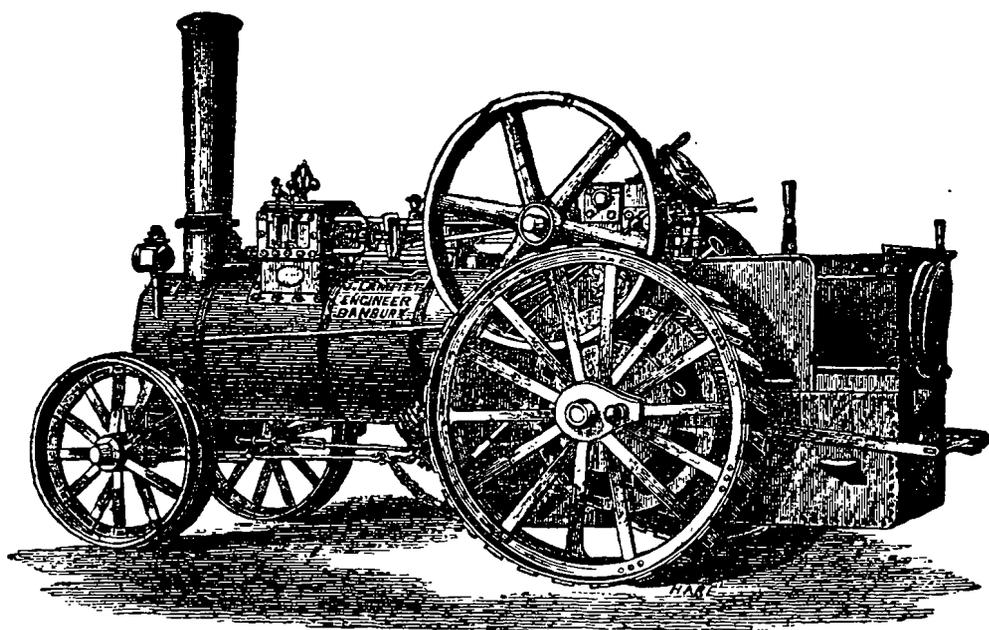


# CAKE AND COCKHORSE



**Banbury Historical Society**

Winter 1966

**2s.6d.**

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Society was founded in 1958 to encourage interest in the history of the town and neighbouring parts of Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire and Warwickshire.

The magazine Cake and Cockhorse is issued to members four times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. A booklet Old Banbury - a short popular history, by E.R.C. Brinkworth, M.A., price 3/6 and a pamphlet A History of Banbury Cross price 6d have been published and a Christmas card is a popular annual production.

The Society also publishes an annual records volume. These have included Oxfordshire Clock-makers, 1400-1850; South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684; Banbury Marriage Register, 1558-1837 (3 parts) and Baptism and Burial Register, 1558-1653. Volumes in advanced preparation include the Correspondence of Henry Tancred and Banbury Inventories, 1621-50.

Meetings are held during the winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. at the Conservative Club. Talks on general and local archaeological, historical and architectural subjects are given by invited lecturers. In the summer, excursions to local country houses and churches are arranged. Archaeological excavations and special exhibitions are arranged from time to time.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer or seconder being needed. The annual subscription is 25/-, including the annual records volume, or 10/- if this is excluded. Junior membership is 5/-.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary or the Hon. Treasurer.

## STOP PRESS - IMPORTANT NOTICE

Since this issue went to press a Public Meeting to discuss the Proposed Expansion of Banbury to a population of 70,000 has been announced, to be held at 7.00 p.m. on Tuesday, 29th November, in Banbury Town Hall. Members are urged to attend this and voice their views.

On account of this, the Society's own meeting, on

### THE CIVIL WAR

originally announced for that date, has been put back by two days to

Thursday, 1st December

still 7.30 p.m., at Banbury Conservative Club.

# CAKE AND COCKHORSE

The magazine of the Banbury Historical Society. Issued to members four times a year.  
Volume Three. Number Six. Winter, 1966.

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The achievements of this Society in the nine years since its establishment and its present membership of over 350 can be regarded with some satisfaction. It is important however, not to feel ourselves self-sufficient or to become complacent. A proper awareness of the activities of like bodies in and around Banbury is to be encouraged. The list we print on the inside back cover is sufficient to show their number.

These fall into three categories: local amenity societies with whose aims, not specifically historical, we sympathise and encourage; county-based and usually old-established historical societies; and societies similar to ourselves, but mainly smaller and more recently established, found in nearby towns and villages.

In the first category, the Arts Council of Banbury is doing splendid work in encouraging co-operation and joint participation in events, and it is doubtful if members of the various cultural societies in Banbury can still be unaware of each others' activities. The Arts Festival was a climax to recent efforts, and it is to be hoped that the Historical Society will be able to participate in its successors. Details of the Civic Society are included with this issue. Its primary interest in the present and future to some extent enables the Historical Society to concentrate on the past - but does not free our members of their own responsibility to interest themselves in both. With similar views but with a national organisation is the Council for the Preservation of Rural England. A local committee has recently been formed and a bulletin is issued. The part these two bodies can play in preserving our historical heritage is of the greatest importance and eminently worthy of members' support.

