammer. I warned them off. They couldn't find the plough and said they would come back. Next morning mob came again to my house headed by William Cox. Said they were come for my labourers to

go to work. Said they was at breakfast. They went to a cottage near my house in which Joseph Cartwright and James his son who work for me live, brought them out, went away without them.

Deposition/information of George Adkins and Joseph Bloxham, both of Tadmarton, 3 December 1830:

On Wednesday afternoon 1st December there was a riotous and tumultuous assembly of about 40 persons at Tadmarton. They hooted and made a great noise and disturbance, proceeded to a threshing machine on the farm of John Adkins of Tadmarton, which they broke into pieces and destroyed. Then they went on to Thomas Bloxham's at Tadmarton, where they broke and destroyed another threshing machine, then went on to John Painter's of Swalcliffe, broke hay-making machine. Say William Cox, Philip Green, James Needle, James Morey, Samuel Cox, James Bodfish, all of Tadmarton, amongst mob.

Deposition of John Painter of Swalcliffe, 3 December 1830:

On Wednesday evening, 1st December, about 7.00 pm, several persons came to his residence in riotous and tumultuous manner, to the number of about 40, and broke and destroyed a hay-making machine, his property. Says William Cox, Philip Green, James Needle, James Morrey, James Bodfish, Joseph Harris were amongst these persons. Then John Painter came to George Stratton on 9 December 1830 and said that Nathan Preedy and Samuel Cox, both of Tadmarton, labourers, were present in destroying the machine.

Philip Green, in answer to charge preferred by John Painter:

I never laid a hand on Mr Painter's machine but I was along with the party so I speaks the truth. The disturbances was as if the justices had not come into the parish – special constables to preserved the peace of the parish – then there would have been no disturbance in the place. The people only struck for higher wages. I have nothing to say. Wages was what they wanted. The people were expected to do away with all the machines unless the farmers rose their wages. There would have been no machine broken if it had not been for that. We were all a party concerned.

John Painter's information read to:

Joseph Harris: nothing to say. I was there. I would not have done it if I had known it.

Samuel Cox: very sorry; I was there along with the rest; I was in no way forward in it. I had been in constant work at Mr William Garrett's. They fetched me out of the barn. I do not know who they were.

Nathan Preedy: I was there along with the rest, but I did not touch the machine. They fetched me out but I don't know who they were.

William Cox: Did not wish to do any harm, only we struck for wages. Didn't break any machine, and had no hammer or axe. Denies charges. I was there. Machine pulled down before we got there, and Adkins and Bloxham were willing to have them broke up so that we would not burn them. I had neither hammer nor axe nor did I do anything towards towards breaking [Painter's machine].

James Bodfish: I did nothing towards it and have nothing else to say.

William Moreby: never saw anybody with any unlawful weapon – had no weapon himself. May have had a stick, perhaps a small one. Went to Mr Wilkes fetched by a person whom he will not name.

Thomas Barlow: Returning from work and one woman in the street told me that the mob had been after me to go and break the machine. I went into my house – 3 men said I should go. Philip Green and James Needle were 2 of them. Asked to stop and have supper. They said come. Went down street to Mr Wilkes, saw Cox and others there – several had hammers and axes. Think I left the yard first.

John Barlow: had been at work at Mr Wilkes's son-in-law. As I was going home overtook the mob – they pressed me to go with them. Believes most of the men of the parish were there. Had no stick.

George Freeman: was there. At work for Mr Wilkes till middle of day on Tuesday. Almost all the men were going up to the Upper Tadmarton. I left work, went with them, then we went up to Swalcliffe, stood in Swalcliffe street an hour to one and a half hours, and came back. I was with the mob at Mr Wilkes's in the hovel at night but I had nothing in my hand.

James Needle: nothing to say at all. Neither of them will say that I meddled with it.

James Morrey: I can bring a witness who will say I did not lay a hand on Adkins's machine. I was also at Bloxham's but I did not help break that. I was at Painter's too, and did not do anything. I had no weapon whatever. I have nothing else to say. I had nothing to do at my trade or I should not have been there. I am a shoemaker by trade.

James Needle, James Morrey and James Bodfish deny charge preferred by George Adkins and Joseph Bloxham.

