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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

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Our Society has lost two distinguished members in recent months. Christopher Hill was and is famous as an outstanding historian of the seventeenth century and in particular of the Civil War. He was perhaps notorious for his communistic views, and we have been regaled with 'revelations' about his supposed relations with the Soviet Union during the last world war. To us around Banbury his importance was his retirement from Oxford University to Sibford and his immediate membership of our Society. He spoke to us several times. Alas, I was only present for his final appearance – which was memorable in many ways.

Ken Brooks' wife was a long-term member, and on her death Ken himself took up her membership – and offered to write up the history of his solicitors' firm of Aplins. This took several years, so it is enormously gratifying that it was published in its entirety in our previous two issues. I know it gave him great pleasure.

This issue is somewhat of a mutton-lovers' chorus – 'All we like sheep', but it does emphasise the enormous importance to our area of this early agricultural revolution.

The index of contents to *Cake and Cockhorse* and offer of back numbers met with a splendid response. Around five hundred back issues have already been distributed, and the offer remains open.

Cover 'Shepherd', from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar* (1579)

'BUILT ON WOOL'

The Medieval Wool Trade in England

Nicholas J. Allen

One often comes across the phrase in guide books, when visiting great houses or churches, particularly in the Cotswolds 'it was built on wool'.

So what does 'built on wool' mean?

'How lucky you are, Britain, more blessed than any other land.... your sheep flocks heavy with wool.'

Diocletian, A.D. 310.

Background

In the eleventh century Europe's wool and cloth industry was centred on the Low Countries (now the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg). About this period there was a general increase in Europe's population going on into the twelfth century. There was, also, in that part of Europe, little scope to increase the amount of agricultural land dedicated to the production of wool. Flemish agents of the cloth industry were, therefore, having to look elsewhere for wool from which to make, particularly, good quality cloth. England at this period was already a considerable producer of wool but mainly for its own use; but there was ample unused agricultural land with the potential to allow the indigenous wool industry to expand.

The Wool Markets

Staples or marts (from the medieval French and Dutch words for market) were established in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, by both Edward I and II. These staples were set-up for processing the sale of commodities such as wool, leather, lead and tin. The marts were based at principal towns; London, York, Bristol and Newcastle, and on the continent, Antwerp, St Omer and Calais. They were eventually legalised by a statute of Edward III in 1353/4; the crown, rightly, saw this trade as a lucrative source of taxation and customs duties.

The Trade Guilds

A trade guild for wool merchants was established, usually limited to about three hundred men who were known as Merchants of the Staple. They were licensed to export wool to the continent, whilst all other merchants in the wool industry who were not members of the guild were forbidden to export wool.

Each staple was governed by its own mayor (magistrate) and constables; making for a tight control of trade. It also made the administration of the collection of customs duties considerably easier. Commercially, the staples were also of importance in ensuring the quality of goods as at the exit ports officials checked and marked the goods of these merchants. As a consequence of this virtual monoply the Merchants of the Staple became immensely wealthy and powerful men who, were of course, able to afford to build grand houses and decorate churches, ostensibly to honour God, sometimes more to their own greater glory! In the Cotswolds, Northleach and Burford Churches are superb examples. The merchants were the sort of men who becames the mayors of London, financing some of London's great institutions. They were on occasion called upon to help finance their sovereign's military or territorial ambitions; often acquiring honours on the way.

Sheep the provider

Focusing now on the wool trade closer to home there is ample evidence of a thriving wool and weaving industry in the Cotswolds in Roman Britain. There was an imperial weaving mill at Winchester, where the finished product was exported to the continent. There are records of extensive sheep pastures in the Cotswolds and the Oxfordshire area as early as the eighth century. In the mid-tenth century there were royal sheep lands at Wormleighton, near Fenny Compton. By the eleventh century records of French nuns of the Holy Trinity, at Caen in Normandy, showed that they owned land at Minchinhampton, near Stroud, grazing 1,700 sheep on the common.

Well known local place names such as Shipston on Stour, recorded in the eighth century, and, later on, Shipton under Wychwood and Shipton on Cherwell, all indicate places where there was extensive sheep farming. In fact there are at least twenty-one place names listed in the latest OS Gazetteer of Britain prefixed with Ship (from the Saxon word for sheep 'sceap' pronounced 'ship'). Indeed, there is a Ship Street in

Oxford today, and until the early nineteenth century the western end of Banbury High Street was known as Sheep Street.

The great Cotswold medieval wool towns were all well known by the fifteenth century for their great wealth: places such as Northleach, the centre of the Cotswold wool trade, Burford, Chipping Campden and Cirencester. Pick up a guide to any of their beautiful and lavishly decorated churches and one will see the phrase, time after time 'built on wool'. From early records, much of the wool industry in the Cotswolds area (this includes Oxfordshire for the purposes of this paper) was in the hands of private individuals, whereas in many other parts of the country it was in monastic hands.

So by the eleventh and twelfth centuries England had large flocks of wool producing sheep, particularly in the Cotswolds and Midlands, plus the ability to handle the large quantities of skins required by continental weavers. A prime example of the scale of farming by just one Oxfordshire landowner, Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, is revealed in an inventory taken of his stock which was kept on two large farms run in concert – ewes at Adderbury and lambs at Witney. The inventory, compiled on his death in 1238, lists 127 draft horses, 1,556 oxen, 1,387 wethers (castrated rams), 4,771 ewes and 3,521 hoggets (yearling sheep not yet shorn); that is well over 9,500 sheep!

Another bishop of Winchester, William of Wykeham, who founded New College, Oxford purchased Broughton Castle in 1377 (as a base whilst he was building his new college) from Sir John de Broughton.

There is, to this day, in a corner of the original undercroft, a tiny little scene of some sheep and a medieval house carved into the sixteenth century linenfold panelling; making the point that the house was built on the proceeds of wool.

The Cloth

English wool was not only needed to fulfil a growing continental need for producing good quality cloth, there was also a requirement to service a burgeoning desire in England to be able to buy quality cloth. Those involved in the production, distribution, and selling of the pelts were themselves becoming wealthy and they too were wanting to wear clothes cut from the finest material.

There were, too, many people who had accquired vast wealth on the continent who wished to make their chateaux or schlosses more luxurious with tapestries. Therefore the Flemish tapestry weavers were wanting large quantities of fine, spun, English wool; it was so much better quality than the wool from the continent and far more suitable for their very fine needlework.

The Buying and Selling of Wool

Spring was the usual time the staplers (as the merchants were known) would expect to do business with the wool-dealers or middlemen, known in the Cotswolds as 'broggers' (brokers). The middleman did the actual purchasing of the wool fells (skins with the wool still attached) from the sheep farmers. Northleach was the centre of this wool trade in the Cotswolds.

The sarplers (packs of woolskins) were transported by pack-horses; usually travelling in convoy with other staplers' pack-horses, for the sake of security, to an exit port. Here they would be checked and weighed by royal customs officials for quality and quantity; also to detect possible fraud. For instance poor quality fells might be inserted into the middle of a good quality sarpler or even soil was known to be added as a make-weight. Then packs would be sealed and customs duties collected. The sarplers would then be shipped over to the continent again in convoy, again to aid security, the English Channel being infested with pirates at this period.

The scale of the amount of business done by one stapler can be gauged by extant correspondence from William Cely, agent of Thomas Betson, Merchant of the Staple. In August 1478 they were paying the masters of twenty-one different ships to freight their sarplers of the summer clip. One shipment alone contained 2,348 fells. Betson, who had been in partnership with Sir William Stonor, was, by 1480, in debt to him by a sum of £2,835.9s.0d. Eileen Power has conjectured that Betson had purchased Sir William's share in their joint business. In today's terms such a sum would represent one million pounds sterling. The wool trade was, therefore, an extremely lucrative business for the Merchants of the Staple.

The Wider Picture

For obvious reasons I have focused on the wool industry in the Cotswold region; however the industry was practised on a vast scale throughout England and not just by farmers and businessmen. There were in England in the thirteenth century twelve main monastic orders with just over five hundred monastic houses, many of which were sheep farming on a grand scale.

The Cistercians were the main practitioners: they started by rearing sheep to provide wool for their habits and cowls. Owning vast acres in Yorkshire and North Wales they soon realized the income potential. In 1301 the Augustinian Bolton Priory in Wharfedale had 2,000 sheep. The Dunstable Canons had huge flocks in the Chilterns and in Yorkshire. The Benedictine Abbot of Glastonbury in 1252 is recorded as having 6,700 sheep. The Cluniacs at Lewes Priory in 1269 had 6,000 sheep. The Gilbertines, a minor order, of Malton in Yorkshire, in the fourteen years from 1244-1257, made £5,224 – equivalent to approximately 1.8 million pounds in today's money. One can understand why Henry VIII dissolved these monastic houses in the sixteenth century – they must have seemed a very attractive and painless source of income.

