CAKE AND COCKHORSE

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

Cake and Cockhorse

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Our articles in this issue feature two seventeenth century clerics of opposite extremes, but both showing how important clergy were at that time. William Whately is Banbury's best known vicar. His fame was helped by his close relationship with most the people that mattered in Banbury during his incumbency from 1611 to 1639. In a fiercely puritan parish he was able to steer what in the circumstances was a surprisingly moderate path. In contrast, William Beaw, vicar of Adderbury from 1661 to his death in 1705, as Nicholas Allen remarks, was 'the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time'. His parishioners did not love him, and he was at constant loggerheads with the many dissenters there. With his military background, he probably coped pretty well with this antagonism.

Lord Wardington invited us to his lovely home and garden at Wardington Manor for our A.G.M. on a deliciously warm afternoon – with the precedent of Chacombe Priory, we once again held the meeting out-of-doors. One questioner asked whether the B.H.S. is considering a website on the Internet. The answer is, if some computer/Internet literate person will offer to do this for us – or possibly we will be able to join up with Banbury Museum. But volunteers, please!

Cover: The Reverend William Whately: the frontispiece of his book *Prototypes*, published posthumously in 1640.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. William Beaw, Bishop of Llandaff, 1698. Note the missing fore-finger on his sword arm.

THE CHURCH MILITANT:
William Beaw, Vicar of Adderbury and Bishop of Llandaff

Nicholas Allen

'W.L. 1705' is the enigmatic inscription on the end of a tomb sited outside and at the foot of the East window of the chancel to St. Mary's Church, Adderbury. It records the end of the life of a very remarkable man. The initials are those of William Llandaff – the Right Reverend Doctor William Beaw, scholar, academic, Civil War soldier, wounded in battle, imprisoned for a long period, academic again, soldier of fortune, diplomat, soldier of fortune again, academic, ordained and presented as vicar of Adderbury, consecrated bishop of Llandaff, and finally husband and father of eight children, his last when he was 59. He died aged 88 in 1705. Altogether a man of many parts.

Beaw (sometimes known as Bew) was born in 1617 at Hagbourne, then in Berkshire, near the present Atomic Energy Research Establishment, Harwell. He was the son of William Beaw and Elizabeth Twisse, the daughter of a cleric. Beaw was entered as a scholar at Winchester College in 1629 and admitted as a probationary Fellow of New College, Oxford on 19th September 1635, matriculating in November that year under the name of Bew at the age of 18 (in the College register he is recorded as 'Gulielmi*[sic]* de Newberrye, Pleb-fil aet 18'). He obtained his bachelor's degree on 13th June 1637 and was elected a full Fellow the following September. Sometime during this time it seems that he changed the spelling of his name from Bew to Beaw.

Soon after the start of the Civil War (probably in August 1642) Beaw joined the Royalist cause 'out of zeal to my Religion and my king ... [he] left his studies and advantages' joining the King's service and on the way taking with him 'his pupils and other scholars and gentlemen no less than 12'. According to his own brief autobiography, written sixty years later, 'he himself served the King from a Pike to a Major of Horse, was wounded in the service (and on that account still halts) and kept long a Prisoner of war...'. There is no firm evidence that he fought at the Battle of Edgehill that October.

This military service is confirmed in a very long letter to Archbishop Tenison written by Beaw from Adderbury in 1699. He says that he took part in some of the later marches and countermarches in Wales and the West and that he had been 'quartered all up and down' North Wales and in the vicinity of St. Asaph. He was wounded fighting Sir William Waller's forces, taken prisoner (at which battle is not known), sent to London to be examined by a Parliamentary Commission who committed him to prison and kept, in his words, 'in one of the vilest'. He was held for some considerable time, no doubt in the vain hope his captors could ransome him off for a handsome sum; the usual way both sides had of not only getting rid of their officer prisoners but raising money for their causes. Beaw had no private funds, wealthy friends or patron to bail him out. However, it was eventually 'by the help of some friends' that he managed to obtain his release and was subsequently discharged from the army.

Oxford had surrendered to the Parliamentary forces in June 1646 and was apparently treated leniently. Beaw was able to rejoin his College in 1647. He was elected pro-proctor in Lent; his military background may have been useful in obtaining this university disciplinary appointment. However the following year Parliamentary Commissioners purged the university of Royalists. At New College they ejected the Warden and forty fellows and scholars, including Beaw.

Having been 'turned out of his Fellowship and all that he had, and forced by his sword (which at first he never intended to draw but for his own Prince) to seek his bread in foreign parts...' Beaw travelled to 'Muscovy' to become a mercenary soldier. He was commissioned as a lieutenant colonel of horse in the service of Czar Alexis (1645-1676).

However in due course his exiled sovereign prevailed upon him to 'quit his commission'; 'he left that honorable and profitable service to serve King Charles II is his affairs beyond the seas', to become personal envoy to the Danish court of Frederick III (Charles' grandmother was a Danish princess); Charles had by then many of his exiled friends and supporters acting as envoys to all the major European royal courts specifically to drum up support and funds for his cause. Beaw undertook 'many journeys by sea and land, and endured many hardships and often ran the hazard of his life for the space of above 2 years together, and all this out of his own purse...'

