CAKE AND COCKHORSE

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Autumn/Winter 2013 **£2.50**

Volume 19 Number 4

ISSN 6522-0823

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

Volume 19 **Autumn/Winter 2013** **Number Four**

This is the first issue in almost twenty years not to have been edited by Jeremy Gibson, who has stepped aside. I don't think it had occurred to others of us on the Banbury Historical Society committee that *Cake & Cock Horse* could be edited by anyone else! However, having accepted the inevitable we felt that as a mark of our respect and gratitude for all that Jeremy has done since the Society's inception, and as a mark of our relief that he intends to remain active in its affairs (not least in editing the records series), we should make this issue a festschrift dedicated to him. The contents, therefore, relate to Jeremy's family, which has long played a prominent role in Banbury history, or to subjects close to his heart.

Jeremy has been involved with the Banbury Historical Society since its inception. Anyone seeking a potted history of the Society can usefully start with his account in *Cake and Cockhorse* vol. 14 no. 1 (Autumn 1997) and with the report on our fiftieth anniversary in vol. 17 no.4 (Autumn 2007). Jeremy's enthusiasm for Banburyshire history has been matched by his commitment to making it available to as wide an audience as possible. That will continue. He is not retiring, just felt it was time for a change.

Cover: The chancel of All Saints, Wroxton, burial place of Thomas Pope, 2nd Earl of Downe (page 133). (Photograph by Chris Day)

The tomb to the first Earl and Countess of Downe in Wroxton Church
Photo by Chris Day.

A NOBLE ORPHAN IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY OXFORDSHIRE:
The Sad Life of the Second Earl of Downe

Nicholas Cooper

Visitors to Wroxton church cannot miss the splendid tomb of the first Earl of Downe, almost certainly from a London workshop, on which he and his wife lie side by side with their children around them. However, it is easy to overlook the floor slab, with its Latin inscription, that marks the burial place of his grandson, the second Earl. Thomas Pope was an unfortunate young man, his misfortunes in part of his own making. But by no means wholly: they were the result too of his upbringing, of wrongs done by those who should have had his interests at heart, of the injustices of the law, and of sheer bad timing in that at crucial moments in his life, events beyond his control turned against him. His story touches on several of the troubles of seventeenth century England.

Thomas Pope was born in November 1622, at Cogges, outside Witney, the eldest son of William Pope who was himself son and heir to Sir William Pope of Wroxton. Sir William had been largely responsible for building the great house at Wroxton on the ruins of the Abbey, and would in due course acquire the titles of Earl of Downe and Lord Belturbet by paying £2,500 for them.[1] The younger William Pope died in 1627, the first Earl in 1631, having divided his estates between his second son, Sir Thomas, and young Thomas, aged eight, who since his own father's death would inherit the earldom.

But things were not so straightforward. For one thing, the young Earl did not inherit Wroxton Abbey itself. Wroxton was unusual: although it was the principal seat of a major country estate, it was not the freehold of the family who lived there but was held on lease from Trinity College Oxford, to which it had been given by the first Thomas Pope in 1556 on the understanding that leases would always be renewed to members of his family. As soon as the 1st Earl was dead, Sir Thomas persuaded the College to grant a new lease to him rather than to the young 2nd Earl, so that while the young Earl inherited a good deal of property he never owned the house he should have had.[2]

---

[1] 'Original letters of Sir Thomas Pope, Kt.', *Philobiblion Society*, IX, 1866, 6.
[2] *VCH Oxon* IX, 176.

In any case, in the early seventeenth century, for a minor to inherit as a large landowner was not straightforward. Technically, the Earl was a tenant-in-chief of the Crown, and (under law that went back to the middle ages) his guardianship was automatically assumed by the King until he came of age. This right of wardship carried with it the management of the ward's lands and the right to arrange his marriage. The income from the estate was supposed to be spent on the ward's education and support, but for unscrupulous guardians the arrangement could be highly profitable. Royal income from wardships grew, as Stuart kings realised what might be made by exploiting this ancient right, from around £15,000 in 1600 to £83,000 by 1639.[3] Included in the sum were amounts raised through selling rights to others, and in 1632 the King sold the young Earl's wardship to William Murray for £3,500. In this, Charles was probably doing Murray a favour as well as raising cash in hand; they had been companions since childhood, and Murray himself made a profit when three years later he sold it on to John Dutton of Sherborne in Gloucestershire for £4,000.[4]

In principle, there was nothing to prevent the young Earl's family from buying his wardship themselves. His mother, Elizabeth, was living at Cogges, which had been settled on her when she married William Pope, the young Earl's father, around 1620, and she would continue to live there with her new husband, Sir Thomas Peniston, whom she had married very soon after her first husband's death in 1627. However in 1628, shortly after her re-marriage, she and her new husband had had a serious row with the old Earl.[5] He, they claimed, had not stumped up the £3,000 that she had been owed as her jointure on her first marriage – the provision normally made to a wife and intended to support her after her husband's death. The Earl, in response, maintained (among other things) that her father had not fulfilled his side of the marriage bargain by providing her with a dowry, that he had himself been supporting her two younger sons, and that the Earl had in any case granted her a lease of the manor of Cogges where she and her new husband were living. The Penistons claimed to have spent £200 on building repairs; the old Earl said that not half of that had been spent and that in any case he had

---

[3] MJ Hawkins. 'Royal Wardship in the Seventeenth Century', *Genealogists Magazine*, XVI, 2, June 1969, 41-5.

[4] Blacker Morgan, *Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the Dutton Family*, 1899, 106.

[5] London, National Archives [TNA] C 2/Chasl/D63/111; C 2/Chasl/P94/91.

provided the building materials himself. He claimed, too – perhaps a crowning insult – that his son could have done better by marrying someone else.

The young Earl's mother could not in any case have purchased her son's wardship without her new husband's agreement, and it is clear from the acrimonious language used – 'manifold untruths', 'defrauded and deluded' – that between the old Earl and the Penistons there was little love lost. It is likely that when John Dutton, who lived a mere twelve miles away, offered to buy it and with it responsibility for bringing up the young man, the young Earl's mother and stepfather will gladly have acquiesced. Indeed, in view of Sir Thomas Peniston's complicity in what followed, Dutton may well have acquired the wardship at the Penistons' own suggestion.

In buying and selling the Earl's wardship, Murray's motives had probably been purely mercenary. So too, in all probability, were Dutton's – but with a difference. To marry an earl and become a countess would be an excellent catch for the daughter of Gloucestershire gentry, and Dutton had a younger daughter, Lucy, who was as yet unprovided for. In November 1638 the Earl, aged just sixteen, and Lucy Dutton, aged twelve, were married by Dutton's house chaplain, Henry Beesley. Though strictly within his legal rights in arranging the marriage of his daughter to his ward, one wonders whether Dutton might not have hesitated, or whether the Earl would have allowed himself to be persuaded into it, had not the Earl's mother died just six weeks before. It was an ill-starred beginning to married life.

Such youthful marriages were not unknown, but were not very usual,[6] and it was normal in such cases for the couple to live apart until they were thought old enough to live together. Years later, Henry Beesley would publish a volume of sermons with an oily dedication to Dutton, whom he praised for having brought up the young Earl 'with whose education ... no cost, or care on your part, was wanting ... then transplanting him to the University, where he was placed in one of the most eminent Colleges, and had the happiness of sitting daily in the midst of the Doctors.'[7] In the summer of 1639 the young Earl went up to Oxford, to Christ Church.

---

[6] Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*, 1965, 792.

[7] Henry Beesley, *ΨΥΧΟΜΑΧΙΑ, or, The Soule's Conflict*, 1657, sig.A3v.

But things did not work out quite as intended. The Earl only remained at the University for a few months, and we know little of what he may have got up to save that he got into a fight with the son of John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College and Vice-Chancellor, and made enough trouble to bother the Chancellor himself, William Laud.[8] Whatever else had happened, in March 1640 Laud was to write that 'the complaint which I received concerning the young Earl of Downe was not causeless ... Young noblemen, when they are in the University, must be kept to a University life in some measure, else they will spoil the rest.' A week later he wrote again: 'as to the young Earl of Downe, I have written to Dr. Fell [the Dean of Christ Church] to look better to him, or I will make him an example, let his friends take it as they please.' Shortly after, the Earl took himself off; University life was not for him.

It is uncertain how he spent the next year, but his resentment was building up on other scores. First, that Dutton and Peniston had between them been exploiting their position and ruining his inheritance, and second, that he had been persuaded into a marriage that neither he nor his twelve-year-old bride had desired. He must already have been on spectacularly bad terms with both his guardian and his stepfather when in February 1641, still only aged 18, he petitioned Parliament for redress in respect of what he claimed was their pillaging of his estate.[9] By the felling of timber, the ploughing-up of meadow and pasture land and the embezzling of rent, he claimed to have lost £40,000, while his education was neglected and no money had been forthcoming for allowances either to himself or to his younger brothers. Furthermore, it had been 'by threats, menaces, blows, hard usage, and terrifying' that he had been forced to marry Lucy Dutton, 'though there was no liking between them'.

Dutton was a Member of Parliament, and his answer to the Earl's petition – requested by Parliament – does not survive, but in March the to Court of Wards – the body entrusted to supervise wardships – gave the Earl leave to fell and to sell £2,000-worth of timber on his property at North Leigh and Cogges, 'for his maintenance during his minority ... in regard petitioner is distitute of means.'[10] Growing timber was a long term asset, and this would not be the last time that the Earl was to

---

[8] JH Parker, ed., *The Works ... of William Laud*, 1853, V, 263-9.

[9] Parliamentary Archives, HL/PO/JO/19/1/50 4.2.1641.

[10] *State Papers Domestic Charles I 1640-1*, 494.

dispose of capital resources to meet immediately pressing needs. There remained the problem of the marriage, for which there was no such simple palliative. In 1642 the Earl took the unprecedented step of seeking an Act of Parliament for a divorce. Neither civil nor church law recognised divorce except as a measure of legal separation; freedom to marry again was not contemplated. Although marriages might be annulled by reason of non-consummation, no other grounds were recognised for putting aside a legal union. The draft of the Earl's Bill survives, and it is so unusual that it is worth quoting at some length.[11] There are two remarkable things about it. One is that before the discovery of this document, no instance seems to have been known of divorce by private Act of Parliament until that of John, Lord Ross in 1670.[12] The other is that it describes in some detail how irretrievably the marriage had broken down.

The document begins in the form of a petition from the Earl to the King, a standard opening in which was set out the background to the Act that was sought. By comparison with the petition presented to Parliament a little while before, the phraseology is remarkably temperate. Now it was said to be 'by the means and persuasions of one Henry Beesley then tutor to your subject' that the Earl and Lucy Dutton had been married, effectively as children. Perhaps the naming of Beesley was simply to shift the blame from the principals. The draft Act continued

> 'Your said subject Thomas Earl of Downe having about one year since attained the age of nineteen years and the said Lucy the age of sixteen yeares, and thereby being become of age and fit to live together like man and wife ... instead of that reciprocal love that ought to have been between them, there hath been only a mutual dislike and aversion one from the other and having ever since therein so continued still do continue with such secret heart-burnings and disagreements between them, and without the least inclination or sparks of affection that may make them hope their said marriage at any time hereafter can be any wise comfortable either to themselves their friends or kindred. And therefore to prevent those inconveniencies

[11] TNA C104/263 bundle 16.