The county societies mostly have many years of records publications to their credit, as well as providing excellent programmes of meetings and visits. Then there are several small local societies, some of whose achievements belie their size. The Shipston-on-Stour Local History Society was formed only two years ago, but has already held two large exhibitions, each attended by over 1,000 people; and have excavated a Romano-British site at Swalcliffe Lea amongst other activities. There are thriving groups at Bicester, Woodford Halse and Farthinghoe. It is to be hoped that members with interest in these areas will support these bodies too, if only to increase close liaison between us.

Finally to all our readers may we recommend a quarterly journal of absorbing interest - "The Amateur Historian" (soon to be renamed "The Local Historian"). Its articles, written for just such as our members, are packed with information and suggestions for lines of local historical enquiry. If more of our membership were to take and read, and act on, its suggestions, then this Society could well be proud of its achievements.

J. S. W. G.

OUR COVER shows one of the later products of the Neithrop engineers, a Lampitt traction engine of 1888.

## SOCIETY NEWS AND ACTIVITIES

### Winter Programme

Tuesday, 29th November 7.30 p.m. Conservative Club (next to Martins Bank), High Street

#### "The Civil War - Films and Discussion"

Films lasting half an hour will give a full account of the Civil War beginning with a study of the resources of each side at the outset of the War and of the men and methods of Seventeenth Century armies. The films go on to give a full description of the Edgehill campaign and the campaigns in the North and West in 1643. Maps, diagrams and photographs are used.

It is hoped to follow the films with discussion and questions arising from what has been shown.

Thursday, 26th January, 7.30 p.m. "The Village of Bodicote". Meeting at the new Bodicote Village School.

Tuesday, 28th February, 7.30 p.m. Mr. Anthony Wood, Warwickshire County Archivist, will speak on the work of the local 18th-century architect, Sanderson Miller.

Tuesday, 28th March, 7.30 p.m. Mr. Don Benson, Field Officer of the Oxford City and County Museum, will speak on his work with special reference to the excavations at Ascott-under-Wychwood.

Thursday, 27th April, 7.30 p.m. "Social Conditions in the Nineteenth Century" - a study of the poorer areas, their living conditions and social habits a hundred years ago.

The first meeting of the season, on 29th September, when Philip Barker spoke on "Norman Castles", was a delightful evening with a splendid attendance. We hope to maintain both the standard of the lectures and the size of the audience.

### Subscription

Members who attended the Annual General Meeting will recall that an increase in subscription was sanctioned unanimously, due to take effect from 1st January, 1967. Your committee have since considered the implications of the current financial "freeze" and have come to the conclusion that, although such an increase would probably be legitimate, it would be more in keeping with the national effort to maintain the subscriptions at their present rate for the year 1967. This decision will affect our 1967 accounts adversely, and it will undoubtedly be essential for the increase to take effect from 1st January, 1968.

### Christmas Cards

As already announced, no new Christmas card is being produced this year. Cards from former years are still available, and will be on sale at the November meeting, at the following rates per dozen:-

Broughton Castle, 10/-; Town Hall and Cow Fair, and North Bar and St. Mary's Church 9/-; The Cross, and South Bar, 6/-.

### New Publications

The second edition of "Old Banbury - a short popular history" by E. R. C. Brinkworth, is to be published on 26th November. Although the text remains the same, many line illustrations have been added, and there is a new cover showing an aerial view of the Market Place. The price remains 3/6d, and the booklet is a real bargain, on which the Society will be making very little profit indeed; it is hoped therefore that all members will buy copies - they will make excellent Christmas presents too - as a contribution to the heavy cost of production as well as for their own interest.

The Oxford Architectural and Historical Society's "Oxoniensia" for the years 1964/65 has recently been published. It includes a long report on an extremely complex series of excavations at City Farm, Hanborough, an article on ridge and furrow in Berkshire and Oxfordshire based on a particularly close study of the township of Water Eaton, and accounts of the Carfax Conduit and of Lord Salisbury's election as Chancellor of Oxford University in 1869.

BANBURY'S POOR IN 1850

The nocturnal traveller approaching Banbury in 1850 would see from afar the lights of the town centre, but before reaching them would find himself stumbling along the ill-paved, unlit roads of Neithrop<sup>(1)</sup>, from time to time stepping into heaps of filth and occasionally being subjected to the insults of drunken inhabitants. He would soon learn that, as a government inspector remarked in 1850, "Banbury and Neithrop form one town, though not with unity of social interests".<sup>(2)</sup>

"Neithrop" meant two different areas in the 19th century. Banbury parish contained over 4,000 acres, of which the municipal borough comprised a mere 300. The remainder consisted of the hamlets of Neithrop, Hardwick, Calthorpe, Easington and Wykham in Oxfordshire, and Grimsbury and Nethercote in Northamptonshire.<sup>(3)</sup> "Neithrop" could mean either the township on the north western side of the parish, between the main roads to Broughton and Southam, or the whole of the Oxfordshire portion of the parish outside the borough. In the former sense Neithrop is hereafter referred to as the township, and in the latter sense as the parish. Neithrop parish almost entirely surrounded the borough. The boundary between the two, marked with white arrows painted on houses and walls<sup>(4)</sup>, was "extremely intricate and ill-defined"<sup>(5)</sup>. This led to such absurdities as the situation in Calthorpe Street, which began in the borough, passed through Neithrop and terminated in the borough, and frustrated the improvement of large parts of the town by the Paving and Lighting Commission set up in 1826 which only had powers in the borough. Criminals running from crimes committed in the borough found a hospitable refuge in the streets of Neithrop where the writ of the Banbury magistrates did not run<sup>(6)</sup>.