He eventually became very ill, 'siezed by a pestilence', but remained at his post at Copenhagen until his resources were exhausted. 'The poor remainder of his fortune spent, he was forced' to go back to the trade he knew, soldiering, taking service with Charles Augustus, King of Sweden, 'whom he served in all his Polish wars and afterwards in the service of the King of Poland...' At last, shortly before Charles II's restoration in May 1660, Beaw himself was able to return to England.

According to notes compiled by his family, Beaw was persuaded to take holy orders by Dr Alexander Hyde (first cousin of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon), Dean of Winchester (later Bishop of Salisbury). Presumably it was the Bishop of Winchester who ordained Beaw (New College was founded by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester) and presented him to a good living (where is not known), which must have been very shortlived indeed. Beaw was restored to his Fellowship (and presumably his property) by an order of the King's Commissioners, dated 30th August 1660. He was then invited by the Bishop of Winchester to become the incumbent of the living at Adderbury in Oxfordshire; he was presented to this living on 2nd February 1660/61. Beaw at this stage was a bachelor and his annual stipend was £330, with according to his own account ample funds abroad.

Beaw was an ex cavalry officer, battle hardened, a well travelled man of action, used to the service of monarchs and the courtly society. He found himself very rapidly translated from the intrigues of European courts to Oxford, to a rural parish in Oxfordshire. However, he was a dedicated royalist and a staunch supporter of the established church.

At this point therefore it would be appropriate to consider what Beaw would have been faced with when he arrived at Adderbury. It would not be unfair to say that as far as Adderbury was concerned Beaw was the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time; this is not a criticism of Beaw but an evaluation of the situation pertaining to Adderbury at that particular moment in history.

Although 1661 was at the beginning of the Restoration it would seem that New College were more than a little insensitive to send yet another avid Royalist as Adderbury's vicar. Beaw's predecessor but one, William Oldys (vicar 1626-45), was a fervent Royalist – as such he was much disliked by his parishioners; so much so that he had to live in Banbury for his own safety. His wife, though, still lived in the village. It

was a villager who betrayed him to local Parliamentary troops, who sent a cavalry patrol out to the Oxford road, having been warned that he and his wife would be taking their son up to Oxford on 12th September (1645). Oldys very soon realized he was heading for a trap and about turned back to Adderbury, where one of the troopers caught up with him in the High Street and shot him dead.

Oldys was promptly replaced by yet another Royalist, William Barker, who shortly after his induction was sequestered by a Parliamentary Commission for 'malignancy and other scandals' in 1646. So the populace of Adderbury had become heartily sick of Royalist parsons. Barker was replaced by a very contentious puritan curate from Banbury, Francis Wells, who managed to upset the members of the parish church. He was installed as 'minister', only to be removed at the Restoration in 1660. So to send to Adderbury, which by then was a hotbed of nonconformity, yet another dedicated Royalist parson was rather looking for trouble. It is of course perfectly possible that Warden Woodward (of New College) may well have thought 'let's send Beaw, a no nonsense man' to sort out these 'factious and schismatical' people of Adderbury, as he called them.

By the mid seventeenth century many of the working class of the village were very hostile to the established church. Adderbury in 1656 had already become a haven for dissenters and nonconformists of all shades and opinions. He would have found that the Quaker movement was firmly established in the village with what must really have appalled him – a wealthy local land owner, Bray Doyley (lord of St. Amand's and Hagley's manors in Adderbury West), as their mentor and enthusiastic supporter. Beaw at one stage complained that Doyley would only rent his properties to Quakers. They rapidly clashed with each other, for in 1661, Beaw prosecuted Doyley for non-payment of tithes. He refused to pay them and continued to do so right up to the year he died (1686).

Doyley built in 1675, on his own land, and at his own expense, a Quaker Meeting House. It was to become the second most important Particular Meeting (the name given to a local group of Friends), next to the Banbury Meeting. Doyley because he was a member of the gentry got off very lightly for this action, as he was imprisoned for only two months. Beaw regularly charged Doyley for holding Quaker meetings; for which he was fined heavily.

Bray Doyley's Quaker Meeting House. A watercolour by M.F. Thomas, painted in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is very doubtful if Beaw, within the confines of Royalist Oxford's academe, would have come across any Quakers, as he must have done in Addcrbury. He would no doubt have rapidly discovered that one of the fundamental tenets of the Quaker faith is 'that all men have God within them', therefore there was no need for a House of God, therefore no need for a priest to stand between a man and his God; the corollary of that line of thinking was that there was no necessity therefore to pay tithes – which the Quakers stoutly refused to do, however many times they were fined. They also declined to take off their hats when in church and, even worse, they would not doff their hats deferentially to the gentry.

Beaw very early on in his ministry brought a suit against his parishioners for the non-payment of tithes. They reciprocated by accusing him of failing to serve his Bodicote parishioners adequately. They claimed he had said 'neither prayers nor sermons in Bodicote Chapel for several Sundays', also having prayers at 'unseasonable and uncertain times' (Bodicote was part of the parish of Adderbury in those days). Beaw must have found his ministry in Adderbury one long round of conflict with his parishioners.

On 26th August 1661 Beaw resigned his Fellowship of New College so that he might marry (married Fellows were not permitted at Oxford). Within a year or so he had married Frances, daughter of Alexander Bourchier of Southampton. They then promptly set about raising a large family and quite amazingly with a difficult parish to administer he also found time in 1666 to acquire a Doctorate of Divinity.