[12] Laurence Stone, *The Road to Divorce, England 1530-1987*, 1990, 309.

and mischiefs which are likely to ensue so disconsolate a marriage, your said subjects Thomas Earle of Downe Lucy Dutton and John Dutton upon conference and consultation with diverse their friends have consented and agreed to endeavour a divorce between them ... and to admit and make void their said marriage.'

However, since there was no recourse open to them through any accepted channel, they sought something quite unprecedented:

'Whereas your said subjects are informed that by the ecclesiastical or other laws in this realm now in force and being, a clear and unquestionable divorce cannot be obtained between the said Thomas Earl of Down and the said Lucy in any of your Majesty's ecclesiastical courts or otherwise ... therefore they have presumed in all humility to address themselves unto your sacred Majesty (who are next under God the Supreme head of all laws within your highness' dominions), humbly imploring your gracious favour that forasmuch as the said marriage was made in such the infancy of your said subjects, who neither of them understood the value of those vows and promises they made ... it may be enacted ... That the said Marriage between your said Subjects Thomas Earle of Downe and the said Lucy Dutton at the time of the said solemnization thereof was and still is unlawful and unjust, and was unlawfully and unjustly obtained had and solemnized.'

The reason why an Act of Parliament was sought was that the parties wished for a freedom that could not be achieved under the law as it stood. The draft therefore went on to declare that the marriage should be

'(by virtue of this Act) utterly anulled dissolved frustrated and made void and the said Earl and Lucy ... taken to be as persons sole and unmarried in every respect condition and degree and to all intents constructions and purposes as if the said marriage had never been had or solemnized.'

But there were other interests to be considered – notably those of Lucy's father, who had provided a dowry for his daughter (the manor and manor house of Coberley in Gloucestershire) and had paid out to buy the wardship (although the document does not say so). He was not going to give up his daughter's marriage to an earl without compensation. The draft went on to require the Earl to pay Dutton

£6,000, with interest at 8% until the sum was paid off; furthermore, that these amounts were to be raised over and above the income that already accrued to Dutton by virtue of his guardianship of the young Earl's estates. Therefore until the Earl came of age in eighteen months' time and came into control of his own inheritance, the interest would pile up; and even after that Dutton would still have the right to manage the Earl's estates until he had paid himself off.

The temperate language suggests both tooth-gritting on Dutton's behalf, and perhaps calculated restraint on that of the Earl. Dutton cannot have found it easy to admit that his daughter would not be a countess, but he may have felt that all in all she would be well out of it. For his part the Earl must have been desperate even to contemplate such terms, although he may have felt, with the optimism of youth, that once he was of age in a few months' time everything would come right. But in the event, the Bill was not proceeded with, and one reason – both why preparations went so far, and why after careful preparation it was abandoned – may have been the involvement of a most surprising intermediary, Sir Kenelm Digby.

Digby was one of the most notable men of his age. Handsome, learned, immensely charming, already having had a distinguished military career, an intimate of the King and partner of the beautiful Venetia Stanley in one of the most celebrated (and tragic) marriages of the age, the young Earl encountered him at what might have been just the right moment. In the spring of 1642 the Earl had ridden to York where the King was holding court, London having proved too difficult a city for Charles to remain in. Digby himself recounted what had happened thereafter.[13] In York, Digby said, he had heard how the Earl had been persuaded 'by threats, by blows, by imprisonment, by keeping him from sleep and other strange barbarous usage to marry Mr Dutton's youngest daughter against whom he had an extreme aversion,' and all this 'the court and town [were] full of before ever I had any acquaintance with my Lord.' Riding back to London with the Earl, 'I had contracted so much respect to my Lord, and he settled so much confidence to command me, as when he came to town and found that none of his friends or acquaintances were here, he desired me to go from him to Mr Dutton to let him know that his lordship intended to proceed against him in a legal way for reparation of his injuries.'

[13] British Library Add MS 41846.

Dutton had seemed at first very happy to negotiate with so distinguished a figure as the Earl had found to champion him. 'Mr Dutton upon all occasions expressed great kindness to me for so fair carriage [i.e. exchange of views] between them, and often repeated that no man in England beside myself could have brought matters to that good pass. In short all was settled ... Mr Dutton was to account for all the profit he had made of the estate; my Lord was to make up to him for what he remained out of purse for buying of his wardship; and Mr Dutton was to give way and be assistant to the dissolving of the marriage, and indeed showed himself to be as earnest in that as my Lord, professing then, that he had rather accompany his daughter to her grave than to my Lord's bed... I promised all industry on my side, and so we departed.' But at the last minute, Dutton had had second thoughts about Digby, 'and what new thought that cloud rising over me begot in Mr Dutton' said Digby, 'the sequel will discover.'

Digby should have been the best advocate that the Earl could have had: charismatic, persuasive and moving in the highest ranks of society, he outranked Dutton on every count. But he was a royalist and a Catholic (his father had been executed for complicity on the Gunpowder Plot), and for all his charisma, what made him particularly obnoxious to Parliament was that he had lapsed from his original Catholicism and had subsequently converted back again. His catholicism was well known, and presumably Dutton had at first discounted it. Dutton himself, though opposed to the king before the war, was to be a fairly active royalist once it had broken out. But for some reason – perhaps the imminent prospect of the opening of hostilities – Dutton may suddenly have decided that to do business with Digby did not after all look good. Or he may simply have changed his mind about negotiations, and seized upon an excuse for pulling out. What Digby suddenly found himself called on to defend was not the just claims of the Earl of Downe, but his own motives in befriending him. His account of his involvement with the Earl's business comes in a draft that he prepared for a speech to the House of Commons, defending himself from accusations that his friendship with the Earl had actually been a devious scheme intended to convert the young man to Rome.

Digby made a spirited argument, both on his own behalf and on the Earl's. He hotly denied having ever discussed religion with the young man. Indeed, 'when there hath been occasion [I] put him in mind of the exercise of his religion after his own way, and when he hath not been

provided with conveniency of his own, I have furnished him with my coach to carry him to church.' Accused of urging the Earl to go abroad, the more readily to convert him to Catholicism, 'his Majesty had formerly advised him to the same and his best friends have done the like ... because he would not only benefit himself by learning exercises and manners in the best schools, and enlarge his understanding by conversing abroad, but also secure himself from such hazards of riot and dissolution as his great youth and unlucky breeding formerly did so much expose him unto.'

But Digby's concern for his own predicament did not divert him from dwelling on the Earl's. He told how Dutton had kept all the Earl's property in his own hands, and how since the death of their mother, the Earl's two younger brothers had been left destitute 'and have not one penny allowed them by Mr Dutton ... to buy bread or clothes'. The Earl himself had some property in Kent which his mother had left him, 'but this will never serve to maintain him in the rank that his quality requireth.' Digby had tried to reconcile the Earl and his young wife, 'to live with her, if not passionately to affect her.' But the Earl had shown 'not only an aversion but a detestation of her ... and as my Lord believeth as great an aversion on her side, which she expressed strangely and sadly in public view at the time of performing it [i.e. the wedding], and some time after.' Negotiations must have collapsed, and in 1642, whatever the justice of the Earl's claims, most men had greater matters on their minds. An Act required the consent of both Parliament and King, and this was not the time to obtain either.

We do not know how the Earl survived these years. Until the following year his estates remained in wardship, and it is likely that Dutton kept him on a very short rein (unless he cut off funds altogether). It is certainly hard to know what Dutton can have been doing with the £2,000 a year that he will have received from the Earl's estates, although his apparent stinginess (if that is what it was) may be explained in part by his paying Murray for the wardship in annual instalments.[14] A surviving document suggests that for the moment the Earl was living a hand-to-mouth existence: it is dated June 1643, a few months before he would reach his majority, and in it he promises that in return for £300 already paid 'for my livelihood and maintenance' and another £400 to come, he would grant John Cary of Ditchley a 21-year lease of the

[14] Blacker Morgan, *Memoirs of the Dutton Family*, 138.

manor of Wilcot as soon as he was of age and had control of his lands.[15] Kept as short of money as he was, it is not surprising that he was keen to anticipate acquiring an income worthy of his rank; rents of £2000 a year will have placed the Earl (when he finally inherited) about one third of the way up the wealth table of the peerage, with an income probably not very different from that of Lord Saye and Sele at Broughton.[16] But signing away parts of his future inheritance suggests either desperation or folly. Perhaps both.

Worse was to come. By that time the Civil War had already broken out – the Battle of Edgehill had been fought in October, 1642, and for the next three years Oxford was the capital of royalist England. Late in that year or early in the next, the Earl went to Oxford to offer his services to the King. There (in spite of whatever reputation he may have left behind him from his University career only three years before), he probably hoped to be welcomed as a major landowner with power and influence in a keenly contested part of the country. What followed can again be told in the Earl's own words, when in 1647 he tried to excuse himself with the Parliament. 'Your petitioner' [he pleaded]

> 'being near his full age, and having no subsistence here [sc.in London], went into Oxfordshire where his estate was, where by much importunity and persuasion he was unfortunately engaged to raise a troop of horse for the king, though never in actual service with it. But shortly after, discovering his error, he dismissed it, and two years before the surrender of Oxford (when the king's army was in its greatest power) came up to London and submitted to the Parliament, and ever since hath in all things conformed thereunto. For which only offence (being the error of his youth) he is fined £5,000 at Goldsmiths' Hall.'[17]

No sooner had he come into his inheritance than it was forfeit. It was the practice of the Parliament side to take over – technically, to sequestrate – the estates of active royalists and to take the income until their owners paid a substantial fine. The Committee for Compounding (which sat at Goldsmiths' Hall) was charged with their assessment. It confirmed to Parliament that he had surrendered in September 1644, and

---

[15] TNA C104/230.

[16] Stone, *Crisis*, 761.

[17] Parliamentary Archives HL/PO/JO/10/225.

that in time of peace his estate was worth £2,200 p.a., less £200 annuities to his younger brothers. The Earl had earlier pleaded that his estates, lying between Oxford and Banbury, had been 'consumed by the king's garrisons.' But Parliament adjudged that the fine was to stand.

There was almost certainly some special pleading in the Earl's petition. He was certainly young and probably naive, and although nothing has come to light to support the contention in the *Complete Peerage* that 'he distinguished himself as an active royalist,' that is not to his shame. But to claim that he had surrendered in spite of the then strength of the king's fortunes was no doubt meant to suggest farsightedness and prudence. It is more likely that he found the demands of service beyond him, and promised more than he could deliver. To raise his own troop of horse he will have needed money to pay them or else a strong personal following, preferably both, and it is unlikely that the Earl had either. With both his parents dead, probably few of his tenants knew him personally, and even before the sequestration of his estates, wartime disturbances will have made it increasingly difficult to bring in the rents that constituted his income. Perhaps he was simply disillusioned: in the overheated, war time atmosphere of Oxford in the early 1640s it is likely that too few people had much time for a young man who in the end, despite his title, may have had little of real substance to offer.

In 1645 the sequestrators put in by the Committee to manage the Earl's estates reported that only half the rents were coming in.[18] We know no details of specific damage done to his property or to his tenants, but the large Royalist strongholds in Oxford and Banbury, and lesser garrisons at Gaunt House in Northmoor, Woodstock, Bletchingdon, Rousham, Aynho, and around Deddington and Adderbury will all have made powerful inroads into the resources of the region even where there was no actual fighting.[19] Provisions of all kinds, livestock, wagons and draft animals will all have been pressed into service, often without compensation. The Parliament side will have made their own demands when in the late summer of 1643 the Earl of Essex marched across north Oxfordshire from Brackley to Gloucester with 5,000 men.

