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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

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"Most of the talk then was about the London and Birmingham Railway, then making a fearful gash through the county." No, this isn't the HS2, but Thomas Mozley at Fawsley in 1834 (p.106). History repeats itself.

Our village meeting at Chacombe in April was a great success with attendance of more than eighty. Talks given are reflected in the new records volume, Barrie Trinder's edition of the diary of Thomas Butler Gunn, who came from the village, and Deborah Hayter's "Snippets", on the fields in 1630 (p.94). Even more popular has been the amazing exhibition of Quaker clocks at Adderbury, put on by its History Association on 8-9 June, attended by hundreds. Both rewarded a great amount of hard work put in by enthusiastic volunteers.

In 1994 the late Joan Bowes and I took over from David Hitchcox as Editors of *Cake & Cockhorse*. Now, after nearly twenty years, the baton is being passed on to Chris Day. With his Victoria County History and Rewley House experience I can think of no successor better qualified.

Throughout there has been support from Brian Little, who regularly supplies the lecture reports, and Beryl Hudson, who has proof-read most of each issue. Those misprints that still occur have invariably been my own in last-minute text.

I thank too the scores of contributors whose articles have appeared, particularly stalwarts like those to this issue, but we always need more. We do our best to stimulate this by publishing details of sources which, to me, cry out for investigation. So do realise the fascination of local historical research, and support Chris by submitting material from your own work on our locality.

It has all been great fun, and I hope he gets as much satisfaction as I have.

Cover: Banbury Academy, Horse Fair, from the Centenary Menu (see page 81)


To Warwick
BANBURYSHIRE
Byfield
Preston Capes
Kineton
A422
A423
A361
Eydon
Chipping Warden
Edgehill
Oct 1642
Warmington
Culworth
Sulgrave
Helmdon
Tysoe
Hornton
Hanwell
Drayton
Greatworth
Shipston-on-Stour
Wroxton
Middleton Cheney
Banbury
Farthinghoe
Upper Brailes
Lower Brailes
Oct 1642
Swalcliffe
Kings Sutton
Brackley
Bloxham
Adderbury
Aynho
Long Compton
Barford
St Michael
South
Newington
Deddington
Souldern
Great Rollright
Baynard's Green
Great Tew
Duns Tew
Little Tew
Somerton
Middle Barton
Steeple Aston
Chipping
Norton
Steeple Barton
Lower Heyford
Bicester
B4100
A4260

The STORY OF SIX GUNS used in THE CIVIL WAR IN BANBURYSHIRE

Nick Allen

(based upon a talk given to the Royal Artillery Historical Society)

Banburyshire is very much a North Oxfordshire (and neighbouring counties) concept, well understood by local historians, especially readers of *Cake & Cockhorse*, as well as the local media and most local residents. The term has been in use over a great many years. Essentially Banburyshire takes in roughly 140 small towns and villages within a ten mile radius of Banbury itself. The area encompasses Banbury, Edgehill, Cropredy, Compton Wynyates, Broughton Castle, Hanwell Castle, Adderbury, Deddington, Warmington and Aynho, all names that crop-up, time and time again, during the Civil Wars.

This story contains four strands all interconnected, but distinctly separate, featuring six light guns. The first strand concerns the consigning of these guns from the Tower Armoury to Banbury: they were destined for Warwick Castle, a Parliamentary stronghold, which was then held by Robert Greville, 2nd Lord Brooke, as the castle's governor. These guns left London sometime in July 1642 – before the war formally began (the King raised his standard at Nottingham Castle on 22nd August). A few days later Lord Northampton with great guile captured these guns, so taking them into Royalist use. The second strand concerns these same guns, but now in the hands of the Royalists: they used them in an abortive attempt to lay siege to Warwick Castle.

The third strand takes us to the battlefield at Edgehill on Sunday 23rd October 1642, when the Royalists used these guns during this battle. Finally, the fourth strand concludes this story, when some of these same guns were used to support the Royalist attack on Broughton Castle on 28th October, just five days after Edgehill (I have already discussed this episode in greater detail in *C&CH*.14.3, Summer 1998).

The story, properly, opens with three lines taken from a lengthy report, in a Parliamentary pamphlet, of the very first military proceedings at Banbury – it reads: '*My Lord Brooke having sixe small pieces of iron Ordnance granted him from the Parliament to strengthen his castle at Warwicke, they were conveyed safe to Banbury upon Friday the 29 July, 1642*'.

This seemingly very minor incident does, indeed, record a splendid story of some Royalist skulduggery, also an early introduction to psychological warfare, finishing-up with a distinct touch of 'Dad's Army'; also it touches on what could have amounted to a monumental decision by two men – not to be held to account for the start of a civil war in England.

Some background is needed at this point to sketch in what was happening here in the Midlands in the summer of 1642 and to highlight who were the main players and the locations they were militarily concerned with, also their importance in the scheme of things. Firstly it needs to be borne in mind that in the seventeenth century England did not have a standing army. The King had a small, ceremonial, cavalry escort of gentlemen; the main castles such as the Tower, Dover and Caernarfon had small detachments of professional gunners headed by a master-gunner plus a few retained civilians; this had been one of King Henry VIII's initiatives. There were the county militias – but they were not considered serious soldiers – more drinking clubs!

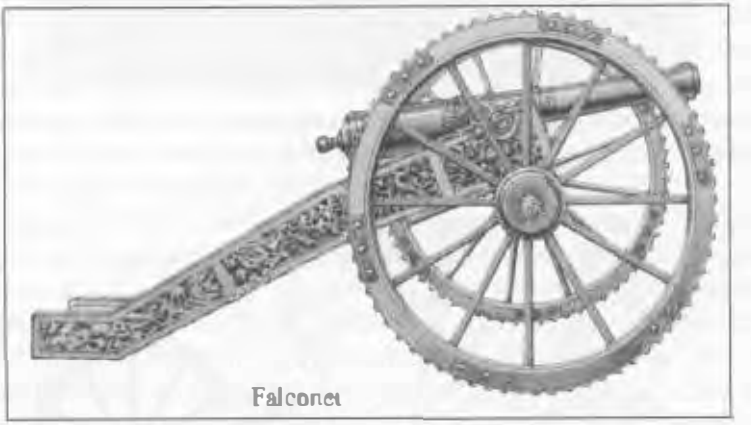
The Midlands, by July 1642, were in military turmoil – both King and Parliament were issuing commissions of array to lords-lieutenant of counties or premier peers. These were an authority to recruit troops of horse and regiments of foot and to award commissions to officers of horse and foot. Spencer Compton, 2nd Earl of Northampton, was the lord lieutenant of Warwickshire, also its premier Royalist peer. Robert Greville, the 2nd Lord Brooke, was the premier Parliamentary peer for Warwickshire. An extract from the Earl of Northampton's commission (Lord Brooke's would have been similar) says '*to imprest, raise, enroll and reteyne one Regiment of one thousand foote furnished and armed, with full power and authoritie as Colonell them to commaund, arme, discipline, trayne and order in warlike manner, and with all possible expedicion to conduct unto such place as shalbee directed.*' Warwickshire was the first English county to have received commissions of array from both sides.

Spencer Compton's family home was Compton Wynyates, ten miles west of Banbury; as lord-lieutenant he was responsible for the security of the county magazine at Coventry, where small arms, powder and shot were stored for the use of the county militias. Compton already had a problem: Lord Brooke, whose home was nearby Warwick Castle, had preempted him by seizing the initiative to take into custody all the weapons, powder and stores held in the Coventry magazine and carting

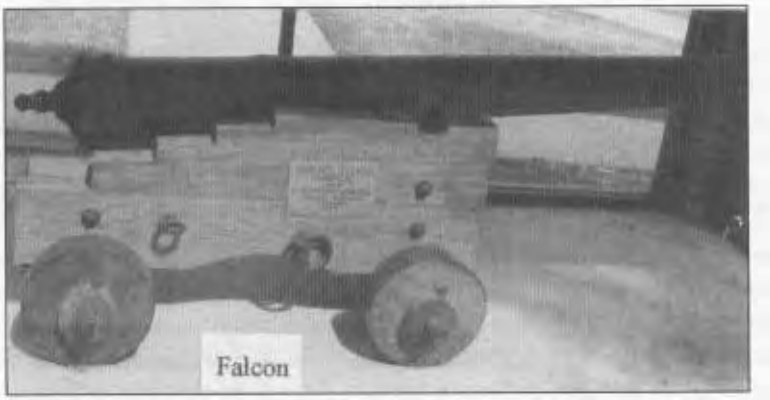
them off to his castle at Warwick. Northampton, not unnaturally, was much put-out when he heard that Brooke had so comprehensively outmanoeuvred him.

Returning to the story, some time in early July the six Tower guns left London under a Parliamentary escort; they duly arrived at Banbury in the wee small hours of Friday 29th July – to be delivered, safely, into the hands of Captain John Fiennes, governor and garrison commander of the castle.

In 1642 there were, basically, four types of light gun available for use on the battlefield – they were:



Falconet, the smallest calibre gun weighing in at 500lbs, 2¼" calibre, wt of shot 1¼lbs.



Falcon, also a small calibre gun weighing 800lbs, 2¾" calibre, wt of shot 2½lbs.

Minion, a slightly larger calibre gun weighing 1,200 lbs 3¼" calibre, wt of shot 3¼lbs

Saker, calibre of 3.5 inches, weighing 1,600 lbs, 3¼" calibre, wt of shot 6 lb.

In 1635 an inventory of munitions held by the Tower Armoury was compiled; it showed that 190 guns and barrels were held, among which were included the type of guns mentioned above – with just one iron Saker! At this stage I got in touch with the archivist to the Tower Armouries to ask him if there were any records of this transaction . I was hoping to find out some details – a list of the type and numbers of guns drawn with dates, and perhaps the name of the officer who collected them.

It is well known that no quartermaster, from whatever period of history, would ever dream of letting even a pencil leave his domain without a signature, let alone six guns! The archivist reported back saying, regrettably, there was so much confusion in the Tower at this time that there are no clear records of what happened.

Returning to the story – Lord Brooke, with his escort, left Warwick, making an early start on the morning of Saturday 30th July to arrive in time for his party to collect the guns to depart from Banbury Castle at 9am. They travelled north-west towards Warwick. About five miles out of Banbury, somewhere between Shotteswell and Warmington, they found themselves confronted by a large party of horse and musketeers straddling the main road to Warwick, under the command of the Royalist Earl of Northampton. One may well ask just how did the earl of Northampton get to know that there was a consignment of guns on their way to Warwick? How did he know when they had arrived at Banbury? More to the point, how did he know where and when to meet them?

Northampton very cannily had arranged for one of his men, a Thomas Earle, to infiltrate and join the Parliamentary escort. This then supposes that Northampton must have been privy to some very early intelligence for him to have discovered this Parliamentary plan in the first place; and then to place a man in the Parliamentary escort shows some very forward thinking so early in the run-up to the war. Soon after the guns and escort arrived at Banbury, Thomas Earle must have slipped away to Compton Wynyates to inform Northampton what was afoot.

So we find Northampton, with his men at his back, starting the proceedings by waving his royal commission of array, demanding that Brooke should surrender his guns, to refrain from any more Parliamentary musters (recruiting), and to surrender Warwick Castle to his, Northampton's, keeping; or to quote his report on this meeting *'make that place their graves that stood in opposition.'* Brooke naturally refused. Both commanders then started to make morale-boosting martial speeches and threatening violence; there was even a suggestion that the two peers might settle the business by single combat. Much of the rest of the day was spent in parleying – Brooke sent to Banbury for reinforcements. They duly arrived plus a pack of women who, very sensibly, had brought some food and drink with them.

Further gentlemanly discussion took place and the outcome was a diplomatic compromise. Brooke should return the guns to Banbury Castle magazine and each commander pledged, on his honour, to give

three days' notice to the other before attempting to remove them. What this incident really highlights is that proceedings were still being conducted in a gentlemanly manner; also there was a marked reluctance, at that stage, for anyone to be seen firing the first shots of what would, inevitably, lead to a civil war.

After returning the guns to Banbury Castle, Brooke dashed off to London to report to Parliament with his side of the story before the propagandists got to work. Banbury in the meanwhile was in a great turmoil as the Royalists had already started a rumour of an attack on the town. Captain Fiennes sent to Northampton (the town) for reinforcements; these duly arrived to find that they were not really needed. This then is where the Royalist skulduggery kicks-in, as the Royalists then started another rumour saying that as the garrison at Northampton was denuded of troops they would attack the town and go for the women. This served to have the Northampton troops scuttling back home leaving the Banbury garrison short of men.

By Monday 8th August the town and the garrison's morale was so low that all that was needed to clinch matters was for Northampton to have three guns hauled up Crouch Hill, just over a mile south-west of Banbury, threatening the town. One might wonder how a half-a-ton of a land-gun could have been got up such a hill in such a short time; granted that Crouch Hill is a pimple of a hill on a plain but it is still just over a hundred feet high, and it is well out of range of any of the guns the local Royalists had at that time. Perhaps the Royalists just cunningly sowed the seeds of a rumour that they were going to do so.