It is in this year that we get a very small flash of the character of Beaw. The schoolmaster of the boys' Grammar School at Adderbury (founded by Christopher Rawlins, a onetime vicar, and administered by New College, Oxford) reported to Warden Woodward of New College that he and his mother had overheard Parson Beaw refer to the Warden as a 'weake and silly man'. The schoolmaster, Mr Taylor, considered that this 'derogated very much' from the dignity of the Warden. Beaw, it is reported, apologised to Woodward. Beaw had the last laugh as Woodward sacked Taylor in 1666 because he had had so many complaints about him.

Warden Woodward had appeared earlier in Beaw's life, this time in 1663 in his role of landowner. New College owned (and still does) estates in many parishes all over England, often in a rectorial role, as it did (and still does) in Adderbury. The Warden was required to visit from time to time each of the College's estates to deal with land and property transactions, disputes and, more importantly, to check on upkeep and maintenance of their many properties, i.e. churches, rectories, vicarages, tithe barns and farms etc. – these visits were called 'Progresses'. Warden Woodward kept meticulous records of his Progresses.

He visited Adderbury on 6th October 1663 and his first port of call in the morning was Beaw's vicarage: which he noted 'is reasonable well in repair, but in time God willing Mr Bew will make it better'. Later in the day he crossed the road to the Church 'which if whited etc. would be very handsome'. He then noted in the churchyard 'There lyeth timber still, that was anciently allowed for a loft to ring in, and a new Frame of their bells, I told Mr Bew the vicar & the Clerks of the Parish, that if the Church wardens would not imploy*[sic]* it according to intent of the Donor Dr. Pinke that I would imploy it some other way'. Woodward was not exaggerating when he referred to the timber as 'anciently allowed for' – Warden Pinke, died in 1647! Pinke therefore must have given the timber to Mr Oldys, which would have to be some time before 1645

(Oldys as mentioned above was the shot dead by Parliamentary soldiers that year). His successor, Barker, was in office for a very short time before he was sequestered; he could have done nothing with the timber. Barker was replaced by a Puritan divine, who most certainly would not have entertained church bells being rung, let alone being bothered or put to the expense of repairing them. The timber therefore would have had to have been sitting in the churchyard for at least eighteen years! Beaw did leave his mark on Adderbury as he had installed a Sanctus bell in 1681 and a clock in the tower in 1684. The present clock is a Victorian replacement.

On 18th February 1678/9 Beaw was presented to the Parish of Llantrissant by the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral; he held this living for a very short time as he was soon replaced. In June of 1679 Beaw was elected 47th Bishop of Llandaff; consecrated at Lambeth on 22nd by Archbishop Sancroft. Llandaff is the cathedral city two miles to the north of Cardiff. It was the smallest and poorest diocese in the country; the income from it was £440 a year. Beaw accepted this bishopric on the understanding that he would in due course be in line for a more lucrative diocese – a typically vague promise from the monarch – 'My Lord, I do not intend that you shall die Bishop of Llandaff'.

So he and his large family moved to the Bishop's palace at Mathern, near Chepstow (there was no Bishop's palace at Llandaff). Chepstow is some considerable distance from Llandaff and an even greater distance from his parish at Adderbury (in June that year, Beaw appointed the Reverend Robert Parsons as his curate in Adderbury). Beaw as was his right became an assiduous member of the House of Lords. In those circumstances it is most unlikely that either of his flocks at Adderbury or Llandaff would have seen a great deal of their shepherd. However Beaw did hold his first ordination at Llandaff on 15th August 1680.

In a letter to Archbishop Tenison written by Beaw in 1699 (he was 82 at the time!) he pleaded his case for a more important and remunerative diocese; he writes (alluding to some loyal friends) that 'found out by some who thought it an indignity (otherwise than I thought myself) that my passed Services should continue unrewarded'. He continues 'At last there comes a letter to me from a person of honour, that a little B'prick was fallen, and that I was thought of'.