---

[18] ME Green, *Reports of the Committee for Compounding*, 1890, II, 934-5.

[19] Kate Tiller, 'The Civil War in Oxfordshire' in Tiller & Darkes, ed., *An Historical Atlas of Oxfordshire*, Oxfordshire Record Society, LXVII, 2010, 94-5; IG Philip, ed., *The Journal of Sir Samuel Luke*, ibid, XXIX, XXXI, XXXIII, 1950-3; D Eddershaw, *The Civil War in Oxfordshire*, 1995.

By June of 1646 the Earl of Downe had paid only £1,000 of the £5,000 fine, and pleaded for more time 'forasmuch as your petitioner's estate is in the County of Oxford not yet reduced, which is wholly ruined and undone, since these sad and miserable wars.'[20] The Committee agreed to give him six months to pay after Oxford should surrender.

None the less, he does not seem to have been economising: that year he was renting a grand house in Drury Lane which had previously belonged to the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Abercorn.[21] His appeal to Parliament to mitigate his fine on account of his 'extraordinary sufferings by his wardship, whereby and by these wars his estate hath been extraordinarily ruined' might otherwise have carried more conviction – although it has to be said that a high lifestyle was expected of a nobleman: Parliament was against the king, but not in favour of social equality. But an episode in 1647 suggests the continuing, parlous state of his finances. The 1643 transaction with John Cary over Ditchley was still not complete, and Cary took him to court[22] Cary claimed that the Earl had had judgements against him for debts of £1,000 owed to London money lenders, and he feared that creditors might seize the Ditchley estate for which he had already given the Earl £300. Another £200 had been advanced by Richard Evans of Charlbury for a farm at Enstone. The Earl could do no more than acknowledge the debts and say that 'he doth intend to discharge and reverse them so soon as conveniently he may.' Many more would come to light in due course. There was probably a great deal that the Earl hoped to get away from when, probably later in that year, he decided to go abroad – 'beyond sea' as it was commonly described.[23]

It is not clear whether his wife was among the things that he hoped to escape from. The Countess had been living at Coberley, southeast of Cheltenham, probably since 1643 when, aged 18, the estate was settled on her by her father. In September of that year, and in the year following, she had received the king there, campaigning in the west of England.[24] In 1645 – astonishingly, in view of the history of relations between himself and his wife – she had given birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. For whatever reason – courtesy to the monarch, pressure from

---

[20] TNA SP 23/80 f.835.

[21] *Survey of London*, V, St.Giles-in-the-Fields, II, 101-3.

[22] TNA C 2/ChasI/C60/22.

[23] Blacker Morgan, *Memoirs of the Dutton Family*, 196.

[24] Blacker Morgan, *Memoirs of the Dutton Family*, 115.

Dutton, or simply the wish to keep up appearances – might the Earl have felt compelled to be there too when the king had stayed at Coberley in July 1644? A novelist's imagination might go further than a historian's should – but the historian may speculate.

Perhaps the Earl hoped that once he was 'beyond sea,' the authorities might forget about him and his unpaid fine. If so, he was wrong. In March 1650, with the balance of the fine still unpaid, his estates were sequestrated once more, again leaving him with no income except that which his agents could protect from the sequestrators. Coberley, settled on his wife, counted as his property, and the sequestration threatened to leave her destitute save for whatever she may have received from her father. She too knew what was expected of a countess: in 1650 she was living in a house on the south side of Lincoln's Inn Fields – among the most fashionable addresses in London – at a rent of £65 a year (of which £20 was still outstanding ten years later).[25] To support herself she will have had some income from the Coberley estate and the Earl had evidently agreed to allow her £400 a year, but neither of these were secure from sequestrators. She successfully petitioned the Committee for Compounding for the one-fifth allowance normally granted as subsistence to the wives of sequestrated royalists, and in her petition complained that there were substantial arrears in her allowance from the Earl.

In any case the Committee was not finding it easy to get in the Earl's rents. An undated petition from Richard Wotton and John Freeman, 'on behalf of themselves and all others the oppressed copyholders of the sequestrated estates of the Lord of Downe in the County of Oxford' complained that the Earl's bailiff, Richard Lucas, had been turning ancient copyholders out of their properties and replacing them with new tenants, and that he, 'taking part with these intruders and to defraud the State, bath and doth make his brag openly, that ... [he has] gotten into his hands full half of all the rents of the Earl of Downe's lands' – rents which should have been paid to the Committee's local agents.[26] Perhaps a contract to let the entire estate seemed preferable, but in February 1651 the Committee for Oxfordshire, sitting at Deddington, was upbraided for letting the Earl's Oxfordshire estates for only £1,300 a year (to Edward Twiford of Northmoor) when they were supposed to be worth £1,900.[27]

---

[25] TNA C 6/49/63.
[26] TNA SP 23/133 f.408.
[27] TNA SP 23/176 f.407.

One may well ask why the Earl was willing to prolong his difficulties when he might have cleared the fine by selling property. The problem was that under a settlement made years before by his great-great uncle Sir Thomas Pope of Wroxton, the founder of the family fortunes, the family estates were entailed to Sir Thomas's heirs who were thereby obliged in turn to pass them on, intact, to the next generation. The only way to break the entail was by a private Act of Parliament, involving time, trouble and lawyers' bills, and in any case no self respecting landowner wished to diminish the family's property nor to betray a trust that he had inherited.

However, in the circumstances it must eventually have seemed clear that there was no alternative, and equally – in the circumstances – Parliament will have been happy to accede to such a private Act, since it must by now have been apparent that the Earl's fines were going to be paid in no other way. In February 1651 an Act was passed to allow him to sell property worth £500 a year, in order to pay the £4,000 outstanding within a month.[28] Even then, the Earl only paid up in mid-April after Parliament gave him a two-day ultimatum. Thereafter his estates were restored to him, but with his income sensibly diminished and probably lessened still further by the troubles of the previous ten years.

How the Earl spent the next few years is unknown, although the sales permitted under his 1651 Act may have helped him for a while to live beyond his income. It is likely that he was back at home by the time the Act was passed, although he might have gone abroad again: it would have been difficult to get it through without his active involvement, and the existence of most English exiles in the 1650s has been characterised as 'impoverished and obscure.'[29] Funds would have been difficult to obtain abroad, and details in the long lists of the Earl's debts suggest that he had still been trying to live the life of a nobleman in England.

The memorial inscription in Wroxton church, quoted below, speaks of his travels. But it speaks too of his affection for his family. The Countess died in 1656, having (according to the entry in the Coberley parish register) 'fasted from eating and drinking before her death ten days.'[30] Diagnosis at this distance is of course impossible, but she was only 31

---

[28] ME Green, *Reports of the Committee for Compounding*.

[29] PH Hardacre, 'The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XVI, 4, August 1953, 355.

[30] *Complete Peerage*, IV, 1916, 450 n.7.

(if as old as that) and if she had starved herself to death through depression, perhaps it was not to be wondered at. Might concern for his young daughter have kept the Earl at home? Born in 1645, she had been christened for his own mother, Elizabeth, who had died when he was only fifteen; he knew too what it was like to have been brought up without a father, who had died when he was three. In the summer of 1660 the young Elizabeth was married, to Francis Henry Lee of Ditchley, from her father's house at Cogges.

The Wroxton inscription also speaks of long and painful illness. What this was, we do not know; there is nothing to support the censorious sneer of Blacker Morgan, the nineteenth-century historian of the Dutton family, that 'his early death was occasioned by continental dissipation.'[31] But the end came three days after Christmas 1660, at the house of an apothecary in Oxford. Among the innumerable claimants against his estate when he died were his physicians. Whatever else, he probably thought it wise to pay his doctors' bills fairly punctually. William Day, one of these, described how

> 'for several years together the said Earl was very sickly and weak during which time this defendant being a chirurgeon was several times sent for and employed by the said Earl. And that about eight months before the death of the said Earl this defendant was paid for all his pains and attendance till that time but the Earl continuing very weak and more out of order than at any time heretofor ... from that time until the death of the said earl this defendant did continue his attendance and care & pains and was with him for several times in a day early and late ... and hath well and truly deserved £20.'

Gilbert Jelfreys, another 'chirurgeon', had received £25 for 'attendance in London and Oxford, to the neglect of other employments, but deserves another £50.' To Arthur Tilliard, the apothecary in whose house Downe had lived for the last ten months of his life, he had owed four months back rent and £27.4s.5d 'for physick sold and delivered to the said Earl at such reasonable rates as the same was worth.' His end cannot have been happy.

His wife and his two brothers had all predeceased him. Nothing is known of his brothers' deaths, although neither lived to inherit the title

---

[31] Blacker Morgan, *Memoirs of the Dutton Family*, 106.

of Earl of Downe. John Dutton died in 1657, a few months after his unfortunate daughter. In his will he asked the Lord Protector himself, Oliver Cromwell, to assume the guardianship of his nephew William and expressed a wish 'that when he [William] shall come to ripeness of age ... a marriage may be had and solemnised between my said nephew William Dutton and the Lady Frances Cromwell his Highness's youngest daughter which I much desire.'[32] In fairness to John Dutton, he and Cromwell had long been personal friends in spite of their political differences, but it seems surprising that after the spectacular collapse of one ambitious marriage scheme he still hoped to promote another. In the event, both the persons concerned married other people. To his grandaughter Elizabeth, Dutton left nothing.

The Earl's will seems not to survive, but it appears that in it he left everything – his debts included – to his uncle, the Thomas Pope who it will be remembered had acquired the lease of Wroxton from Trinity College and who would succeed him as third Earl of Downe. This had the advantage of re-uniting the family lands; but in the meantime there was the matter of the debts which fell to the estate. These were enormous.[33]

There were substantial sums owed to people who had lent the Earl money directly – £1,000 at six per cent from Philip Holman in 1650; £1,650 at the same rate from John Holman; £300 from Francis Moore in 1654; £250 as late as June 1660 from William Angier on the security of a 500-year lease of a farm and five yardlands at Tadmarton. There was a legacy to his half sister, Mary Peniston, and 100 ounces of (silver) plate to each of his executors. And there were numerous lesser debts, all of which fell to his uncle, the third Earl, to settle. Several servants were owed for up to five years of back wages as well as legacies. Among them, James Tilliard 'for several years waited upon the said Earl as one of his gentlemen': for back wages, expenses and a legacy he was owed £183. £20 was due to Jonathan Roger, coachman; the same to John Roger, 'his keeper', £50 to Robert Jordan, 'his frenchman'. There was a good deal owed for clothes: Richard Bales £27 'for ribbons gloves scarfs[?] and trimming for suits and sundries'; John Sowde £89 for 'sempstry ware'; John Savage £150 'for several suits of clothes made for the earl and his servants and for one Master Moore to whom several suits were delivered by the appointment and direction of the late Earl,' while another tailor was owed no less than £492.

---

[32] TNA PROB 11/265/700.

[33] TNA C 6/49/63; C 22/623/50; C 5/423/206.