The wool trade continued to thrive in England until the close of the Middle Ages. By then the guild of Merchant Venturers were bringing Flemish weavers over to this country to make cloth from English wool in England and in the process make a great deal of money. The exporting of wool from England, although declining, continued until the sixteenth century when the export of cloth took its place. The export of wool was finally forbidden in 1617. Even now the Lord Chancellor of England sits on a sack of wool in the House of Lords: making the point as to the source of England's wealth and greatness.

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PASTURES AND PROFITS:
SHEEP AND ENCLOSURE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY KINGS SUTTON AND CHIPPING WARDEN HUNDREDS

Deborah Hayter

'I bequethe unto Agnes my wife ... all my shepe now being in Walton lesues Astrop felds Orells where except certeyn shepe in this my present wille are bequethed unto my children ... I bequethe to John Westall my sonne 300 ewes and 200 other shepe in Walton lesues ... I bequethe to Henry Westall my sonne £40 of lawfull money and 100 shepe ... to Jerom Westall my sonne £40 of lawfull money and 100 shepe.'[1]

Thomas Westall had at least 700 sheep when he died in Kings Sutton in 1525. His total flock must have been bigger than this, as he left all his sheep, apart from the seven hundred, to his wife. He was a wealthy man, with £40 to spare to be distributed 'for the welth of my sowle', and a hundred marks to go to his wife with all the 'household stuffe' and the six horses, two carts, two ploughs and their accoutrements that she needed to go on farming until their eldest son came of age. He lived, as far as we can tell, in the village of Kings Sutton, where the fields remained in open-field cultivation until enclosure by Parliamentary Act in 1803; but his flocks grazed over the wide grassy pastures of Walton and Astrop, whose ridge and furrow betrayed their former ploughed state. We know very little else about Thomas Westall, as the family disappears from sight soon after this. Even his effigy in the church has disappeared: '*At the upper end of the south aisle is an altar monument covered with marble, on which were the portraits of a man with his three wives with their children in brass. The figures of the man, his wives, and three children of riper years are torn off; ... Leland saith, "Here lyeth one Westall in a tombe in a chapell on the south syde of the body of the church. He was a rich man, and new re-edified the church of Sutton."*'[2]

Thomas Westall's will introduces the themes of this article: farming, enclosure, desertion and depopulation in the sixteenth century. Was

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[1] Will of Thomas Westall, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [4 Porch], copy in Brackley Library.

[2] J. Bridges. *The History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, (ed) P. Whalley (Oxford, 1791), p. 180.

South-western Northamptonshire: Kings Sutton and Chipping Warden Hundreds.

sheep-farming the only way to make money? Was land still being enclosed for pasture? What happened to the fields of depopulated settlements? Who was profiting from them?

Kings Sutton lies at the south-western tip of Northamptonshire, which, with Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire, was prime enclosure country. These 'grassy shires', as Beresford called them, were known in the sixteenth century by inhabitants and pamphleteers alike to be full of decayed settlements, their fields over-run by sheep. As one pamphlet put it, writing of the displaced inhabitants of Oxfordshire:

'..now.... these persons had need to have living whither shall they go? into Northamptonshire? and there also is the living of twelve score persons lost. whither shall they go? – forth from shire to shire and so be scattered abroad. [3]

Depopulation and Enclosure

This end of Northamptonshire was noted for its high number of deserted or depopulated settlements: Chipping Warden Hundred lost four out of its twelve settlements (33%), a higher proportion than any other hundred in the county, or in Oxfordshire. The neighbouring hundred of Kings Sutton lost seven out of 29 (24%).[4]

To illuminate what was going on in the 1500s we need to look at a variety of sources. There are two listings of sheep flocks from the mid-sixteenth century, random survivals of purveyance records, which are useful, as are the presentments to Wolsey's Enclosure Commissions of 1517, and information from the Lay Subsidies of 1524/5 and 1544, local manorial documents, wills, inventories and so on.

Some of these sources have already been much used for specific purposes: Leadam, in *The Domesday of Inclosures*, used the information presented to Wolsey's Commission to calculate how great an acreage had been enclosed within the Midland counties.[5] The presentments have also been much used by historians of deserted villages.[6] But they did not

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[3] From *The Decaye of England only by the Great Multitude of Shepe*, quoted in M Beresford *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954), p 75.

[4] Beresford: *Lost Villages*, pp 234-235.

[5] I S. Leadam: *The Domesday of Inclosures* (London, 1897).

[6] Beresford. *Lost Villages*, Ch. 4, 'The King's Proceedings', pp 102-133; K. Allison, M. Beresford and J. Hurst: *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire* and *The Deserted Villages of Oxfordshire*, Leicester University DELH Occasional Papers nos 18 and 19 (Leicester, 1966 and 1967); M Beresford: 'The Deserted Villages of Warwickshire', in *Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society*, LXVI (1945-6), pp. 49-106, C. Dyer 'Deserted Medieval Villages in the West Midlands' in *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994).

only concern depopulated places, or places in the final processes of desertion – much of the evidence reveals enclosure taking place in villages which were thriving then and are still thriving today. Adderbury was always, and still is, a wealthy place, yet there were two enclosures presented; similarly Eydon and Wappenham were never in any danger of impoverishment. In Northamptonshire there were presentments from 67 places: of these only 19 were or became deserted (according to the gazetteer in *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire*); conversely the same list of desertions contains 57 places which do not appear in Leadam. Similarly the Oxfordshire presentments concern 83 places, of which 24 appear in the list of desertions; many of the others appeared to remain in open-field cultivation until enclosed by Act of Parliament in the late eighteenth century. Again, there are 69 places which were deserted but do not appear in Leadam. So the presentments are a very incomplete indication of desertions or even depletions, and probably do not give us a very good picture of the progress of enclosure either.

One of the difficulties in seeking to paint a detailed picture of what was going on in a certain locality, rather than painting with a broad brush, using national statistics, is that the survival of sources is so random. Many of the studies of farmers and landowners of this period are based on sources which have survived because of the success of a particular dynasty: the muniments rooms of big houses have preserved evidence about the antecedents of the grandee owners, however humble they were. John Spencer, who appears in the Enclosure Commissions as an encloser in Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, began his family's ascent to fortune and title as an ordinary grazier and sheep-master: we happen to know about him because his documents ended up at Althorp. In the same way, we know about Peter Temple, who was grazing sheep and cattle around Burton Dassett in the sixteenth century, because his descendents built Stowe, and, in a smaller way, the huge Cartwright archive from Aynho has made it possible to look at the way in which these local squires built up an estate round their manor.[7]

It is much more difficult to find out about the likes of Thomas Westall of Kings Sutton, none of whose account books (if he kept any) survived:

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[7] M. Finch: *Five Northamptonshire Families 1540 – 1640*, Northants R S Vol 19 (1956); N.W. Alcock: *Warwickshire Grazier and London Skinner 1532 – 1555*, Records of Social and Economic History New Series IV (Oxford, 1981), this is based on the account book of Peter Temple and Thomas Heritage. N. Cooper: *Aynho a Northamptonshire Village*, Banbury Historical Society, Vol. 20 (1984).

perhaps he died young (his sons had not reached 21) and had not had time to consolidate his property and wealth so that it would outlast him. In 1524 he was the richest man in the whole of the Sutton hundred, according to the Lay Subsidy, paying £20 (the next paid £7); but he died the next year, and in the next complete taxation record, in 1544, the name has disappeared from the record.[8] But there must have been many wealthy yeoman farmers like him, and their legacy is still with us: the solid stone farmhouses with their wide inglenook fireplaces and stone-mullioned windows, in every village, almost all dating to the seventeenth century, are a testament to the profits accruing from the farming of this region.[9]

Allison et al in their introduction to *The Deserted Villages of Northamptonshire* are clear that 'depopulating enclosure did not continue in Northamptonshire after 1518 although the phrase was much employed even at the end of the seventeenth century'.[10] Enclosure continued, as we shall see, but not to the extent of the complete destruction of villages; public opinion was very strong against this, as Francis Tresham wrote in 1604: '*you could not remove all the tenauntes without much clamor, and especiallie when itt is neare Northampton whose affectiones arr well knowen to you*'.[11] The Returns to the Inquisition on Depopulations of 1607 are unfortunately both incomplete and in very poor condition, but such evidence as survives is all about the engrossing of farms: for example Erasmus Dryden of Canons Ashby is presented because he '*hath ... taken from a farmehouse of his (in Farndon) six yarde lands and a halfe which belonged and hath been occupied with the said farme house and hath laide the said six yarde lands and a halfe to his mansion house in Asby and placed one of his servants in the farme house so suffering the said to decay*'.[12] This was a change of use, but it was not reducing the population.