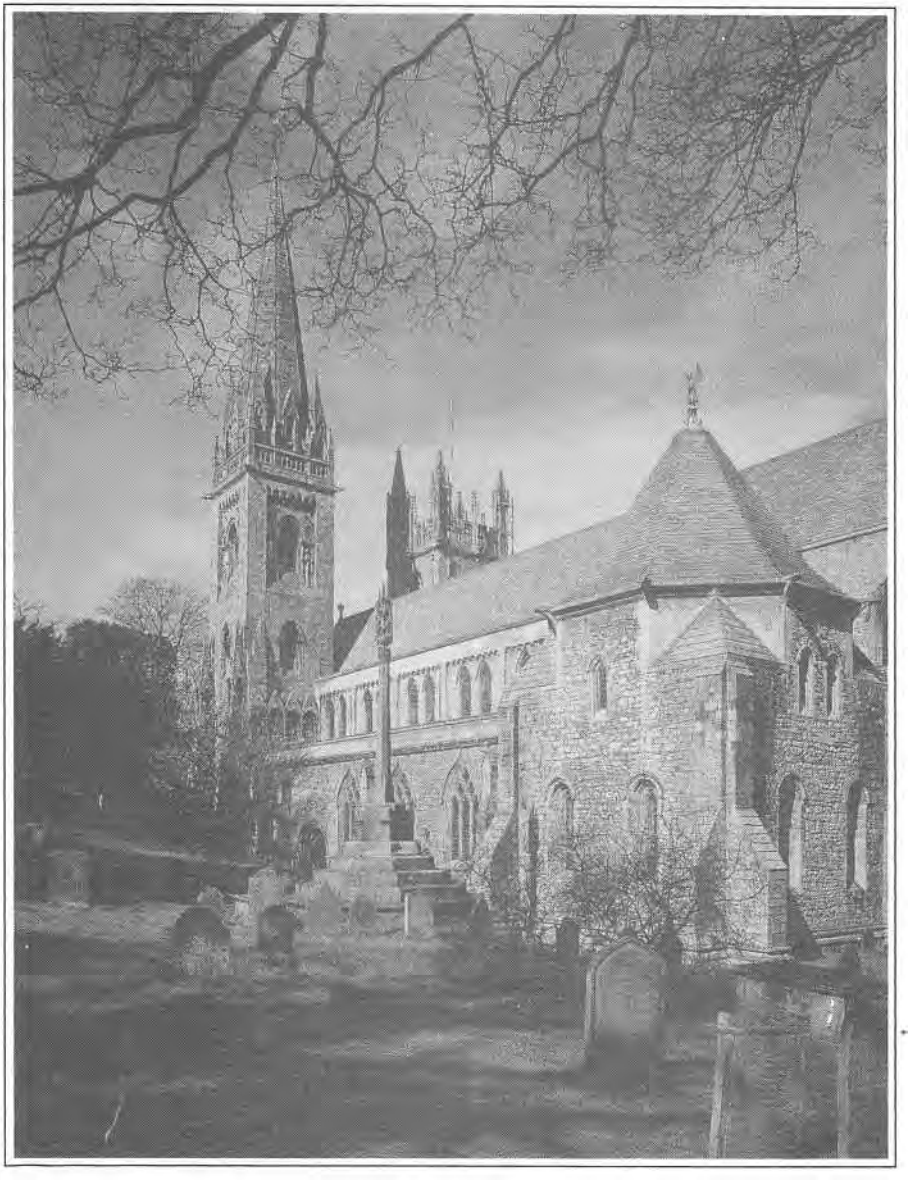
Beaw also complained to the Archbishop that even with the combined stipends of Adderbury and Llandaff which yielded a total of £770 per annum 'I there lived not according to my Revenue, but answerable to my Dignity'. He of course had a large family to cater for; also he would have to pay his curate at Adderbury (a considerably larger parish in those days). He would have had no inconsiderable episcopal expenses related to his 'dignity' plus his travelling expenses from Chepstow to London to the House of Lords. Beaw ran to a coachman and coach and horses, for, as he explained in his letter to the Archbishop, 'which I am necessitated to keep for any least journey, because by the unskillfulness and carelessness of a Welsh Surgion*[sic]* I am disenabled to ride'. Beaw was allowed to retain for himself two Welsh livings within his gift as bishop; their value is not known. He described them as 'lean and ill-favoured'.

The year 1683 was not a good one for Beaw: in that year he had surgery on his leg by the 'Welsh Surgion'; presumably the surgery was related to his war wound. The operation left him in such a state that he was unable to attend the coronation of James II in 1685 although he had been ordered to do so by the Archbishop. He was however sufficiently fit and vigorous at 85 years of age to attend Queen Anne at her Coronation in 1702 and 'walked all the way both forward and backward'. Beaw is recorded as having voted in the House of Lords on 14th December 1703 (by then he was 86) in favour of the Occasional Conformity Bill.

Beaw, like so many senior churchmen of his day, was a pluralist and not above a little nepotism, as he appointed his son William in 1686 to be Chancellor of the Diocese of Llandaff and his son-in-law the Reverend Thomas Willis (husband of his daughter Dorothy) as Precentor of Llandaff Cathedral. Willis himself was rector of Bishopston in Glamorgan and vicar of Caerwent near Mathern.

The Sweet-Escott notes claim that Beaw's wife Frances died in 1683; however his will, dated 17th May 1703 and proved in 1705, names his wife Frances as his executrix. Unless he married another Frances (not impossible) his first and only wife outlived him.

That Beaw continued to visit Adderbury is shown by his letter to Archbishop Tenison, already quoted, which was datelined 'Adderbury 21st August 1699'.



Llandaff Cathedral

'W.L. – 1705'

Beaw died at the ripe old age of 88 on 10th February 1705/06 and, as mentioned earlier, was buried at the foot of the chancel window.

He died a deeply disappointed man, having lobbied Archbishop Tenison several times, all unsuccessfully, to have himself promoted to a more important and financially rewarding diocese. He had set his sights on Hereford or St. Asaph. Beaw must surely have lived more lives than all the other Adderbury parsons put together.

On the north side of his tomb is inscribed in Latin:

Depositum WILLHELMI quondam
Episcopi Landavensis hujus Ecclesiae Vicarii

[Here lies William, former Bishop of Llandaff,
Vicar of this Church]

and on the south side:

Exuviea GULIEMI LANDAVENSIS Episcopi in
Manum Domini depositae, In Spem laetae resurrectionis
Per Sola Christi Merita

[Free of all his worldly goods, Bishop Llandaff is in
the Hand of God, in the happy hope of the Resurrection,
by the Sole Merit of Christ]

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Brief accounts of Beaw's life, of varying degrees of accuracy, have been published in various local histories from Beesley's *History of Banbury* on. The most detailed and interesting is that in an Appendix to Young's *Edgehill* (pp. 325-28), entitled 'A Sidelight on the Raising of the Royalist Army'. This is based on Beaw's own autobiography dated 23 April 1702. In addition to Beaw's account of his own career, this lists the twelve 'pupils and other scholars and gentlemen' who accompanied him to join the King in 1642, with brief biographies.