Whilst all this military posturing was going on there is on record the work of a young, supposedly, parliamentary captain – Captain Austin (as it happens the Austin name was well known locally; they were a family of worthy, well respected citizens). This Captain Austin had turned-up in Banbury and reported himself to the garrison commander asking what might he usefully do. Fiennes sent him off to keep an eye on, and encourage, the civilians who had been co-opted to strengthen the outer defences of the town.

Austin, instead of doing what he had been told to, quietly suggested to the civilians working on the defences that they were wasting their time as the Royalists were too strong and they would be better off if they pulled in their families to the castle. Austin, at a time of much upset and doubt, represented authority as a man in uniform usually does; it appears they did just as he suggested – thus leaving the outer defences bare and unguarded.

Austin's work and the threat of Northampton's guns pointing at Banbury worked: during the evening of 7th/8th August a royalist party of horse approached Banbury from the north, unhindered; they marched up to the Castle, with the Royalist commander of horse waving Northampton's commission of array, demanding the surrender of the guns and if they were not surrendered then they would fire the town. Captain Fiennes surrendered the Castle magazine, intact, to Northampton's party at 4 pm on that 8th day of August, 1642. What this story does is to highlight, yet again, the very understandable reluctance for anyone to be seen to start a shooting war.

As an end note: Captain Austin, whoever he was, had style, as he sent someone to offer Captain Fiennes his farewells and bid him remember him! I've checked the Parliamentary Army List, of that time, and it lists only one officer in their army with the name Austin. He was recorded as having fought at Edgehill; I doubt very much if it would have been the same man.

The second strand to this story follows straight on from the above action – Northampton had these guns hauled to his home at Compton Wynyates; the following day he, the guns and his small army marched north to Warwick Castle. His intent was to lay siege to the castle and capture it with all the county munitions in revenge for Lord Brooke's pre-empting him by taking into custody the magazine at Coventry. According to a Parliamentary report *'they were confident that the castle would be delivered up to them presently.'*

The castle garrison was commanded, in the absence of Lord Brooke, by a sturdy experienced soldier, Lt Col Sir Edward Peto (he commanded, in detail, Lord Brooke's regiment of foot). Peto promptly turned down Lord Northampton's order to surrender the castle. Northampton gave him two hours to change his mind but he sent back an angry answer *they might have taken his word at first.* Northampton then had the guns they had taken from Banbury deployed against the castle. In siege terms these guns were nothing more than pop-guns – they would hardly have knocked a chip out of a stone let alone made any impression on a castle built to last! The Royalists gunners discharged one of the guns, Sir Edward replied with two guns – he then gave orders for his musketeers to blaze away at the Royalist army.

For some unknown reason Northampton had decided to billet himself that night in the Swan Inn, a pub just outside the castle – the castle garrison, on discovering this, took pot-shots at the pub which made him

remove his lodging. This upset Mrs King, proprietress of the Swan – as she, later, tried to extract £30 from the Parliamentary garrison in recompense for the loss of business expected from her noble guests.

Northampton then ordered one of the guns to be hauled up to the top of the tower of the nearby church of St Nicholas, in a direct line of sight and only 300 yards from the castle. Sir Edward Peto obviously saw what was going on and had his gunners shoot at the church, so knocking-off one of the pinnacles, which *made the Cavaliers stir*. Nevertheless they then fired on the tower with one of the Banbury guns – *it broke all in pieces*. A report stated that one of those pieces hurt Northampton's son, who happened to be standing nearby. The Royalists became convinced that these Parliamentary guns *were poysoned*. the siege party then decided to call it a day and retired, ostensibly to meet the King, who was reported to be on his way to Warwick.

The third strand in this story concerns the preparations, a little over two months later, for a fighting war by both sides. The site of the Edgehill battlefield is about ten miles north-west of Banbury in Warwickshire, between the scarp called Edgehill and the small town of Kineton about 2½ miles north-west of it. The actual hill is about three miles long but is in fact part of a ridge that stretches for ten miles to the south-west. The battle, completely unplanned, took place on Sunday 23rd October, 1642 – it was then that the population of England realized that Englishmen were going to kill Englishmen and they were serious about that business.

I do not propose to revisit this battle. It has been written-up by many historians; most notably Brigadier Peter Young in 1967, who as befits the Royalist's Royalist, has the Royalists almost winning at Edgehill. The latest study, in 2004, by Chris Scott, Alan Turton and Dr Eric von Arni, is very well researched using material that Brigadier Young didn't have access to. However I will be homing in on the guns used by both sides. Colonel Alfred Burne in his magnum opus *The Battlefields of England* is dismissive of the cannonade which ushered in the first great battle of the Civil Wars, saying 'They opened up with a rather feeble artillery duel – of technical interest to gunners only'.

Historians, over the years, have generally believed that the guns played an unimportant part in the field operations of those days; that great historian, Sir Charles Firth, declared that the 'King was at that period of the war very deficient in artillery [but] the Earl of Essex's army was liberally equipped with artillery'. Subsequent research shows this situation was in reverse!

So what artillery did the protagonists have on that fateful day? Having realized that his position in London was untenable, the King left in January 1642 and with his small force marched to York, where he started to gather together an army. On 2nd July a small ship named the *Providence* arrived off the coast of Bridlington, a small port due west of York, carrying weapons, powder and ammunition. Charles' Queen had pawned her personal jewels and some of the Crown jewels in Holland to raise the necessary money to pay for these weapons. Part of the *Providence's* cargo was seven field-pieces – they were not designated.

Later, Charles transferred his HQ to Nottingham where his banner was raised over the castle on 22nd August, the ancient symbol that the monarch was going to war and needing men for his service. Disappointingly for the King, few men did present themselves for service with their King, there was no flocking to his banner.

Sir John Heydon, Charles' Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, a fine officer who had held that post since 1627, was tasked with assembling a train of artillery. Heydon was a meticulous staff officer and recorder of events relating to the Royalist artillery throughout that war. He was a Norfolk man who had seen military service as a mercenary with one of the continental armies, probably as a gunner. He was reputed to have been a professional artilleryman and a good military administrator. Before the Civil War, Heydon had been responsible for supplying the armies feudally raised by the King with guns and military stores for his wars over the Scottish bishops (1639-40); he was also the military treasurer. From a historian's point of view Heydon's detailed recording of everything he did is manna from heaven.

His Parliamentary opposite number, Lieutenant-General of Ordnance, Philibert Emmanuel de Boyes, was very different. Brigadier Peter Young sums him up with one word, *useless*; and, by a Parliamentary contemporary, *as the only man with confidence in his own ability*. Fortunately for the Parliamentary army they had as their General of Ordnance the Earl of Peterborough. He was a competent civilian administrator, who must have worked directly to the equally competent Nicholas Cooke, who was de Boyes' assistant.

Whilst at Nottingham, Heydon made a start on assembling an artillery train with the seven from the consignment from Holland. To these were added the remaining five guns of those captured from Banbury Castle on 8th August. Charles' biggest problem was raising sufficient money to

purchase carriage-horses and wagons to move his artillery train – it was estimated that the train would need 47 wagons to support it. Somehow four to five thousand pounds were scraped together, to purchase suitable wagons strong enough to carry heavy loads and survive a rough terrain, and to pay men to drive them.

Charles and his army moved to Shrewsbury early in October. It is likely that John Savage, Earl Rivers, brought an additional five pieces with the regiment of foot he had raised. James Stanley, Lord Strange (soon to inherit the Derby earldom), brought another three pieces; plus another four possibly from the Marquis of Hertford, thus making a total of 25 field pieces in the Royalist train. By 12th October the Royalist army was considered fit for war, with Heydon reporting that the artillery *'was in very good order'*. Charles' aim was to advance on London, taking Broughton and Banbury Castles on the way.

The Royalist army left Shrewsbury on the 12th October, passing through Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, Birmingham and Kenilworth, arriving at Southam in Warwickshire, twenty miles north of Banbury, on 22nd October, having taken ten days to travel slightly less than a hundred miles; very good going bearing in mind it was October and roads were not metalled. Most of the officers and men would have been completely strange to such arts of war as movement of large bodies of foot and horse and a train of guns. There were no road maps available then. Few officers would have been able to afford a watch, and even less a compass.

The King based himself at Edgcote House, about eight miles due east of Edgehill (just in Northamptonshire), the home of Sir Toby Chauncy. Here, he and his staff made plans for an infantry brigade, with supporting artillery, to take Banbury Castle. The King allocated the four largest of his guns for this task, with a Mr William Betts nominated as the chief gunner. It is so rare to have a name for someone so low down the military chain of command.

Now to the business of assembling guns for the Parliamentary army. As I have already said one wishes they had a lieutenant-general of ordnance of the calibre of Sir John Heydon. Interestingly the Parliamentary Army List records the names of 46 officers of the train of artillery, including even Edward West, their commissary for draught-horses. The Royalist army on the other hand does not list any of the officers serving with their train of artillery – most likely because technically they came under the pre-war Board of Ordnance now within the purlieu of Parliament.

The Parliamentary army assembled, mainly, at Worcester in September; by then its train of artillery consisted of 46 pieces, seven of which were mortars. This army was unable to move until 18th October, because it just was not ready. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, captain-general of the Parliamentary army, had been a professional soldier serving as a continental mercenary. He was competent, but not known as an energetic officer. However from the start he firmly adhered to the idea that the King should be the first to take the initiative in *'this war without an enemy'*, famously said by Sir William Waller – this, of course, coloured Essex's early strategy.

Essex's general plan was to get ahead of the Royalist army, in order to stand in its way as it approached London. In the even, the Parliamentary army fetched up at the small Warwickshire town of Kineton on 22nd October, with an estimated artillery train of 16 guns, with 7 more still on the way. The type of the guns, known to have been in the train, were 12 and 6 pounders and some 3 pounder Drakes – what mix eventually ended-up on the battlefield is not known for sure. It is thought that only 16 of the already mentioned guns were present on the battlefield (once again, oh for a Parliamentary Sir John Heydon!).

Quartermaster parties, from both sides, were sent out on that night of the 22nd October to find forage and billets – it was at Wormleighton when parties from both sides bumped into each other doing precisely the same thing. The Royalist soldiers were quicker off the mark; they captured the Parliamentary party and conveyed them to Prince Rupert who as it happened was billeted close-by – at Wormleighton Manor house.

These captives talked, saying the Parliamentary army was based around Kineton – bearing in mind there was no Geneva Convention in those days, also there was certainly no concept of security – both officers and soldiers talked about what they were doing when captured. By then it was well after midnight when Prince Rupert promptly rode over to where the King was billeted, suggesting to him that they should fight that day – Sunday 23rd October. The king agreed – the rest, as they say, is history.

The fourth and final strand to the story of these, by now, very ex-Parliamentary guns, is an account of an attack on Broughton Castle on Friday 28th October, conducted by no less a personage than Prince Rupert – just five days after the Edgehill battle and the day after the garrison of Banbury Castle surrendered to the Royalist army. Why did the commander of the King's army personally conduct this attack on what was, ostensibly, the home an English country peer?

Broughton Castle, sited about three miles south-west of Banbury, was the home of William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye & Sele and 8th Baron: it had been the Fiennes family home since 1377. The family, in the seventeenth century, were solidly Puritan, firmly believing that the King should conduct his affairs within the law of the land, that he should work hand-in-hand with Parliament and not raise illegal taxes or sell titles, also he should not interfere with the religious beliefs of his subjects.

Lord Saye had raised, equipped and paid for a regiment of foot and a troop of horse; three of his four sons also raised troops of horse; the regiment of foot and the troops of cavalry had all been participants in the recent battle at Edgehill. The house, therefore, was only lightly garrisoned, most probably by 'lob' (men left out of battle) from the foot and horse. Rupert was Charles' nephew and commander of his horse. His terse diary entry recording this attack says *'28 My Lord Sayes howse taken'*. This brief entry hides, as ever, an interesting story (see also my article in *C&CH*.14.3, Summer 1998).

William Fiennes, Lord Saye & Sele, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, was a very high-profile, powerful and influential Parliamentary politician. He was known and respected, by both sides for his political sagacity, hence his nickname 'Old Subtlety'. A forthright man who had defied the king on two, very public, occasions: the first time he ended up under house arrest, the second in the Fleet prison. Nevertheless Lord Saye was such a powerful man that, very soon after he was discharged from the Fleet prison, he was elevated, by the King, to a viscountcy.