In 1811 there were no more than 284 houses in the whole of Neithrop parish. By 1841 there were 721 and the total exceeded a thousand by 1861. Population rose from 1,332 in 1811 to 4,185 in 1851. In the same period the population of the borough rose only from 2,869 to 4,035<sup>(7)</sup>. A large part of the expansion up to the mid 1840's was in Neithrop township, where in 1851 just under 400 houses were occupied by over 1600 people.

There were strong antagonisms between the traders of Banbury borough and the "poor and persons of bad character" who lived in Neithrop, both those in the township and those in the streets of Neithrop parish adjoining the borough. In 1849, Thomas Pain the solicitor who lived in Bridge Street in the borough described how his domestic peace was disturbed by a beerhouse just over the Neithrop border "much frequented by boatmen and persons of bad character" and how a great disturbance with "men and women fighting and calling blue murder" went on with the borough police powerless to interfere.<sup>(8)</sup> The Board of Health inspector in 1849 was repeatedly told how sanitary conditions, drunkenness and immorality were all much worse in Neithrop than in the borough.

A few middle class families lived in Neithrop township, but the majority, 1,500 of the 1,700 inhabitants according to the vicar<sup>(9)</sup>, were entirely poor. The people of Neithrop rarely achieved mention as individuals in the newspapers and pamphlets produced in such profusion in 19th century Banbury. Few of them appeared in the very comprehensive local directories and still fewer in the poll books. The men of Neithrop are not to be found among the active members of the Mechanics' Institute, on political committees, in the cultural societies or among the leaders of the churches. Yet the strength of language used by tradespeople in describing the area shows that the suburb was a powerful influence on the attitudes of the politically, culturally and religiously conscious in a town typical of the small and medium boroughs which "electorally, made and unmade governments"<sup>(10)</sup> in the 19th century. The fortuitous coincidence of three illuminating sources around the year 1850 makes it possible to give an unusually detailed picture of the poor of Neithrop township.

The first of these, the census taken on March 30th, 1851, is well known. The second is the report of T.W. Rammell made in 1850 after a petition the previous year by some of the more influential inhabitants of Neithrop parish for the setting up of a Board of Health for the district under the terms of the Public Health Act of 1848. In March and May 1849 Rammell visited Banbury and his report provides much detailed evidence about living conditions. As a result of