One of the twelve young men Beaw took with him to join the Royalist army was Erasmus Sacheverell (1620-1647), eldest son of eight children of Ambrose Sacheverell, rector of Tadmarton, Oxfordshire. Erasmus was one of Beaw's pupils at New College. His eldest sister Margaret was the wife of the Reverend Doctor Oldys, killed in 1645 by Parliamentary soldiers. Margaret incidentally died in the same year as Beaw. She too is buried in Adderbury.

Another local man was Timothy Blencow, a son of John Blencow of Marston St. Lawrence.

For Beaw's military career, see also his letter to Archbishop Tenison of 21 August 1699 [Lambeth Palace, MS 930/49].

The major unpublished source is Bickham Sweet-Escott's 'The Escotts of West Somerset', MS dated 1973 (and Supplement 1975). Beaw's third daughter Dorothy married the Reverend Thomas Willis in the chapel to the Bishop's palace at Mathern. Their granddaughter Mary married a Reverend Bickham Escott and in time the Escotts added Sweet to their name; it was a Bickham Sweet-Escott who compiled the wonderfully detailed account of his family in 1975 that helped me add some fat to the bare bones of Beaw's life. The original MS of the autobiography quoted in Young is in the family's possession.

Beaw's year of birth varies according to which authority is consulted. The family history by Bickham Sweet-Escott havers between 1615 and 1617; Winchester College has it as 1616 and New College, Oxford as 1617. Browne Willis in his survey of Llandaff Cathedral written in 1717 plumps for 1615.

The baptisms of the Beaw's family of eight children are in Adderbury registers: Frances (named after her mother) 29th July, 1664; William (after his father) 11th December 1665; Elizabeth (after her grandmother) 17th April 1667; Sophrania 10th May 1668; Dorothy 13th April 1671; Seth 12th September 1672; Jane 20th June 1675; and finally Alexander 12th March 1676/7.

For Beaw's dealings with his parishioners, the Sanctus bell and the clock, see *V.C.H., Oxon.* IX, pp.12, 33 and Allen, *Adderbury*, pp.8, 12; and with Warden Woodward, *Progress Notes...*, pp. 21, 23-24.

On Beaw's elevation to a bishopric, some sources state that the Earl of Rochester (incorrectly named as Charles in *VCH*), was the likely influence on the King to appoint Beaw to a bishopric. It is possible that John, the infamous 2nd Earl, whose home was Adderbury House, but who virtually lived at Charles' court, may have been the catalyst. John would of course have known Beaw as Adderbury's parish priest. However there is one person who was much more likely to have been very closely linked with both Rochester and Beaw and that was Robert Parsons.

Robert Parsons was appointed chaplain to Rochester's mother *c.*1660 (just before Beaw was inducted as vicar of Adderbury). In William Oldfield's 'Index of the Clergy of Oxfordshire', Beaw, having been appointed Bishop of Llandaff in June 1679, is reported as having appointed a Robert Parsons as curate also in June 1679. Could this have been just a coincidence? If they are one and the same man Beaw would surely have known Parsons from 1660, when they were both appointed to their new jobs. The Dowager Countess of Rochester spent much of her life at Adderbury House (notwithstanding her own estate was at Ditchley Park just outside Woodstock); so Beaw must have had the ear of Parsons on more than one occasion. Parsons of course had the ear of Rochester who had the ear of the King (Oldfield, W.J., 'Clerus Diocesis Oxoniensis 1542-1908', MS index to clergy of Oxfordshire).

Llandaff was a very poor diocese with its income of £440 per annum when compared to others such as Salisbury and Worcester whose bishops could expect an income of *c.*£3,000, and York, Durham and London, somewhere between £4,500 and £7,000 per annum. It is ever likely that Beaw felt so aggrieved. However on consecration Beaw became entitled to arms, which must have pleased this very proud man. The official description of Bishop Beaw's coat of arms is as follows: 'Argent, massone a chief azure, a demi-lion rampant issuant or.' Whether he had them impaled on the arms of his see on his cope is not, of course, known; the see arms are: 'Sable, two crosiers in saltire or and argent, on a chief azure three mitres (Papal tiaras) or' (Bedford, *The Blazons of Episcopacy*).

The report of the Heralds after their Visitation in September 1683 said 'The Bishop voucheth these to be his arms, but offered nothing in justification thereof' (Heralds' Visitation of Monmouthshire, 1683).

Acknowledgements

My profound thanks go to Mr Nevil James, Hon. Archivist, Llandaff Cathedral, for producing the extract from the Browne Willis MS (of 1717, therefore very nearly contemporary) recording the Latin inscription on Bishop Beaw's tomb. Today not only is it very badly eroded and virtually indecipherable but also another tomb has been placed right alongside it so making it impossible to get close enough to it to read what remains.

He also sent me an extract from a pamphlet he is compiling (to be published) on the Browne Willis MS quoting the vital line from Beaw's will of 17th May 1703 in which his wife is named his executrix. This was subsequently confirmed by the will itself, kindly located for me by Jeremy Gibson at the Public Record Office (Family Records Centre), proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [PROB 11/486, under 'L' for Llandaff]. Mr James also provided me with the photograph of the portrait of Beaw, with permission to publish.