As to the attack on Broughton Castle – Prince Rupert's warrant authorizing the attack was signed by Charles himself, and the warrant allocating his supporting artillery was signed by Sir John Heydon. Rupert was assigned seven artillery pieces; they were: 2 x demi-cannons, 2 x culverins, 1 x 12lb bullets and 2 x 3lb x bullets (these were the captured parliamentary guns; Heydon seems to have always recorded them specifically by the weight of ball). Heydon's warrant even listed the number of shovels and wheelbarrows for this operation. The cannon and culverins were guns associated with sieges and were appropriate for the possible task at hand. On the other hand, the guns designated by weight are considered, by most historians, to have indicated that they were the captured Parliamentary guns. Could an impish thought have crossed Sir John's mind when he allocated the three captured

Parliamentary guns to be used for the attack on a prominent, Parliamentary stronghold? Such irony – a delicious thought, I must own.

Again we have the meticulous Heydon to thank for the details, as he even named the artillery officers allocated to Prince Rupert's artillery train: the three Gentlemen of the Ordnance (equivalent to subaltern officers) were Mr Stone, Mr Snedall and Mr Merrit; and, for good measure, we have the names of the five Conductors (senior NCOs) used as whippers-in and scouts: they were Messrs Emmerson, Gold, Sumpter, Cartington, and one unnamed fellow.

The house was duly attacked on 28th. With seven large artillery pieces pointed at them, plus Prince Rupert's considerable force of foot and horse, the garrison had little choice but to surrender. It is recorded that much time was then taken-up with parleying about acceptable terms of surrender, but it was all over in 24 hours.

In a room at the top of Broughton Castle, where it is said that Lord Saye and many very senior Parliamentary politicians and businessmen met to plot how to bring the King to heel, are displayed five assorted iron shot. These were dredged up from the surrounding moat during a clean-up in the late eighteenth century. For many years I was a guide at Broughton so I was able to measure and weigh these shot. I sent all the details with photographs to the late Captain Adrian Caruana who was, then, in the middle of writing the second volume of his *magnum opus* on muzzle-loading, maritime artillery. He identified the shot as matching the guns allocated to Rupert. The Parliamentary report of this action, dated 5th November, said *'It is certain that Prince Robert* [Rupert] *hath plundered the Lord Saye his house... .and taken away his deere... and they brake down the parke pales to let them out.'*

Returning to Edgehill, I have not indulged in speculation as to how the guns were deployed during the battle – nobody is entirely sure how either side used their guns. There has been plenty of intelligent guessing by historians over the centuries; but the teaching in the then current manual for artillerists said that a gun was better *'posted on an eminence since a ball travels with greater force downhill than uphill'*.

What is known is that during the battle an observant civilian, sympathetic to the royalist cause (I rather think it was Edward Hyde, then confidential advisor to Charles, and tutor to the two Royal Princes, who were all present at the battle), noted that the Royalists were finding, to their cost, when they had initially deployed their heavy guns facing down the very steep Edgehill towards the Parliamentary army, that their

shot went straight into the soft ground in front of the enemy's foot. The hill where these guns were deployed is shown on some maps as Bullet Hill (iron cannon balls were often referred to as bullets in written reports).

By 1646, the octogenarian William Eldred (Master Gunner to Dover castle for sixty years) was writing with great confidence in his manual for artillerists 'The Gunners Glasse' *'The danger is not so great as you think, for the ball that cometh from the height shall fall into the earth bury itself there.'* What is known is that a local man, a Mr Holsted, surveyed the battlefield in detail in February 1643, mapping where each army was drawn up and how the guns were deployed, including the sites of the graves of those who were slain. Sadly it appears that no historian, to date, has ever seen this map. Mayhap someone will turn-up, one day, at an Antiques Roadshow presenting the lovely Fiona Bruce with a dusty old box with this map inside – now that would be a find!

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Acknowledgement: My thanks to the Curator of Tower History for allowing use of pictures of Civil War guns.

BANBURY ACADEMY: 1797 - 1908

Jeremy Gibson

The Banbury Academy was founded in 1797 by its first Headmaster, the Reverend Peter Usher. For much of the nineteenth century it was the leading educational establishment in Banbury. Usher was succeeded by the Reverend Thomas Searle, and he, in 1824, by Mr Samuel Hill. After thirty years, his successor, in 1854, was Mr William Hartley, whose own headmastership continued for almost another thirty, until 1883. Mr Thomas H. Huscroft only remained until 1890, and Mr John Durrant was Headmaster at the time of the Academy's Centenary. This was celebrated at the *White Lion Hotel* on Tuesday, March 23rd, 1897.

All this, and more, information comes from the fortuitous survival of the menu for the occasion, elegantly printed by, of course, Cheney and Sons. Present amongst almost a hundred Old Boys was, of course, Mr G[eorge] G[ardner] Cheney. To respond to the toast of "The Former Masters" were the venerable Mr Hartley himself, and Mr R. Usher of Bodicote, grandson of the original Peter Usher. The school's location is easily identified from the drawing of the building printed on the menu (and our cover), still familiar on the north-west corner of Horse Fair.[1]

More light on the origins of Banbury Academy (or Banbury School, as it was sometimes known) comes from an article by Amherst D. Tysson, DCL, MA, on 'The Old Meeting House, Banbury, and its successor the Unitarian Church'.[2]. Presbyterianism had been strong in Banbury since the later seventeenth century. The property on which the present church stands was acquired in 1716 and even then had a congregation of 600. The ministry of Stephen Davies (d.1739) lasted thirty years and he was succeeded by his son-in-law, George Hampton. Towards the end of his long life, in 1796, Hampton's views tended in the Unitarian direction.

Meanwhile the original barn had been replaced by a Meeting House built around 1742. Relations between this congregation and the Anglicans were so good that, during the period of demolition of the old parish church in 1790 and the seven years of its rebuilding, the two amicably shared the Presbyterian Meeting House

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[1] See 'A Victorian Childhood', 'Dolly' Bromley, *C&CH*.17.9 (2009). pp296-7.

[2] *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. I, 1918, pp.276-302.

Thus Hampton's successor, Peter Usher, was able, soon after his appointment, to be married, to Rebecca Ward, in his own Dissenters' Meeting House on 10th July 1797. One of his first acts was to start the school that was to become Banbury Academy, in the Minister's House, which was that still adjacent to the Meeting House itself.

Thus the school must have been established by the time an advertisement, dated 20th Nov. 1798, appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*:

> At BANBURY, OXON. After the CHRISTMAS RECESS, January 21st, WILL BE OPENED A BOARDING SCHOOL for YOUNG GENTLEMEN, where strict Attention will be paid to their Morals, and great Care taken to instruct them in the ENGLISH and LATIN LANGUAGES; and in WRITING, ARITHMETIC, and GEOGRAPHY; by The Rev. P. USHER; and Assistant.
>
> Terms, per Annum, Washing included, 20 Guineas. Entrance, 1 Guinea.

Whilst no other record of life in those early years is known, one of the speakers at the Centenary,[3] Mr Alban Buller, a former pupil who had first suggested the event, "had sometimes tried to picture to himself what Banbury Academy was like a hundred years ago. He supposed at that time there were no steel pens and blotting pads, and the thousand and one appliances which helped so much in these days of modern education... [It] had constantly kept before it a practical education, which should be of use in daily life... All that had been practical he had gained – with some measure of success – within the walls of that time-honoured school... If their school had not brought out a good many famous men, it had brought out a great many good men... it [was] far better for a school to strike a high average than to devote its energies to a few geniuses to the exclusion of the rank and file..."

Peter Usher retired from the ministry in 1814, although he was to live 40 more years in Bodicote (he died c.1853). The school had flourished (then known as Banbury School) but already, in 1811, he had made it over to Thomas Searle, formerly a minister of an Independent Chapel in Church Lane. Searle must then have become tenant of the Minister's House, his rent going to the minister's stipend. Even so, it seems that the schoolroom in the house was used for the Girls' Sunday School until 1850.

In 1824 the school changed hands again, passing to Samuel Hill. He and his daughter appear in *Rusher's Directory* from 1832 to 1855 as living in the Horsefair, and keeping respectively, Gentlemen's and Ladies' Schools.

Jackson's Oxford Journal provides another brief glimpse of the School:

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[3] The Centenary was reported at length in the *Banbury Guardian*, March 1897.

BANBURY ACADEMY (Lately conducted by the Rev. T. SEARLE)

S. HILL, avails himself of the present opportunity of expressing his sincere thanks to his friends and the public, for the liberal patronage he has experienced since his entering upon the above concern; and of soliciting a continuance of their support.

S.H. flatters himself that the system which he adopts will be found to combine every thing essential to form the character, and improve the understanding of his pupils; and by the communication of useful knowledge to prepare them for the most respectable situation in life. The discipline of the School is strict, though not severe; and in every department of learning it is his aim to give them a solid rather than a superficial acquaintance with the various subjects brought under their notice – For testimonies of the progress which his Pupils have made under this system, he wishes to refer to the parents of those children committed to his care.

The School will reopen on Monday, Jan. 10, 1825.

Samuel Hill's regime continued for twice the length of his predecessors, until 1854, and a further advertisement, of 1 July 1841, Horsefair, updates its facilities:

BANBURY ACADEMY. ACKNOWLEDGING with gratitude the confidence reposed in him by the Parents of the YOUNG GENTLEMEN committed to his care, MR. HILL begs to announce that the duties of his School will be resumed on Monday, July 19th.

Connected with the Establishment is an extensive Library, especially selected for the use of young persons; and a collection of Philosophical Instruments, to which the pupils have access, and to the use of which their attention, at due intervals, is directed.

The French language is taught by a native of France.

No extra charge for French and Latin.

Confirmation that the Academy did indeed include "a native of France" in the establishment is provided, together with the first detailed impression of the school and its inhabitants, by the 1841 census,[4] taken only a few weeks earlier. This, like subsequent censuses, conveniently occurred during term-time; thus not only are staff in residence named, but also the boys who were boarders. It must be borne in mind that doubtless other staff lived elsewhere and many of the 'scholars' would have been day-boys living at home.

[4] Christine Bloxham kindly provided me with facsimiles of the 1841-1901 censuses, and Barrie Trinder has helped greatly with deciphering pupils' names and birthplaces. Unless shown otherwise the latter are in Oxfordshire.

On 6th June 1841 at 37 Horse Fair (later to be re-numbered as 21) were Samuel Hill, schoolmaster, aged 40, Mary Hill, 45, and Alicee *[sic]* Hill aged 40, all born outside the county. Louis Bedele, 20, born in 'Foreign Parts' was a teacher in residence. Adults' ages were to the nearest five years. William Hartley, the future headmaster, and James Fisher, both aged only 15, were also [student] teachers, born in Oxfordshire.

There were 26 boarders. Of these only ten were born in the county, but then of course they *were* boarders (and county boundaries were near). In the following list for ease of consultation surnames are given first, with ages, and those born outside the county are asterisked. All are described as "scholar".

1841.

Herbert, Richd., 15*
Pearce, Richd, 12*
Collett, Saml., 14*
Douglas, William, 15*
Wells, Wm., 13*
Stranks, Wm., 12*
Middleton, Wm., 14*
Waters, Wm., 11*
Hammerton, Ed., 14*
Margetts, Edd., 8
Bull, Edd., 12
Holtom, George, 14*
Reading, George, 14*
Page, George, 12*
Faulkner, David, 14
-*do*.-, John, 12
Greaves, John, 12
Page, James, 10*
Slatter, Joseph, 14
Hammerton, Thos., 12*
Nasbey, Thos., 9
Baker, Henry, 13
Nasbey, Henry, 7
Graves, Henry, 9*
Grimbley, Fredk., 12
Cave, Philip, 14

In addition there were three servants: Ann Goffe (20), Ann Simpson and Reuben Hall (both 15).

The 1841 census does not give place of birth, but three Banbury baptisms have been identified. Thomas and Henry Nasbey were sons of Thomas Nasbey, a wine merchant in Parsons Lane, and his wife Jane, baptised February 1832 and January 1834. They had a younger brother, George William (1835) and sister Mary (1837) Nasbey had presumably inherited the business from his father, also Thomas, who died in 1828. He himself disappears from the Rusher's *Directory* in 1848; but another Nasbey, probably from a later generation, attended the Centenary Dinner.

Frederick Grimbley was son of Richard, a High Street grocer, and Elizabeth, baptised January 1829. Richard Grimbley continued until 1843, but in 1844 he was replaced by an elder brother of Frederick, James Grimbley (baptised January 1819, when his father was a brandy merchant in West Street).

With 1851 (30th March) much more information is available. The Academy is identified as such, at 37 Horse Fair. Samuel Hill, schoolmaster, is 50 and had been born in London. He was now married to Jane, aged 49, born at Fringford, Oxon. They had two visitors, Mary Gilkes, a farmer's wife, 50, born at Sandford, Oxon., and Elizabeth Hawkins, a farmer's daughter, 27, born at Merton. There were two married nurses, Ann Saul, 47, and Elizabeth Abrahams, 57, wife of a Banbury tailor (presumably James Abraham, in Church Lane); and three servants.