The general picture in the south Midlands, outside the towns, is of desertion, enclosure and lots of sheep, mostly in that order: in this particular area, what was going on, and who was doing it? The answers

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[8] PRO E179/155/155 and E179/156/183

[9] Hoskins' 'Great Rebuilding', the beginning of which he dated to 1570, did not begin in the Banbury region until at least 1600, and mostly later; see W G Hoskins: 'The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570 – 1640', in *Past & Present*, no. 4, (1953); see also R.B. Wood-Jones. *Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Banbury Region*, (Manchester, 1963, Wykham Books, Banbury 1986)

[10] Allison et al: *Deserted Villages, Northants*, p.14.

[11] Finch *Five Northants Families*, p. 89.

[12] PRO C205/5/5.

must be connected with the central puzzle contained in Morton's description of the enclosures in Northamptonshire lying 'dispersedly up and down in the County': how can a county which was at the centre of political concern and local unrest over enclosure and depopulation in the Tudor period still apparently have had more than 50% of its acreage enclosed by Parliamentary Act in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, more than any other county?[13] It seems that few of the theoretically open-field parishes which were enclosed by Act were still completely open: detailed local studies show a much more complicated picture than the simple dichotomy between open-field/arable and deserted/enclosed/pasture.

The Listings of the Sheep Flocks

No. 25084 among the 'Additional Manuscripts' in the British Library is entitled '*A Booke of all the Townes and Hundreds with Pastures in the West Devision. For the Provision*'. Underneath is written: '*Sum of Townes in all the X hundreds of the west parte with hamlettes and villageyes beinge xiiij*^{xx} *xvj. Fowre shippe to be taked in everye towne of viij*^{xx} *Townes amountythe to v*^{c} *and xl shippe and the xvj hamlettes to be rated at no thinge as the inhabytants of them be not able to be parteners in this Rate*'.[14] This document is dated to the first year of the reign of Edward VI, 1547, and refers to purveyance for the royal household. Another document, among the Montagu papers from Boughton House, in Northamptonshire, is entitled '*The Particular Rate of everye towne together with the number of the sheepe in pastures and the rates thereof, within the nyne hundreds of the Easte Division within the countye of Northampton rated and surveyed 1595*'.[15] This is another purveyance document, and also contains a listing of the towns and pastures in the western half of the county. The list is dated 1595 in the heading but is in fact a survey made in 1564, updated and resurveyed in 1595.[16]

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[13] W.E. Tate: 'Inclosure Movements in Northamptonshire' in *Northamptonshire Past & Present* **1**, 2 (1949), pp. 19-33

[14] British Library Additional Manuscripts no 25084, *A Book of all the Townes and Hundreds with Pastures* The mathematics of this work because throughout this document the 'long hundred' of 120, or 6 score, is used 4 sheep out of 160 towns = 640 sheep

[15] NRO Montagu (Boughton) papers, *A Book of Fines and Estreats, Q Eliz & Jac I*, ff. 69-91, 112-118.

[16] An article by J. Martin in *Agricultural History Review*: 'Sheep and Enclosure in Sixteenth Century Northamptonshire' revealed the existence of these documents Martin used them in a statistical study of sheep-farming in the county.

We therefore have in these listings the possibility of determining whether sheep numbers were increasing or decreasing in Northamptonshire during the second half of the sixteenth century. In the 1547 document, the list opens with :

'The names of all such pasture and parsones as be contrybutors too this provysiuon of the kinges most hon'able householde for muttons in the county aforesaide made July primo per imp Edwardi Sexti
Hundred de wardon
Sulgrave Thomas Stuttesburye
Stuttesburye pastures Rated to the burden of a thowsand shippe shall fynd yerlye – xx shippe
Grettworthe Roberte Waryntyre
Woodforde/hynton and farndon
Wardon Pastures
Egecote Mr. Chauncy Rated att v^{C} shippe – x shippe
Past Trafforde Rated at vj^{C} shippe – xij shippe
Past Aston in the walles Mr. Butteles Rated att iij^{C} shippe – vj shippe
Byfylde
Eydon Mr. John Coope Rated att vj^{C} shippe – xij shippe'

The total of the flocks here is 3,400 (counting always by the long hundred), of which the largest flock is 1,000 sheep which is being run over the fields of the deserted village of Stuchbury: this had been owned by St. Andrew's Priory, Northampton, and was already depopulated by the Dissolution.[17] It is to be assumed that Greatworth, Wardon and Byfield were simply rated at the standard rate of four sheep to each township. As in the other hundreds, a name is usually given for the owner of the largest flocks, but not always – there is no name for the pastures in Trafford with their flock of 720 sheep, nor for the flock on Stuchbury grounds. The assumption must be that the 'pastures' listed here are enclosed and held severally, as opposed to the open-field townships flat-rated at four sheep each. (We shall see later that it should not therefore be assumed that there were no enclosures in open-field vills.)

[17] Allison et al: *Deserted Villages, Northants*, p. 46. Allison et al use the 1547 listing of sheep flocks as one of their indicators of enclosed or depopulated status. Re Stuchbury, they assume that it was Thomas Stuttesburye who owned these sheep, but this is not given by the document.

If we turn for comparison to the 1564 listing in the Montagu papers, the hundred of Warden comes first again, as follows:-

'Warden Hundred

Edgecote	v^{C}
Trafford	v^{C}
Asheton [Aston-le-Walls] *& Appletree*	iij^{C}
Eydon	iij^{C}

Summa M vj^{C}'

This is a total of 1,920 sheep, but part of the decrease of 1,480 is because Stuchbury has been transferred and appears in the Sutton hundred in 1564, with an increased flock of 1,800.

The list yields information about large sheep-flocks and sometimes gives the name of their owner; but what did it mean when it gave a place and a name without a number of sheep, such as 'Sulgrave: Thomas Stuttesburye'? Perhaps this was a flock on enclosed pastures, but less than 120? There are no flocks listed as less than 'j^{C}'. Similarly there are some places named as having pastures, but without sheep – as with 'Wardon pastures'; these may have been noted for future reference.

In the 1564 Montagu ledger there is a note after the first list of flocks:

'*Sum total xlj^{M}v^{C} being rated in vj Eliz Grace which tyme there hath byne dyvers other grounds made by decaying of tyllage improved and not rated nor meated herein as followyth*'. There follows a list of some 30-35 places where land has presumably been enclosed and laid to pasture since the 1547 assessment. These new enclosures may not have been very large: Purston was already listed as having 720 sheep in 1547 but is also included in this new list of further enclosures. The map shows the location of the sheep flocks together with the further enclosures. What is remarkable is how few parishes have neither flocks nor enclosed pastures. There is a great swathe of sheep flocks in the parishes along Watling Street, and also along the Warwickshire border, where the Spencers and the Catesbys farmed in both counties. The figures from the complete lists come to a startling 85,160 sheep in pastures over the whole county. And there were more: the open-field villages had flocks, too, which should not be forgotten. A village such as Charlton, with 60 yardlands and a stint per yardland of 25 sheep in 1548 would have had a flock of 1,500, rising possibly to some 2,200 in the early summer when

the lambs were present.[18] Multiply this over the whole county, with 279 villages (probably) still in open-field cultivation, and there is an additional 418,500: this gives a total sheep population for the whole county of over half a million (503,660).[19] No wonder that the popular view was '*that 'tis everywhere full, and as it were, over-run with sheep.*'

Pasture and Plough

It seems obvious to state that by 1547 sheep flocks were grazing over or around all the deserted and shrunken vills in the county: whether or not the sheep-masters pushed out the villagers or merely moved the flocks into fields which had tumbled down to grass through abandonment and neglect is not the point here. There was a good deal of pasture, some enclosed and some common, and also many substantial flocks grazing in villages which appear to have kept their open fields until they were enclosed by Act of Parliament.