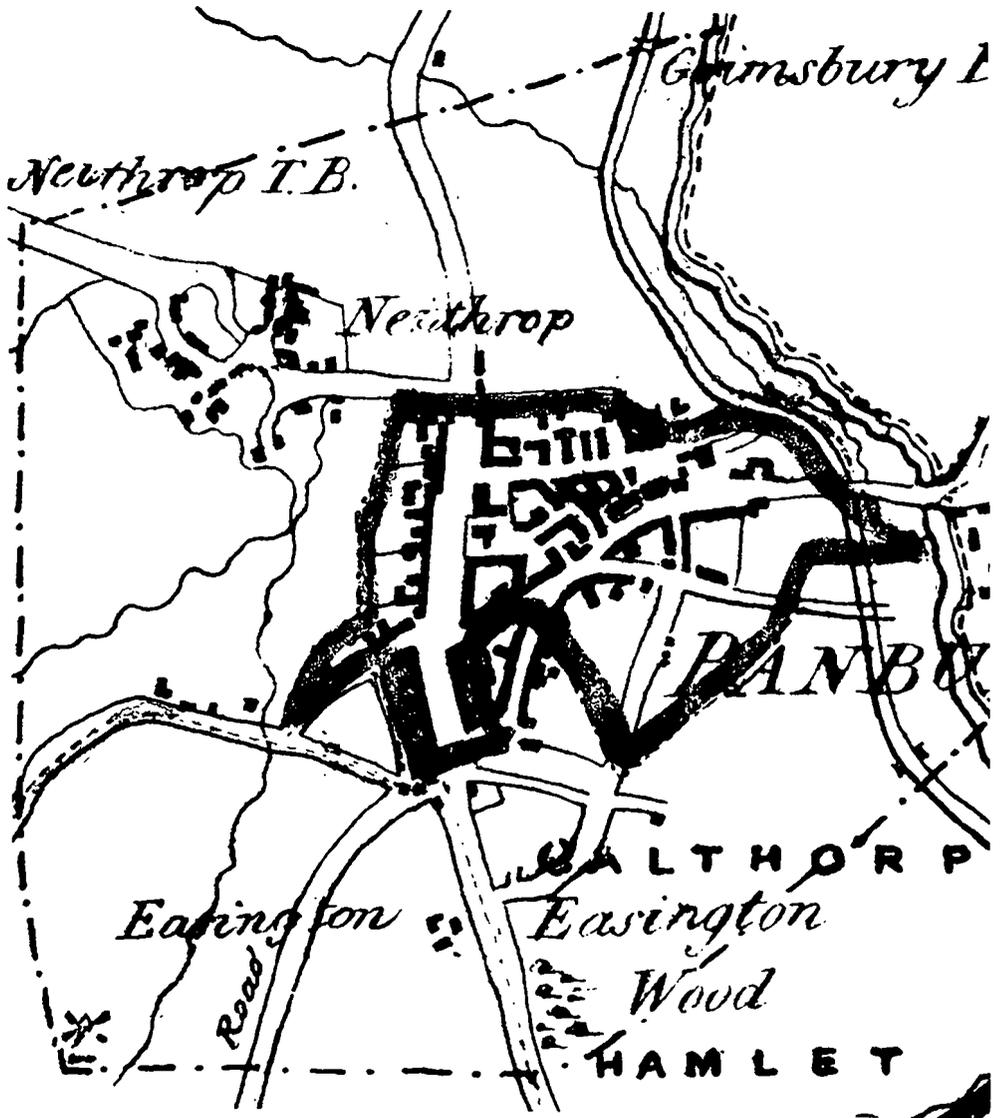


Fig. 1. Banbury Parish in 1832. This map was drawn to illustrate the changes brought about by the 1832 Reform Bill, by which all of Banbury parish was incorporated into the parliamentary borough. Note the extremely small area of the old parliamentary borough which continued as the municipal borough until 1889.

his work a local Board of Health covering both Neithrop and Banbury was set up in 1852. The third source is an extremely detailed survey of the inhabitants of Neithrop township taken on the initiative of William Wilson, the vicar, in the last two weeks of August 1850.

The key to the survey is a map of the whole of Banbury at a scale of 32 inches to the mile, on which every house is fairly accurately positioned and numbered. A chart gives the names of each street and group of cottages. The survey itself takes the form of four sketch plans of an even larger scale, covering the Townsend area, Paradise and Boxhedge, the Foundry Bank complex and the houses around the junction of North Bar and Castle Street. Each householder is recorded with his occupation, his children, their ages and where they attended school, and his religious affiliation is shown by a code of coloured circles. The information on the survey has been correlated with that for the same households on the census, and where appropriate, with information from Rusher's Directories, church records and newspapers.

Neithrop parish in general and Neithrop township in particular were extremely unhealthy areas in the mid 19th century, with an average mortality of 26:1,000, much above the national average. A sixth of the deaths came from epidemic, endemic and contagious diseases, and fever was common in the district. In the period 1842 - 1848 there were 1,054 births in the parish and 340 deaths of children under seven. Half of the whole mortality in Neithrop was of people under twenty<sup>(11)</sup>. The effects of these conditions on one family can be seen in the case of Robert and Elizabeth Prescott of Hobley's Lane who had four children in 1851. During the 1840's they had three other children baptised, all of whom had died before 1850<sup>(12)</sup>.

Most of the unhealthiness of the area was the result of defective or non-existent drainage facilities, and of inadequate privy accommodation. A sample of 115 houses in the township in 1849 had an average of one privy to every eighteen people.<sup>(13)</sup> When privies did exist their contents were often dumped in the street when they were filled.<sup>(14)</sup>

Neithrop township was an ancient settlement, and many of the houses standing in 1850 were very old. A building dated 1626 still remains in the hamlet. Most of these old houses were terraced versions of the "ironstone cottages" still to be seen in many north Oxfordshire villages, with one or two rooms on the ground floor with an all-over garrett set into a high pitched thatch roof, lit by a small dormer window. Such houses were to be found on the west side of Hobley's Lane, in Paradise and among the older buildings in the Tanyard. The houses of more recent construction were of brick with slate roofs, and often with an extremely cramped third storey. The frontage of the houses on the east side of Hobley's Lane is no more than 11 feet 6 inches.

Community facilities in Neithrop were limited. Of the 82 taverns and beerhouses in Banbury in 1850, only ten were in the area covered by Wilson's survey, and of these, only the Millwright's Arms and Thomas Dale's beerhouse were situated off the main roads. The people of Neithrop must have achieved their reputation for "intoxication and its immoral and degenerating consequences"<sup>(15)</sup> either by very intensive use of these ten houses, or by using the taverns of Banbury borough.