There were three school assistants: William Hartley, 27, son of a Bodicote publican (in *Rusher's Directory*, 1832 and 1833, Edward Richard Hartley offered "gent's board & day" at Bodicote); William Pennington, 18, son of a Homerton (Middlesex) gentleman; and Joseph Saul, aged only 13, son of a Banbury banker's clerk. There were 28 "scholar" boarders.

1851. *Name, age, father's occupation, birthplace. [N = Nhants.; W. = Warws.]*

Anker, William, 10, farmer, Cropredy
- *do.* -, Samuel, 9, his brother
Bawcutt, Henry, 12, farmer, Priors Marston, W.
Bleek, Alfred, 12, farmer, Weston, N.
Borton, James, 14, farmer, Cropredy
Claridge, Charles, 13 [bapt. Jan 1838, son of Richard & Elizabeth], carpenter, [High Street] Banbury
Davis, Richard, 13 [bapt. May 1837, son of Richard & Mary, joiner], carpenter, [Calthorpe Lane] Banbury
Griffin, John, 14, farmer, Stockton, W.
Griffin, Thomas, 13, farmer, 'Farnboro', W.
Hall, George, 15, grocer, Dunchurch, W.
Harbage, James, 12, farmer, Fenny Compton, W.
- *do.* -, William, 11, his brother
Hartall, Thomas, 16, grocer, Shutford
Jones, John, 10, farmer, Overthorpe, N.
Kingerlee, George, 12, painter, Blockley, Worcs
Knibb, Edward, 13, farmer, Fenny Compton, W.
Mole, Charles, 15, farmer, Priors Marston, W.
Mitchell, Alexander, 9, farmer, London
- *do.* -, David, 8, his brother
Painter, Henry, 11, farmer, Souldern
Potter, William, 15, farmer, Moreton Pinkney, N.
Richards, Edward, 14, steward, London
Shepherd, Joseph, 13, innkeeper, Bicester
Taylor, John, 13, farmer, Shutford
Veasy, Samuel, 9, merchant, Dublin, Ireland
Wilson, Daniel, 12, farmer, Chipping Warden, N.
Woolgrove, Isaac, 13, builder, Deddington
Wilkins, Thomas, 12, farmer, Middleton [Cheney?], N.

Unsurprisingly, there is a preponderance of farmers' sons, several from some distance in Warwickshire, a grocer's son from Dunchurch, and, unusually, a merchant's son born in Dublin. Only two are from Banbury families, both carpenters' sons, one in the dubious Calthorpe Lane.

The old Minister's House, Horse Fair, Banbury. The roof of Hartley's addition can be seen extending behind the original building.

In 1854 Samuel Hill was succeeded as headmaster of the Academy by William Hartley (former student teacher in 1841 and by 1851 school assistant).[5] Four years later by an agreement with the (Unitarian) Church (7th June 1858) he held the schoolhouse as tenant at an annual rent of £45 (as previously paid by Hill). However Hartley had already laid out £50 upon the property and was willing to spend £250 more on having a lease for 21 years at the same rental. In the event he spent a much larger sum in order to build the addition to the old house which runs along the side of the Leys.

So, come the census of 7th April 1861, William Hartley, unmarried, 37, had been "Schoolmaster", and "Head" of family, since 1854. He was supported by Ellen Radford, "Ldy Supr.", unmarried, 34, born at Waterstock. There were three resident assistant masters: John Durrant, 23, born at Parham in Suffolk (he was to become Headmaster in 1890), and William Shephard, 21, born at Little Bealings in the same county; the third was Auguste Lalse, 22, "Profr. of Fr. Classics & Mathematics", a French subject, of "Cherburg". There were also two "Scholastic Professors", otherwise "Asst. Pupils", Job Smith, 21, born at Witney, and Richard M. Taylor, 19, born at Banbury.

[5] For some personal details about this seemingly respectable man, see *Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs*, ed. Barrie Trinder, BHS 33, 2013, p.10.

The establishment required a cook, Rebecca Adams, 20, a housemaid, Margaret Shippeley, 21, a kitchen-maid, Elizabeth Thornton, 18, and a manservant, Richard Paton, 17.

Frustratingly the boarders' relationship to the 'Head of the Family' [*ie*, household] is given as 'Pupil', and 'Scholar' replaces the boys' father's occupation provided in 1851. Names are in census order.

1861. *Name, age, birthplace. [B. = Bucks.; N = Nhants.; W. = Warws.]*

Holiday, Frederick D., 17, Baynards Green *[see p.~~812~~]* ~~93~~
Anderton, John, 13, Sugarswell Ho.
Abbotts, Jeffrey, 13, Banbury
Bennett, Joseph W., 13, Oatley Hill
Bennett, John, 12, Epwell
Coleman, Frederick D., 12, Little Tew
Denne, Charles E., 10, Winslow, B.
Eustace, Frederic, 11, Steeple Claydon, B.
Eustace, Samuel, 10, his brother
Fountaine, Edward, 14, Betlow [Farm, Cheddington], Herts.
Fountaine, Charles, 12, his brother
Fountaine, Frederic, 13, Stoke Hamond, B.
Fountaine, George H., 13, his brother
Fountaine, Thomas F., 13, Bedford
French, George Jas., 12, Hanwell Castle
French, William, 10, his brother
Gardner, William B., 11, Bodicote
Gauthorn, John, 13, Kidderminster, Worcs.
Gearing, George E., 11, Bampton
Griffin, Edmund, 14, Farnborough, W.
Goosey, William H., 14, Bicester
Harbage, Edward, 14, Wardington
Hazlewood, Daniel, 13, Wythibrook, W.
Hazlewood, Thomas, 10, his brother
Heydon, William H., 11, Hook Norton
Heydon, John E., 8, Hook Norton
Holt, George R., 14, Grendon, B.
Jones, James, 12, Wardington
Kilby, Charles R., 13, Stea [or Nea?] Park Farm, B.
Hutchings, William M., 11, Sheffield, Yorks.
Lamboum, Lenord, 16, Biddlesden, B.
Mann, William, 14, Brookhampton, Worcs.[?]
Maning, Samuel R., 16, Wes[t]cot Barton
Mathews, John, 11, Epwell
May, Thomas, 15, Stoke Lyne
Malsbury, Joseph, 15, 'Boddington, N.
Parker, Thomas, 12, Wootton
Reading, Richard, 14, Fenny Compton, W.
Reeve, Henry, 12, Bethnal Green, Middx.
Roots, Henry, 14, Poodle Farm [Godington]
Stalworthy, William J.N., 12, Waterperry
Thompson, George, 12, Eydon, N.
Wady, Thomas ●., 13, Warmington, W.
Walker, Edward J., 11, Coventry, W.
Williamson, Thomas U., 12, Coventry, W.
Potter, William, 13, Homton
Coles, Joseph, 13, Ratley Grange, W.
Busby, Samuel, 13, Deddington
Roberts, William H., 12, Woburn, Beds.

This year of 1861 saw the Academy at the peak of its prosperity, with no less than 49 boarders.[6] The range of birthplaces of the pupils is wide, though parents did not necessarily live now where they had a decade or more earlier. The impression is that the status of the parents was going up too, with addresses like Sugarswell House, Hanwell Castle, and Ratley Grange, though their occupants may well have been farmers like many of the rest.

The following year *Jackson's Oxford Journal* gives us a tiny glimpse of school life, in a cricket report on 30th August 1862:

> BANBURY ACADEMY *v.* WESTBURY. – This match, between eleven pupils of Mr Hartley's Academy and eleven young gentlemen of Westbury, chosen by W. Barrington, Esq., and Mr. Newitt, was played on the 22nd inst., and, after a very interesting game, was decided in favour of the Academy by 54 runs. Banbury Academy, 37 and 93; total, 130; Westbury, 35 and 41; total, 76. After the game both parties returned to the Academy, where an excellent collation was kindly provided for them by Mrs. Hartley, whose health, in conjunction with that of Mr. Hartley's, was proposed and received with an enthusiastic demonstration of feeling that was most pleasing to witness, and told how deeply they were esteemed and loved, not only by the pupils of their own academy, but also by their Westbury visitors.

With the passage of another ten years a personal interest arrives, for by 1871 my great-grandparents Henry and Eleanor Stone had moved into the house at the northern end of Horse Fair, by then numbered No.22.

Henry Stone, son of a Banbury waggon master,[7] had been a bookseller in the town since around 1840, and had married Eleanor Cash of Coventry. In 1869 he was given a patent for a fishing-box, invented by his brother-in-law, Joseph Cash, to develop and exploit. The couple had been in Leamington and Coventry but had now returned to Banbury.

Thus established in No. 22 Horse Fair on 2nd April 1871 were Henry Stone, aged 53, Bookseller Stationer, born at Banbury, his wife Eleanor, 50, born at Coventry, and their six-year-old daughter Sarah E[leanor] (whom I remember as [Great-] Aunt Nellie). Their elder sons Henry and Lewis would have themselves been away at boarding school. However, in addition to their servant Mary D. Brewer, significantly the Stones had as a visitor Mary A. Clarke, aged 20, a Fancy Box Maker born in Coventry. One only hopes they quickly became inured to the noise of scores of boys boarding next door at the Academy.

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[6] In fact *The Stranger's Guide to Banbury*, *C&CH* **18.1** (2009), p.26, claims it had "at present [probably 1866] nearly seventy boarders."

[7] See 'The Immediate Route from the Metropolis...', *C&CH*, **12.1** (1991), pp.10-24.

No 22 Horse Fair, home of Henry Stone, demolished around 1904 and replaced by Church House Graham & Waters, *Banbury Past & Present.*

The 1871 census, taken that 2nd April, has William Hartley, by now 47, described as "Schoolmaster Landowner", but also as "Widr." – his had been a sadly short-lived marriage.[8] His 20 year-old niece Miriam E. Hartley, the daughter of a Burford farmer, was a visitor, with Martha Mills, 32, as resident housekeeper.

John Durrant, future headmaster, had gone, and as assistant school masters there were Scottish-born James Copeland, 31, and Flarington [*sic*] Power, 23, appropriately born at Farington [unidentified] in Lancashire.

There was also Charles Henry Hands, 20, "Apprenticed to teaching", born at Daventry, Northants. The housekeeper was supported by a cook, three teenage maids and a boy, 14, a general servant.

There were 34 boarders, 15 less than in 1861, but maybe there were more dayboys to make up the numbers. Once again the only relevant information supplied is name, age and birthplace, their 'relationship' to the 'Head of family' being 'pupil' and occupation 'scholar'.

The only relatively distant birthplaces are Brighton in Sussex, Leighton Buzzard in Bedfordshire and Leighton in Huntingdonshire, and London itself. However, even in Oxfordshire, places such as Thame, Standlake and Han[d]borough are far from local.

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[8] Hartley had married Ellen Radford, his 'Lady Superintendant', late in 1861, but she died in 1870. *Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs*, p.10.

1871. *Name, age, birthplace. [N = Nhants.; W. = Warws.]*

Adkins, John, 13, Mollington
Adkins, Thomas F., Great Bourton
Adkins, Frederick W., 8, Greatworth, N.
Askew, William, 13, Long Buckby, N.
Birdsey, Thomas C, 15, Leighton Buzzard, Beds.
Bury, Lionel J., 14, Brailes, W.
Bury, Charles, 12, his brother
Chaundy, Richard J., 13, Oxford
Chaundy, Thomas, J., 10, Souldern
Cooper, Edwin W., 14, Wicken, N.
Curtis, Charles, 12, Priors Marston, W.
Douglas, George S., 11, Edgcott, N.
Eagle, Richard, 12, Standlake
Edwards, Ernest, 12, Over Norton
Edwards, Thomas, 11, Leamington, W.
Gale, Arthur, 12, Leighton, Hunts.
Griffin, Thomas W., 12, Ladbrook Hill, W.
Hancox, Joseph, 14, Denis[?], W.
Haynes, William J., 12, Middle Barton
Hopkins, Daniel, 14, Shenington, Glos.
Hutchings, James W., 14, Banbury
Jemmett, Henry, 14, Thame
Lindon, John H., 14, Radway, W.
Marshall, John Dix, 12, Hornton
Middleton, William, 13, Shenington, Glos.
Page, George J., 12, Brighton, Sussex
Parker, Edwin, 15, Handborough
Phillips, William, 13, Thame
Potter, John Clelan, 14, Moreton Pinkney, N.
Pullan, Henry Walker, 11, London
Scott, John O., Kirtlington
Sharp, Samuel F. 15, Therford Mill, N.
Ward, Thomas W., 14, Woodford, N.
Wheildon, John, 12, Gaydon, W.

Come 3rd April 1881 and the Academy was very evidently in decline, with only sixteen boarders, three of those born at a distance. William Hartley, now 57, had his niece Miriam, 30, as housekeeper, with a cook and two other servants. There was only one resident assistant master, Thomas Y. Bethell, 23, "Teacher of English, Science etc.", born at Laverton, Somerset.