It is altogether a more complicated picture than it seems at first: the gentry, or soon-to-become gentry, enclosers with their huge sheep flocks, typified by the Spencers and the Knightleys, were not the only farmers of sheep – there were many smaller entrepreneurs who leased pastures and closes wherever they could get them. Many ways were found of accommodating the growing flocks within the open-field system: in most townships spare lands were put down to grass, or 'ley'; in others the flocks could be accommodated in the fields of a small deserted site within the same parish; in some places a medieval deer park was transformed into rentable closes by the sixteenth century; again in others the village farmers came to an agreement to enclose and farm severally.

The table following sums up available information about the progress of enclosure in the Kings Sutton Hundred in the sixteenth century from a variety of sources. Quantifying the number of acres enclosed is not possible in most instances: where Baker states 'there are many old enclosures' at the end of the eighteenth century, for example, we cannot know how much land is concerned unless it is corroborated by other

[18] Kent R.O. Thanet papers, U455 M60.

[19] It is impossible to be definite about the number of sheep in open-field villages, but this is probably a conservative estimate, as many villages had more generous stints of sheep; see D. Hall: *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire*, N.R.S. Vol. 38 (1995). The number of open-field villages is calculated from the Militia Lists of 1777, using only the places which could muster at least fifteen men; *Northants Militia Lists 1777*, (ed.) V Hatley, N.R S Vol. 25 (1973)

sources. Where there is little or no information entered in the table for a particular township, it is because there is no information available: it seems likely that further investigation would bring forward evidence of more enclosure than is here suggested. It is immediately noticeable that very few villages have no pastures or enclosures by 1700, even when there is an Act of Enclosure theoretically 'enclosing' all the fields of the township in the late 1700s or early 1800s.

Shepherd and broken bagpipes
(from Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, 1579).

Opposite: Sheep flocks, pastures and enclosures in the hundred of Sutton.[20]
(Where a figure is given for a % 'grass' or 'ley', these are taken from Hall's analysis of terriers in Open Fields)*

[20] Information from: Sheep-flock listings 1547 and 1564 (a √ in the first column indicates that either 'pastures' or a name is given here, without a quantity of sheep; a √ in the second column indicates that this township appears in the list of 1564 or of 1595 as '*dyvers other groundes made by decayinge of tyllage*'), Allison et al: *Deserted Villages , Northants*, Leadam: *Domesday*, RCHM: *Inventory (S-W Northants)*; Hall: *Open Fields*, Baker: *Northants*, Bridges: *Northants*

KINGS SUTTON HUNDRED

Village	Sheep flocks		Deserted	Shrunken	Enclosed			Act of Parlt.
	1547*	1564			by 1500	by 1600	by 1700	
Astrop	?√			√		c 500 a		1772
Astwell	360	120	√			Deer park & sheep pasture		1761
Astwick	(?120)	(?120))	√		completely			
Aynho						demesne 1561	700a 1612	1792
Chacombe							c 1635 completely	
Charlton							Cow pasture	1772
Croughton	600							1807
Culworth		480				part of demesne	1612 agreement	
Evenley	?120	?120		√			Evenley Park	1799
Falcutt	600	360	√					1761
Farthinghoe	720	720		√	demesne enclosed 1510		enclosed c 1612	
Greatworth							1634 agreement	
Grimsbury		120						
Halse	1000	1800		√	13th century deer park		before 1634	
Helmdon								1758
Hinton	600							1766
M. Cheney								1769
Marston L.	600	480					half of parish	1760
Newbottle	1000	720	√		300a	completely		
Purston	720	960	√		280a	completely		
Radstone	480	240	Lower √	Upper √	Lower R		Agreement 1740	
Steane	1000	600	√			completely		
Stuchbury	1000	1800	√		13th century deer park	completely		
Sulgrave	√						c 40% grass*	1767
Kings Sutton	1000	1560				'closes'		1804
Syresham	360						460 a 'old enclosures'	1795
Thenford							33% ley	1766
Thorpe M	480	√		√		some closes	partial enclosure	
Walton			√		500a	completely		
Wappenham					?√		forest areas?	1761
Warkworth	600	720		√	?			1764
Whitfield		√						1796

Depopulated Villages in the Sutton Hundred

In a typical presentment to Wolsey's 1517 Commission, the jury described the destruction of five houses in a place called Walton.[21] They gave a specific date when John Goylyn knocked them down, a specific number (24) who were evicted, and made clear that two hundred acres of customarily arable land was converted into pasture. The village was, like many others similarly described, already a small place. Lying in the Cherwell valley between Kings Sutton and Aynho, it was usually taxed with Aynho but was in the parish of Kings Sutton. It had only seventeen taxpayers in 1301, and in 1506 had ten houses left, with a mere forty acres of arable; the rest was a hundred acres of meadow and five hundred acres of pasture.[22] It was here, on Walton leasowe, that Thomas Westall's flock was grazing in 1525, over and around the ruins of St. Rumbold's chapel and the stony foundations of former houses. The 1547 listing of sheep refers to one large sheep flock in Kings Sutton and Walton, without naming their owner: the thousand sheep recorded here were probably Westall's, or his heirs'.

Thomas Westall did not, as far as can be seen, attain the rank of gentleman, and never acquired a manor, despite his wealth – the Lay Subsidy of 1524 shows him to be the richest person in the hundred of Sutton. In 'A Statement concerning the Wool Trade in several counties' dated to 1532/33, which names the biggest producers of wool in some of the Midland counties, he is down as plain Thomas Westall, without the honorific 'Mr.' accorded to Mr. Andrews of Charwelton, for instance, who produced twenty sacks against Thomas Westall's sixty (this document is perhaps wrongly dated, or was possibly out-of-date when copied out – Thomas Westall was dead by this time).[23] However, he had gentry connections, and was part of the web of kinship and business networks which meant that the same names appear as enclosers, lessees, buyers and sellers of wool and of land throughout the area. In Westall's will John Bustard 'gentilman' is named as one of the feoffees of his land: the Bustards were the lessees of the Bishop of Winchester's estate just across the Cherwell in Adderbury. John Bustard had leased lands in 1504 in Ilbury, in the same parish, which had dwindled to a mill amongst pastures by the end of the sixteenth century, by which time the Bustards had acquired most of the manor there.

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[21] Leadam: *Inclosures*, p. 316.

[22] Allison et al: *Deserted Villages, Northants*, p. 47.

[23] PRO S.P. 1/238 ff. 264-8.

Anthony Bustard was known to have kept 1,200 sheep on the Bishop's estate between 1534 and 1568, and was probably grazing them on pastures in the fields of Adderbury – by the time of the Parliamentary enclosure there were 965 acres of 'old enclosures' in Adderbury.[24] He also had interests in the deserted settlement of Ilbury, at the far-western end of the parish of Deddington. From 1590 his son William was planning to acquire the Dormer property where Justine Dormer, when he died in 1627, was pasturing 115 of his 506 sheep (in all worth £273) at Ilbury.[25]

The witnesses to Westall's will included two knights, Sir Edward Wolffe and Sir Robert Pavill, and the two overseers were Maister William Fermor Esquire and Westall's son-in-law Nicholas Finch. William Fermor, who lived in Somerton, a little further down the Cherwell, also appears in the list of wool producers, under those producing '*Cottysfold wolle from Oxfordshire*' (there are some who produce other than Cotswold wool); he had 100 sacks 'of his growing and gathering'. This would be collected from some 15,000 sheep.[26] He was presented twice to the Commission in 1517: he was said to have enclosed 40 acres of arable and converted one third of it into sheep pasture in Somerton, and to have allowed a holding at Hardwick (north of Bicester, near Somerton) to fall into ruin so that arable husbandry could not be maintained there. Richard Fermor, merchant of the Staple of Calais, bought part of the manor of Walton in 1530.[27]

With a thousand sheep, Westall would have needed approximately five hundred acres of pasture: he had Walton leasowe, and probably a close or two in Kings Sutton, although it was still open-field. (An indenture in the Cartwright papers, dated 1597, refers to two closes called *Smiths Hay* and *Twenty Ham* in Kings Sutton.[28]) He was also one of three farmers of the former demesne in Charlton which consisted of one messuage and seven and a half yardlands there, and one of two farmers of two holdings in Purston: one of these had ten acres of arable lands,

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[24] *V C H Oxon*, Vol IX, pp 25-6.

[25] Allison et al. *Deserted Villages, Oxon*, p 40; *V C H Oxon*, Vol XI, pp 64, 67, 95-6

[26] Beresford *Lost Villages*, p 193, calculated that 1,500 sheep would be needed for ten sacks of wool; he gives Fermor's quantity as 150 sacks, but to this reader it is quite clearly 100 in the original, woolsacks were sold by weight and held approximately 364lbs.