MAFFICKING AT BANBURY, OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL,

John Dunleavy

maffick *v* (1900) used, especially by places to designate the behaviour of the crowds (in London and other towns) that celebrated with uproarious rejoicing the relief of the British garrison besieged in Mafeking (17 May 1900) during the South African War (Boer War). . . ¹

The text book account of the war in South Africa usually runs along the lines of a conflict between Britain on one hand, and the Afrikaners (or Boers) on the other. Hostilities began in 1899 and ended three years later with the Peace of Vereeniging. At the outset of hostilities many assumed the mighty British empire would be able to bring the two Boer republics to heel without too much difficulty, yet such was not the case. The Boers demonstrated their prowess by laying siege to Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, prior to scoring a significant victory at Spion Kop in January, 1900.

Thereafter, the tide moved slowly in favour of the British. Mafeking – the best known of the relief operations – passed into folklore, a symbol of defiance, having withstood a siege of seven months. News of this British success caught popular imagination, and was the signal for delirious rejoicing that lasted several days. Yet a review of the first few months of 1900 reveals that Mafeking was one of a series of what came to be regarded as victories, that were marked by celebrations not just in Britain but throughout the empire.

Some of the festivities were organised by local authorities, while others were spontaneous outpourings of joy at what were considered victories. Banbury was no exception in this respect: the borough council sensing the popular mood gave civic sanction to the lighting of bonfires and firework displays in respect of the relief of Bloemfontein in March, and some weeks later entered into the rejoicing at the good news from Mafeking. Other incidents indicating the progress of British policy South Africa were apparently deemed by the councillors as being unworthy of a celebration. Some, though not all townspeople, felt

¹ J. Ayto, *Twentieth Century Words* (Oxford, 1999), p. 31.

otherwise and these were prepared to defy the wishes of the council and organise what had come to be regarded as a ritual for the reception of good news. If Bloemfontein and Mafeking merited municipal approbation, why not Kimberley, Ladysmith, and indeed any other successes that might come along in the future?²



Reproduced by kind permission from H.W. Wilson, *With the Flag to Pretoria: A History of the Boer War*, 1901.

To their credit, a celebration marking the relief of Bloemfontein in March had received the support and sanction of the borough council, and indicated the extent of public opinion that seemingly approved of the war. The pattern of a local celebration was well-established by May on the receipt of the cheering news from Mafeking. The ringing of church bells was the first intimation of the welcome tidings. Written confirmation was provided by the enterprising editor of the *Banbury Guardian* who displayed a post office telegram in his office window. From then on the celebration gathered momentum, works hooters were sounded, and salvos rent the air. Friend greeted friend on the good news, while most buildings displayed bunting or at least a flag. Church bells were supplemented throughout the day by the carillon chimes at the parish church playing *Rule Britannia*. The first organised demonstration on that memorable day was a parade of the Yeomanry,

² T. Pakenhem, *The Boer War* (1988), passim. *Banbury Guardian*, 8 and 15 March 1900.

who mustered in the Cow Fair. There they were addressed by Col. Norris, who hailed what he termed a 'most glorious relief,' calling for three cheers for Mafeking, for the gallant defenders, and the relieving force. Having responded to the gallant colonel's request, the men were marched off to Wroxton for a day scheduled for drill.³

Having expected better news from Africa for some time, the authorities had already laid plans for a public celebration, a torchlight parade and a bonfire having been decided on as the principal feature of the rejoicing. Again it was decided the Cow Fair would be the venue for the fire, and during the day a great crowd followed the progress of what it was hoped would eclipse earlier fires. The day being observed as a general holiday townsfolk were joined by others from neighbouring villages, anxious to join in the festivities. Music provided by the Volunteer force was much appreciated, while early in the evening the choir of St John's Roman Catholic church – the tower of which was festooned with decorations – positioned themselves on the roof of that prominent building, sang a number of musical items, concluding with their rendition of the National Anthem.⁴

Attention now focused on the Cow Fair, thronged by a large crowd. Spectators observed how several tons of combustible material supplemented by a great quantity of furze, held out the prospect of a conflagration that would outdo earlier events. Nine o'clock had been set for the ceremonial lighting of the fire, preceded by a procession starting from the Corporation Yard. A group of torchbearers led the way, followed by the Volunteer Band, the Grimsbury Mission Band, and the Salvation Army Band, all playing patriotic airs. Two manual fire engines, lavishly decorated with flags and lanterns, came next. At the back of one engine was a depiction of Kruger being pursued by Joseph Chamberlain, while at the rear of the second engine was a lighted transparency bearing the word 'Mafeking.' Public appreciation of the of the parade, and the thousands of people thronging the processional route was such as to delay the lighting of the fire until half past nine. Having called for three cheers for the Queen, for Baden Powell, and the gallant defenders of Mafeking, the mayor (Councillor H. Bartlett) stepped forward and ignited the bonfire. It went up, the local journal stated, with 'a great blaze.' The fire proved to be so great and the heat intense that

³ *Banbury Advertiser*, 24 May 1900.