Shopping facilities were also sparse. There were four grocers or general food shops, three bakers, a fruiterer, two milk sellers, and three butchers. This was a disproportionately small share of the total shopping facilities in Banbury as a whole where there were 32 butchers, 27 bakers, 17 fruiterers and 19 grocers.<sup>(16)</sup>

## THE SURVEY

### North Bar (east)

Wilson's survey began in North Bar among the tradesmen of the borough. At number 887 (now 45 North Bar) lived William Bricknell, a carpenter of 27, with his wife, a baby daughter and a 12 year old girl servant. Next to him was William Wilkins, a brick-layer employing 4 men. When he first set up business in 1835 at about the age of 18, he proudly advertised his skill in curing smokey chimneys.<sup>(17)</sup> Wilkins and Bricknell were both Wesleyans. At No. 885 lived Clement Bromley a plumber, born in Gloucestershire and employing one tradesman. His brother aged 16 was his apprentice and lived in the household. The Bromleys had a 14 year old girl servant. At the next house was a school owned by Martha Hawkins, a 29 year old spinster. Her

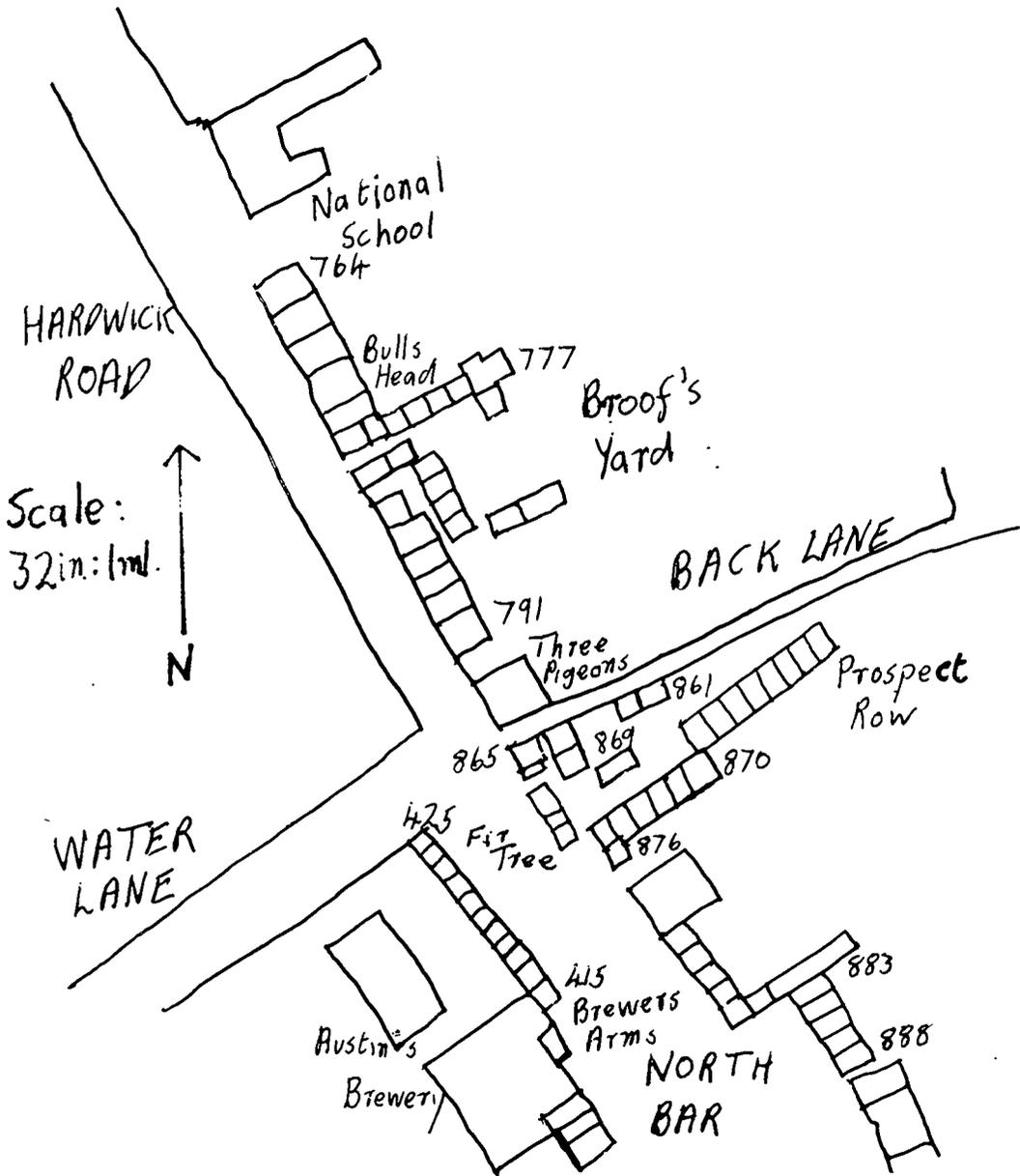


Fig. 2. Sketch Map 1 - North Bar, The Tanyard and Hardwick Road. All four maps of the different parts of Neithrop are direct tracings from the key map to the survey. Street lines are reasonably accurate, but the precise positioning of the various groups of houses is from time to time at fault.

two sisters taught with her and two of the pupils were her youngest sister and brother. In the building in the corner of North Bar was the blacking factory and home of Robert Cockerill. George Herbert, one of his closest friends, explains how Cockerill came to invent a form of shoe blacking and how in consequence of his ignorance of chemistry, he grew crops of dandelions to make wine to harden it, when all that was needed was crude alcohol<sup>(18)</sup>. Nevertheless the blacking was shown at the Crystal Palace in the Great Exhibition of 1851<sup>(19)</sup>. Cockerill employed five hands in the factory, of whom one lived on the premises. He was a Towcester man and a Wesleyan, and in the early 1840's had been sub-treasurer of the Banbury Chartist branch meeting and a delegate to the National Convention in 1842<sup>(20)</sup>. He was still campaigning for radical causes in 1852, when he attacked the churches for their indifference to the striking weavers<sup>(21)</sup>. In a thatched stone cottage on the north side of North Bar<sup>(22)</sup> lived John Poulton, widower and cabinet maker, whose daughter kept house for him. He was a member of the Independent church but later became a Plymouth Brother<sup>(23)</sup>.