[27] G T Baker *The History and Antiquities of the County of Northampton*, Vol.1 (1823), p. 707.

[28] NRO. Cartwright Papers C(A)1588

but the rest was in meadow and pasture, and the second was all in closes, mostly named.[29]

Purston is another deserted village, now just a manor-house and farm remaining, which appears in the 1517 Commission Presentments: Thos Barker, gent., Hugo Parsons and Richard Leek were accused of having destroyed six messuages and converted 223 acres to pasture in 1495.[30] One of these messuages had 105 acres, presumably again former demesne. Purston appears in the sheep listing in 1547 with a flock of 720 sheep with no named owner: possibly this may also have belonged to Thomas Westall. In 1567 Bartholomew Cresswell died in possession of one messuage in Purston with eleven acres of arable, twenty acres of meadow and three hundred acres of pasture here: these were probably the pastures rented by Westall and his heirs.[31]

Westall's will also refers to sheep in Astrop fields and 'Orells/Odells', which was part of Astrop. Astrop consisted of two hamlets, Upper and Lower, which shared the same field system. Upper Astrop is a much shrunken settlement of three or four houses, and Lower Astrop has now been absorbed by the growth of Kings Sutton; between them lies Astrop Park. Because the hamlets were often taxed together with Kings Sutton, it is difficult to estimate the population, but in 1544 there were nine taxpayers to Sutton's 61.[32] The Enclosure Award of 1772 enumerates 77 yardlands, but despite this it seems that about half of the township had been enclosed as commonable pasture long before: a terrier of 1633 describes 2½ yardlands as only 49 lands (and over a quarter of those are 'ley' or put down to grass), and a description of a 'farm' in Astrop in 1613 refers to:

> '*3 Closes severall all the yere one Lammas close lett per annum*
> *(18 yardlands with appurtenances...)*
> *Common for 500 sheepe ...*
> *Common for 50 beastes...*
> *Fewele to be taken upon the commons.....*
> *There is a great quantity of commonable ground*'.[33]

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[29] IPM Of Bartholomew Cresswell of Purston, 1567, PRO C142/148/52

[30] Leadam *Domesday*, p 301

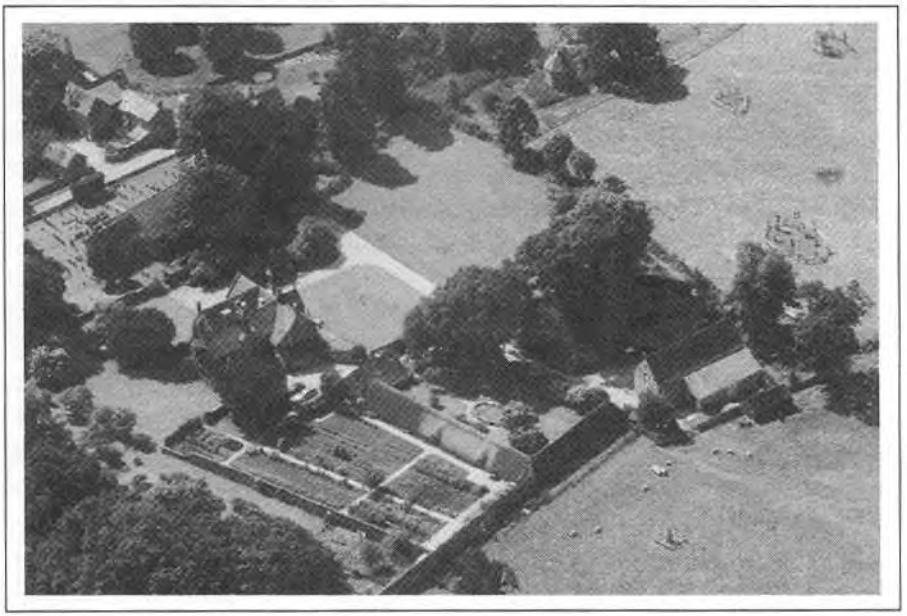
[31] PRO C142/148/52.

[32] PRO E179/156/183

[33] NRO Enclosure Enrolment Vol D p 59, NRO SAS 34 (terrier), NRO E(B) 413 (*Particular of a farme and landes in Astrop)*

However, unlike many other townships where enclosure for 'several' (individually-owned) pasture took place by agreement amongst the farmers, in Astrop the pasture was not hedged about into separate closes: it was one large common pasture and was still considered as the 'appurtenances' of the same number of yardlands, now much reduced in size. Again, unlike many shrunken or deserted villages, there was no one lord here who could enclose for his own ends.

When the Cartwrights sold their estate in Astrop *c.*1735 it consisted of two capital messuages, one with 4½ yardlands, the other with 9½, and another parcel of 3½ yardlands; these included a large quantity of permanent pasture, mostly around what was left of Upper Astrop, and made it possible for the purchaser, Lord Chief Justice Willes, to build himself a grand house surrounded by a generous park.[34]



consisting of (from top left) old Vicarage, church, manor house, gardens and barn. The earthworks of the medieval village, now ploughed out, were to the right.

Newbottle is yet another deserted village near Kings Sutton. This now consists of church, manor house, dovecot, (old) vicarage and a cottage. It

[34] Baker, *Northants*, p.704 re: sale of Cartwright's land in Astrop to Willes

is difficult to be accurate about the former size of the population, as it was not assessed separately: the 1301 Lay Subsidy shows it to have had 23 taxpayers, but this was '*cum appendiciis suis*'.[35] Henry Lord Grey of Codnor, who held the manor, was presented in 1517 for having destroyed six houses and converted 300 acres to pasture in 1488.[36] Not long afterwards the manor was in the hands of Henry Keble or Kebyll, a former Lord Mayor of London and Merchant of the Staple at Calais, whom we meet in Warwickshire as the encloser of Weston-by-Cherington, in the parish of Long Compton, and as the purchaser of Apethorpe in 1515, at the north-eastern end of Northamptonshire.[37] Apethorpe included the fields of the deserted village of Hale; two gentlemen were presented in 1517 for three enclosures in the 1490s, whereby nearly 200 acres were enclosed and thirteen houses destroyed: by 1551 there was a park and a substantial house, the central part of which dates from the period of the Kebles' ownership.[38]

In the sixteenth century the figure of the London alderman or merchant buying up land, preferably where the open fields had already been enclosed for pasture, is a familiar one. (The preamble to the draft Bill of 1514 against enclosing and engrossing blames '... *Many merchant adventurers, clothmakers, goldsmiths, butchers, tanners and other artificers and unreasonable covetous persons (who) do encroach many more farms than they are able to occupy*'.)[39] Henry Keble never lived at Newbottle, as far as we know, and leased out the manor; though in 1550 it was recorded in the manor court that ' *The tenants of the lord's manor agree and concede that the said Lord George Keble holds and occupies a certain close called Great Decons and another called Little Decons, paying those who have commons on the said close 5s. for winter pasture*'.[40] (Different communities found different ways of accommodating the growing flocks and herds). In 1588 the capital messuage or 'farm place' of Newbottle, with the various closes of pasture and the rest of the manor, was leased by Thomas Keble to three farmers, one of

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[35] PRO E179/155/31.

[36] Leadam: *Inclosures*, p. 300.

[37] Leadam: *Inclosures*, p 415, re Apthorpe Hall. *Open Fields*, p. 172-4.

[38] Hale was deserted by the Black Death; see Allison et al: *Deserted Villages*. Re. Apethorpe Hall: N. Pevsner & B Cherry: *Northamptonshire*, London (1973); Hall: *Open Fields*.

[39] Quoted in Beresford: *Lost Villages*, p 105.

[40] KRO U455 M60

whom, Thomas Barker, held land in Astrop, and was the same family as that Thomas Barker who helped to enclose Purston in 1495.[41]

However, the name given to the owner of the thousand sheep pasturing at Newbottle in 1547 is Peter Dormer, whose brass memorial plate in Newbottle church shows him with his two wives and twenty children. He bought 350 acres in Purston in 1546 from Thomas Keble but must have been running a much bigger estate than this, as he is listed as having produced 65 sacks of wool in *c.*1530, and in the Lay Subsidy of 1544 is valued in goods to the value of £100, more than twice as much as anyone else in the hundred.[42] He is described in his memorial as being '*of Lee Grange in the county of Buckingham*', so perhaps Purston and Newbottle were merely a small part of a much bigger operation crossing the county boundary. Another member of the same family, Geoffrey Dormer, had bought the manors of Farthinghoe by 1546 where the demesne had been enclosed by 1510.[43] This may have formed part of the same enterprise. When Peter Dormer produced 65 sacks of wool, it may be that he was acting as an agent, or 'brogger' for smaller producers round about.