Other debts are evidence of the Earl's pleasures: Anthony Rifford and William Prosser demanded £53 between them for horse harness, with bills going back for six years before the Earl's death; Richard Hook, farrier, £13 for 'keeping, dressing and curing several horse beasts of or belonging to the said Earl'; Robert Brice £6 for a grey nag; John Povey £19 'for several hawks and trimmings for hawks' lures, dog couples and other necessaries for hawks'. John Young was owed £25 for fruit, sugar, candles, fish and bread 'and other grocery wares'; Robert Joy a mere £5 for wine, so that whatever the Earl's vices may have been, perhaps drink was not one of them (although Thomas Andrews of Witney was owed £61 for 'great quantities of malt'). And Thomas Deacon, butcher of Witney, was owed £15.5s.9d. 'for meat delivered at Cogges at the marriage of ... the Lady Elizabeth Lee.' Furthermore, he had lent the Earl £100. Tradesmen could refer in their claims to notes and accounts in their books. But on top of all these creditors (and many others like them) there were a great many more people who were owed – or at least who claimed to be owed – quite small sums and for whom it may have been harder to provide legal evidence of their dues.

The third Earl seems to have settled the larger debts; no doubt substantial creditors like the Holmans could make more trouble if left unpaid than lesser men could. But it would be ten years before everyone and everything was settled, and once again an Act of Parliament was needed to do it.[34] By 1671 the third Earl of Downe was dead, leaving three daughters but no male heirs to inherit the Pope family lands. The Act provided for the sale of lands to the value of £7,500 to recompense the third Earl's daughters for what their father had paid out, to pay off outstanding claimants (of whom there were still a good number) and to divide what was left over between them and Elizabeth Lee. There still remained substantial land holdings to be divided between the heiresses; Elizabeth took some property with her to the Ditchley family (though, after the sales, not a great deal) while the third Earl's second daughter, Frances, in due course married Francis North and bought out her sisters' shares. It was their descendants who would continue at Wroxton for the next two hundred and fifty years, and although in strict justice Wroxton Abbey ought to have become the property of the second Earl, the subject of this narrative, perhaps it would not have remained so long in the family if it had.

[34] TNA C89/15/23.

There were many ways in which people suffered in those difficult times. Rank carries its penalties as well as its rewards. Those who suffered for their principles are the heroes; those who suffered from circumstances beyond their control deserve our sympathies as well. The second Earl's epitaph in Wroxton church is probably noticed by few people, and read by still fewer. But Sir Kenelm Digby's attention and sympathy, and the inscription placed on her father's grave by his daughter and her husband, tell of qualities on the part of the second Earl that the bare, legal records of his troubles do not disclose.

Translated, the inscription runs

H*S*E

The most noble lord Thomas Pope,
Baronet, of Wilcot on the County of Oxon, Lord Belturbet,
Earl of Downe in Ireland.
A man for whom one could wish nothing more than a longer life.
To his outstanding good looks and brilliancy of mind
were added moral integrity and an uncommon knowledge of affairs;
In whom his great affection for his family
was matched only by his loyalty to his friends.
In everything he was most careful of what was right and fair,
and was above all faithful to his king.
Being moved by reasons in the wicked war
he took up arms on the most just but unfortunate side,
and having already been injured in his estates
he travelled beyond the sea to the more polite parts of Europe,
nor idly but with a traveller's true curiosity.
Returning to his native country,
(when happily he saw the return of his most serene majesty Charles II,
the worthy heir of so great a parent,
and, which was the one thing remaining,
he rejoiced in the most happy marriage of his dearest daughter Elizabeth
to Francis Henry Lee, baronet, of Ditchley,
since it fulfilled all his hopes),
Daily in pain but staunchly resisting it,
he yielded not unwillingly to Fate
in the year of our Lord 1660, on December 28th,
Aged 39.

The memorial slab to Thomas 2nd Earl of Downe.
Photo by Chris Day.

An Endnote: Wardship and Divorce

Feudal wardships were abolished by the Long Parliament in 1646; they had been a long standing grievance, and would have been done away with anyway. If the proposed Act of Parliament for the divorce had gone through, the second Earl would have made legal history; since it did not, neither did he. Another, tantalising 'if' is whether his predicament, which was obviously well known at the time, might have played any part in the formulation of the poet John Milton's thinking when in 1643-5 he published several ground-breaking tracts on divorce, arguing 'that some conscionable and tender pity might be had of those who have unwarily, in a thing they never practiced before, made themselves the bondmen of a luckless and helpless matrimony.'[35] Milton's motivation was his own marital problems, although he exactly described the Earl's situation when he observed that 'where any indisposition is suspected, what more usual than the persuasion of friends, that acquaintance, as it increases, will attend all?'[36] Milton's argument throughout is that the essence of marriage is companionship and love, and that where these are absent it would be much better to divorce completely than to go on living together – but this was far too challenging a doctrine to be acceptable to those who, whatever their political differences, were trying to maintain convention and a due social order. 'No Fault' divorce – effectively what Milton (and the Earl) were arguing for – would not be accepted till the mid-twentieth century.

Appendix

The Earl of Downe's Estates in 1641

The Committee for Compounding made careful enquiries, through its agents, as to the resources of the royalists whom it fined. There are two such lists of the Earl's property, one made in 1645 and the other in 1651, both purporting to give details of its value on the eve of the Civil War.[37] These are broadly in agreement; where the later differs from the earlier this is noted in footnotes.

---

[35] SJ van den Berg & W Scott Howard, eds, *Milton's Divorce Tracts*, 2010, 42.
[36] ibid. 47.
[37] TNA SP 23/176 f.403; SP 23/80 f.833.

Rents of Assize[38]		£350
Hook Norton Farm		£40
Hook Norton demesnes	£350	
Hook Norton warren		£20
Wigginton warren		£30
Wigginton mill	£14	
Dundrop grounds[39]		£200
Shewell [sic] grounds[40]	£200	
Dundrop sheepwalk[41]	£17	
Swerford Park.	£10	
Hollycourt Farm & mill[42]		£120[43]
Wilcot farm & meadows[44]		£30
Willaston grounds[45]		£240
Ardley farm[46]		£40
Fewcott farm		£40
Bishop's tenement in Ardley[47]	£11	
Cogges farm & woods[48]		£300
Enstone farm		£125
Coberley (Glos) manor	£391	
'Old rents there'		£9
Halstead, Kent[49]		
'Casualties by fines heriots & perquisites of Court'[50]	£300	
'Yearly wood sales'[51]		
£140		

[38] *i.e.* income from rents and copyholds.
[39] Dumhrop, in Heythrop parish. Sold by the Earl in 1651.
[40] Showell, in Heythrop parish.
[41] Including (SP 23/80) 'the warren of conies' [i.e. rabbits].
[42] Holly Court, in North Leigh parish.
[43] Let for 4 years rent free, perhaps in return for some accommodation of cash in hand.
[44] Inherited by Elizabeth Lee in 1660, sold to John Carey in 1667.
[45] Probably Willaston south of Mixbury.
[46] SP 23/80 adds, below the Ardley entry, 'Phetiphares farm' [unidentified] £33.
[47] Presumably the name of the tenant.
[48] Inherited by Elizabeth Lee in 1660.
[49] Inherited by the Earl from his mother, 'long since sold' in 1645.
[50] From SP 23/80.
[51] ibid.

Eleanor Stone née Cash (1820-95), wife of Henry Stone.
(Watercolour, probably by her daughter Nellie or son Lewis, from a photograph by R.L. Graham, Top end of the Parade, Leamington)

THE JOURNAL OF ELEANOR STONE:
The origins of Henry Stone & Son Ltd ('The Box Factory')

Barrie Trinder

Jeremy Gibson's family papers include two volumes of an occasional journal written between 1868 and 1894 by his great-grandmother Eleanor Stone (née Cash), and a third with recollections of family history. This article summarises some of the material from the journal which is significant in the history of Banbury.

Eleanor was the daughter of Joseph Cash (1787-1870), ribbon merchant and Quaker of Coventry and his wife Sarah (née Southam, 1793-1879). Her brothers John (1822-80) and Joseph Cash (1826-80) built the celebrated cottage factory that stands alongside the Coventry Canal. In the early nineteenth century Coventry's industrial structure was archaic, but its cultural life was vibrant. That culture has been analysed by Valerie Chancellor and John Prest, and is memorably portrayed in *Middlemarch*. The Cashes were friendly with Charles Bray (1811-84), Joseph Gutteridge (1816-99), William Andrews (1835-1914) and George Eliot (181980). Eleanor Stone's diary is principally concerned with her years in Banbury, but she also reflects on her youth in Coventry.[1]

Henry son of Henry Stone, grocer and waggon master,[2] and his wife Elizabeth, was baptised at Banbury's Friends Meeting House on 8 March 1818. He went into business as a bookseller and stationer, about 1840 in a shop in Parson's Street. By 1843 he had moved to High Street, probably to the shop which, when the properties were numbered in 1854, became No 57. He was living there in 1851 with his sister Rachel and a housemaid. Around the time of his marriage to Eleanor Cash in 1857 he moved to Coventry where the couple's first two children were born in 1858 and 1859 but they moved to Bath Street, Leamington, where Eleanor gave birth to their third child in November 1860. Stone left the shop in Banbury in the charge of Edwin Hartley who had worked there since he was a boy and who by 1861 was formally recognised as his partner.

---

1 For Coventry in the early nineteenth century see V E Chancellor, ed., *Master & Artisan in Victorian England* (London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, 1969); J Prest, *The Industrial Revolution in Coventry* (Oxford University Press, 1969); *Victoria History of the County of Warwick, vol 8, The city of Coventry and Borough of Warwick* (Oxford University Press, 1969).

2 See 'The immediate Route from the metropolis...', *C&CH*.12.1 (1991), 10-12.

The first volume of Eleanor Stone's diary begins on 3 October 1868 when the couple were living in Coventry, where Henry kept a small and apparently unprofitable bookshop, while retaining his interest in the Banbury business to which he paid weekly visits. They remained active in the cultural life of Coventry and on May 21 dined with Thomas Bray and his family.

Early in 1869 the couple's eight-year old son Walter died, and they contemplated a move to Banbury. The Coventry business showed no signs of growth that would enable the repayment of loans from the bank. A move to Banbury coupled with the anticipated departure of their two boys for boarding school offered the prospect of a household that would be cheaper to run. The Banbury business was larger than that at Coventry and had potential for growth, and at that time Henry found Edwin Hartley a congenial partner.

The Stones rented the house at No 22 Horse Fair left vacant by the death of Henry Beesley[3] and moved there on 7 December 1869. They were greeted by old acquaintances from the Banbury Quaker meeting and Henry re-entered the Society of Friends, with his three children, in 1875. The family remained in the Horse Fair until 1885 when they moved to No 2 Broughton Road where Eleanor found the air rather healthier.

John Cash presented his brother-in-law with his patent for a millboard file shaped like a book. Henry began to produce it in Banbury, apparently using as his capital a £1000 loan from the solicitor James Stockton. He invested in advertising at railway stations and a machine for cutting millboard. Manufacturing began in March 1871 employing two young people from Coventry who had experience in box-making at John Cash's ribbon works. One of them, Mary Clarke aged 20, was living with the Stones at the time of the 1871 census. Early in 1872 manufacturing was moved to two 50ft-long rooms in Parson's Street, next to what was then the *Buck & Bell* (No 39), and the Stones contemplated making other items. Mary Clarke returned to Coventry and a Banbury girl took her place as supervisor. During 1873 there were problems in securing locks and snaps for the boxes. That year Henry sold his Coventry business, freeing him to concentrate on the box trade.