At the house on the corner of North Bar, No. 882, lived William Nap, a fruiterer, and No. 881 was the home of William Sloan, a Scottish tea dealer who attended the Independent church. At the next house was James Walker, a 70 year old harness maker with his three daughters, two of them milliners and the third a dressmaker. The present No. 36 North Bar, part of a large late 16th or early 17th century house, accommodated George Eglinton, a cordwainer, his wife, an apprentice and a nursemaid who looked after his 11 month old daughter. In the other half of the building, (now No. 36) lived Samuel Glaze a malster, seedsman and grocer, one time landlord of the Butcher's Arms and of the Old George, an active Reformer in politics and a Wesleyan. At the large house now called "Trelawn" lived William Floyd, a currier and leather cutter employing 5 men, and two house servants. He was treasurer of the Borough Conservative Association between 1842 and 1844 and was responsible for George Herbert's giving up shoemaking<sup>(24)</sup>. His house was built by James Danby who had left it to go to the Ark House in Water Lane<sup>(25)</sup>.

### The Tanyard

The properties round about were known as the Tanyard and were owned by a board of Trustees under a deed of gift of John Newman of 1766, under which the proceeds were to augment the salary of the minister of the Presbyterian Old Meeting<sup>(26)</sup>. In 1827 there were 11 tenants of the "old thatched tumbledown cottages"<sup>(27)</sup> and the annual rental amounted to £40/17/- . In 1840 James Danby took over the site on a 75 year lease and within a few years had pulled down some of the property and built new cottages<sup>(28)</sup>. The Tanyard was a particularly unhealthy area in 1849 when the 40 people in the ten occupied houses shared one privy<sup>(29)</sup>.

To the north of Floyd's house was a gap giving access to his business premises beyond which was the cottage of William Pritchard, a 62 year old coal dealer, his wife and a granddaughter. Pritchard was a Wesleyan "because he had been brought up such and had no reason to go elsewhere"<sup>(30)</sup>, and in 1842 had been a representative to the Chartist convention<sup>(31)</sup>. In 1849 he remained an avid reader of the radical Sunday press<sup>(32)</sup>. Behind his cottage at right angles to the main road was a terrace of six houses, now converted into a dance school, and in 1850 entirely occupied by farm labourers and plush weavers. The first two were the homes of Wesleyans, Thomas Archer a farm labourer, and Charles Pain a weaver. Next came another weaver, Benjamin Pain, with his wife and six children, and at No. 872 Benjamin and Kezia Hartwell with four children and three lodgers. Hartwell too was a weaver. The next two households, those of John Nutt a farm labourer, and Matthew Jones a weaver, were both occupied by eight people. This row had one of the worst concentrations of overcrowding in Neithrop.

The first of the next range of 3 houses<sup>(33)</sup>, set well out into the road near the site of the original North Bar, accommodated John Tustain, a Wesleyan policeman, his wife and their 7 children. The middle house was the Fir Tree Inn, kept by Daniel Robbins, a carpenter, and the last was the home of William Heritage, a Wesleyan butcher. Heritage had kept a shop since 1844 and about 1856 took over the inn from Robbins<sup>(34)</sup>. It is reasonable to suppose that he was the William Heritage, labourer of Neithrop, who was a Chartist delegate in 1842<sup>(35)</sup>.