1881. *Name, age, birthplace. [N = Nhants.; W. = Warws.]*
Note. Very difficult handwriting.

Anker, William, 13, Leamington, W.
Bluely [Baseley], Arthur G., 14, Wormleighton, W.
Coleman, John W., 14, Netherswell, Essex
Flynes, John, 10, Stoneton [Wormleighton], N.
Goolic [Goode], William S., 13, Southam, W.
- *do.* -, John F., 12, - *do.* -
Green, John, 12, Long Furlong, N.
Haynes, Ernest, 13, Barton
Jaques, Joseph, 13, Goldicote, Worcs.
Keby, Thomas S., 10, Kiddington
Radford, James, 12, Wendlebury
Salmon, William H., 15, Tadmarton
Salmon, William *[sic]*, 13, - *do.*
Turner, Thomas G., 14, Hel[l]idon, N.
Upton, Gerald N., 14, Woolwich, Kent
Waker, Horace, 12, Fellingham, Lincs

A few years earlier Hartley's lease was nearing expiry. An agreement on 30th January 1879 was made for a further seven years at a much greater rental of £80 p.a. Those being up, Hartley terminated his tenancy of the school at Christmas 1886. In fact he had been succeeded as headmaster in 1883 by Thomas Hopton Huscroft, who from 1887 took on the tenancy, though the church could only obtain £60 p.a. for the lease. This was in turn terminated in 1890, to be taken on by Huscroft's successor as headmaster, John Durrant. For him it was a return, as he had been "headmaster" under Hartley as "Principal" in 1861.

Thus on 5th April 1891 it was Durrant, then aged 49 and born at Parham in Suffolk, that the census recorded as head of household and schoolmaster at 21 Horse Fair; together with his wife Frances and four grown children. Of these the younger pair, Fanny, 19, was a governess and Harry, 18, a student. Ernest W. Pocock, 28, born at Rede, also in Suffolk, was assistant "tutor in school", and there were two domestic servants. Of boarding "scholars" there were just ten.

1891. *Name, age, birthplace [N = Nhants.; W. = Warws.]*

Taylor, Richard [-], 14, Barton	Blake, Frank C., 13, Fairmoor
Gorton, Henry S., 14, Birmingham	Cooper, Harry J.V., 14, Tackley
Gorton, John Jos., 11, - *do.* -	Berridge, Peter, 11, Somerton
Wrighton, Horace, 14, Stuchbury, N.	Holiday, William, 8, Bicester
Kilby, Harry, 13, Taunton	Bawcutt, Earne[s]t, 15, Tysoe, W.

The great event of Durrant's headmastership, so far as the history of the Academy is concerned, was the celebration of the centenary on Tuesday 23rd March 1897. The Dinner, at the *White Lion*, was attended by 93 former pupils (or 94 if including Mr Hartley, who in retirement was still living, with his niece Miriam, at [the then-numbered] 32 West Bar). Fittingly the Chairman was that year's Mayor, William Lake, "his Worship being himself an old scholar of the school"; the Vice-Chairman was Alban Buller, who had first suggested the event.

Various speakers reminisced. Mr W.L. Whitehorn,[9] proposing "The Health of Former Masters", recalled that his experience as an old boy began under Mr William Hartley: "... there was never a master who knew better how to get at the heart of a boy or how to find out the best that was in him and bring it out. Mr Hartley certainly did not flatter them, but if he did sometimes send a boy smarting away, he never sent him smarting with a sense of unfairness or injustice." Frustratingly, the report omits the "reminiscences of the school of his day" he went on to give.

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[9] Father of an early member of B.H.S., the late Miss Whitehorn, *C&CH*.6.5 (1976), p.88.

In reply, Mr Hartley contended he had "only done his duty..."; he was pleased with the welcome they had extended to Mr Durrant. Together they had "had the honour of sending out of Banbury the first boy to the Oxford Local Examination in 1858, so that they led Banbury at the time. [He] was now a physician in London – Dr Fountain – [applause]." Earlier was "Mr Samuel Hill – whom some of them would remember – their friend Dr [Stanton] Wise was one of his pupils." He "was fortunate in having a good school for many years, the largest number being 120, and of that number 84 were boarders." Dr Wise, responding, "read a leuer from an old boy who was his senior, in point of age, by thirteen days who, 73 years ago, was a scholar at the Banbury Academy – Charles Ellis". Another from those days was Mr J. Mawle,[10] who "alluded with much humour to the characteristics of the late 'Sammy' Hill."

Mr H.R. Webb said "that as an old boy – a boy under Mr Hill – he hoped if ever there was bi-centenary celebration, it would be as successful" as this. Mr F.D. Holiday [his son was then a pupil] "rejoiced that the cloud which was at one time hanging over the school was rolling away" and hoped that Banbury Academy would return to "prosperity as it was in their day." Mr Durrant assured them that "every effort would be given by himself and his sons ... to maintain it on its old lines and to do what was necessary to meet the demands of the present time."

Alas, these optimistic remarks about the Academy's future were premature. Only two years later, in 1899, John Durrant died, and later that year his son made over the lease to Ulysses Walker. In the 1901 census he was recorded, aged 42 and born in Westminster, as head of the household and schoolmaster on his own account. His wife Florence, 30, was also London (Aldgate) born. Frederick L. Pritchard, 25, was assistant schoolmaster and there was just one domestic servant. Alas, the boarders were down to four.

1901. *Name, age, birthplace [N = Nhants.]*

Gregory, Walter[?], 13, Great Tew. Braggins, Colin F., 11, Banbury
Shoolnough[?], Arthur, 10, Aynho, N. Kyffen, Ernest P., 15, Walthamstow, Ex

Despite all the optimistic forecasts of 1897, the end was inevitable. Walker carried on until Christmas 1908, and then gave it up, finding it no longer remunerative. A generation before farmers in the neighbourhood sent their sons to board at the school; but now the boys could cycle to and fro to the Municipal School – or board at Bloxham.

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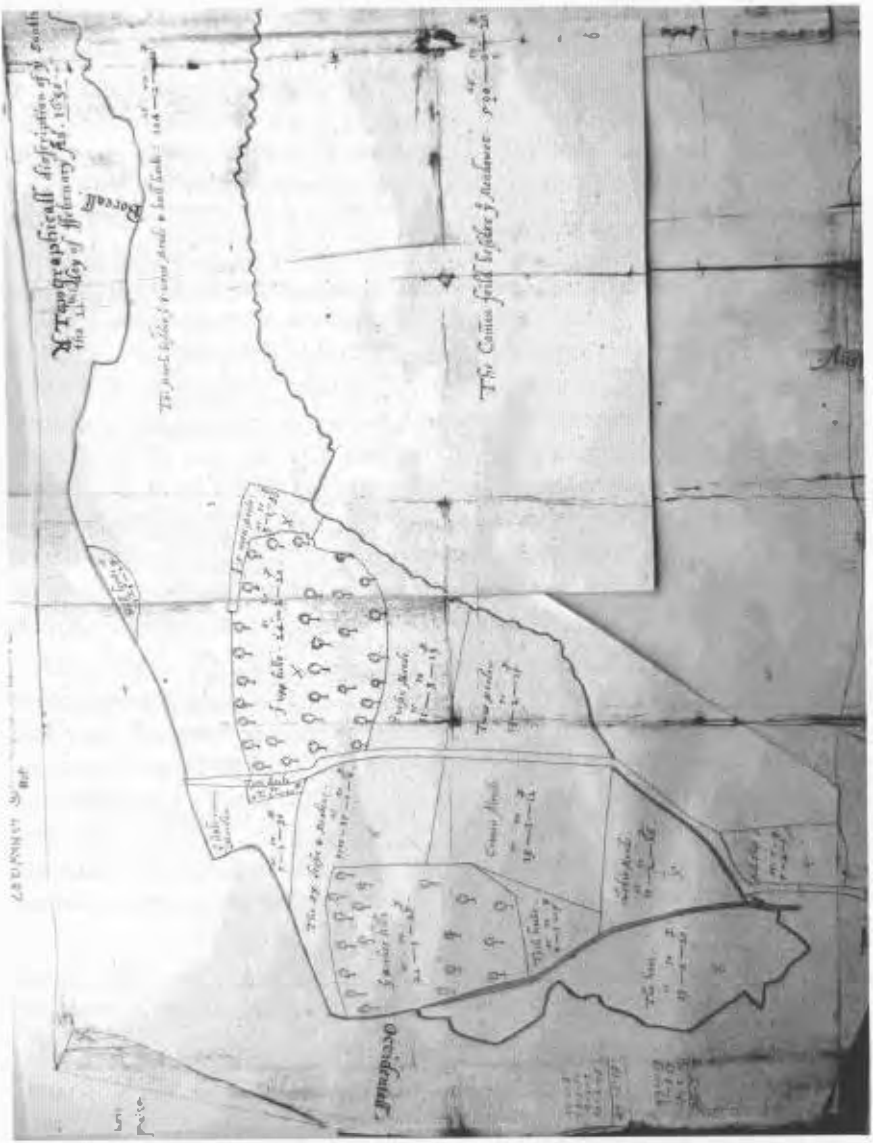
[10] See 'The Mawle Family', B. Adkins, *C&CH*.7.5 (1978), pp.151-56.

Appendix: OLD BOYS PRESENT

B = Banbury; occupations added from Rusher's Directory. Not necessarily correctly

Allen, Herbert, *B*, ironmonger
Amos, G., *Cropredy* [butcher?]
Bennett, H.F., *B*, solicitor
Bennett, Pettipher, *Hook Norton*
Betts, Jarvis, *B*
Betts, W., *B* [baker - Cake shop?]
Bliss, W., *B*, actuary
Bolton, J.H., *B*, woolstapler or farmer
Bradshaw, P., *Wykham*, miller & mealman
Braggins, G.F., *B*, timber merchant
Bromley, C., *B*, painter & plumber
Bromley, W., *Swindon*
Buller, A., *Birmingham*
Buller, W., *Hanwell*, farmer
Cheney, G.G., *B*, *printer*
Cherry, W., *Burston*
Claridge, C.R., *B* [tailor?]
Crosby, E.J., *B*, brewer
Cubitt, H., *B* [plush manufacturer?]
Eagle, A.
Eagle, Rd., *B*
Eagle, T.B., *Bletchington*
Edmunds, C., *B*
Fairbrother, C., *Wappenham*
Flowers, C., *B*, butcher
Foster, T., *Northampton*
French, F., *Bloxham*
Gardner, G., *B*, insurance agent
Garrett, T.E.D., *B* [carpenter ?]
Gibbard, F., *Chacombe*
Gibbs, H.E., *Ascot*
Gibbs, S., *Hook Norton* [butcher ?]
Gregory, W., *B*, milkman
Gregory, W., *Tadmarton*
Groves, G.E., *Milton-under-Wychwood*
Harbage, T., *Warwick*
Hatton, J.L., *Middleton Cheney*
Hawkes, W., *Aynho*
Hiorns, B.B., *B*, baker [?]
Hiorns, W., *Chacombe*
Holiday, F.D., *Bicester*
Hyde, J., *B*, tailor, Mayor 1898-9
Jarvis, Jas., *B*, ironmonger
Kilby, Jno., *Middleton Cheney*
Kingerlee, H., *Oxford*
Lake, W., *B*, halter & tailor, Mayor 1896-7
Leatherbarrow, E., *B*, shop keeper
Ludwig, F.B., *B*
Ludwig, H., *B* [dyer ?]
Ludwig, H.W., *B*, piano & organ tuner
Mander, J., *B*
Mawle, F., *B*
Mawle, Jno., sen., *B*, ironmonger, Mayor 1890-1
Mawle, S.J., *B*, ironmonger, Mayor 1920-1
Mawle, W.E., *Northampton*
Millar, Robt., *Chipping Warden* [tailor ?]
Montgomery, F.W., *Flore Fields*
Mousir, F., *B*, rag & metal dealer
Naseby, G., *B*, accountant
Orchard, W., *B*, coal dealer
Page, H., *B*, bank manager
Page, J.W., *North Newington*
Parsons, T.
Parsons, W.
Salmon, W., *Shutford Grounds*
Sansbury, R., *B*, bookseller
Saul, Jos., *B*, insurance agent
Scott, Jno. ●., *Kirtlington*
Sellars, Em., *B*
Shepherd, H.L., *B*
Shepherd, R, *B*, baker
Shillson, C., *B* [woolstapler?]
Stalworthy, H., *Farthinghoe*
Stanley, H., *B*, bookseller
Stevens, Edw., *B*
Strange, H.A., *B*, coal dealer
Taylor, W., *Winderton*
Turner, A., *Southam*
Usher, Rd., *Badicote*
Wady, O., *Warmington*
Wakelin, W.T., *B*
Walford, A.A., *Buckingham*
Walford, F.G., *B*, bookseller
Walford, T.H.
Wall, Jas., *London*
Watkins, T.M., *B*, gunsmith
Webb, H., *B*, *George & Dragon*,
Wells, J.S., *B*, piano teacher
Whitehorn, W.L., *B*, solicitor, Mayor 1921-2
Wilkes, F.H., *B*, insurance agent
Wise, Dr. Stanton, *B*, surgeon
Wood, W.E., *B*, land surveyor



'A Topographical description of ye South and South-West Parts of Chacombe.'