---

[3] For Henry Beesley (1794-1869) see B Trinder, ed, *Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs* (Banbury Historical Society, 2013), pp 24, 68, 93, 97. For a photograph of the house see 'Banbury Academy', J. Gibson, *C&CH* 19.4, p 89.

In 1875 he added a room to the Parson's Street premises and began to manufacture ornamental cabinets called Alambiques. From mid-1875 he employed an agent in London but dismissed him the following year. Henry's son Lewis Wycherley Stone worked in the business from the late 1870s. Henry was hopeful in 1878 that he might succeed William Rusher[4] as actuary of the Banbury Savings Bank, which, with a regular salary, would have relieved him of financial anxieties, but he was disappointed, the post apparently being in the gift of the Cartwright family of Aynho. The box-making business, based at No 57 High Street, appeared for the first time in the 'Manufacturers' section of Rusher's *Banbury List & Directory* in 1881. The following year it was listed as Stone's Patent Boxes with its address in Parson's Street.

Henry faced a crisis in November 1880 when a fellow Quaker told him that Edwin Hartley contemplated setting up his own bookselling business, apparently using capital promised by Bernhard Samuelson for another purpose.[5] Hartley had a complete understanding of the High Street shop which he had been managing for many years. Henry was unwell, while Lewis Stone was fully engaged with box-making. An agreement was reached before Chrisnnas by which Hartley bought the Stones' share of the High Street shop, paying £500 down and £100 for seven years. Eleanor felt relief at the agreement since the shop had never yielded sufficient revenue for two partners, and she was glad to be rid of the connection with Hartley. The box trade prospered in 1880, producing revenue of more than £500 of which only £300 were required for the family's living expenses, and in January 1881 Eleanor was cautiously optimistic about the future of the business. In 1881 the enterprise employed two men, two boys, six women and six girls.

Henry again suffered from ill-health in 1882, and in August 1882 Eleanor recorded 'Lewis takes care of the business and does his very best to make it grow'. By this time there were competitors in the patent box trade but in December 1883 she recorded that business in Parson's Street had grown under the active and energetic direction of her son Lewis. He had developed new products as well as managing the business, and was seeking a site for a new factory. In July 1883 he arranged the first excursion for his employees, who were conveyed in four carriages to Compton Wynyates and Edgehill.

---

[4] For William Rusher (1815-78) see Trinder, *Victorian Banburyshire*, pp 116-17.

[5] Sir Bernhard Samuelson (1820-1907), owner of the Britannia Ironworks, Banbury, MP for Banbury 1859/1865-95, ironmaster in Cleveland.

STONE'S PATENT INDEX FILE,

IN WHICH TO SORT AND KEEP PAPERS,

"NOT FOR AN AGE BUT FOR ALL TIME."

This File is made with a view to supplying the want long felt of a receptacle in which letters and other papers can be instantaneously sorted, and in which they can also be kept, file as matter how long, yet perfectly free from dust and always ready for reference, and from which they can be removed and replaced without disturbing the remainder.

The File on the outside has the appearance of a handsome book.

Inside it is fitted with an expanding index, made of the best quality of Metallic paper, very strong but not thick or clumsy and with the outside leaves of Manilla card. The leaves of the index are threaded by means of eyelet holes, on wires fixed in the bottom of the file, so that as the papers are placed between the leaves the index expands.

From the Trade Catalogue of Stone's Patent Boxes, Patent Index Letter Files, etc, 1882.

In August 1884 the Stones moved their business to a purpose-built factory in Gatteridge Street, where they expanded into the making of paper boxes.[6] They were cheered in 1885 by the prospect that Harry might earn a good salary in India, and took on one of Harry's friends as their representative in London but he proved a failure. Nevertheless a cheaper file that Lewis introduced in 1886 proved successful, as did a patent drawer box, and the trade in paper boxes increased. The original patent box was still selling in the mid-1880s, but at a reduced rate. In the spring of 1889 the turnover had increased to £5,000, Lewis was planning to double the size of the factory and took as his partner Eyre Crowe an engineer in his mid-twenties who had been employed by Sir Bernhard Samuelson at the Britannia Works. Crowe was born in Poland, the son of Edward Crowe, a civil engineer who by 1871 had settled on Teesside where he doubtless came into contact with Samuelson. Crowe married a Banbury woman and lived at Overthorpe by 1894 and subsequently at No 30 Oxford Road, and by 1903 at Bodicote. By 1911 he was living in retirement at Berkhamstead. Eleanor records the marriage of his sister [Elea]Nora to the Banbury brewer Allen Dunnell in 1894.

By 1898 Lewis Stone's company advertised that they were manufacturers of the 'Mozart' cabinets for music, the 'Referee' cabinet letter files, office & library cabinets & pigeon holes, Stone's patent boxes, Stone's World's Files, the Red Letter File, Stone's Patent Drawer Boxes, Stone's 'Popular' cabinets as well as special cabinets, boxes and files made to order, and high class fancy paper boxes. The business became a limited company Henry Stone & Son Ltd in 1899.[7]

The diaries end sadly. In 1893 Eleanor had been afflicted with an ailment that local doctors could not diagnose. She underwent treatment in London, which was initially successful, but she was clearly unwell and dependent on the care of her daughter and displayed an increasing interest in spiritualism during 1894. Henry was confined to his bed and got up only occasionally in the first four months of 1894. Harry's return to India in June 1894 followed by that of his wife and son in September was clearly depressing. In a sprawling hand Eleanor attempted a further entry after recording details of the end of her grandson's stay in England, but she related that she was ill and could not write properly. Both she and Henry died in 1895.

---

[6] For an aerial view of the eventual works in the 1920s see *C&CH*.14.5 pp120-21.

[7] Two pamphlets published by Henry Stone & Son Ltd describe the later years of the company, *Sixty Years: An Uncommon business* (1928) and *An Uncommon Business: being an account of Henry Stone & Son Ltd, Banbury* (1968).

The early career of Eleanor's son Joseph Henry (Harry) Stone provides evidence of the impact of the Empire on provincial England. Harry was born in 1858 and from 1869 he and his brother Lewis attended Sidcot School near Winscombe in the Mendips, a Quaker foundation of 1699. From Easter 1873 they went to the school at Bussage near Stroud (see below). About eighteenth months later Harry became a pupil teacher at Ackworth, the Quaker school near Pontefract, and subsequently spent about a year studying in London. When he took an examination in London in 1877 he stayed by invitation with Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (1818-1905) and his wife Martha (1823-95) daughter of the Banbury banker Joseph Ashby Gillett (1795-1853). He returned to Ackworth, and then taught in schools at Stoke Newington and Southport before going up to Cambridge in October 1882. He was awarded second class honours in the History Tripos in 1885 after which he did some extension lecturing before Oscar Browning (1837-1923), historian and Fellow of King's College, recommended him to Lord Randolph Churchill (1849-94), then Secretary of State for India, as principal of the Normal School in Madras with a salary of 600 rupees a month or £720 per year. Harry duly took up the post, taking the ferry from Dover to Calais on 5 December 1885, travelling by rail to Brindisi and thence by steamer, and writing weekly letters home. Before the end of 1886 he was promoted to professor of history at the Presidential College, Madras. Eleanor recorded his visit home in the summer of 1888, and the arrival of a letter in the following February informing his family that he was engaged to be married to Dagmar Christine Brassington, daughter of a government architect in Madras. The wedding took place in May of that year, and on 11 November 1890 Dagmar gave birth to a son, Henry Brassington Stone. During 1890 Harry became principal of Kumbhakonam College. The couple and their son visited Banbury in 1894, initially staying at No 3 Broughton Road that was then vacant. Harry left for India early in June while the boy and Dagmar remained, and enjoyed a holiday with Nelly at Mortehoe in North Devon before they too went back to India in the autumn.

The Stones' second son, Lewis Wycherley, began at Sidcot School at midsummer 1869, and moved at Easter 1873 to Bussage. He spent some months in 1876 in the office of Charles Davids,[8] surveyor, in Banbury, but afterwards worked in the family box-making business, and was soon

[8] For Davids see Trinder, *Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs*, p 10.

effectively its manager. He ceased to attend the Friends' meeting preferring the services at the Congregational Chapel in South Bar conducted by his friend the Revd Charles Craddock. In 1890 he became engaged to Mary Day, daughter of the Rev Maurice Day, Headmaster of King's Cathedral School, Worcester. She had served two years as a district nurse in Banbury. The couple were married in September 1891, and after contemplating a move to the Dower House at Wroxton, where they could have accommodated Lewis's parents and sister, they had settled by the spring of 1894 in a new house on Oxford Road on the site of Perry's nursery. By 1901 the couple were living in Abingdon.

The Stones' daughter Sarah Eleanor, usually known as Nelly, was born in 1863 and attended various schools, including that once run by the Misses Eason on Oxford Road, which educated many of the daughters of Banbury's wealthier citizens. She later went to Ackworth although her education there was disrupted by a hip problem. In her adult years she did some private teaching, and her mother was anxious that the family income would not fall to a level which would force her to seek a situation away from home. By her late twenties she was her parents' carer, described by Eleanor as 'nurse, housekeeper, correspondent, and in fact everything a daughter could be'. After her parents died she married B Kirkman Gray (1862-1907), author of *A History of English Philanthropy*, published in 1905, and after his death married a cousin, Thomas Arnold Cash. A collection of reviews of Gray's book is among the family papers.

The Quaker schools at Ackworth and Sidcot still flourish but Eleanor Stone's children also attended a school at Bussage House in the parish of Bisley near Stroud in Gloucestershire which is less well known and is not mentioned in Volume 11 of the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire* (1976). Its headmaster was John Sibree, born in Coventry in 1824, son of a dissenting minister, who was married to Eleanor's sister Anna. He held a Master's degree and was a Licentiate of the College of Preceptors. In 1851 he was working as a schoolmaster in Painswick and Eleanor was staying with the couple on 30 March of that year. His first pupils were the sons of Samuel Marling of King's Stanley Mill.[9] He remained in Painswick in 1861 by which time he and his wife had five children, but established his school at Bussage House soon afterwards, and certainly by 1868 when Eleanor spent a fortnight there

[9] For the Marling family see M Stratton & B Trinder, 'Stanley Mill, Gloucestershire', *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, vol 22 (1988), pp 143-80.

Henry Stone (1818-1895) as Mayor 1875-6

Lewis Wycherley Stone (1859-1925)

(Photographs: Anthony Beales, Parade Studio, Banbury)

while her husband was in Switzerland. In 1871 there were 17 boarder pupils. Most were from Gloucestershire but they included Sidney and John Cash born in Coventry. One of the tutors, 19-year-old George Jones was a Banburian. Harry and Lewis Stone attended the school in 1873-74. In 1881 John Sibree had 24 boarders, and employed six teachers, including three of his children. The 1881 census records that Anna Sibree and one of her daughters staying with the Stones in Banbury and ten years later both she and her husband, then aged 67 were at No 2 Broughton Road. By 1894 Eleanor recorded that they had settled in a cottage in the orchard near the school, 'relieved in great measure from trial of teaching'. The school continued and by 1897 it was under the direction of their son the Revd Francis Sibree, MA (Oxon)

The Stones usually took annual holidays except when illness intervened. They went several times to North Wales, the Lake District and Devon, but Henry and Eleanor's last holiday together in 1893 was at Sun Rising, Edgehill, which they rented for six weeks because their doctor advised that Henry's health did not permit a railway journey. In the summer of 1868 Henry spent in month in Switzerland, the first, and apparently the only time he went abroad. The family holiday at Windermere in 1878 was particularly memorable. Lewis and Harry Stone learned to row on the lake, and they attended a Quaker meeting that was addressed by the celebrated photographer Francis Frith (1822-1898) who was staying at Grasmere. Frith, a native of Chesterfield, trained as a cutler, but became a photographer in Liverpool in 1850. Five years later he disposed of his other interests to concentrate on photography and made bis first recording trip to the Middle East in 1856. He founded the firm Francis Frith and Co at Reigate in 1859 and embarked on a project to photograph every town and village in the United Kingdom. He became a Quaker minister in 1872. Eleanor recorded that he gave 'a very striking address, a genuine Quaker sermon, spiritual and practical'.