⁴ *Banbury Advertiser*.

people were obliged to move back in all directions. With the wind blowing from the north-east those on the south side of the street had more than once to beat a retreat from the heat. It was computed a crowd of around ten thousand enjoyed the finale of the municipally-organised spectacle. The glow from the bonfire illuminated the night sky, and could be seen from a great distance, though by eleven o'clock the crowd had begun to diminish.⁵

Throughout the day an indication of the high spirits among townsfolk was indicated by numerous pyrotechnical displays: not content with the arrangements devised by the council, later in the evening a group of youths reluctant to disperse, not only continued to let off fireworks but formed their own procession and persisted in singing *Soldiers of the Queen*, accompaniment coming from a variety of improvised instruments. Having decided to douse the flames and presumably hoping to defuse the excitement, at eleven o'clock the Fire Brigade was called on to extinguish the fire.

Up to his point everything had passed off according to plan, though the efforts of the firemen to put out the flames provoked catcalls and showers of stones hurled at them by those who wanted the celebration to continue. Not content with hampering the efforts of the fire brigade, a disgruntled section of the crowd now directed its attention elsewhere. At half past eleven an attack was made on the police station, windows in that building and the chief constable's office were shattered by volleys of stones and the use of catapults. The noise-level was supplemented by groans and hooting. Eventually the police did manage to restore the peace, though this was only achieved by systematic patrols clearing the streets. It was not until one o'clock on Sunday morning that things had quietened down.⁶

The events in Banbury were paralleled elsewhere: London, according to the correspondent of the *New York Times*, was in 'a delirium of joy.' It was reported that there were still people to be found at four in the morning determined to rejoice at the news. 'Calm, phlegmatic London is beside itself with emotion,' American readers were informed. And London was not the only place to celebrate, for the writer noted 'extraordinary scenes of celebration throughout the whole Empire.' It would seem the revellers in Banbury were not all that out of step with the general sentiment. Unlike Londoners however, Banburians were

⁵ *Banbury Advertiser*, as footnote 3.

⁶ *Banbury Guardian*, 24 May 1900.

expected to follow the counsels of the borough fathers, who clearly felt that by eleven o'clock people ought to be in their own homes. Despite this well-intentioned advice, it was as though after a series of set-backs for British arms and the subsequent damage to the Empire's prestige, there were elements determined to celebrate any future advance, however insignificant it might appear.⁷

The relief of Pretoria followed closely that at Mafeking. In Banbury, in the absence of a borough council celebration, people took to the streets and indulged in what the *Banbury Advertiser* considered to be a wave of vandalism.

Under the headline :

<p style="text-align:center">PRETORIA DOUBTFUL PATRIOTISM IN BANBURY WHOLESALE WINDOW SMASHING AT THE TOWN HALL BUILDINGS</p>

readers learned that on receipt of the news from Pretoria, Banburians once again greeted the news with a display of flags, the ringing of bells and the sound of hooters. The council however decided that since Mafeking was so recent, there was no call for yet another local celebration. One section of the townspeople felt otherwise, many participating in spontaneous street demonstrations. Bonfires were set up at Broad Street and at Town End. Indications that the celebration was likely to rival that for Mafeking was suggested by the display of balloons and the frequent detonations of fireworks.

Until the late evening the atmosphere in the town was good humoured, though at about half past ten the mood changed. What was described as 'an organised attack' then took place on the Town Hall, the Police Station, and the caretaker's house. More disturbing was the readiness with which the some of the demonstrators tore up cobble stones to be used as missiles to break windows, the police station proving to be the most popular target. Catapults also figured in the work of destruction.