I am also most grateful to Mrs Helen Oates of East House, Adderbury for her translation of the inscription on Beaw's tomb. Mrs Oates, a medieval Latinist, said that translating these inscriptions took a great deal of time as their meanings could not only be interpreted several ways but also to give a very subtle meaning. It is conceivable that Beaw might have composed his own inscription.

Mrs Vera Wood, Secretary, Adderbury History Association, an indefatigable researcher of family histories of just about any and everybody that has either lived in or had some effect on Adderbury, to whom all working on Adderbury families are so indebted, provided the extracts of Beaw and his family from the Parish Registers.

THE CONDUCT BOOKS OF WILLIAM WHATELY:
A Seventeenth Century Banbury Vicar's Advice on Marriage

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Conduct books, or guides about marriage and the running of families, attained their greatest popularity in early modern England between the late sixteenth century and the Civil War. William Whately, the vicar of Banbury from 1610 until his death in 1639, was one of the most well known of the conduct book authors and his puritan sermons earned him the title of the 'roaring boy of Banbury'.[1] In *Bartholomew Fair*, first acted in 1614 and printed in 1631, Ben Jonson satirized the Banbury puritans in his comic creation of the hypocritical character of Zeal of the Land Busy. Whately's reputation as a preacher thus ensured that there was a keen market for his two marriage treatises: *A Bride-Bush, or a Wedding Sermon: Compendiously Describing the Duties of Married Persons: by Performing Whereof, Marriage Shall be to them a Great Helpe, which Now Finde it a Little Hell* (1617), and *A Care-Cloth: Or A Treatise of the Cumbers and Troubles of Marriage* (1624). *A Bride-Bush* was the better known of these two works: it originated as a marriage sermon and a second expanded edition was published in 1619 and reprinted in 1623.

Following the Reformation, English and Continental Protestants developed some innovatory ideas about marriage. Whately's guides were in the forefront of these new developments and included a plea for

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[1] A longer version of this article appears as J. Eales, 'Gender Construction in Early Modern England and the Conduct Books of William Whately (1583-1639)' in R. Swanson (ed), *Gender and Christian Religion*, Studies in Church History, vol. 34 (Boydell & Brewer, 1999). For conduct books in general see K. Davies, 'Continuity and Change in Literary Advice on Marriage' in R. Outhwaite (ed), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (London, 1981). For Whately see also *Dictionary of National Biography*, entry under William Whately (1583-1639).

divorce to be allowed under certain circumstances, although this was not well received by the Church authorities. In other respects Whately's advice was more conventional. The Protestant clergy not only denied that marriage was a sacrament, they also rejected both the catholic belief that celibacy was a more honourable state than marriage and the theological tradition that all sexual activity, even within marriage, was potentially sinful and corrupting. In England a married clergy became the norm and the early seventeenth century saw the establishment of the second and third generations of married ministers.[2] For the first time the clergy were able to write legitimately about marriage from personal experience and they were keen to defend the institution of clerical marriage from catholic attacks. As Whately argued in *A Care-Cloth* 'if the condemning of marriage be from the Deuill, the allowing of it is from God, and so haue all sorts of men vniuersally a full allowance from God to take the benefit of this estate'.[3]

According to his earliest biographer, Whately had married in 1601 or 1602, and his wife, Martha Hunt, died two years after her husband in 1641.[4] The second and third editions of *A Bride-Bush* were both dedicated to his father-in-law, George Hunt, in thanks for having 'educated for me, and bestowed upon me a most excellent and vertuous wife'. Hunt was minister at Collingbourne Ducis in Wiltshire, and the training that his daughter Martha received prepared her for the role of a virtuous clergy wife. Indeed, in *A Bride-Bush* Whately claimed to be able to describe what a good wife should do 'finding the full dutie of a wife, in as exact compleatnesse, as mortality can affoord, daily and continually performed unto me in mine owne house'. Children who were raised in clerical households were given an exceptional training. This was particularly the case of clergy daughters, who were generally literate, unlike the majority of early modern women. They were, however, encouraged to read selectively from improving books, especially works of practical piety.[5]

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[2] For the clergy see R. O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558-1642* (Leicester, 1979).

[3] Whately, *Care-Cloth*, p. 22.

[4] William Whately, *Prototypes, or the Primarie Precedent Presidents out of Genesis* (London, 1640), sig. A2r [Life of Whately by Henry Scudder].

[5] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), sigs A1r-A2v. For the impact of clerical marriage more generally see J. Eales, *Women in Early Modern England*, (London, 1998), pp. 26-9, 67-8, 111.

In keeping with other similar marriage guides of the time, Whately elaborated in *A Bride-Bush* on the conventional analogy between the exercise of authority within the state and within the family. This was the foundation of the contemporary political theory of patriarchy. In both cases authority was derived from God and, as governor of the household, the husband was owed obedience in the same way that the monarch was to be obeyed by the people. The superiority of the husband was seen both as the will of God and as a part of the natural order. At the start of *A Bride-Bush* Whately asserted 'I will make the ground of all my speech, those words of the Apostle Paul, Ephes. 5. 23. where hee saith, The Husband is the Wives head.' Whately was particularly fond of using the metaphor of a rider and his well-broken horse to describe the ideal relationship between man and wife.[6]