SNIPPETS FROM THE ARCHIVES: 7

Deborah Hayter

The South and South-West Parts of Chacombe, 1630

This 'snippet' is part of a map [NRO Map 5401]. It is titled 'A Topographicall discription of ye South and Southwest parts of Chacombe in ye countie of Northampton, taken ye 22th day of February Ano 1630.' The Northampton Record Office has it as a series of A4 photocopies, as the original is in the Hampshire Record Office. These then have to be pieced together like a giant overlapping jigsaw puzzle, which can clearly be seen in the illustration. What we can see on the map is the western end of Chacombe parish, which is bounded by the River Cherwell – the county boundary – on the west ('Occidental' on the map) and by the brook that runs to it along the northern boundary.

Chacombe was blessed with lots of meadow – the most valuable form of land in the medieval period – between the two channels of the river and between the two brooks. Meadow (here variously called 'Meade' or Meadow[e]) was a term used specifically for grassland that could be mown for hay; meadow was never ploughed. Pasture was a different matter and was grazing land all year. The meadows here lie either side of the road that runs from Banbury, first along the brook and then due north towards Daventry (now the A361). The first one is called 'The ham', a name that derives from the OE *hamm* meaning flat, low-lying ground near a stream or river (until recent flood defence works, the A361 was subject to frequent flooding), and the others are variously named to show to whom the hay belonged.[1] The profit from the Ladie meade was possibly devoted to maintaining a light in front of a statue of Mary in Chacombe church before the Reformation; the Tyth Hooke – so named because of its odd triangular shape – would have provided the Vicar's tithe share of the hay; the Comon Meade and 'ye litle common Meadow' would have belonged to the farmers of the common fields, as would the 'Towne Meadow'. The two pieces shown with trees, 'ye nether hills' and 'ye upper hills' were higher ground and had been ploughed in the medieval period: there is evidence of ridge-and furrow.

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[1] *The Place-Names of Northamptonshire*, J.E.B. Gover, A. Mawer & F.M. Stenton (Eds), English Place-Name Society Vol X, Cambridge (1933), p. 264.

Along the north, between the two streams, were 104 acres of 'March', obviously wet ground that had never been ploughed. This would have provided useful grazing land during the summer months. But almost the most interesting part of this map is what isn't delineated or specified. Across the middle it says 'The Common feild besides ye Meadowes 500 ac 0 ro 20 per'. So there was an enormous stretch of 500 acres of open-field land which probably had very few features apart from the endless ridge-and-furrow. It wasn't hedged or fenced. It truly was 'open', though it was divided into 'furlongs', groups of strips all going in the same direction, which were the smallest unit of cultivation. Today landscape historians prefer to describe this sort of farming as 'open-field' rather than 'common-field' farming. It had nothing to do with 'commoners', or common right, as all the land belonged to particular people, but it was a communal system necessitating co-operation between the farmers. It could only work if they decided together when to harvest, and when the village herds and flocks could go on to the stubble after harvest, and how many cows and sheep the pasture could maintain. In the medieval period there was a two-course rotation: the East Field – half the furlongs – would be growing crops, while the West Field would be fallow, providing grazing for the village sheep and cows.[2]

At this early stage of cartography maps were always drawn up for a specific purpose, and we can assume that this map was created because someone was pushing for the enclosure of the open fields, as they were indeed enclosed during the 1630s.[3] By the seventeenth century there were already many places in Northamptonshire where open-field farming had been abandoned: these were the deserted medieval villages which by 1600 mostly consisted of large sheep pastures growing profitable crops of meat and wool. In the seventeenth century a number of villages decided to enclose all or part of their open-fields and to farm 'in severalty' or individually. This was enclosure by agreement, and in many cases no evidence has survived of the actual process by which the farmers surrendered their individual strips and received instead a consolidated block of farmland. Chacombe is typical, but we can see in this map the first steps towards the reorganization of the farmland.

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[2] 'Chacombe Archaeological Field Survey', David Hall, in *Cake & Cockhorse*, 13.6/7, (1996) pp 186 – 190. For more information about open-field farming, see *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire*, D. Hall, Northampton Record Society vol. 38 (1995).

[3] Hall, 'Chacombe Archaeological Field Survey'.

'A VERY ROUGH PLACE'

A parson's recollections of Moreton Pinkney in the 1830s

Thomas Mozley (introduced and edited by Barrie Trinder)

The Rev Thomas Mozley (1806-93) married Harriet, the eldest sister of his friend John Henry Newman (1801-90), and was described as the 'brilliant Boswell of the future Cardinal'. He is best known as a first-hand observer of the Oxford Movement, whose reminiscences are a basic source for understanding what happened at Oriel College and more widely in the university of Oxford in the 1820s and 30s. Much of his writing has the flavour of vintage parsonical gossip, of the kind of conversation that might once have been heard between elderly dog-collared gentlemen in the dining room of the Oxford Union. His books are badly arranged, making it difficult to follow his career, and his style tends to verbosity. Nevertheless his memoirs illuminate many aspects of nineteenth-century society, apart from the purely ecclesiastical, and we are reprinting here parts of his account of his ministry at Moreton Pinkney, one of the most notorious open villages in 'Banburyshire'.

Mozley traced his own origins to his great-great-grandfather, a weaver at Conisborough, Yorkshire, who had a large family, one of whom, his own great-grandfather, became an attorney's clerk, before establishing a bookselling and printing business at Gainsborough that sustained the next generations of his family. Thomas Mozley was born in Gainsborough in 1806. His father was a churchwarden and an active Tory and had a good library. The family and the printing business moved to Derby in 1815, and Mozley's first volume of memoirs reveals much about the town in the following decades.

Thomas Mozley could not remember the time when he was not to be a parson. He was educated at the grammar school in Gainsborough, then with private tutors and at Charterhouse, before going up in 1825 to Oriel College where he was the pupil and subsequently close friend of John Henry Newman. Mozley was ordained in 1831, and served as a curate in Colchester before his preferment to the perpetual curacy of Moreton Pinkney, a living in the gift of Oriel College. He had discussed sharing the incumbency with Richard Hurrell Froude (1803-36), who before his early death was regarded as one of the most influential Tractarians.

Mozley served at Moreton Pinkney for only four years. He left the parish in 1836 to become rector of Cholderton, Wiltshire, and married in September of that year. From 1841 he was editor of the Tractarian journal the *British Critic*. In 1843 he contemplated joining the Roman Catholic church, but was dissuaded from doing so by Newman, whose own conversion to Rome created controversy two years later, and ended a regular correspondence that had passed between them. Mozley wrote his first leader for *The Times* in 1844, and in 1847 resigned his living, apparently settling in London. From 1856 he lived in rural Berkshire, but in 1868 he accepted the living of Plymtree in Devon, and served as Rural Dean of Ottery St Mary from 1876. He retired in 1880 and supposedly moved to No 7 Lansdowne Terrace, Cheltenham [he is not recorded there in the 1881 census] where he devoted much of his time to writing. In 1882 he published his *Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement* (two volumes, Longmans Green), which was reprinted by Gregg in 1969. His *Reminiscences, chiefly of towns, villages and schools* appeared in 1885, also from Longmans, Green, and went to a second edition the same year. Two further works with the same publisher were about the first Vatican conference of 1869-70, *Letters from Rome on the occasion of the Ecumenical Council 1869-70* (1891), also regarded as worthy of a reprint by Gregg in 1969, and *The Creed or a Philosophy*, a discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity, which appeared in the year of his death.

Mozley's writings are interspersed with theological reflections, particularly about the creeds, but his main concerns in his second book of reminiscences were the poor law, popular education in rural areas, and the constraints that inhibited rural parsons from bringing about change. Mozley was appalled and frustrated by the pauperisation of farm workers under the old poor law. He found work for some young men from the village in a quarry at Derby, but they stayed less than a week, complaining of dangers of work there, and arranged for two deaf-and-dumb sisters to go to asylum in London, where they seemed to have learned little, although they returned to Moreton Pinkney, where they were able to do needlework. He described in detail some of his parishioners and pondered on the plight of old bedridden people. He also wrote about some of his fellow clergy, including Francis Litchfield of Farthinghoe, William Harding at Sulgrave, and the incumbents of Byfield and Eydon, and provides glimpses of the parishes of Deddington and Prior's Marston. Mozley wrote about three ex-servicemen who lived in the parish, one of

whom was obsessed with memories of the British army's attack on Bergen-op-Zoom in the Netherlands 1814, a reminder that substantial numbers of those who lived in nineteenth-century England had direct experience of combat in the Napoleonic wars.

In the extracts below we have followed the original in spelling Pinckney with the 'c' that is omitted in modern usage. The extracts begin on page 200 of the second volume of *Reminiscences, chiefly of towns, villages and schools*:

Moreton Pinckney was a very rough place ... my taking the living arose out of a proposal by [Hurrell] Froude that we should divide its duties; and I have often wondered how Froude came to think of what would have been a very unwise step on his part....

... Moreton Pinckney... had two commons, or spaces of broken ground. Close to one stood the church, the parsonage, and the school; the last recently built, together with a school-house, by Oriel College. A few yards off was an ancient and rather handsome manor-house, then occupied by a farmer, since by a peeress in her own right for many years. On this common there had been various encroachments. From its opposite side ran, between banks and very indifferent cottages, 'Hog Lane'. As there were always pigs in it, running at large, that was a plausible account of the name, except that it was no distinction, for there were always more pigs than people in the village thoroughfares... At any hour of the day, especially at prayer-time, the pigs, huge masterful brutes, were forcing their way through my garden gate. When we complained we were told that the pigs must have a run, and that, between schooling and lace-making, no child could be spared to look after them. At the proper season of the year, several times a day, straw was carefully laid on the common before the parsonage; children gathered round it; the village pig-sticker appeared dragging his victim, whom he despatched as he sang his last song; the straw was lighted, and a large black object was rolled backwards and forward in the blaze....

The other village green was on higher ground, and held its own, for it had the chief public-house, the lace-making school, and several farmhouses and cottages of a better class. It was also the part of the village nearest to Canon's Ashby, a short mile off. This is the seat of the Dryden family ....

The manor belonged to the Duke of Grafton, and a court was held once a year, at which officers were appointed, and trifling quit-rents

received. As this was all that the manorial authorities ever did, and they were quite inaccessible, if not also utterly powerless, there were no means of preventing, or restraining, or regulating any encroachment on the waste, or any usurpation of the soil. Nothing whatever could be done for drainage or for decency, putting the look of things out of the question. The first time I saw Lady Dryden she warned me I should always have either typhus or scarlet fever in the village, and I certainly had a good deal of them, and some very sad cases.

Moreton Pinkney church.

The church was a pretty and interesting structure, but a wilderness of enclosed pews of all sorts and sizes. The chancel was entirely boarded away from the nave, with an immense royal arms painted on the boarding. The houses were of stone, of the Jacobite *[sic]* or Caroline period; some probably much older. The roads were all of the country stone, and were very bad indeed... The village lay pretty central between Northampton, Banbury, Brackley, Towcester and Daventry, and could not be reached from any one of them, except by opening about thirty field gates; the roads, for economy, being only fenced on one side. It was wonderful how little obstruction, or abatement of speed was thus caused, and how both man and horse seemed to like the arrangement. At night it was dangerous, and I had some casualties with my clothes. At the 'Inclosure' the glebe had been assigned two acres more than its just proportion, on consideration of the parish quarrying it for the maintenance of the roads. The two acres were to be selected. They never were, and the way-warden gathered the stone where best and most handy. It proved a running sore....

Butter, pigs and calves were the chief products of the parish, and they went mostly to London. My nearest neighbour, the farmer occupying the old manor-house, had sent up his butter many years to the dealer in Newgate Street who supplied George IV, and he had lost a hundred pounds through the irregularity with which the King, then Regent, had paid his butter bill, and the consequent ruin of the dealer.

The calves were taken to points on the great roads and put into immense vans two stories high, accommodating thirty or forty of the poor creatures. These huge machines, drawn by half a dozen horses, and doing much of the journey by night, were the terror of the stage-coachmen. The drivers slept, and even if they were awake would not take the trouble to keep to their own side of the road. The coachmen had their revenge. When the place was convenient, they would alight and turn the calver's horses into a cross-road, or even right round, when the driver, upon waking, found himself home again sooner than he expected.