Once again the mayor's shop received the attention of the mob, the shutters being dismantled. A flag pole bearing the Union Jack was damaged when the rope was slashed, the standard being left forlornly at half mast. It was not until early the following day that quietness

⁷ *New York Times*, 19 May 1900.

returned to Banbury streets. Among those indulging in the violence it was noted were a number of women.⁸

The disturbances connected with the Pretoria celebration provoked a stern rebuke from the editor of the *Banbury Guardian*. It was high time, that influential townsman insisted, that the authorities put an end to what he termed ruffianism. He regretted that no arrests had been made, though he hoped the ring-leaders would be brought to book. It was 'discreditable' that such a spate of lawlessness should be tolerated, he continued, and pointed out that the cost of the damage would have to be borne by the ratepayers.

'This was the second occasion in which there had been wanton destruction of property. It behoves any man who has the honour of the town at heart to see that any recurrence is put down with a firm hand. The good name of the town for loyalty at such a time should be far above any paltry local feeling in connection with some recent events in the place.'⁹

Banbury was by no means exceptional in experiencing such disturbances. It was a symptom of the mood of the country, people were keenly divided on the question of the war. From many parts of the country came reports of rowdyism. So high were feelings that the Liberal opposition introduced a Commons motion claiming that the right of free speech seemed to be in danger, and deploring the violence directed against the opponents of the South African war. MPs learned of the towns and cities where there had been disturbances: Paddington, Gloucester, Northampton, Peterhead, Leicester, Derby, Norwich and Edinburgh among others, and apart from meetings being disrupted, property destroyed, patrons of the respectably-run Rowntree's refreshment rooms at Scarborough were deprived of that useful amenity when it was completely destroyed by a gang of rioters. The Liberal opposition suggested that the range and the nature of the riots suggested some sort of preconcerted plan to stifle public opinion with regard to the war. This claim was dismissed by a government speaker, who sought to minimise accounts of the unrest and assured the House that each report of a disturbance was carefully examined by the authorities.¹⁰

⁸ *Banbury Advertiser*, 7 June 1900. Councillor Humphrey Bartlett was the proprietor of a chemist's shop in Market Place, though he lived in The Green.

⁹ *Banbury Guardian* 7 June 1900.

¹⁰ *Hansard*. Parl. Debs., Vol. LXXX, (15 March 1900), cols. 940-986.

Banbury was not listed among the towns mentioned in the Commons deliberations, though locally a number of youths – described as larrikinns by the Chief Constable – led by an ex-soldier named Arthur Castle, were held to be responsible for much of the rowdiness and damage. Castle, who had earned the soubriquet ‘Jimmy the whip,’ was taken before the magistrates and found guilty of being drunk and disorderly. He was fined eleven shillings, in default of which he was sentenced to seven days in gaol. Having neither home or possessions he was soon on his way to Oxford to serve his sentence. In the meantime his friends got up a public subscription and soon had sufficient funds to secure his release after two days. On his return to Banbury, Castle was met at the station by a huge crowd of friends and admirers and escorted to the town centre accompanied by his supporters singing *For he’s a jolly good fellow*. It was obvious the man regarded by the police as the ring leader of the disaffected had come to be perceived by some as the people’s champion.¹¹

The handling of the Castle incident did not mark the end of the disturbances, but at least in future those accused of rowdiness and wilful damage could expect a prompt response from the authorities and a stern sentence. Generally the outlook seemed to be extremely promising.

If the Boers could be ejected from the towns and other strategic centres, it was only a matter of time before the war ended. News of the relief of Pretoria in late May was interpreted by many as a symptom that the war’s end in sight. *The Times*, for instance, in a column headed ‘Fall of Pretoria,’ assured its readers in the following words:

‘The news we chronicle this morning will be hailed with exultation throughout the British Empire. The war is practically over. The British flag is by this time flying at Pretoria.’¹²

With the likelihood of an early peace, the political atmosphere cooled considerably. The incidence of violence, such a noticeable feature of the early months of 1900, gradually diminished. The *Banbury Guardian* in its review of 1900 stated explained

‘...the rejoicing in connection with the victories of the Army were made the occasion of some street disturbances, but they were promptly dealt with and did not assume a serious aspect...’

¹¹ *Banbury Guardian*, 8 March 1900.

¹² *Banbury Guardian*, 31 May 1900.