There are more deserted villages in the hundred: Astwell and Falcutt, Halse, Radstone, Steane, Stuchbury and Warkworth are all listed as having sheep flocks, from 360 sheep at Astwell to 1,800 at Halse and 1,800 at Stuchbury. Astwick is not listed at all, but is probably the location of the 120 sheep under Evenley. Astwick was always a small settlement: an Inquisitio post Mortem shows it to have been 'devastata' in 1423, and it was at least partly enclosed by 1535.[44] It consisted of three houses in 1510, one of which seems still to have been a manor house of sorts, with a possible moat: Bridges, writing in about 1720, describes the ruins of a substantial building lying within a broad ditch.[45] (It is unfortunately impossible to identify this house from the Hearth Tax lists as Astwick is included under Evenley.) It appears to have belonged to the same family of Barkers that we have already met in Purston and Newbottle, and will meet again as sheep-masters in Steane. Astwick lies close to the wide heathland which used to run along the Oxfordshire boundary here, and it looks as if its years under the plough were but a short interval in a long pastoral history: it may originally have been a

[41] KRO U455 T138.
[42] PRO SP1/238 ff264-8; E179/156/183.
[43] Hall: *Open Fields*, p. 264.
[44] IPM of Matilda Lovell, of Kings Sutton, NRO E(B)14; Hall: *Open Fields* p. 262
[45] Bridges: *Northants*, p. 168.

seasonal or impermanent settlement for the shepherds and their flocks, possibly from the important Saxon centre of Kings Sutton. The hunger for land in the 1200s must have been great indeed for farmers to have turned their ploughs into the fields of Astwick: it is desperately stony and poor ground. Sheep must always have been the best use for this land, and it seems the pastures went on being farmed by a resident farmer and a shepherd or two until *c.*1700.

Astwell and Falcutt, both in the parish of Helmdon and both reduced to a handful of houses, had 360 and 600 sheep respectively in 1547. Mr. Lovett is named in Astwell, and he probably owned the 600 in Falcutt as well, as the two vills together passed to the Lovett family in 1471. He also had 480 sheep in the shrunken settlement of Radstone, probably on the fields of Lower Radstone, which was completely deserted at an early date.[46] The Lovetts enlarged and castellated the house at Astwell at the end of the fifteenth century, and further gentrification went on in the sixteenth when a deer park of *c.*500 acres was created to the south of

crenellated tower is the only relic of the Ferrers' enlarged sixteenth century house.

[46] RCHM: *Inventory,* p. 124, only 2½ yardlands were being cultivated in Lower Radstone in 1260.

Astwell (two farms here are called Astwell Park Farm and Old Park Farm). This park was divided into several closes, with hedges on banks, and it may have been used for the sheep flocks as well as for deer.[47]

Thomas Lovett was cited in a writ in 1518 for enclosures in Wappenham as well.[48] The Barker family reappear again in Steane, where Fulk Barker had a thousand sheep in 1547; he is also listed as a wool grower, producing twelve sacks of wool, but in 1524 the Lay Subsidy did not show him to have been particularly rich, only paying 14s. (as opposed to Thomas Westall's £20).

Halse, now in the parish of Greatworth, is another severely shrunken village, whose early population is impossible to estimate as it was taxed together with Old Brackley. There had been a deer park here in the thirteenth century, and 1,000 sheep in 1547, increasing to 1,800 by 1564, implying that at least 500 acres had been enclosed by then.[49] The sheep belong to Pargiter in the later list: the Pargiters appear in Greatworth and in the surrounding villages usually as yeoman farmers and occasionally as gentlemen.

Warkworth has a church (in a field) and a handful of farms; there used to be a big Jacobean house until it was demolished in 1805.[50] The parishioners live in the next door village of Overthorpe, which has neither church nor manor. Warkworth must have had enclosed pastures by 1547 when 600 sheep were listed here; the Enclosure Act of 1764 presumably refers to the open fields of Overthorpe.

(The concluding instalment will deal with the farming of the 'open-field' villages in the Kings Sutton and Chipping Warden Hundreds.)

Abbreviations:

BHS	Banbury Historical Society	ORO	Oxfordshire Record Office
IPM	*Inquisitio post Mortem*	ORS	Oxfordshire Record Society
KRO	Kent Record Office	PRO	Public Record Office
NRO	Northamptonshire Record Office	RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
NRS	Northamptonshire Record Society	*VCH*	Victoria County History

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47 RCHM.: *Inventory*, p. 87-8.

48 Leadam: *Inclosures* p. 63.

49 J. Steane: 'The Medieval Parks of Northamptonshire', in *Northants Past & Present*, 5 (1975).

50 J.S.W. Gibson: 'Three lost Northamptonshire Houses and their owners: Warkworth', *Northamptonshire Past & Present*, 5.4 (pp. 318-322), 1976.

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Ellesmere (Brackley) papers, various
Enclosure Acts and Awards
Kings Sutton Poor Rate Books
Probate records, various
Montagu (Boughton) papers *'A Booke of Fines and Estreats Q Eliz & Jac I*
Various terriers, indentures, leases, agreements etc. filed with parish papers

Oxfordshire Record Office: probate records

Public Record Office: *Inquisitiones post Mortem*

Lay subsidy of 1301; E179/156/183
Lay subsidies of 1524/1544/5; E179/155/-
Probate records
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RCHM: *An Inventory of Archaeological Sites in South-West Northamptonshire* (London, 1982)

Industrial Archaeolgy

The current issue of *Industrial Archaeology Review* (Vol.24, No.2, November 2002) contains two articles that may be of interest to members of the Banbury Historical Society. Our vice-president, Barrie Trinder, has written an article entitled 'Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Market Town Industry – an analytical model', in which he argues, on the basis of evidence drawn from Banbury amongst many other towns, that the industrial structures of most market towns had much in common, and that an archaeological model can be a rewarding means of gaining an understanding of their history.

John Selby's study, 'The Fenny Compton Tunnel, Oxford Canal' is a description of the many changes made to one of the principal civil engineering features of the canal that passes through Banbury. He uses an account by a visiting German engineer in his discussion of the building of the 1,188-yard tunnel in the mid-1770s. The one-way tunnel was an obstacle to navigation in the busiest years of the Oxford Canal in the early nineteenth century. It was divided into two, with an open middle section in 1838-40, and completely opened out in 1866-69. The adjacent brickworks, established in 1840-41, continued in operation until 1917. The remains of the kiln can still be seen and have been recorded in drawings that accompany the article. While this is a notable contribution to engineering history, for many readers the most interesting feature of the article will be the bizarre photograph taken while the tunnel was being opened out in the 1860s showing camels hauling circus wagons across the bridge carrying the Banbury – Southam road.

Book Reviews

Anthony Burgess, by Roger Lewis, Faber & Faber, London, 2002. £20.00.

This book has been reviewed in most of the broadsheets and literary weeklies, and bears a sticker on the dust jacket proclaiming that it is one of the 'selected books for giving' at Christmas 2002. The publishers evidently expect to sell many copies of a biography that claims to show that Anthony Burgess, author of more than 60 books, who as John Wilson spent the years 1950-54 teaching at Banbury Grammar School,[1] was 'the writer as faker and prankster', who lived largely by deception and illusion. This is not the place to examine in detail the author's principal arguments or the evidence he produces to support them, but it may be pertinent to point out that the book has not been unanimously welcomed by literary reviewers, and that while bileful invective has an honoured place in English literature, the best examples are notable for their brevity – and this volume extends to more than 400 pages.

Roger Lewis's book merits attention in *Cake & Cockhorse* for the light that it throws on Banbury in the 1950s. He entitles his section dealing with John Wilson's life between 1947 and 1954, including his years in Banbury, as 'Happy Days', and shows that in some respects this was a fulfilling time, when he was active in teaching, producing plays, composing music and writing for the *Banbury Guardian*. Lewis has used copies of the Grammar School magazine, *The Banburian*, and has interviewed several of Wilson's former colleagues and pupils. He succeeds in re-creating some aspects of atmosphere of the period – the paragraph on the Grammar School's diamond jubilee commemoration railway excursion to Windsor reveals the better side of Wilson's nature and one of the worst aspects of the school. At times Lewis seems to regret that Wilson behaved so properly with his pupils and he also appears to bring against Wilson/Burgess the charge that his novel, *The Worm and the Ring*, is not a particularly accurate history of the school. This can scarcely be a valid criticism of a novel, and in his 'confessions', *Little Wilson and Big God*, Wilson, as Burgess, does acknowledge the creativity of some of his colleagues, even if he omits to mention others, but an autobiography, like a novel, is not to be condemned simply because it fails to be a good institutional history.