Two distinct versions of *A Bride-Bush* survive in print. The first edition was prepared for the press in 1608, but was not published until 1617. This version was later disowned by Whately in the second edition of 1619, as having been produced without his knowledge by a friend to whom he had lent the manuscript. Whately's authorised version of 1619 was four times as long as the first.[7] A third edition appeared in 1623 and carried a withdrawal of Whately's opinion that divorce and remarriage by the innocent party should be allowed on the grounds of adultery or desertion. In supporting divorce in these cases Whately was in line with continental reformed theory and practice; but these more radical measures had not been adopted in England, where it was only possible to obtain a separation on the grounds of adultery or cruel behaviour and the marriage remained undissolved.[8] Whately was, therefore, forced by the High Commission to recant his more radical opinions in 1621. Yet they appeared in full once again in 1623 and, in the preface to this edition, Whately unconvincingly claimed that although he had agreed to remove these arguments from the book, the printer had carelessly lost the corrections. Thus the second and third editions are to all intents and purposes identical, except for the two-page disclaimer about divorce in the latter.[9]

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[6] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1617), pp. 1, 36-7, 43.

[7] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), sig. A1r. Here Whately refers to 'certaine larger notes, which I had lying by me of that subiect'.

[8] For the changes that took place in the theory and practice of marriage see E. Carlson, *Marriage and the English Reformation* (Oxford, 1994).

[9] Public Record Office, SP14/121/7; Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1623), sig. A3r-v.

One of the the most dramatic differences between the first and subsequent editions of *A Bride-Bush* is Whately's *volte face* on the subject of whether the husband could use physical correction on his wife. In 1617 Whately adamantly rejected this, saying 'we dare not allow him to proceede so farre as to correct by blowes.'[10] Here Whately was following orthodox Church teaching. The *Homily on Marriage* similarly forbade the husband to strike his wife and the great majority of marriage and household treatises agreed, although evidence from court cases suggests that Church teaching was not always observed by the laity.[11] By 1619 Whately had changed his mind and he then argued that a husband could use blows as a corrective if his wife had repeatedly and wilfully disobeyed him and refused to comply with reasonable commands. Whately was clearly not entirely comfortable with this doctrine, which now placed him at odds with the majority of English clerical opinion of the time. Thus he moderated this doctrine by arguing that no godly wife would provoke her husband to violence in the first place and that husbands should not resort to force over the slightest disagreement. If a wife were beaten groundlessly by her husband, she could have recourse to the magistrate; but she must also remember her subordinate position and accept the punishment unfairly offered to her.[12]

Whately's advice on marriage stressed both the habits of godliness and the cultivation of love between man and wife.[13] Whately thus saw the sexual relationship between husband and wife as an important element of the marriage bond. In keeping with Protestant thinking, Whately described the two chief ends of marriage as chastity and propagation. To achieve these ends the two main duties of marriage were 'the chaste keeping of each ones body each for other' and cohabitation, without which husband and wife could not consummate their physical relationship. If these two duties were not observed, he argued, then the marriage bond was broken although, as we have seen, he was later forced to recant these opinions.[14]

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[10] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1617), p. 22.

[11] For church court cases involving wife-beating see for example A. J. Willis, *Church Life in Kent being Church Court Records of the Canterbury Diocese, 1559-1565* (London, 1975), p. 61.

[12] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), pp. 106-9, 123-5, 169-73, 198, 210-16.

[13] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), pp. 77-8.

[14] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1617), pp. 2-3.

Whately described love as 'the life, the soule of marriage, without which it is no more it selfe, than a carcasse is a man'. He emphasised the closeness of the husband and wife: 'marriage-love admits of no equall, but placeth the yoke-fellow next of all to the soule of the party louing; it will know none dearer, none so deare'. For Whately it followed from this that the wife should be an equal partner in the husband's estate and that even after his death he should provide for her, so that 'shee be not inferiour to her children ... ouer whom she should command'.[15] In the second edition of *A Bride-Bush* Whately argued that the husband should not limit his bequests to his wife for fear she would remarry and spend his wealth. Whately followed his own advice, and the majority of the bequests in his will to his wife Martha were made during her natural life, without any limitation should she remarry.[16]

Whately's depiction of a close relationship between husband and wife creates some apparent tensions in his works; because although he was dealing with some radical ideas about divorce and the treatment of widows, at the same time traditional attitudes towards women underpinned his work. Some of the inconsistencies in Whately's work can also be explained by the fact that he tended to emphasise spiritual and marital equality when addressing the husband, and laid greater stress on the differences between man and wife when addressing the wife. In all of the editions of *A Bride-Bush* Whately was adamant that there was no equality between man and wife – 'the wiues iudgement must be conuinced, that she is not her husband's equall, yea that her husband is her better by farre, else there can be no contentment, either in her heart, or in her house.'[17] Men were, however, reminded that they were dealing with 'the weaker vessell' and should therefore be patient, mild and loving towards their wives in order to elicit obedience. A man who is unable to control his wife should not blame her for abusing his authority, for he has thrown away his power through 'folly & indiscretion'. Whately advised that a man's authority be maintained by godly example and by skill, not by overblown masculine behaviour in the use of commands, force, violence, 'big looks, & great words, & cruel

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9, 33.

[16] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), pp. 184-8; Public Record Office, William Whately's will, PROB. 11/180 ff. 298v-299r.

[17] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1617), pp. 36, 6.

behaviour', all of which would embitter and alienate his wife. Skill was all the more necessary because of the characteristics that Whately associated with the female sex. Women were subject to 'disreverent behaviour', which made them both loathsome and unwomanly. In order to curb this inclination the wife was advised both to acknowledge her inferiority and to carry herself reverently and obediently towards her husband. This included the use of moderate and quiet speech in front of not only the husband, but 'before any men'.