Such a view only applied to domestic conditions. The Afrikaners determined to continue the struggle employing guerrilla tactics. In a bid to neutralise the commandos the British, reasoned their highly mobile enemy owed much to food and shelter being supplied them by the rural population. Men, women and children were herded into hastily constructed concentration camps where many would die. Crops, livestock and farm buildings were abandoned, in many cases destroyed. This was just one aspect of the costs of the war: the British forces, for instance, suffered 30,000 casualties and there were an additional 16,000 deaths due to disease. One fact became obvious at an early stage of the war: the price of victory would not come cheaply, either in material or human terms. British expenditure on the war came to over £222 million.¹³

When peace finally came in the summer of 1902 it was obvious interest in the war had diminished considerably. There was nothing like the amount of maffiking displayed in 1900. It was as though the zest for jubilation had disappeared. Of course the coronation celebrations organised for King Edward VII may have been partly to blame for this, though he rather spoiled things by developing appendicitis necessitating a postponement not only of the crowning but many of the projected celebrations. According to one authority, the word maffiking retained a place in the English language for two generations. It appeared in the 1964 edition of the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, though few contemporary works of reference consider the verb worthy of inclusion. The place that inspired the word does appear in gazetteers and travel books. During the war a British officer complained the town consisted of little more than a railway siding and some tin sheds. In 1980 the name was changed to Mafikeng, and although it retains some significance as a rail and administrative centre, the total population is still under 8,000.¹⁴

¹³ *Banbury Guardian*, 27 Dec. 1900. The last set of prosecutions against those disturbing the peace were reported in the *Banbury Advertiser*, 14 and 28 June, 1900. R Ensor, *England 1870-1914*, (1966), p. 347.

¹⁴ P Magnus, *King Edward the seventh* (1964), pp. 296-97. *Banbury Guardian*, 3 and 31 July, 14 August, 1902.

SNIPPETS FROM THE ARCHIVES: 5

Deborah Hayter

From the National Archives, E179/155/31 The Lay Subsidy of 1301

Newbottle		Charlton	
Henry Grey	16s.4d.	W Wareman	21d.
.... Le Botte	17s.	Richard Roger	19d.
Roger Dod	2s.6d.	William	2s.1d.
Richard Gommes	2s.6d.	Ux relicta Nicholas	21d.
William f. Gilbert	12s.	John Adam	2s.4d.
Hugo Godwyne	3s.	Thomas Gladwyn	2d.
Walter Doget	2s.5d.	John Entelane	20d.
John (?Preso)	2s.4d.	Edmund Robins	23d.
Stephen (? G..thoe)	2s.11d.	Richard Entelane	2d.
Sussan Host	10s.	John Pe....	2s.
William Manglo	2s.4d.	Alan Fawe	2d.
William Choves	2s.3d.	John Aboneton	20d.
John Dolls	20d.	Ralph in venella	2s.2.
Henry Gryball	2s.7d.	Edmund de Echyngie	6s.
Edward Vathoe	2s.7d.	Pad f eid	18d.
Galfridus Dobe	4d.	Will Yeman	13d.
Ralph le Moul	2s.11d.	Thomas Soude	20d.
Richard f. Gilbert	21d.	John Casse	17d.
Galfridus de Overton	3s.6d.	Alan ad capell	2s.4d.
Henry de Oseneye	2s.6d.	Gilbert ad font	3s.9d.
Mat relicta Will Boder	14d.	Will Dake	2s.1d.
Walter ?Refaner	2s.4d.	Richard de Hetheryngton	6s.6d.
Dent Wanter	2s/3d.	Pado le fondur	42d.
		Adam....	2s.4d.
		John de [?]Sabelake	2s.3d.

The Lay Subsidies were extra taxes which were levied for a particular purpose, such as a foreign war. It is remarkable that anyone can go to the National Archives and see these documents which recorded the names of all the taxpayers and the amounts that they paid in 1301. (Reading them is another matter.) They are important sources for the study of surnames, just beginning to develop here, though many villagers still had locative or occupational affixes, not true surnames. Ralph 'le moul', for instance, is 'the Miller', and Alan ad capell presumably lives by the chapel, as Gilbert ad font lives by the well. Charlton had a smith – Pado le fondur – and still has a smithy today.

These lay subsidy lists were much used by Allison, Beresford and Hurst in their research into deserted medieval villages, as they give an indication of relative size before the difficult years of poor harvests and famines in the 1310s and 1320s, and fifty years before the catastrophe of the Black Death.¹ The 1301 list shows that Walton (Grounds), Stuchbury, Purston, Steane and Warkworth, all of which would become deserted villages at some time between 1350 and 1500, were already small, with seventeen, twenty-one, sixteen, sixteen and twenty-two taxpayers respectively.