The detailed accounts of interviews with people who knew John Wilson in Banbury are engagingly perceptive, but the accounts of the personal tragedies which have afflicted some former teachers at Banbury Grammar School have no relevance to the subject of the biography. It would have been good scholarly practice to give the dates of interviews and correspondence in the list of

[1] See B. Trinder, 'A Literary Jubilee – Anthony Burgess', *C&CH*, **15**.2 (2001), pp.62-65.

individuals consulted in the list of sources and acknowledgements. John Wilson/Anthony Burgess continues from beyond the grave to stimulate literary activity, and a further study of his life by another biographer is in prospect. Scholarly microscope will continue to analyse the Banbury of half a century ago.

B.S.T.

Captain Pilkington's Project 1804-1816, by Beryl Williams (A4, 140pp., illustrated). Published 2003 by the author. £15 including postage, from 'Sira', Main Street, Whilton, Daventry NN11 5NN.

Robert Pilkington was a Captain in the Royal Engineers and his project to construct the Royal Depot in a small Northamptonshire village became known as the 'Great Works at Weedon'.

It was the time of the Napoleonic Wars and the constant threat of invasion by the French had led to a decision to establish this huge Ordnance Depot at the very heart of England.

This book tells the story of how Captain Pilkington set about his task of planning the site, designing the buildings, estimating the costs, finding contractors and housing the workers.

The project included the building of a branch canal, designed by James Barnes of Banbury, to serve armouries to receive 200,000 muskets from Birmingham, storerooms for the guns and equipment of 24 brigades of Field Artillery and magazines to be fitted with racks for 20,000 barrels of gunpowder from Waltham Abbey. Barracks and stables for the officers, men and horses of a troop of Horse Artillery were also built.

The author has spent much time and effort in extracting detailed information from the depositories at Kew (P.R.O.), Chelsea (N.A.M.), Chatham (R.E.) and the offices at Northampton. With great dexterity she has welded the mass of detail into a readable story of how the British Army went about the construction of a very important depot for our national defence.

To those of us who wish to understand how we went about this type of work in the early 1800's this is just the publication to read.

Hugh Compton

Lecture Reports

Brian Little

Thursday 12th December 2002.

***The History of Oxford University Press* – Dr Martin Maw.**

This was a very informative and well-presented talk about a centuries-old institution. Its first book, *The Apostles' Creed*, appeared in 1478 and was printed by a friend of the renowned William Caxton. This volume set a trend towards religious books.

Two centuries later, the driving force was William Laud, who was anxious to equal the achievement of presses elsewhere. In his time Oxford secured a grand Charter which rejected blasphemy and anti-government activity but permitted jousting to continue in the city!

A third influential figure was John Fell who was Chancellor of the University and Bishop of Oxford. Under his direction bibles and prayer books abounded in the late seventeenth century. He also aspired to a Dictionary of the English Language but this had to wait until Victorian times.

Life beyond Fell saw a late-eighteenth century revival of classical learning and this was reflected in printing trends towards Latin and Greek.

It was in the 1820's that the Press moved to the green edge of Oxford and into a location which was to become the Jericho suburb. The name of Thomas Coombe became synonymous with printing as he bought Wolvercote Paper Mill which supplied O.U.P.

Right through from then until today there has been a tradition for working long hours. Until the 1970's it was a case of men only. Maybe this explains a demand for snuff and beer!

The firm's abiding interest has been the Oxford Dictionary. Incredibly, work is now in progress on a third edition for 2010. Having said this, many renowned works add to the reputation for quality – *War and Peace*, *Bacon's Essays*, *Lark Rise to Candleford*. Children's publishing has had a place since the 1920's and music first appeared in the 1930's.

The Print Shop closed in 1989 and O.U.P. is firmly in the computer era. The Dictionary is on disc and can be accessed on the Internet.

The firm has come a long way but it is good to know that staff still have time for soccer and flower shows.

Thursday 9th January 2003.

The Merchant Adventurers of the Seventeenth Century **– Captain George Prideaux.**

With a feather in his hat and a swagger in his gait, Captain Prideaux re-enacted the role of an early seventeenth century merchant adventurer – the man who adventured his money in financing the voyage, not himself on the high seas – and recounted the experiences of the skipper whose chartered vessel was bound for the East Indies. The audience was asked to imagine the voyage of the *Bonaventure*, which set sail from Exeter at a time when Merchant Adventurers were widely recognized as significant money-makers.

Unsurprisingly any enterprise of this nature was not without challenge and threat. Reprovisioning often meant barter at key points on the coast-hugging route, limited instrumentation led to much calculation of position by dead-reckoning, and above all lurking pirates especially near Zanzibar off the East African coast demanded a stout heart and the use of the *Bonaventure*'s twenty guns. The ultimate prize for a successful conclusion to the voyage was a rich haul of spices in exchange for gold and silver discs ready for stamping as the local ruler's coinage.

Once home, these spices commanded good prices on the London market. The crew may have had their private purchases whose sale would have enhanced their wages, whether sold in London or taken back to the West Country.

Captain Prideaux had a fine array of facsimiles of containers containing the various spices, pistols and cannon balls, most stowed in a fascinating chest. His rapport with members of the audience meant that here was an evening woith a difference.

Thursday 13th February 2003.

Dad's Other Army **– Bill King.**

This splendid talk was all about the World War 2 British Resistance Movement and the various auxiliary units. These emerged out of the post-1918 run-down state of the armed services and for their success depended heavily on people like Colin Gubbins and Peter Fleming, who were ideal leaders of clandestine operations.

The H.Q. for the special units was Coleshill (between Lechlade and Shrivenham), chosen specifically because intelligence suggested that the main German threat was to West-East communications. It was from here that the pattern of underground resistance was generated, inspired by Churchill.

An interesting unit was the G.H.Q. Reserve. This was trained and equipped to create mayhem through sabotage of, for instance, aircraft.

Outstanding amongst individuals at Coleshill were Beatrice Temple, who was in charge of the women, and Anthony Quayle, intelligence officer for the North-East of England, who later gained fame as an actor.

Overall the auxiliary units had some 5,000 men and 2,500 women. There was no paper work about their activities and, until the 1960s, a veil of secrecy covered their tracks. Then came David Lampe's book *The Last Ditch* and because of this the wider public gained some knowledge of 'Dad's Other Army'. It seems that typical occupations of its members were farmers, gamekeepers, poachers and clergymen. These people only ever got to know their most immediate colleagues. After the war, basic stand-down letters had to suffice. Interestingly not content with world war experiences, many ultimately went into the S.A.S.

Thursday 13th March 2003.

The Magic of the Cotswolds **– Vernon Brook.**

This ramble around the Cotswolds was very high on picture quality but historical content was elusive and fragmentary.

There was much to admire in a superb collection of expertly taken photographs. These really did justice to the warmth of stone and the unique character of the countryside. Vernon Brook had managed to capture this treasured corner of England in all its marvels.

The accompanying talk focussed strongly on topogrpahical features such as the overall plateau character, the subtleties of undulation and the variations in slope which left Bourton-on-the-Hill folk with a climb to their church. More fleeting flirtations with history guided his audience to 'wool' churches, lines of old cottages or merchant houses and the occasional industrial gem such as the Bliss works at Chipping Norton.

Shots of the interior decoration of certain churches allowed some discourse on medieval legacies. These included delightful wall paintings at Bourton near Cirencester.

Amidst all the quiet beauty of the region it was not surprising to discover that the hand of man was never far away. Lower Slaughter for all its original attractions now sports a conference centre. However, for my part I think I will hasten my footsteps to Painswick just in time for the 'snowdrifts' of snowdrops.

OBITUARY

Kenneth Richard Scott Brooks
1921 - 2003

Ken was a man of the East Midlands and so Banbury was a kind of second home to him. His collection of personally taken photographic images of the locality bears witness to this.

Many clients of Aplins, a time-honoured firm of solicitors in the town, will have cause to remember the victories Ken achieved on their behalf. His determination to win combined with an astute brain and control over paperwork meant that he was seen to be successful in his job.

In 1966, a different kind of recognition came his way. The Trustees of Banbury Municipal Charities decided to make him their Clerk. Ken remained in this position for twenty-one years and during this time saw a substantial increase in both income and awards to worthy causes.