The parish flowed with milk. Every farm had a tank into which the skimmed milk ran, and from which it was drawn, or pumped up, for the pigs. Some of the pipes ran under the public roads. Of course this milk was always sour; but the pigs did not object to it... Moreton Pinckney butter was said to be among the best in England, but I was surprised to find that it was naturally so pale that Londoners would suspect it of lard, and that it had to be coloured. I was still more surprised to find that the cream of which it was made was always sour, the vat being never quite emptied, and the stock generally being several days old. On the other hand, in the midst of all this dirt and slovenliness is the great school of cleanliness and purity. This is the dairy. It is a life of scaldings and scourings, scrubbings and rinsings, from early in the morning to late in the evening. No drawing room or boudoir demands such fastidiousness and incessant care. A good dairymaid is held fit for any situation she may be called to.

In no part of England have I seen so primitive a state of society. The great number of small yeomen and small farmers might lead one to expect that degree of competency without excess and content without baseness that poets and philosophers dream of. I cannot say that the results justified any such expectations. The social standard of Moreton Pinckney was no better than I have found it elsewhere. Nor had I any reason to believe that there had been a decline from a happier and better state of things....

There were many farmers, several yeomen, very many small freeholders, as many tradesmen as the place could find work or customers for, and not one single labourer, in the sense of an independent workman offering his labour for wages, but a multitude of paupers. This implies that there were no masters or employers in the full sense of the word ... The present generation little knows the state of things at that time, half a century ago, and the social revolution that, with some cost of sentiment, healthy or otherwise, has been accomplished....

With the present (Lady) Margaret Professor of Divinity [Charles Abel Heurtley (1806-95)], I spent the Long Vacation of 1828 in an old manor-house at Deddington, ostensibly reading for my degree. Sometime after breakfast we daily noticed a number of men of all ages creeping rather languidly past the window. It seemed neither work nor play. What was it? Who were they? I counted. There were forty of them, no doubt the same day after day. I followed them. In less than a mile they stopped at a large and rough stone-quarry, formed themselves into groups, sat down, and talked. After a time they rose, and set to work, getting out stone for the roads. This was well after ten o'clock... The clergyman was inveighing Sunday after Sunday, with almost shocking plainness, on the universal immorality of the place.

Entering upon my duties at Moreton Pinckney, I had various warnings that I should find the public-house my worst enemy, and that I should have a hard battle with it. In the first place it would not close at eleven, especially on Saturday. There were no police in those days.

It could not be long after my arrival that, as I sat in the parsonage, I heard a great uproar at the public-house on the upper common, near a quarter of a mile off. It did not cease at eleven, or at a quarter past. I rose and started with the resolution to support law and order. A number of men were about the door of the public-house, but the hubbub was within. Knocking at the door and asking for the landlord, I was told that the house would be clear as soon as the gentlemen had settled their business. I remarked on the lateness of the hour, and the disturbance. There came a voice from the parlour, 'Oh, come in, Mr Mozley; take a seat, Mr Mozley; we are glad to see you'. I walked in and found twenty or thirty farmers, in a cloud of smoke. They had finished their business, and had only their pipes to smoke out.

Moreton Pinkney Upper Green. The Red Lion is behind the elm tree.
Reproduced by kind permission from "... *of Pigs and Paupers*", S.C. Frewin.

This was the monthly apportionment of the paupers – that is, the whole labouring population – among the larger ratepayers. All the former had assembled at the bar, or the yard behind, or in the offices, or in front, to hear their fate. The appropriation was sometimes equally disagreeable to the master and to the man, and it was no uncommon thing for master and man to begin or to terminate a month's association with a fight on the green.

The payments were not wages, for they bore no relation to the work done, or to strength, or to industry, but only to age, condition, and circumstances. A strong man of five-and-twenty could not get more than a shilling a day, so he had every inducement to marry, for then he got head-money, and as he had the first handling of the money, he could give as much or as little of it as he pleased to his wife and children. Many of the children were half naked and half starved; the mothers almost in as bad a case, and unable to come to church in consequence, or even to step out of doors. As for the shoes they were a pretence. The old farmers said they remembered when the village children went about barefooted, walked well, and were the better for it....

The children swarmed about the place, and the young men loafed about. The hours of labour were short, and the men, though they had not enough to eat, had always enough to drink. Right social feeling was impossible where man was a weed, a curse, and an enemy, possessing more power of mischief by doing nothing than he could have won by doing all he could. It was impossible to employ all to advantage, but all must be employed on some terms or other.

This had been the state of things time out of mind, and it had been the rule far and wide. Whenever the property had become much divided, it ceased to be any one man's special interest to restrict the supply of labour to the actual demand and to save the rates from undue pressure. There were always some, such as the shopkeepers and the publicans, whose interest was on the side of numbers; and everywhere there were people trying to make a lodgement wherever they could.

Wherever one landowner had had sufficient command of the parish, he had pulled down every cottage he could. The adjoining parish of Canon's Ashby had once been populous with the retainers of the Abbey; and every now and then the plough, or the spade, came on the blackened stones and the cinders of an ancient hearth. There were now in it no habitations but the mansion, a farm or two, and the cottages of the gardener and the gamekeeper. Five miles off, Edgecott had thrown off the whole of its labouring class on the adjoining parish of Chipping Warden...

The Moreton Pinckney children were a very interesting lot, but a good number of them would hardly have been thought up to the mark of a London ragged school. One after another soon appeared in a new garment or new shoes; and as there could only be one source of supply, it was rapidly drawn upon. There was nothing but the church path between me and the school, and I visited it most school-times, taking a large class in the schoolroom, or a smaller one in the kitchen that opened into it. The master was a good machine, who worked well into the children's heads or tongues at least, the book he held in his hands, but no more...

The school was but half filled. It had a rival too strong for it. This village of misery and dirt, of cold and nakedness, of pigs and paupers, was the busy seat of a beautiful and delicate manufacture. As many as a hundred and fifty women and girls made pillow lace. On the higher green was the 'lace-making school', as it was called. Near thirty children were packed in a small room, and kept at their pillows from six in the

morning, all the year round, to six in the evening. They were arranged in groups of four or five round candles, about which were water bottles so fixed as to concentrate the light on the work of each child. Girls were sent thither from the age of five, on a small weekly payment.

It kept them out of the way in the day, and it prevented the wear and tear of clothes. The food side of the calculation was doubtful, for the parents always said the lacemakers ate more than other children, though it did not do them much good. For a year or two the children earned nothing. They could then make a yard of edging in a week, and deducting expenses, they got twopence for it. By the time they were eleven or twelve they could earn a shilling or eighteenpence a week. There were women in the village who could not clothe their own children, or present themselves at church, who had made and could still make lace to sell in the shops at 20s or 30s a yard. The most costly lace was generally 'blonde', that is, made with 'gimp' or silk thread. The makers were all bound to the dealers by hard terms, so they said, and obliged to buy at the dealers' terms their gimp and thread.

They took great pride in the number and prettiness of their bobbins, making and receiving presents of them, and thinking of the givers as they twirled the bobbins. We took a good deal of the lace and disposed of it amongst our friends. My youngest sister set up a pillow, and made some yards of good lace. I learnt to be a critic in lace, and an appraiser. Though all these children were taught to read, and even to write, and to sum a little, they were of course very backward, and they soon ceased to do anything but make lace...

The Baptist Chapel was a new building when I went to Moreton Pinckney ... The Williamses were the chief Baptist family, very good-looking, respectable, educated, and always pleasant ... Dissenters of course can be very disagreeable, but I have more frequently found them objects of pity, rather than of jealousy or resentment ... They are apt to get into a quarrel with all mankind, and of course punish themselves far more than the rest of the world ... Bet Brown and her husband Thomas were religious people. They had been so shocked by the conversation and manners of Moreton Pinckney, that they had taken refuge in a damp and dirty little Zoar, in a hollow of Costidge, the name of a rough and swampy common stretching westward from the village .... Bet Brown was always glad to see the clergyman; but it was to teach, not to be taught... Both at the chapel and in private the Baptist minister spoke respectfully and kindly both of the Church and of its ministers. He did not

live in the place, so I could not call on him; but I said on some occasion that I should be glad to see him, and be called several times. He was very respectful, fully recognising my position, but holding that, in the actual state of things, there was room for him, and for more than the Church could or would do. The general state of things was very bad, and the Church could not, or would not, set about seriously to mend it...

The gipsies then kept the Northamptonshire farmers in continual terror. Tribes of them roamed about the broad grass lanes, as freely as if they had been lords of the soil. Nehemiah Smith went about with forty horses of one sort or another. The adjoining parish of Sulgrave, the old home of the Washington family, owed about a hundred and fifty of the names on its roll of possible paupers to a gipsy, in the last century, having one hard winter, brought his wife from the camp into a cottage for her confinement. Green lanes ran nearly round the parish of Moreton Pinckney ...

I can recall no parish which, for its size, contained so great a variety of classes and conditions. The fact was brought before me in a very distinct form when, upon Lord Althorpe succeeding to the peerage in 1834, Sir C Knightley stood for our division of the county. I received a request to accompany his agent round the parish, and to give my weight for him. In a population of about six hundred, there were fifty-one electors, and from these I obtained forty-nine promises ... Sir Charles was elected without opposition and he then had to go round and thank the electors; and I was asked to accompany him. The people all put on their Sunday clothes, had their houses in apple-pie order, and posed themselves with some skill. Some made it a point to have a pipe in their mouths, and many offered beer ... My own reward for my political services came soon. I was invited to Fawsley. Most of the talk then was about the London and Birmingham Railway, then making a fearful gash through the county. Litchfield (see below) was the chief talker. The landowners had made common cause with the corporation of Northampton, and, under the direction of its leading men, were standing out for high compensation ...

John Stockley was the pleasantest picture in the village. He still shines and smiles upon me with his clear complexion, his bright eyes, his finely formed features and the bits of humour playing about the corners of his mouth. He had been... the church warden... While a mere youth – it would be about 1770– he had taken care of the clergyman's horse when he came upon any duty... The incumbent gave him the use of the churchyard

and Stockley put two lambs in it, which soon became sheep...After a time Stockley got better pasture nearer home. He married a good wife, but never had any children...He had now lost his wife...now having now given up farming [he] occupied a pretty little cottage with a large orchard, close to the parsonage... The history of Queen Anne's Bounty land is ... a recorded of wasted money, wasted time, wasted patience ... My share of this infliction lay at Prior's Marston, in Warwickshire, about twenty miles off. The expected annual rent was £16. The tenant was very much behindhand ... He brought a doleful account of the land and the buildings. ... Stockley bore out the poor man's story, and suggested a visit. So he and I rode to Prior's Marston. I never saw stiffer clay, or worse buildings, or more misery. The tenant offered us of his best – coarse bread, hard cheese, rancid butter, green bacon, and beer, which I am always reminded of when I read poor Henry VI's mention of the 'thin drink' which in his time was part of the shepherd's lot...

When I came to Moreton Pinckney, the chancel was separated from the nave by a boarding which filled up the arch. On the nave side was painted, on an immense scale, the royal arms of the date of Charles II. I wished to open the chancel to the nave. With a little hesitation Stockley consented, though he felt the church would not be so home-like without the partition. When the demolition took place, I was sorry to find that it involved the removal of an ancient oak beam, beautifully moulded, that had been part of a rood loft. When it was got out of its sockets on either side, we found in one of them a boy's whippingtop, that would be about four centuries old, no doubt inserted by the caprice of a workman or his child ...

The children came to my schools, or to my evening classes; the old people were out of my hand, and beyond my means: the families I could help a little. The class that most concerned me, perhaps most needlessly, was the young men's, say from eighteen to five-and-twenty. Young unmarried men could not get more than five shillings a week to the best of my recollection. It was sometimes even less. They seemed to have no openings, not even the opportunity of learning how to better themselves. They could not even keep themselves in full health and strength on such poor wages.... If lads of twelve could get rigged out, they went to Leamington, and found employment with the many people concerned in the building trade. With difficulties and hardships, with much longer hours of work than they had known, and always with some accidents by cart-wheels or horses' legs, they got on; and in a year or two would visit their friends, much changed for the better, and proud to show it....

When I went to Moreton Pinckney in 1832, there were still four old women regularly at work with the old spinning-jenny [he perhaps means hand-operated spinning wheels] ... I was invited to take some of the Moreton Pinckney yarn, and, finding I could get it woven into bed linen at a neighbouring village, I bought enough to make several pairs of sheets. I had them for near thirty years, when my servants rebelled against them, alleging that they were cold and hard. So after being used for ironing some time, they were cut up into dusters and clouts.

Quite in a hole opposite Stockley, and within calling distance of the parsonage, was Hannah Costford, keeping the smallest of sweetie shops, in the smallest of freeholds. She had all the gossip of the village at her tongue's end, and many a tale of the past very like the present. How bad she been cheated with diluted essence of peppermint! How she had lost her market by rival vendors of specious or resuscitated oranges! In her younger days she had usually kept a great three days' fair, nine miles off. Early each morning she used to walk to the fair, carrying on her head a large tray heavily charged with cakes and sweets. In the evening she walked back with the empty tray, which, with the aid of a younger assistant, she filled for the next morning. This she did three days running, and spoke of it as nothing extraordinary....