The contrast between the taxpayers of Newbottle and Charlton is noteworthy too. Newbottle was to become another deserted village: it survives to the present day as a manorial complex, church, vicarage and a few farm buildings. It had a few quite rich taxpayers in 1301. By contrast, Charlton is larger with many medium payers and no-one as rich as the landowners in Newbottle. Charlton is still alive and lively: there was no-one who held enough of the land to force enclosure and eviction.²

Book Reviews

Service, Sun and Settlement: And other tales of Old Eydon. Reports from the Eydon Historical Research Group, vol. 7, 2011. 64pp. illus. £5.00 + p&p from EHRG, David Kench, 20 High St, Eydon, Daventry NN11 3PP.

Another very worthwhile publication from the winners of our 2011 Local History prize: seven articles, ranging from accounts of the 1960s-1970s Womens' Institute activities, and of district nurse, Hope Douglas, and her distinguished forebears (Caroline Bedford), through the ramifications of the Eydon House water supply (David Kench), to sundials ancient and modern (Alison Cutler, Robert Taylor). Kevin Lodge's investigation of the likely origins of the village as a planned medieval settlement and the possible effects of earlier fires (before that of 1905) are mapped by Sonia Hawes. And there's an index.

The seven Records issues to date show just how much can be achieved by a few. For those with no village group publication we at *Cake & Cockhorse* will always welcome contributions of similar research. J.G.

¹ K.J. Allison, M.W. Beresford, J.G. Hurst, *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire*, Leicester University Dept. of English Local History Occ. Paper 18, Leicester (1966)

² For more about these two villages, see *Charlton & Newbottle: the History of Two Villages*, P. Hayter (Ed.), Charlton & Newbottle History Society (2000).

Oxfordshire Friendly Societies, 1750-1918, edited by Shaun Morley. Hardback. xiv + 508 pp. Oxfordshire Record Society, vol 68, 2011. (ISBN 978 0 902509 73 3). £25.00.

This is a compendium that all historians of eighteenth and nineteenth century Oxfordshire will find useful. Its core is a list of 755 friendly societies known to have functioned in the county. It is alphabetically arranged by township or settlement rather than by ancient parish, so that, for example, entries for Bodicote appear under that heading, not under Adderbury. The presentation of the list could have been improved by running headlines reminding the reader of the places to which entries refer. The list includes 44 entries for Banbury (Nos 42-86), the earliest the Friendly Society of Shag Weavers of 1774. The 26 pp introduction is a helpful guide for users, but it could have drawn rather more from secondary works on the activities of friendly societies in particular places. There are 12 pages of colour plates, including photographs of club day at Sibford Gower in 1905, of a banner and pole head from the same village, and of the *North Arms* friendly society at Wroxton.

There is a helpful glossary of terms and valuable appendices include a list of 188 court cases involving friendly societies, summarised from reports in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, details of 266 bands, some of them military, that performed at club days or similar events between 1836 and 1914, a list of 392 societies formally registered with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and digests of information about the lodges of the affiliated orders such as the Oddfellows. A list of nine surviving banners includes two kept at Holy Trinity, Sibford Gower.

This volume might be considered a work of reference, and certainly most local historians in Oxfordshire will find that the list provides them with all the immediately accessible facts about friendly societies in the towns and villages with which they are concerned, but it should perhaps be regarded as a book that poses questions rather than one that provides answers. It would be useful to investigate further the Banbury Amicable Society, mentioned in documentary sources only in 1794, which could be joined only by men above the age of 46 and was limited to 81 members, or the Beneficial Society which met at the *Cock*, and was said in 1840 to be the oldest-established club in Banbury, although there are records of it only between 1838 and 1843.

The newspaper extracts provide much fairly routine evidence about friendly societies, about refusals by officers to pay benefit, drunkenness

on club days and the misappropriation of funds by individuals. One of the most notable examples of the latter was the theft in 1870 of £106 of friendly society money by the Deddington solicitor Henry Churchill, who was bankrupt with liabilities totalling £6,000.