Away from the office, Ken was a prime mover within local Freemasons, Rotarians and 'Neithrop Felons'. These associations strengthened his claim to be Banburian even though he knew as much if not more of Robin Hood country.

Ken and his beloved Eileen were members of the Banbury Historical Society. It is both fitting and poignant that almost his final writings were about Aplins and within the covers of the two most recent issues of *Cake & Cockhorse*. Publication of the two-part history of the firm gave him great satisfaction.

Brian Little

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT, 2002

Your Committee have pleasure in submitting the 45th Annual Report and Statement of Accounts, for the year 2002.

At the A.G.M. officers and other members were again re-elected, with the welcome addition of Colin Cohen.

Membership of the Society remains close to three hundred, most as records members. Attendance at meetings and new membership remain constant, thanks to posters (fresh for each meeting) distributed for display at an ever-increasing number of key places. Deborah Hayter has now undertaken this task.

The year's meetings maintained their accustomed entertaining variety. Nick Allen has now been arranging these since 1997, and we have a full line-up for 2003/04. Reports, generally prepared by Brian Little, have appeared in *Cake & Cockhorse*. The first talk, by David Eddershaw on 'Farming and Enclosure', sadly was a last appearance of this always popular speaker, as he has now retired to East Anglia. We shall miss him. Railways attract large audiences, and that on 'Steam through the Banbury Area' was no exception. The autumn's meetings were well-attended, culminating in an outstanding talk on the history of Oxford University Press (as Nick used to manage their bookshop he knows who's worth hearing!).

In the summer we visited Ditchley Park and Kingston Bagpuize House on two beautiful summer days. Fiona Thompson and Beryl Hudson organised these with their usual initiative and efficiency. For the A.G.M., we were invited to Newbottle Manor by Lady Juliet Townsend, Lord Lieutenant of Northamptonshire, with a prior visit to the church of this tiny village. Blustery weather relented and we were able to tour the gardens too. We much appreciate Lady Juliet's hospitality in days when private houses are often less welcoming.

The great event of the year was the opening of the new Banbury Museum, on the canal bank. This actually took place on 21st September, but we were earlier able to have our start-of-season reception in the adjacent Information Centre, hosted by Simon and his staff, as always much enjoyed.

The normal three issues of *Cake & Cockhorse* appeared, with contributions from Nick Allen, Edward Besly, Andy Boddington, Ken Brooks, Betty Cameron, Ross Gilkes, Christopher Hall, Paul Hayter, Pamela Horn, Pamela Keegan, Nick Mayhew, Chris Pickford, as well as from regulars Brian Little and (in the background) Jeremy Gibson. A significant addition was the publication of an index, compiled by Jeremy, to the articles that have appeared in the journal in the 140 issues since its first appearance in September 1959. This has enabled us to offer to interested members 'free' copies of many vastly-over-printed past issues from the 1970s and 1980s, together with the opportunity to acquire other specific articles from out-of-print issues. Response has been gratifying.

After a gap of several year members received *Kings Sutton Churchwardens' Accounts*, transcribed and edited by Paul Hayter, which has had gratifying and deserved critical notice. Dr Leo de Freitas' *Banbury and the Chapbook* is imminent, with support from the grant initially made available for *Turnpike Roads to Banbury*. The delay with this latter volume is entirely due to your series editor's inability to find the energy to devote the time it requires for its presentation, but it *will* be completed in due course. Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson's long-term work on the diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848, is on the verge of completion.

A significant increase in subscription income in 2002 from corporate members has more than compensated for a small drop in the income from individual members. Income from subscriptions comfortably covered our day-to-day running expenses. Our healthy balance at the end of the year, together with a promised grant, should be sufficient to meet the cost of the records volume in the pipeline. Members may notice that the Revenue Account and the Balance Sheet no longer include a separate Publications Account. All income and expenditure relating to records volumes is now included in the main accounts. This change gives the Committee useful flexibility in managing the Society's resources. We used the Brinkworth Fund to pay for the cost of binding the remainder of the Banbury Museum's volumes of *Cake and Cockhorse*. The Brinkwirth Fund continues to be managed and accounted for separately.

Banbury Historical Society

Revenue Account for the Year ended 31st December 2002

	2002	2001
INCOME		
Subscriptions	2732	*2613*
Income tax refund	282	*330*
Building Society interest	342	*640*
Sale of publications	795	*310*
Other	69	*25*
Total Income	4220	*3918*
EXPENDITURE		
Cake & Cockhorse costs	1728	*1659*
Records volumes costs	45	*3734*
Meetings	384	*356*
Reception and AGM	127	*148*
Administration including publicity	101	*284*
Total Expenditure	2385	*6181*
SURPLUS *(DEFICIT)* for the year to *(from)* Accumulated Fund	**1835**	*(2263)*

Brinkworth Fund Account for the Year ended 31st December 2002

INCOME		
Building Society Interest	74	*125*
EXPENDITURE		
Grant to Banbury Museum	240	*160*
DEFICIT for the year from the Fund	**(166)**	*(35)*

Banbury Historical Society

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 2002

	2002	2001
ACCUMULATED FUND		
Balance as at 1 January 2002	12,163	*14,426*
Plus Surplus *(Less Deficit)* for the year	1,835	*(2,263)*
Balance at 31 December 2002	13,998	*12,163*
BRINKWORTH FUND		
Balance at 1 January 2002	3,131	*3,166*
Less Deficit for the year	(166)	*(35)*
Balance at 31 December 2002	**2,965**	*3,131*
TOTAL BALANCE at 31 December 2002	**16,963**	*15,294*
Represented by		
ASSETS		
NatWest Bank, Banbury – Current Account	706	*(285)*
Leeds & Holbeck Bldg Soc – Main Account	14,356	*13,414*
Leeds & Holbeck B S – Brinkworth Account	2,965	*3,131*
Cash	12	*12*
	18,039	*16,272*
Plus Sundry debtors	165	*44*
TOTAL ASSETS	**18,204**	*16,316*
Less LIABILITIES		
Subscriptions received in advance	471	*297*
Sundry creditors	770	*725*
TOTAL LIABILITIES	**1,241**	*1,022*
NET ASSETS	**16,963**	*15,294*

G F Griffiths, Hon Treasurer

I have reviewed and examined the books and records of the Banbury Historical Society and confirm that the accounts prepared by the Hon Treasurer represent a fair and accurate summary of the financial transactions completed in the year ended 31 December 2002

R J. Mayne, F C.A , F C M A

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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

Records series:

Wigginton Constables' Books 1691-1836 (vol. 11, with Phillimore).
Banbury Wills and Inventories 1591-1650, 2 parts (vols. 13, 14).
Victorian Banbury, by Barrie Trinder (vol. 19, with Phillimore).
Aynho: A Northamptonshire Village, by Nicholas Cooper (vol. 20).
Banbury Gaol Records, ed. Penelope Renold (vol. 21).
Banbury Baptism and Burial Registers, 1813-1838 (vol. 22).
Oxfordshire and North Berkshire Protestation Returns and Tax Assessments 1641-1642 (vol. 24).
The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury and Cropredy 1625-38, ed. R.K. Gilkes (vol. 26).
King's Sutton Churchwardens' Accounts 1636-1700, ed. Paul Hayter (vol. 27).

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

In preparation:

Banbury Chapbooks, by Dr Leo John de Freitas.
Turnpike Roads to Banbury, by Alan Rosevear.
Selections from the *Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848*, ed. G.W. Smedley-Stevenson.

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.**

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Summer 2003 Programme

Thursday 15th May, 2.30 p.m.
Milton Manor House (near Abingdon).

Wednesday 25th June, 2.00 p.m.
Canons Ashby earthworks, Northamptonshire (field walking).

Saturday 12th July, 5.00 p.m. for 5.30 p.m.
A.G.M. at **Shalstone** (near Brackley) **Church** and **Manor**.

Autumn 2003 Programme

Thursday 11th September. 6.00 p.m. – 8.00 p.m.
Social evening at **Banbury Museum**, Spiceball Park Road.

Location of meetings will be circulated before the autumn programme starts.

Thursday 9th October. 7.30 p.m.
Place names, landscape and settlement in the Banbury region. *Deborah Hayter.*

Thursday 13th November. 7.30 p.m.
Our canal in Oxfordshire: its construction, its wealth and its people (new research). *Hugh Compton* (author of *The Oxford Canal*, 1976).

Thursday 11th December. 7.30 p.m.
The history of duelling with pistols. *Hugh Hinde.*

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