The Stones were Liberal in their politics in the 1860s. Henry was disappointed when the Conservatives, against the national trend, won the seat at Coventry in the election of 1868, although satisfied that Bernhard Samuelson retained Banbury. Before returning to Coventry after that election Henry dined with the banker Timothy Rhodes Cobb (1797-1875), who was evidently a close friend. When Cobb's widow Mary left Banbury for London after bis death Eleanor commented that when had been 'a very intimate and constant friend'. Henry served on the borough council and was mayor in 1875-76.

Henry Stone's attendance at a conference in London in 1876 during the crisis over the Eastern Question prompted Eleanor to record her memories of the International Peace Conference she attended in Paris. This was the third of a series of international gatherings of members of peace societies, held between 1843 and 1853. The first, in London in 1843, was organised by the Birmingham Quaker and philanthropist Joseph Sturge (1793-1859). Eleanor's memory was at fault in that she recalled that the Paris conference took place in 1851, and that it was linked with the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace. It was, in fact, held on 22-24 August 1849 and its president, as Eleanor correctly recalls, was Victor Hugo. She probably confused it with the fifth conference in the series that took place during the Great Exhibition in 1851. Eleanor attended the conference with her sister Mary Ann, her brother John and several Quaker kin. They joined other British delegates in London and travelled to Folkestone in a special train with white flags flying. After a smooth crossing by steamer there were delays at Boulogne before they travelled to Paris to stay at the Hotel d'Angleterre. There they met the women's suffrage advocate, the Quaker Anne Knight (1786-1862) then resident in France, who was a 'kind friend' to the Cash family party throughout their stay. Eleanor met Joseph Sturge, Richard Cobden (1804-65), and Henry Vincent (1813-78), popular lecturer and Chartist candidate for Banbury in 1841. Chaperoned by Anne Knight, she attended a soirée at the Foreign Office hosted by the political philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59), then French foreign minister. She went to see the fountains play at Versailles, saw many of the sights of Paris, and used money inherited from an aunt to buy a gold chain. The conference proceedings were published by the London Quaker bookseller and printer Charles Gilpin (1815-75), founder of *The Friend*.

The unexpected death of George Eliot (Marian Evans) prompted Eleanor to recall her family's associations with parties that they both attended with Charles Bray and at the home of her newly-married brother. She recalled George Eliot's appreciation of the humblest efforts of other participants in writing games, and remembered that on one occasion the novelist read through the whole of *Twelfth Night* in an evening. She also recalled a visit to George Eliot in London when she remembered the sophisticated interior design of her home and the novelist's recollections of the tangled hedgerows of Warwickshire.

Illustrations supplied by Jeremy Gibson.

ELEANOR STONE'S RECIPE BOOK

Helen Forde

Eleanor Stone, neé Cash, was Jeremy Gibson's great grandmother. She kept a handwritten book of recipes of some 150 pages to which were added a few newspaper cuttings and odd notes. No date is given, but since 1887 champagne is mentioned it is must date from after that. The style suggests that is a fairly typical compilation of that period for a respectable middle class woman living in some comfort in a provincial town. The Quaker family moved for economy reasons to 22 Horse Fair, Banbury from Coventry in 1869 and Mrs Stone spent the rest of her life in Banbury though she travelled quite widely. The family consisted at that time of Henry Stone, bookseller stationer, Eleanor his wife, sons Henry and Lewis and a daughter Sarah. The household then included one maid, Mary Brewer, but by the time of the 1891 census the family had moved to 2 Broughton Road, Banbury and were also employing a cook.

The first 68 pages give the impression of being copied out from another source, being all recipes for puddings and in a very uniform style and ink colour; perhaps there was an earlier version. Thereafter the recipes for different courses are mixed up, starting with 'Mrs Burton's soup for a supper' which the index refers to as a 'Ball supper'. The provenance of many of the recipes is given – Miss Currie supplied that for the Cold Swiss pudding. Mrs Moore the Prune Shape, Madame D was notable for her creams – chocolate, vanilla, coffee and lemon – the white bread was from a recipe by Mrs Sanders and 'Pain de Veau 2' came from Eleanor's mother, Sarah Cash. The Devizes School of Cookery is credited with a recipe for 'Gateau de Pommc' and another for 'Macaroni á la Milanaise' and Mrs Hussey was clearly an expert on custards, jellies, clear soups, beef tea and blancmange. Mrs Abbott may have had a glut of rhubarb since she provided a recipe for it both stewed and as cheese; for both it is recommended that cochineal is used to improve the colour. Some of the cakes are attributed to Thwaite – both lunch and ground rice cake. Towards the end, when the recipes are less well organised, many are from Mrs Glemham, who recommended flavouring for meat pies consisting of '3 nutmegs, the same weight of mace and as much cayenne as goes on a 6d'. Having pounded these together the instructions are 'put all in a bottle and cork. Use'.

Was the book for the use of Mrs Stone or her cook? Earlier in her life she is known to have done the cooking herself (Journal, December 1879) and although some of the recipes include instructions such as 'Send instantly to table' (Cavalier's Broil) indicating an instruction to a servant, the majority end with the cooking process or suggestions for serving; 'turn out and serve with white sauce round it' (Entrée of Green Peas is quite a common suggestion) or 'serve on a folded napkin' (Polpettie). A recipe for 'Soup from Bones' suggests that they should be boiled up three times for 12 hours a time, but ends with the instruction that 'All pieces from bones to be given to the chickens'. How nutritious these would be after 36 hours of cooking is doubtful. One of the odder suggestions is that round the Thwaite cakes a piece of newspaper should be put, doubled, to protrude some inches above the tin, presumably to contain the cakes if they rose above the rim when cooking, though there must have been a risk of the paper burning. In the same recipe this instruction is followed by what appears to be an afterthought: 'Of course grease the tins and wet the top of the cakes with milk'. The book itself shows no sign of food being dropped on it, as is so often the case where books are used in the kitchen. Perhaps Mrs Stone was adept at remembering the instructions from a previous preparation or had a weekly repertoire. The index, in the same hand, lists the recipes up to page 100 and against some of the entries there is a cross with dots between the lines, against some just plain crosses, and against a few, noughts. Were the first category favourites? Or ones that had been tested? There is no way of knowing. Most of the recipes include fairly precise quantities and instructions; not surprisingly the length of cooking time is usually quite general though she is very precise in stating that it takes 2 minutes to poach whipped egg whites and about 8 minutes to make the custard for Snow Eggs; as in many of the other recipes where a custard is cooked she is very clear that it should be stirred 'one way, till it thickens but does not curdle'. She refers to both 'the fire' and 'the stove'; she, or the cook, must have been cooking on a range but the frequent phrase 'stir over the fire' or 'a gentle' or 'slow' or 'brisk' or even a 'clear' fire suggests that those were still current expressions relating to an open fire.

The ingredients mentioned are all familiar though modern cooks would probably not use isinglass; she mentions it as an alternative to gelatine which was more expensive at the time. Much use is made of milk and cream especially in puddings; clearly there was plenty to be

had locally and she even includes instructions for making butter with the cream. Eggs are used frequently as ingredients and the shells for clearing broths or stock. Vegetables are predictable – turnips, carrots, onions and celery in particular and occasionally shallots, peas, beans, leeks or spinach. They are added to soups and gravies though often cooked far longer than would be the custom today. Pickled mushrooms are frequently suggested as additions to sauces round the meat. The vegetable which might have been expected to figure quite largely is noticeably absent – the potato. Perhaps they only ever boiled or baked potatoes. Spices include curry powder, ginger, preserved ginger, nutmeg, mace, salt, both common and Bay (possibly sea), pepper corns and cayenne pepper; herbs, presumably from the garden, include parsley, thyme, marjoram, sage and bay leaves (referred to as laurel) and juniper berries. Saltpetre is used for pickling beef, pork or ham.

Little reference is made to the sources for the ingredients except after the Soup for a Ball supper where the text continues straight into information about the claret and wine supplied for a supper of 100 people. Two dozen bottles of claret were sent from the Army and Navy Stores (19 were consumed), four bottles of sherry (6 sent), 2 bottles of whisky and lemonade and soda water. She gives the cost of the Rioja Spanish Claret as 12s. a dozen and [Cailwith] no 0 as 13s. a dozen; these appear to be for making claret cup from 'Eddie Craig's recipe' as Australian red wine no 4 is noted as a drinking wine costing 17s. a dozen or 10s. for half bottles. St Hubert's[1] cost 26s. a dozen, 1887 Achille Moral special cased reserve no.33 champagne[2] 53s., or 28s. for half bottles and Dow's port[3] bin no.11 34s. The Army and Navy stores were also the source of lemon essence for making lemonade 'the same used in the Refreshment rooms there'. Cadbury's cocoa was an alternative ingredient to grated chocolate when making Chocolate Cream and in one recipe the instruction is to use 'a 6d packet of Nelson's gelatine'.

---

[1] St Hubert's wine was made in the Yarra valley, initially by Hubert de Castella in 1862 and by 1901 was the largest estate in the area with 260 acres under vine, producing over 20,000 cases of quality wine. Only a small area is now under vine.

[2] Achille Princier champagne is a champagne house in Epernay where the wine is stored in eighteenth century cellars cut out of the chalk. This may or may not be developed from the company identified here.

[3] Dow's port is made from vines in the Upper Douro valley and is still in production.


Trifle
Blanc Mange
Cherry Tart
Galette
Dessert Biscuits
Iced Oranges
Compote of Pears
Christmas Plum Pudding
Mince Pies
Roly-Poly Jam Pudding
Apples with Rice
Cold Apple Pudding
Apple Tart
Apricot Tartlet
Pancakes & Jam
Fruit Macedoine & Jelly

The utensils mentioned are fairly simple – pots, saucepans and stew pans, skillets, baking trays, basins, jelly bags, graters, strainers of fine or coarse muslin, 'cullenders', moulds for shapes or curd moulds made of tin or china for draining creams and dishes for serving. The recipe for baked pears contains the instruction that the prepared fruit should be placed in 'a block tin saucepan which is quite bright in the inside with a lid to fit tight' after which they must be stewed or baked for about 6 hours. Jam Sponge Roll is cooked in a Yorkshire tin and from the description it is clearly a flat tin so that the sponge could be rolled. Occasionally whisking and beating is done with cutlery; using a wooden spoon for Vanilla Cream is not surprising but recommending a silver spoon for St Austin's Cream or a knife for the egg whites required for an 'Omlet Soufflé with preserve' or for the six whole eggs for Conservative pudding, would be unusual today. Whisks are also mentioned so presumably the use of cutlery was to achieve a special effect.