This section of the book raises broader questions. It provides a wonderful vision from 1873 of a large party of members of Banbury's Conservative Friendly Society, and doubtless their ladies, dancing at midnight in the yard of the *White Horse*, under a booth, whose roof was a rick cloth. Moses Walker and Henry French cut a hole in the cloth through which they dropped stones on to the dancers, but that seems the least interesting feature of the evening. It might be asked what lay behind the presence at Bodicote Club day of William Clarke, 'a tall powerful man from America'. Was he a tourist or a returned emigrant? The book provides powerful evidence of the importance of bands in mid-Victorian Oxfordshire, not least in the account of the fighting between musicians from Banbury and Adderbury at Hornton club day in 1873.

This is the 68th volume to be published by the Oxfordshire Record Society since its foundation in 1919. It continues a succession of innovative works that the Society has produced in recent years which is to the credit of the Society's officers and which also demonstrates the vitality of local history in the county.

B.S.T.

Mid-Victorian Squarson: The Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Former Vicar of Deddington, 1849-1869, Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson (ed.). Hardback, xxx + 354pp., illustrated, indexes (70pp.). Banbury Historical Society, Volume 32, 2012. (ISBN: 9780900129308). £15.00 + £3.00 p&p (UK), Free to members.

Part One, Early Victorian Squarson, 1835-48, was published in 2007.

The genre of published diaries requires three elements to be a useful addition to the existing literature. A full and interesting manuscript, a sympathetic and clinical editor, and an excellent index provide the ingredients to produce a diary that is valuable to those historical researchers as well as individuals with local affiliation. *Mid-Victorian Squarson* exhibits all three characteristics in abundance. This is the second part of the personal chronicle kept by the Reverend William Cotton Risley and it appears six years after *Early-Victorian Squarson*, the volume that covered thirteen years when he was vicar of Deddington. The editor refers to the introduction of the first volume to explain his editorial methods, an essential component in assessing the

completeness and accuracy of the transcribed diary. It would have enhanced the diary had this short section been repeated for the benefit of those with immediate access to just this volume. Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson details in the first volume that between 10-15% of the manuscript has been transcribed, an appropriate amount for such a long series of diaries that last in total from 1835 to 1869. Editorial omissions include repeated text, lists of names, and records of his attendance at services, whilst periods of lack of diary-keeping are highlighted. Risley's punctuation and spelling have been preserved in the text and the overall editorship works very well.

Mid-Victorian Squarson covers the last twenty years of Risley's life until 1869, a period after he had given up the living as vicar of Deddington. He had resigned his clerical position in 1847, purportedly due to family ill-health, at age 50, but this volume reveals that Risley remained extremely active with his land-holdings, his family, and official positions, such as Justice of the Peace, perhaps questioning that assertion. His religious service came at a time of immense change for the Anglican Church and his early career had been as a pluralist, with a living in Buckinghamshire where he was absent, whilst residing at Souldern as curate for another absent parson. The relationship with his clerical successors was not easy, and occasionally hostile. This diary provides an insight into the people and places of Deddington and its environs through his detailed recording, albeit from the perspective of a key member of the local elite. Naturally, his association was with those of standing in the community – shopkeepers, professionals and landowners. His contact with the labouring classes was largely limited to the numerous court cases he heard officially, or resolved locally. This is an important point in placing Risley amongst contemporary diarists. John Batts' *British Manuscript Diaries* (1976) records 3,000 nineteenth-century diary manuscripts, but this figure should be much greater as many have since been identified from personal papers and archives.

Was Risley's diary meant to be read, either during or after his lifetime? He does not tell us, but his use of simply the first letter of a surname in many court cases over which he presided indicates he expected it to be read at some time. J....., a 'Villain and Wretch' was found guilty of indecent assault on a girl in 1860 (page 455). There is certainly no indication he expected it to be published and this is to its advantage in revealing so much of the everyday life of this landowner and clerical magistrate. The latter was a position that endured in

Oxfordshire much longer than in industrialised counties and one which was unpopular in many quarters due to the apparent conflict between being an ambassador for the poor as well as a deliverer of punishment.

Mid-Victorian Squarson was not a diary of conscience, devotional, or one of extensive soul-searching, and he rarely reveals emotion. His diary keeping may have been an escape, or he may simply have followed fashion, but egotism appears to have played a large part. The diary is centred on himself, and his observations on other people are about his interaction, his views, and what he did to resolve issues. That said, there is enormous potential for the diary to be used beyond those with a general interest in the locality. Many local history themes of the period appear in the diary and how Risley addressed them as a local elite. Old customs, such as 'skimmington' (also known as 'rough music') that were initially tolerated were later suppressed (page 454), and his period as magistrate coincided with increased use of the Petty Session courts for the enforcement of a variety of new offences as well as the administration of traditional justice, and the development of a professional police service. The expansion of leisure pursuits and associational forms such as friendly societies can all be traced through Risley's meticulous records.