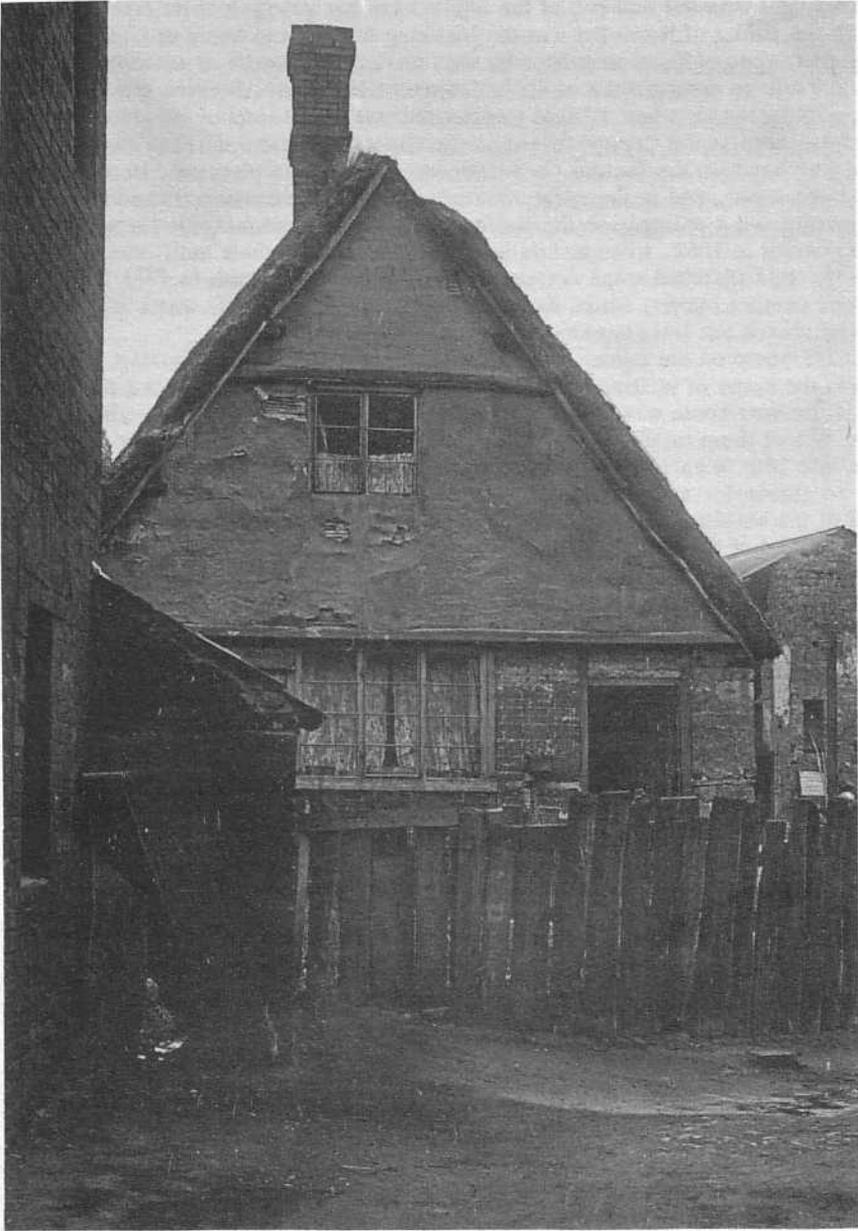


Fig. 3. One of the houses in the Tanyard, photographed c. 1900.

Next to this range came the blacksmith's shop of Thomas Lawrence, one time landlord of the Dog and Gun. He was a Gloucestershire man, a widower, and employed 2 men, a 20 year old journeyman from Chadlington and a 15 year old apprentice from Charlton (Northants). Both lived in, and the household was in the charge of Lawrence's sister in law. Behind the blacksmith's shop were five scattered cottages, occupied chiefly by the very poor. A surviving photograph<sup>(36)</sup> shows one of them as a timber framed building with brick and lath and plaster walls.

In the largest of them lived Robert Jones, a Unitarian plush weaver, his wife and their three children. One of the two houses fronting Back Lane (now Castle Street) was occupied by Rebecca Golby, a widow washerwoman living alone. Two families living here at the time of the survey had moved when the census was taken, and their places had been taken by Martha Clark a winder of yarn and her two children, and two aged paupers William and Elizabeth Jackson, recently moved from Townsend.

#### Hardwick Road (Southam Road)

On the other side of Back Lane is the Three Pigeons. The subterranean doorway and low windows are the result of the realigning of the road by the Paving and Lighting Commissioners. The houses between the inn and the National Schools are at the present road level, and so were presumably built between 1826 and 1850. The landlord of the Three Pigeons was William Walker, a baker of 31, born at Islip. At the time of the census he had three small sons, and employed a 21 year old house servant. Lodging with him at that time were Josiah and Julia Norris and their two children. Norris was a millwright born at Stroud, though his wife and children were natives of Bloxham. There were apparently two small appurtenances to the inn not visited by Wilson's surveyors. In March 1851 one was occupied by Sarah Bourne, a widow of 69, her grand daughter aged 5 and Patience Cripps, a 66 year old nurse. The other was the home of Joseph Butler and his wife. Butler was a groom probably employed at the inn.

At the first of the houses between the Three Pigeons and the National School (now No.5 Southam Road), lived the Baptists Thomas and Martha Dumbleton, their two children, and Dumbleton's apprentice to the saddling trade. Next came James Stockton, a 71 year old superannuated excise officer living with his wife and two children, one of whom, a solicitor's clerk, was later to become a partner in Stockton, Sons and Fortescue. At No. 789 lived Mary Hopkins a widow dressmaker, with an apprentice and a daughter also engaged in the trade. No. 788 was empty at the time of the census, though Wilson's survey found a family called Riley living there. Next door Levi and Mary Gascoigne who kept a dame's school, but they too had moved by March 1851. At No. 785 at the entrance to Broof's Yard lived a tailor, Thomas Wheeler, his wife and their three young children. At the next house was Mary Owen, a Wesleyan, widow of a carpenter, and mother of two children. On the other side of the entrance to Broof's Yard lived another widow, Sarah Varney, who traded as a baker. Three sons lived at home together with an errand boy, a bricklayer "relative" John Varney, and another John Varney, a widower baker. Next door were George Scarcebrook, a maker of rope and twine, and his wife a milliner and dressmaker. They were one of the few couples recorded with different religious affiliations. He was nominally Anglican and his wife an Independent. Next came the Bull's Head, a beerhouse kept by William and Temperance White. They had three children and a lodger, William Broof a butcher. At No. 766 lived Stephen Walker, a weaver who had taken up tailoring, and a recent arrival from Water Lane. Next door were the Unitarian Tasker family but they had moved by March 1851. Finally in the house next to the National School lived Christopher Greatrex a fellmonger and active Anglican, his wife, their six children and Joseph Morse, a 70 year old lodger. Morse had once been a woolstapler in a large way of business and had lived at Neithrop House<sup>(37)</sup>. He had been a close associate of the Austin family, and he nominated Henry Vincent in the Banbury election of 1841<sup>(38)</sup>.