What did Jeremy's Quaker forbears eat? Their diet, on the evidence of the recipes, was good quality. Since there are no menus as such it is impossible to speculate on the combination of dishes and whether some additional dishes, for example just boiled vegetables, and in particular potatoes, were also served. However the range is quite wide and includes a number of French, Italian and Indian dishes including curry about which Mrs Stone is enthusiastic. To make Kali Khan's Curry, a chicken dish, the spices and curds must be cooked 'all together until the mixture looks rich and emits a fine smell'. Common Madras Curry is pronounced 'very fine' and the Prawn Curry is the only recipe to mention any form of fish in the whole collection. Instructions are given as to how 'to boil rice properly', ensuring that the cooked grains do not stick together. French food, or recipes with French titles, appears quite commonly; 'Gateau de Pommes' however is nothing more than apples stewed with very little water, of which part is coloured so that it is in stripes when turned out of the mould; the preparation of 'Quenelle of Rabbit' is described together with the suggestion that white sauce should be poured over it 'when it is dished up in a circle with some garnish if liked'. The appearance must have been almost entirely white without the garnish, but usually the appearance of the food itself seems to have been important. Sweet dishes were frequently decorated with preserved fruits though the instructions for the preparation of a 'Chatereuse' [Chartreuse?] Cake of Variegated Fruits were unique – 'line a charlotte mould very tastefully with various kinds of fruit, such as stoned cherries,

strawberries, pieces of peaches, apricots etc by dipping them into Jelly, forming some design at the bottom of the mould and building them in reverse rows up the sides'. The interior is filled with cream as made for Charlotte Russe and the whole turned out when cold. It must have looked magnificent.

Many of the recipes are for steamed puddings, both savoury and sweet using suet; these are usually the ones with English names as one might expect – Turkey pudding (figs), Amber pudding (orange marmalade) and Brown George pudding (treacle and ginger). Most are served with sauces or creams of which there are many varieties. Milk puddings also figure such as sago, vermicelli and tapioca. Soups, broths, beef tea (Dr Brec's Beef tea made from 1 gallon of water and 2 lbs of beef had to be simmered for 14 hours to reduce it to a quart) are prepared from basic ingredients though few go as far as the instructions for boiling up a sheep's head for soup. Drinks are included, soft ones, such as lemonade, or alcoholic ones such as orange brandy, cassis and claret cup for which there are two recipes, indicating that there was no teetotalism.

It is clear that the Stone family enjoyed a variety of foods, sourced quite widely with good ingredients. Occasionally there are suggestions about how to make a more economical variation of a dish but most assume a certain level of middle class expenditure. The emphasis on sugar, as used in the numerous puddings, is perhaps less to the modern taste but there would have been a need for additional sustenance in an age with few of the modern appliances. Mrs Stone must have presided over a well-fed family.

Free Offer of back issues of *CAKE AND COCKHORSE*

In the summer we sent members a Digest of the articles that have appeared since the start of *Cake & Cockhorse* in 1959. Stock of many issues, *from 1970 on* (Volume 4, No 7) remain available. We offered members as many issues as they liked *free* apart from postage and packing; plus we hope a modest donation.

It is disappointing to have had a response from only a dozen or so members, although those who did apply have relieved us of over a hundred copies. Very many still remain from those published since 1969 (though, inevitably, the odd issues are missing throughout). So do please save us having to throw surplus away.

Enclosed is a simple 4-page leaflet again listing those surplus articles/issues.

As before, requests to Jeremy Gibson, Harts Cottage, Church Hanborough, Witney OX29 8AB (jeremy.gibson@efhbroadband.net), preferably with your own email address for prompt acknowledgment. *Send no money*: invoice for p&p will accompany despatch of copies.

Book Reviews

Victorian Banburyshire: Three Memoirs (Sarah Beesley 1812-1892, Thomas Ward Boss 1825-1903, Thomas Butler Gunn 1863). Edited by Barrie Trinder. Hardback, 318pp. 24 illustrations, 5 maps, 5 pedigrees. 2013; Banbury Historical Society vol. 33, in conjunction with Robert Boyd Publications. (ISBN 978-0-900129-31-5). Free to members. Retail £20.00 + £3.00 p&p.

In this handsome volume, the latest in the long series of Banbury historical texts, Barrie Trinder has made available, meticulously annotated, the memoirs of three local authors, all born between 1812 and 1826. Although the three journals differ in character – that of Sarah Beesley, entitled *My Life* was written retrospectively from diaries and letters, and concentrated largely on herself, her family, domestic activities and the politics of nineteenth century Banbury; Thomas Ward Boss wrote his piece at the behest of old friends in 1903, and offered 'a few recollections of my native town and other personal reminiscences', and Thomas Butler Gunn's contribution is his diary of five months in 1863 after he had returned to England from the USA where he had worked as an illustrator and reporter during the early years of the Civil War. That too is sometimes retrospective. The choice of these three authors therefore illuminates much about Banbury and its inhabitants in the mid nineteenth century, albeit that the texts by Beesley and Boss are recollections rather than daily events and the emphases are consequently their own. The memoirs chime nicely with other published recollections of Banbury, notably George Herbert's *Shoemaker's Window* written between 1898 and 1900.

Barrie Trinder has brought together the subjects covered by the memoirs in a valuable introduction, distilling the information offered by all three authors under useful headings including the provision of education in Banbury, the politics of mid nineteenth century Banbury, the changes in transport including the coming of the railway to Banbury, the improved postal services and Banbury's relationship with Oxford, London and the wider world. Each author is also accorded a full genealogical introduction, which incidentally underlines the strong connections between several of Banbury's leading families during the period. The detail will provide useful information to future historians at pains to untangle a complex set of relationships. Connections between Banburian scholars and innovators are documented, illuminating, for example, the reasons for the relationship between the Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archaeologists' Field Club and Thomas Beesley, Sarah's husband, a keen geologist. Events such as riots over elections or the Swing riots, which feature in both Beesley's account and that of Thomas Boss are also noted, though by including the two authors in one volume it is clear that recollections and understanding of such events can differ; a timely reminder that diaries and reminiscences are not always to be trusted as evidence.

Each author has particular interests, Sarah Beesley in particular noting the holders of various civic posts many of which were held by friends or relations. She had the advantage of referring to her own diaries in which she must have recorded not only these names but also the numbers living in Banbury during her life time as recorded in the census; it was a time of change with the total population almost doubling between 1841 and 1891. She also demonstrates the Victorian preoccupation with health in a period when the provision of sanitation and drainage became a serious issue, but also at a time when, despite considerable advances in medicine, many illnesses were not well understood. Meetings with family and friends played a large part in her life, none more so than that in 1892 between herself and her sister Harriet who had emigrated to Australia forty years before.

Thomas Boss divided his recollections, given as a lecture at the Municipal Schools in Banbury in 1903, into topics where there is much detail of a kind which it would be hard to find elsewhere. The description of the way in which the London Waggon from Banbury was loaded is clearly taken from experience: 'A large punt... was suspended by chains to the bottom of the waggon between the wheels. In this punt lambs, sheep, pigs and poultry of various sorts were carried, being fed at intervals of the journey. In the bed of the waggon goods of a heavy character were packed three or four feet in height; on the top of these were five or six tiers consisting of butter in flats, and carcasses of sheep and pigs' (p. 179). Further details follow of the methods used to prevent the load tilting too far and 'Good heavy mohair curtains securely closed up the back'. The account is undated but it relates to the pre-railway era; he recorded the advent of the railway with enthusiasm, regarding it as having 'spread so many improvements and blessings over the land'. Although the subject matter of his reminiscences can on occasion be rather random, the detail is remarkable, not least in the description of the common ash pit in central Banbury into which the residents poured their house refuse (p. 185).

Thomas Butler Gunn was not disposed to deal with the minutiae of everyday life in his diary, other than those relating to the arrangements for his father's funeral and for his own marriage. His concerns are related to his occupation as a journalist and his attempts to get his literary works published. The editor has sensibly paraphrased some of Gunn's lengthier passages, leaving the reader with details of the sights of London, including an account of travelling on the Underground Railway very shortly after it opened in 1863, and impressions of Banbury and surrounding villages many years after Gunn had first left to go to the USA. Prior to the transcript of the diary of that year - it was the final volume of at least 23, now held in the Missouri History Museum - Barrie Trinder has added an account of Gunn's very interesting travels in the USA, in his role as a reporter of for the antislavery paper, the New York *Tribune*. Although of less interest to Banbury historians it is a reminder that the mid nineteenth century was a period of exploration for many of those who were prepared to take their chance on other continents.

The volume is well illustrated with pictures of Banbury and its buildings as the authors might have known them and the maps and pedigrees are a very useful addition to keeping track of the details of the texts.

Helen Forde

The Quaker Clockmakers of North Oxfordshire, Tim Marshall. Hardback. 256 pp. 500+ illustrations, 20 x 25cm., Mayfield Books. 2013. (ISBN: 978-0-9540525-6-1). £48.00 + p&p.

This book is the culmination of over twenty years steady research by the author and focuses on an area of horology never covered before in a dedicated publication.[1,2] By including historical information on Quakerism, details of the Meeting Houses, extracts from documents, and details of clocks, the book delivers an integrated view of the north Oxfordshire clockmaking industry and the people who drove it until mass production in the nineteenth century eventually forced the decline of rural clockmaking skills. The historical detail combines with the horological content to give the book a broad appeal. Historians gain a detailed insight into one of the eighteenth century trades in the area and clock enthusiasts benefit from the extensive fresh material that has been included.

The overall structure of the book works well, moving gradually from a general history of Quakerism to its history in north Oxfordshire, the involvement of local clockmakers, and the clocks they produced. The book can thus be read in its natural sequence or the later chapters used directly as a refereuce aid. Features of clocks are described in the (often lengthy) captions to illustrations. Separate chapters are provided on signed and unsigned "hoop and spike" clocks which formed the bulk of the clockmakers' output in the mid eighteenth century and which are often a specific interest of collectors. These clocks gain their name from the frame of the clock movement which has an iron hoop and two spikes projecting from the rear, allowing the clock to be hung on an iron hook which could be either in a case or on a wall.

The page facing chapter I has a handy map of the main area covered, showing the clock-making towns and villages of north Oxfordshire and nearby parts of Warwickshire. Chapter I concentrates on the origins of Quakerism and its practices, explaining the years of persecution and eventual acceptance. The Quaker organisation was not hierarchical and was represented by concentric circles and the author asks whether this inspired the ring and zig-zag dial design that appears on so many of the mid-eighteenth century clocks. Quakers supported the practice of "apprenticeship" and the author includes a diagram of clockmaking

---

1 The wider topic of Oxfordshire clockmaking has been covered some fifty years ago in *Clockmaking in Oxfordshire 1400-1850*, C F C Beeson, 1962, published by the Antiquarian Horological Society in association with the Banbury Historical Society.

2 Books on longcase clocks often include north Oxfordshire Quaker examples, but are not dedicated to the topic.

families with different colour lines to show relationships that are family, "master and apprentice" and "Quaker meeting associate". Horologists will recognise the families of Gilkes, Fardon and May that form the major part of the diagram.

Chapter 2 describes how Quakerism came to north Oxfordshire in the mid 1650s, first to Banbury, closely followed by meetings being established in the nearby villages, each of which feature strongly as the locations of clockmaking families. Later expansion of clockmaking to other villages is outlined, helped by the strong support of apprenticeship.