Many diary editors fall into a trap of becoming too close to the diarist, and being an admiring editor. In this case the excellent editing does not reflect that and it is left to readers to determine their own views on whether Risley was a champion or suppressor of the poor. *Mid-Victorian Squarson* should be seen as a diary that has extensive local interest, with wider Oxfordshire and national importance that casts an eye on mid-nineteenth century life and adds to the genre of such writing. Another excellent publication from Banbury Historical Society.

Shaun Morley

Broughton Castle. Cover + 32pp. Colour illustrations throughout. 2012. £3.50 + p&p from Broughton Castle shop, Banbury OX15 5EB.

This lavishly and beautifully illustrated new Guide deserves to be added to the bookshelves of all our members. Particularly welcome are contributions from the latest generations of the Fiennes family: design, portraits and quotations.

My only regret is the yet again perpetuation of nonsense that the rhyme had 'originally' referred to a 'Fiennes' lady, and, by juxtaposition, to the diarist. Celia Fiennes (1662-1741) never lived at Broughton. The first printed version of the rhyme, in 1783, had 'an *old* lady', and the diarist was little known until a version of her journal was published a century later still, in 1888. **J.G.**

The Tours of John Loveday, transcribed from the original documents by Sarah Markham. Website: www.mrsite.com, 2012

John Loveday was an antiquarian, traveller and philologist best known for the tours which he made and chronicled in Great Britain, Ireland and the Netherlands between 1728 and 1765. He was the founder of a family library which was taken by his son, also John (1742-1809), to Williams-cote House near Banbury. He added many volumes to it and it was further augmented by the inheritance of the library of the poet and scholar James Merrick (1720-1769). The library comprising some 2,500 bound volumes remained at Williams-cote until 1966 when it was acquired by Penn State University.

The manuscript of the 126 tours remained in the possession of the family and passed to Loveday's great, great, great, great granddaughter, Sarah Markham (née Loveday), an enthusiastic member of our Society. It formed the basis of the biography which she published in 1984. She had however during the ten or so years leading up to her death in 2003 at the age of 93 been working towards publication of the tours in full with a comprehensive index of names and places. Not only did this require much research but it was also no mean feat for her to grasp the complexities of Microsoft Word including the insertion of numerous footnotes and symbols.

Her sons Francis and John Markham have attempted to refine their mother's work which was almost complete. They are now glad to make it available to scholars and antiquarians who would like to see the original tours in full. However, it may also be of interest to today's travellers to see what has changed and indeed what has not changed since the middle of the eighteenth century. Loveday comments on the towns and villages and landscapes he passes through and sometimes their inhabitants. There is for instance an interesting description of Mam Tor and other features of the Peak District. Apart from numerous churches, many of the houses he visited are to-day open to the public, for instance, Chatsworth, Castle Howard, Burghley, Wilton, Powderham and Syon.

The above is from the Home Page of a website to the complete Tours: www.johnlovedayofcaversham.co.uk which provides access to these tours and the indexes.

© JOHN LOVEDAY OF CAVERSHAM created at www.mrsite.com

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).

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

Turnpike Roads to Banbury, by Alan Rosevear (vol. 31); out-of-print.

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

Part 2. *Mid-Victorian Squarson, 1849-1869* (vol. 32).

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:

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

Victorian Reminiscences, ed. Barrie Trinder.

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.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Autumn 2012 Programme

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

Thursday 13th September 2012

Preceded by Reception at 6.30pm for 7pm

**English heritage in France: The landscape of the
Calais Pale and the lost palace of Henry VIII**

Julian Munby

Thursday 11th October 2012

Medieval wall paintings in North Oxfordshire

Roger Rosewall

Thursday 8th November 2012

**The Cheney Archive in the Bodleian:
a pictorial account**

Clive Hurst, *Bodleian Library*

Thursday 13th December 2012

**Feeding the Guns: the challenges of explosives
manufacture during the Great War**

Wayne Cocroft, *English Heritage*