The chairmaker of the village was a pensioner, not so old as dilapidated, who had much more to say than I could understand about the attempted storm of Bergen op Zoom. Another pensioner was a marine, who, upon his toe being crushed by the fall of a ship's spar, was discharged with a shilling a day. He was glad to show almost superfluous neatness in the sole charge of my small garden for five pounds a year. Another pensioner had received a wound in the head. He went every quarter to receive his pension and came home mad with drinking, beating wife and children, and keeping his neighbours in constant fear of worse... Another pensioner, a Prestidge, with his wife, both young, were the handsomest couple in the village, with some very pretty children. But he ... was fearfully jealous, and would thrash his wife if she did but exchange a smile, or a look, with one of his male neighbours. I never heard that he had the least reason to suspect her, and must conclude that it was an accidental result of his military experience....

Francis Litchfield of Farthinghoe, was the most prominent, most amusing, and, in some ways, the most useful man in my neighbourhood. He was also the most ubiquitous, for he was to be met everywhere – except at home... Litchfield galloped in for his Sunday morning's service,

and struck when he mounted his horse after the evening service, between which times he would be chiefly in church, not in his parsonage. ... He was a furious Conservative, supplying weekly inspiration to a Northampton paper. ... He was equally energetic in his reform of the old Poor Law administration, ... The result was he had many enemies among labourers wishing to get regular pay for little work, and among small farmers throwing everything on the rates. He was a very big fellow, and he liked a good pace; indeed, he required it for his many engagements. So he wanted a good horse, and he had one. He was always looked for at Northampton Races ... his parish ... was the best ordered village in the neighbourhood, the single exception to the universal neatness being the parsonage...

Note. For a substantial account of the village, illustrated with early photographs, also with extensive quotation from Mozley's *Reminiscences*, see *"Of Pigs and Paupers": Bygone Days of Moreton Pinkney*, by Sheila C. Frewin, privately published, 2005. Copies are still available, email <sheilatitcombe@gmail.com>

Gazetteer... of Northamptonshire, 1849, William Whellan & Co.

Morton Pinkeney [sic]... is bounded on the east by Plumpton, on the north by Canons Ashby, by Eydon on the west, and on the south and south-east by Culworth, Sulgrave, and Weston by Weedon. ...its population in 1801, was 420; in 1831, 581; and in 1841, 565 souls.

The *Manor House*, now a farm-house, stands to the east of the church-yard; the *Parsonage-house* stands north of the church-yard. The *National School*, erected in 1822, at the cost of above £300, ornaments the village green, and is supported principally by subscription.

Adams Wm., wheelwright
Auber Rev Chas. Bransby, M.A., curate
Baseley J., B., victualler, *Dun Cow*
Brockliss John, tailor
Chambers T., baker & butcher
Gascoigne Thos, blacksmth
Gilkes Wm., beer retailer
Higham T., butcher & bkr.
Johnson Wm., wheelwright
Tardoff Thos. L., butcher
Webb John, victualler, *Red Lion*
Whitmill John, baker
Wilson Mrs. Ann

Farmers & Graziers
(thus * are yeomen)

Branson, Richard
* Brockliss John
Bull William
Carpenter Nathaniel
Earl Simon
* Elkington John
Flowers John
* Hawtin William
Higham Joseph
Humphrey W., (& maltster)
Potter John
Potter Wm., Manor House
Richards Thos., Lawn Hill
Watkins John
Williams Elijah
Williams Joseph
Youman Rd. & Wm., Fox Hill

Book Reviews

Manors to Manitoba, Eydon Historical Research Group (paperback, 80 pp), ISBN 978-0-9539655-8-8, price £5 (£7 by post from David Kench, 20 High Street, Eydon, Daventry NN11 3PP), 2013

This is the eighth booklet of research carried out by the Eydon Historical Research Group and it is remarkable that they continue to find so much of interest, both to Eydon residents and to a wider audience. They deserve congratulation on the range and quality of their work. They are also lucky to have such a variety of original documents available to them.

The booklet includes three articles on the medieval field system of Eydon; the history and specification of the organ in Eydon church; two pieces about the origins of the field name Manitoba; an account of the closing years of Eydon WI (1980-1991); and an article on the life of the economist Fritz Schumacher ("Small is Beautiful") who spent 18 months as a farm labourer at Eydon Hall in the early 1940s. This is rounded off by some good photos from the Eydon archives. Altogether a varied and interesting selection.

To the village outsider, the article about Fritz Schumacher will probably excite most interest. It is a fascinating account of his experience in Eydon and elsewhere as a German in wartime Britain and the gestation of his ideas on Small is Beautiful. But there is tantalisingly no explanation of the big claim in the article's sub-title "How bad walls in Eydon changed the world".

Kevin Lodge's researches start with an article on the two manors of Eydon and they expose the problem experienced by any modern reader in discussions of manors. We tend to think of manors as big houses with quite a lot of land attached, but the medieval manor was not a landed estate. It was a feudal concept, a legal entity involving the ownership of rights and obligations, and although the lord of the manor might have a big house and a significant landholding in a village he would not have control over the farming decisions there. Those decisions would be taken by the farmers in common, of whom he was merely one. So when Kevin Lodge poses the question "How did Copes Manor in Eydon change to two manors, Copes and Wakelyns?", he is right to draw attention to the fact that the earliest record of Wakelyns Manor dates from 1656. By that stage the manor had lost its medieval responsibility for the feudal courts and was closer to the modern landed estate. It is possible to say of Wakelyns Manor, as Kevin Lodge does, that it "seemed to comprise only of [*sic*] land, with no cottages in the village", whereas a medieval manor would have had tenants, not cottages. There was a Wakelyns Manor House but "there was not a Wakelyns Manor *per se* to buy".

This rather abstruse discussion will be of less concern to readers outside Eydon than the articles about Eydon's pre-Enclosure landscape and "How big was an Eydon yardland?". These issues are relevant to all local historians of

villages around Banbury. But there appears to be one point on which Kevin Lodge is in error, and this affects both articles, particularly the latter. In the open-field system, a village would have large fields divided into strips, and separate meadows and pastureland which were not divided. This was the case in Eydon. The stripholders would be entitled to a share of the meadow and pasture on account of their holdings in the open fields, and this was very important as a source of hay and grazing for their livestock. But the meadows and pasture were part of the open field *system*, not part of the open fields themselves. And if one is going to calculate the size of the Eydon yard land, it is essential to make this distinction. As David Hall says in his book on *The Open Fields of Northamptonshire* (p 78), "If the area of the yardland be multiplied by the number of yardlands in a field system a total area less, often appreciably less, than the whole township will result. This is because meadow and pasture, which was apportioned and belonged to each yardland as of right, was not included in the stated yardland area. The acreage of a yardland varied from parish to parish: very commonly it was around 25 acres." David Hall goes on to state on p 263 that the Eydon yardland was approximately 23 acres. This figure differs markedly from Kevin Lodge's estimate of 37.1 acres, which is based on an exaggerated view of the number of acres under cultivation in the open fields.

Finally the reader is given a choice of two answers to the question why two roads and a field in Eydon are called "Manitoba". The Canadian connection is clear but the direct link is less obvious. Perhaps with the object of helping the reader make up their mind, the book let's cover carries two delightful nineteenth century advertisements, one for Free Farms for the Million in the Dominion of Canada and the other an implausibly idyllic picture of Free Farms in Canada West, *ie* Manitoba.

Even allowing for some idiosyncratic spelling – "Doomsday" for "Domesday", "Stewart" for "Stuart", and "deportment" for "deportation" – this booklet is a good read and a credit to the Research Group.

Paul Hayter

Pilgrim's Progress Revisited; the Nonconformists of Banburyshire 1662-2012, Martin Greenwood. Hardback 128 pp, illustrated. The Wychwood Press 2013. (ISBN 978 1 902279 49 7). £14.00.

Martin Greenwood has written a wide-ranging book covering a big geographical area and a long time span. His starting points in the first chapter are the 350th anniversary of the Act of Uniformity (1662), which resulted in the ejection of many of those who had become dissenting ministers during the Commonwealth, and the subsequent publication of *Pilgrim's Progress* by Bunyan, who suffered as such a Dissenter. Banbury had been a puritan stronghold in the early sixteenth century and was known as a centre for non-conformity, despite being held by Royalist troops during the Civil War; thereafter there was considerable Quaker influence in the town and surrounding villages like Adderbury, as well

as from other non-conformist groups; was one of its other roles as a centre for the carrying trade a factor in spreading dissent? It certainly was elsewhere in parts of the Midlands. The author sketches out the national historical developments pre-nineteenth century but it would be good to relate this to some of the notable Banbury puritans, such as Samuel Newman (1602-1663), a puritan and author of a concordance to the Bible or Joshua Sprigge (1618-1684), a leading Independent author. Such details would add to the local colour and emphasize how early opposition was voiced to the Church of England in Banburyshire.

The following chapter takes the 1851 religious census as the main source for exploring the religious and built history of the local area, followed by chapters on specific non-conformist groups. The 1851 census – held at The National Archives – gives a useful breakdown of the number of adherents to the various chapels dotted round Banburyshire on Sunday, 30 March, though the author rightly warns the reader that many people would have been recorded attending the parish church in the morning and possibly elsewhere in the afternoon or evening; loyalty to particular denominations was not absolute and the character of particular preachers may have been significant as well. Each denomination is given an outline history and there is a very useful section in each chapter on their meeting houses, both those still open and those which have closed; readers will find this an informative gazetteer. Some details about local personalities are mentioned, and the chapter on the Methodists includes interesting insights into the influence Frank Dew, a key nineteenth century member with his own chapel, had on the inhabitants of Fritwell. More examples such as these are surely there for the finding amongst newspapers and local magazines. From time to time national events impinged on the religious scene in the area and the founding of the Banbury Protestant Institute to defend the Church of England against the effect of Newman, who was known in the area and wrote to the Banbury Guardian on one occasion, is one of the more significant.

The task which Martin Greenwood set himself is substantial, given his desire to detail the background national history of each non-conformist group as well as outlining the local impact which they had. Other authors have written massive tomes on the subject. There are many useful pieces of information here and local historians will find much to help them understand the ways in which each denomination developed nationally. However a less ambitious time span might have offered the opportunity for more local detail which would also balance the text towards the avowed intention in the title; there could also be some more indication of other helpful primary sources. One final quibble is the variable detail in the bibliography; some books are given their full details but not all. Having said that, the book is well illustrated with both coloured and black and white photographs and some attractive line drawings of meeting houses in the area. These are a useful reminder that many of the buildings still survive, even if they are now in private hands, and should encourage the reader to explore Banburyshire in search of non-conformist traces of the past.

Helen Forde

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs, ed. Barrie Trinder (vol. 33).

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

In preparation:

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

The Society is always interested to receive suggestions of records suitable for publication, backed by offers of help with transcription, editing and indexing.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. on the second Thursday of each month, at Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local historical, archaeological and architectural subjects. Excursions are arranged in the spring and summer, and the A.G.M. is usually held at a local country house or location.

Membership of the Society is open to all. The annual subscription (since 2009) is £13.00 which includes any records volumes published. Overseas membership, £15.00.

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

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Spring and Summer 2013 Programme

Thursday 22nd August. 2.00 for 2.30pm.

Piddington Roman Villa excavations and Museum.

Roy Friendship Taylor has been excavating on this site for several years, with the help of volunteers. His finds are now housed in the Museum in Piddington village. £3.50 including tea/coffee on site.

Piddington is just south of Northampton (north of M1), a dead-end approached only from Hackleton (lunch available there at the White Hart).

From Brackley take the A43 to the A45 Northampton ring road, then the B526 (Newport Pagnall) road to Hackleton. Turn right opposite the school to Piddington. Meet at the Church (NN7 2DE).

OR

Turn off the A43 to Blisworth, go past the church and the pub in Blisworth, then right past the school to the A508. Turn left, proceed for a short distance, then turn right to Quinton and right again on the Preston Deanery road to the B526. Turn right to Hackleton and right opposite the school to Piddington.

Autumn 2013 programme

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

Thursday 12th September 2012

Preceded by Reception at 6.30pm for 7pm

An Early Romano-British Villa at Combe East End (near Witney).

Dr George Speake, Hon Research Associate at the Institute of Archaeology.

Thursday 10th October 2013

Matthew Boulton (1728-1809) and the celebration of industrial technology.

Dr Malcolm Dick, Director of the Centre for West Midlands History.

Thursday 14th November

The wood land landscape of Anglo-Saxon England.

Dr Della Hooke, F.S.A., University of Birmingham.

Thursday 12th December 2013

Notorious Neitbrop: marriage, sex and cohabitation in 19th century Banbury.

Professor Rebecca Probert, University of Warwick.

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