Whately linked excessive use of the female tongue and disobedience with sexual dishonesty, and asserted that women who inverted the natural order by scolding and chastizing their husbands were 'blemishes of their sexe' and 'next to harlots'.[18] In the second edition of *A Bride-Bush* Whately went so far as to argue that a woman who could not convince herself of her subordinate position could not attain salvation. He admitted that it was possible for a wife to have greater wealth, or better parentage than her husband, or to have more 'wit and understanding, more readinesse of speech, more dexteritie of managing affaires'. Nevertheless, a woman's chief ornament, he argued, was 'lowliness of mind, which should cause her to maintain in her selfe a meane account of her selfe, and of her owne abilities' and thus she still had to acknowledge her husband's superiority in place and power. If she did not do so, then she could not have the qualities of grace 'so long as her pride is so predominant'.[19]

In writing about marriage, clerical conduct book writers such as Whately were not writing with the same experiences as the married laity. There were, for example, no opportunities for a cleric's wife to share in his ministerial functions, and unlike many other wives she could not continue his work if she were widowed. This goes some way towards explaining why conduct book writers, such as Whately, put such great stress on the division between the public duties of the husband and the private domestic duties of the wife. The ideal family in which wives, children and servants were benignly ruled by a wise, patient, God-fearing patriarch found its fullest expression in the homes of the clergy. Here the God-given authority of the father was doubly reinforced both as head of the household and as the minister of God's word. In advising their parishioners about the ideals of marriage, it was not the example of

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[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 29, 39, 41.

[19] Whately, *Bride-Bush* (1619), pp. 191-2.

lay marriage which reformed clerics offered as a model, it was their own experience of domestic order that they propounded as the ideal. The inconsistencies in Whately's work, were based partly on his own personal doubts and changes of mind. They also reflect the wider tensions implicit in setting up a model derived from the exceptional and relatively new experience of clerical marriage as a universal model for the conduct of all men and women.

Note. A genealogical account of 'The Whately and Wheatly Family of Banbury', who dominated the town in the seventeenth century (and before and after), by the late Erik Chitty, appeared in *Cake & Cockhorse*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (Spring 1969), pp. 35-41.

Book Review

Kineton in the Great War, 1914-1921, by Gillian Ashley-Smith. Brewin Books Ltd. (Doric House, 56 Alcester Road, Studley, Warw. B80 7LG), 1999. A5, 146pp. ISBN 1 858581 11 7. £8.95.

The author tells how she was inspired to enquire into the stories behind the names recorded on the Kineton War Memorial, when she found a Roll of Honour in the village church, and then a bound volume in the County Record Office. This led to a search into old copies of the *Stratford Herald*, parish and school magazines, and valuable discussions with many of the older residents of the village.

In Part One she records the response of Kineton to the outbreak of war. Home defence and finding premises for temporary hospitals were early priorities as were the billeting and entertaining the troops. She writes about recruitment drives in the village and, after 1916, about the effects of conscription and consequent exemption tribunals. She gives a detailed account of the establishment and staffing of the Clarendon Hospital, which was expanded in 1916 to include Kineton House.

Part Two – 'Kineton People' – gives a fine picture of 'a village caught in events undreamed of when war broke out' and with subsequent post-war problems. Brief accounts of individuals and families, illustrated by letters and photographs, are always interesting and often very poignant.

The formal culmination of her search is a complete alphabetical list of servicemen, with personal and service details of the dead and missing, and of those who returned.

Finally there is a very informative and illuminating coda entitled 'Brief Biographies of Some Village Leaders' which points up the personal and social changes in pre-war and post-war village organisation.

In all, this is a carefully researched story, told with great humanity. The booklet is attractively produced with over fifty clear and interesting illustrations.

It should appeal both to local Kinetonians and to local historians generally. **J.S.R.**

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Banbury Historical Society was founded in 1957 to encourage interest in the history of the town of Banbury and neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

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

Publications still in print include:

Old Banbury - a short popular history, by E.R.C. Brinkworth.
The Building and Furnishing of St. Mary's Church, Banbury.
The Globe Room at the Reindeer Inn, Banbury.

Records series:

Wigginton Constables' Books 1691-1836 (vol. 11, with Phillimore).
Banbury Wills and Inventories 1591-1650, 2 parts (vols. 13, 14).
Victorian Banbury, by Barrie Trinder (vol. 19, with Phillimore).
Aynho: A Northamptonshire Village, by Nicholas Cooper (vol. 20).
Banbury Gaol Records, ed. Penelope Renold (vol. 21).
Banbury Baptism and Burial Registers, 1813-1838 (vol. 22).
Oxfordshire and North Berkshire Protestation Returns and Tax Assessments 1641-1642 (vol. 24).
Adderbury: A Thousand years of History, by Nicholas Allen (vol. 25, with Phillimore – now reprinted).
The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury and Cropredy 1625-38, ed. R.K. Gilkes (vol. 26).

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

In preparation:

Turnpike Roads to Banbury, by Alan Rosevear.
Selections from the *Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848.*

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 the North Oxfordshire College, Broughton Road, Banbury. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local historical, archaeological and architectural subjects. Excursions are arranged in the spring and summer, and the A.G.M. is usually held at a local country house.

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

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