In chapter 3 the author delves deeper by discussing the history of several Meeting Houses, the roles that clockmakers took in the organisation, minutes involving clockmakers and burial information. For example in Sibford, Thomas Gilkes senior was the first clockmaker and was minister there for over fifty years and his son was Clerk. Richard Gilkes married there in 1744, and three Sibford clockmakers lie in the burial ground.

Clockmakers and their clocks are the focus of chapter 4, which contains 333 of the book's 500-plus illustrations. The chapter is organised by family name, and for each, all clockmaking descendants are described, with biographical information on their working locations, involvement in Quaker meetings, apprentices, immediate families and examples of clocks that bear their name. The author takes the opportunity to add numerous other details for each clockmaker when available: examples are will texts, inventories, property, clockwork styles and dating conclusions, and more. The chapter is a mine of information on each clockmaker, which needs to be studied carefully to absorb the detail. Generally, pictures of the clocks are very good and a credit to the publication, but for the keen collector some may not show enough of the detail.

The first clockmaker described is John Nethercott of Long Compton (despite the fact he was baptised into the Church of England,) as what is deemed the earliest ring and zig-zag dial clock bears his name. Substantial sections follow on the Gilkes and Fardon families followed by the May family of Witney, William Green of Milton, the Harris family of Deddington and Bloxham, Mauhias Padbury, the Atkins family and others. Not all of the clockmakers operating in the mid eighteenth century produced clocks with the familiar hoop & spike movement, as none have been discovered with the May surname. Of the makers, the author records that William Green seems to have been quite prolific in his output.

Chapters 5 and 6 are dedicated to hoop and spike clocks, with 5 describing clocks with a signature and 6 describing the unsigned clocks. In chapter 5 there is a list of the makers who are known to have produced these clocks and the method of producing the familiar ring and zig-zag dial pattern is outlined. Also described are the types of spandrel[3] used (noting the poorly defined castings

[3] A spandrel is the area remaining between a curved area (in the case of a clock dial it will be a circular chapter ring or similar) and a wider boundary, often square or rectangular (in the instances being discussed, it is the square clock dial). On a clock dial, the spandrel spaces are commonly filled with applied castings, also called spandrels.

often encountered), the patterns of hands, various types of movement frames and other constructional details. This is followed by details of wheelwork, strikework etc. and finally clock cases. Of the hoop and spike clocks the author has recorded, about one third remain unsigned and these are reviewed in chapter 6. An analysis shows a greater proportion of the known pre-1730 clocks fall in this unsigned category.

A final Chapter in the book discusses associated clockmakers. These include John Fry of Sutton Benger (who, the author concludes, sourced some hoop and spike clocks from north Oxfordshire), Tobias Gilks of Chipping Norton (seemingly not related to the Gilkes family in north Oxfordshire) and Thomas Wagstaffe (who is believed to have been from a leading non-conformist family in Oxfordshire).

The Appendices include one on recently discovered clocks (emphasising there are still many to be recorded) and another on the list of clockmakers and their birth, "working" and death years.

This book scores highly on its broad appeal and depth of the subjects covered, all in a single easy to read publication with copious illustrations. Throughout, the author has cited his reference material which will help readers who wish to carry out further study.

Tim Marshall has done an excellent job over twenty years assembling the information in his book, suggesting possible answers to difficult questions (just where did Thomas Gilkes learn his trade), speculating on the origin of the zig-zag dial design (the circles used in describing the Quaker organisation), but leaving the door firmly ajar for further research.

This new publication with its colour illustrations is a valuable addition to the studies of regional clockmaking and the local history of north Oxfordshire. With a main interest in horology and some appetite for the historical and social contexts, I found this book both easy to read and rather difficult to put down.

David Harris

OBITUARIES

JOHN CHENEY - a 'Man for all Seasons'. 1930 - 2013

John Cheney (definitely Cheeney not Chayney!) died peacefully, aged 83, at the end of July 2013, at Featherton House, Deddington. John, really, was a man for all seasons. He spent his working life with his family printing firm, Cheney and Sons, retiring as its chairman. The firm founded in 1767, had been Banbury's longest-established business, and his great-great-great-grandfather John Cheney (1732/3-1808) was our town's first printer.

He was a most generous man with his time and talents – there cannot be many local history or local interest groups, in North Oxfordshire, who have not had John talking to them at sometime, usually, about the history of his family's firm and printing in Banbury. For almost two and half centuries the Cheney family have themselves been part of our town's life and history. *The Banbury Chapbooks* records the firm's (with Rusher's) world-famous early output. We find the John Cheney of the 1850s with his musical friends, including George Herbert, whose recollections in *Shoemaker's Window* were edited by Christina Cheney. The first history of the firm was privately printed in 1936. This was appropriately updated by Professor Christopher Cheney as 'Two Centuries of Printing' in *Cake & Cockhorse* in 1967.

John always made his talks immensely amusing often with lots of interesting artefacts on display – at one talk I attended, John produced some stationery, printed by his firm, for the use of the Bletchley Park code breakers during the war. John, with his cousin Robert also made a popular after-dinner speaking duo.

John was a member of Adderbury Theatre Workshop (ATW) for thirty years; he was their current president up until the end. He wrote and produced most of the scripts and scurrilous rhymes for ATW's annual cabaret; also he usually had a part in their annual pantomime – John's one weakness, however, was that he was utterly unable to remember his own, or anyone else's, lines without prompts; other performers in the show often found that they had little bits of dialogue pinned to their sleeves – bits of paper were taped to the scenery or curtains. His monologues and rhymes usually based on local events and people were always very amusing; when John came on stage, kitted-out in some outlandish costume, with his round face, sparkling, smiling eyes and his button nose, you knew you were in for a hilarious evening.

For twelve years I had the privilege and pleasure of working with John designing, building and painting the scenery for ATW's pantos – even when we were working in the village institute in a bitterly, cold January winter, working with John was fun and time seemed to fly – and the cold went unnoticed – even when the mixing water for the paint nearly froze!

In 1988 John went to live at Deddington, at first in a flat, later when he needed care to Featherton House. As one might well guess John integrated very quickly into what is a very active community – a talented artist he was soon exhibiting at their art exhibitions – I still treasure my collection of his Christmas cards that he designed and painted each year often with scenes from Italy which he visited, in his open-top tourer, many times over the years. He was particularly popular in the village poetry group with a great following – in fact he was a leading light chairing some of the Deddington Festival poetry evenings; his last artistic creation was a charming little book of his own rhymes. John Cheney will be sorely missed by his many, many devoted friends – he really did bring joy and happiness in his wake.

N.J. Allen

GEOFFREY SMEDLEY-STEVENSON
1933–2013

Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson regularly attended our Annual General Meetings, and he was present in July at Combe Mill. He died just weeks later, on 9th August. Geoffrey was educated at Clare College, Cambridge, subsequently becoming a schoolmaster. He contested Chesterfield and Loughborough for the Liberal Party in 1959 and 1964 respectively. He later moved to Oxfordshire, living initially at Middle Barton (W.G. Hoskins's country, as he remarked in his bibliography of *Oxfordshire*, published by Barracuda in 1977). He became a Senior Lecturer at the then Oxford Polytechnic (now Oxford Brookes University), subsequently moving to East Sussex.

A member of our Society from early days, in 1990 *Cake & Cockhorse* first mentioned that his work on Victorian Vicar William Cotton Risley of Deddington's diary was a future publication then 'in progress'. What became two volumes eventually appeared in 2007 and 2012. After the first, uniquely for our records series, I was constantly asked when the second would follow. We have had other volumes that were readable rather than just records, but these deservedly must be amongst the best, catering for all of north Oxfordshire and beyond. Instantly enjoyable, perfect for bedtime reading, they revealed much about the privileged life of a country 'squarson', but also about the lives of his parishioners and neighbours... and local lore. As an example, those living anywhere near Banbury will know Crouch Hill and its familiar clump of trees on its summit. But who had planted them? Risley can (almost) tell us:

> "2 Feb 1856: I ascended Crouch Hill [part of Risley's Easington property]... planted by Cobb many years since... and was much struck with the grand Panoramic view therefrom from which I was told on a very clear day more than a dozen Churches are visible..."

At that time, 1990, Geoffrey had already been working many years on these voluminous diaries. He remained uncomplainingly patient with the many delays in final production. I am so thankful that we both survived to see their successful publication and the congratulatory reviews that followed. But I will miss our past constant correspondence and his presence at our AGMs. At least our members and future readers will continue to benefit from his immense research and work.

Jeremy Gibson

DR PAMELA HORN

To our great regret we have learnt that Dr Pamela Horn died earlier this year. We have been benefiting from her contributions for over forty years since 1967. She wrote on many topics but her particular interests were in rural education and the poor. We (especially editors of *Cake & Cockhorse*) will greatly miss her support. An obituary and a list of her articles in this journal will appear in our next issue.

Lecture Report

Brian Little

Thursday 10th October 2013

Matthew Boulton and the celebration of industrial technology

Dr Malcolm Dick

This was a very well organised lecture in which Matthew Boulton was presented as an ideas and money man rather than someone at the cutting edge of technology.

The influence of Matthew's father was paramount in his life. As the son of a small metal goods manufacturer it was logical that he should move within a similar orbit. His life spanned the years 1728 to 1809 and so the nearness of the anniversary of his death has increased the appropriateness of a celebration of Soho Manufactory, his model factory in Handsworth.

Much of Malcolm Dick's talk was taken up with detailed references to the Soho Works where production was focused mainly on luxury metal products such as guns, silver items and cutlery aimed at an upper middle class market but also smaller items including buttons and buckles.

An erratic water supply necessitated a move away from hydropower and this led Boulton into a correspondence with James Watt. Their partnership in 1775 and development of Watt's steam pump eventually moved the factory and others like it from water to steam power but success also depended on its location in the West Midlands perceived as the Silicon Valley of its day.

The Soho works had outstanding importance not least as a meeting place for members of the Lunar Society, a group of prominent men based in the West Midlands interested in the arts, science and theology. These included James Watt, Erasmus Darwin, Josiah Wedgwood and Joseph Priestly.

Boulton was a great propagandist for industry and in many ways an enlightened employer. More like a Palladian mansion than a mill town factory, Soho was the physical manifestation of his ideas and was deliberately presented to attract visitors including many from overseas on European grand tours. Although Boulton's approach necessitated massive money borrowing this was worthwhile to achieve the evolution of key markets for industrialisation though ironically Boulton's and Watt's patents may actually have retarded some forms of production.

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

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

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

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

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

The Banbury Chapbooks, by Dr Leo John De 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 Coum 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).

Prices / availability of all back volumes, and of *Cake and Cockhorse* from Jeremy Gibson, Harts Cottage, Church Hanborough, Witney OX29 8AB. <jeremy.gibson@eftbroadband.net>

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

Autumn/Winter 2013-2014 programme

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

Thursday 12th December 2013

Notorious Neithrop: marriage, sex and cohabitation in nineteenth century Banbury

Professor Rebecca Probert, *University of Warwick*

Thursday 9th January 2014

The Green Man trail in Oxfordshire

Tim Healey, *writer and broadcaster*

Thursday 13th February 2014

From Gough to Google: the development of Printed Maps in Oxfordshire

John Leighfield, CBE

Thursday 13th March 2014

The early life of Lord Nuffield and the birth of the Motor Industry

Robert Harris

Digitally printed by Parchments of Oxford
Printworks, Crescent Road, Cowley, Oxford, England OX4 2PB
email: print@parchmentUK.com www.ParchmentUK.com