#### Broof's Yard

Broof's Yard, later known as Southall Gardens, was approached through a passage which still runs between Nos. 10 and 11 Southam Road. It was apparently erected some time between



Fig. 4. The houses in North Bar number 423/4/5, photographed 1959. These were owned by Austin's brewery, and are typical of the early 19th century cottages in Neithrop.

1824 and 1832 by Thomas Broof who in 1814 owned four houses in this part of the town and occupied one himself<sup>(39)</sup>. The yard consisted of a terrace of 8 houses extending at right angles to the main road back from the rear of No. 769, four cottages built parallel to the main road and two others at right angles to the road which completed a quadrangle.

In the first of the cottages in the longest range lived George and Hannah Randall and their three children. Randall was a weaver and an Independent, and both he and his wife were natives of Bloxham. Next door lived the family of one Kilpack a Baptist weaver but by March 1851 they had been replaced by John Wagstaff, a bricklayer's labourer, his wife and their 10-week old daughter. At No. 772 lived Richard Tustain a Catholic labourer born at Shutford, his wife, a native of Limerick, and their three children. Next door lived a pauper weaver, 76 year old Thomas Pargeter, his wife and son and daughter both of whom were engaged in the plush trade. Another weaver, Thomas White, lived at No. 776. Two of his children, aged 12 and 8 were born at Coventry. Daniel Herbert, yet another weaver, occupied the top house in the terrace with his wife and two children. The two cottages on the southern side of the quadrangle were the homes of Joseph Birt, a labourer, his wife and three working children, and of Joseph Baker, a basket maker, his wife, their 8 children and a lodger. At Nos. 780 and 781 lived a widower labourer and Primitive Methodist, Robert D'ogley with his six sons, and William King a weaver, his wife and their 5 children. At the next house Wilson's survey found the Pears family but by March 1851 they had been replaced by Thomas Jackson a weaver, his wife and their four children. In the last house in the yard lived Charles Ingram, a 23 year old ostler and his wife.

#### North Bar (West)

On the western side of North Bar Wilson's survey began at Austin and Harman's brewery, at the entrance to which stood the Brewer's Arms, kept by Thomas Fleet who had succeeded his father Frederick as landlord. Fleet was an Independent, though his father followed his employers the Austins in their affiliations with obscure Baptist meetings<sup>(40)</sup>. The brewery was the largest in the town and the most valuable single property in the borough in 1832<sup>(41)</sup>. Its products were distributed through a chain of public houses in the district. The brewery owned the terrace of 11 cottages reaching to the corner of Water Lane<sup>(42)</sup>, and several of its employees seem to have been among the tenants.

In the first of the houses in the terrace, No. 415, lived James Norton, a Baptist upholsterer and cabinet maker from Brandon in Suffolk, with his wife and five sons, the eldest of whom was already apprenticed to his father's trade at the age of 13. Next to the Nortons lived Caroline Cooper a widowed tailoress, with three children, a sister and a lodger. At No. 417 lived Joseph Tuffrey a labourer at the brewery, with his wife and two lodgers. Next came another brewer's labourer, Thomas French, a widower, with his 21 year old daughter keeping house, and a son and 4 lodgers also living there. The Cross family at No. 419 were Wesleyans and had moved by the time of the census. At No. 420 lived Thomas Holloway, a 71 year old policeman with his wife and two journeymen coopers as lodgers. A carpenter called Blounston, a Wesleyan, lived next door at the time of the survey, but had left by March 1851. At No. 422 lived William Butler a postman, his wife a milliner and dressmaker, and their 2 children. Next came Sarah Woodward, a pauper washer and widow, and her three children, and then Charles Pulker, a Primitive Methodist<sup>(43)</sup> journeyman cordwainer. At No. 424 was John Hobbs, a malster, probably working at the brewery, with his wife and three children, and on the corner of Water Lane, Charles Holloway a plush weaver.

#### Water Lane (Warwick Road)

In Water Lane Wilson's survey started at the home of Francis Francillon (now No. 62 Warwick Road) one of the town's most respected figures, a solicitor, a leading Reformer and a prominent member of the Mechanics' Institute. In spite of his eminence he was not averse to gossiping with shoemakers in the Unicorn<sup>(44)</sup>. He was one of the chief opponents of the union of Neithrop and Banbury<sup>(45)</sup>, and apparently a considerable landowner in Neithrop parish. His dislike of organised religion was notorious<sup>(46)</sup>, and he duly declared to the surveyors that he did

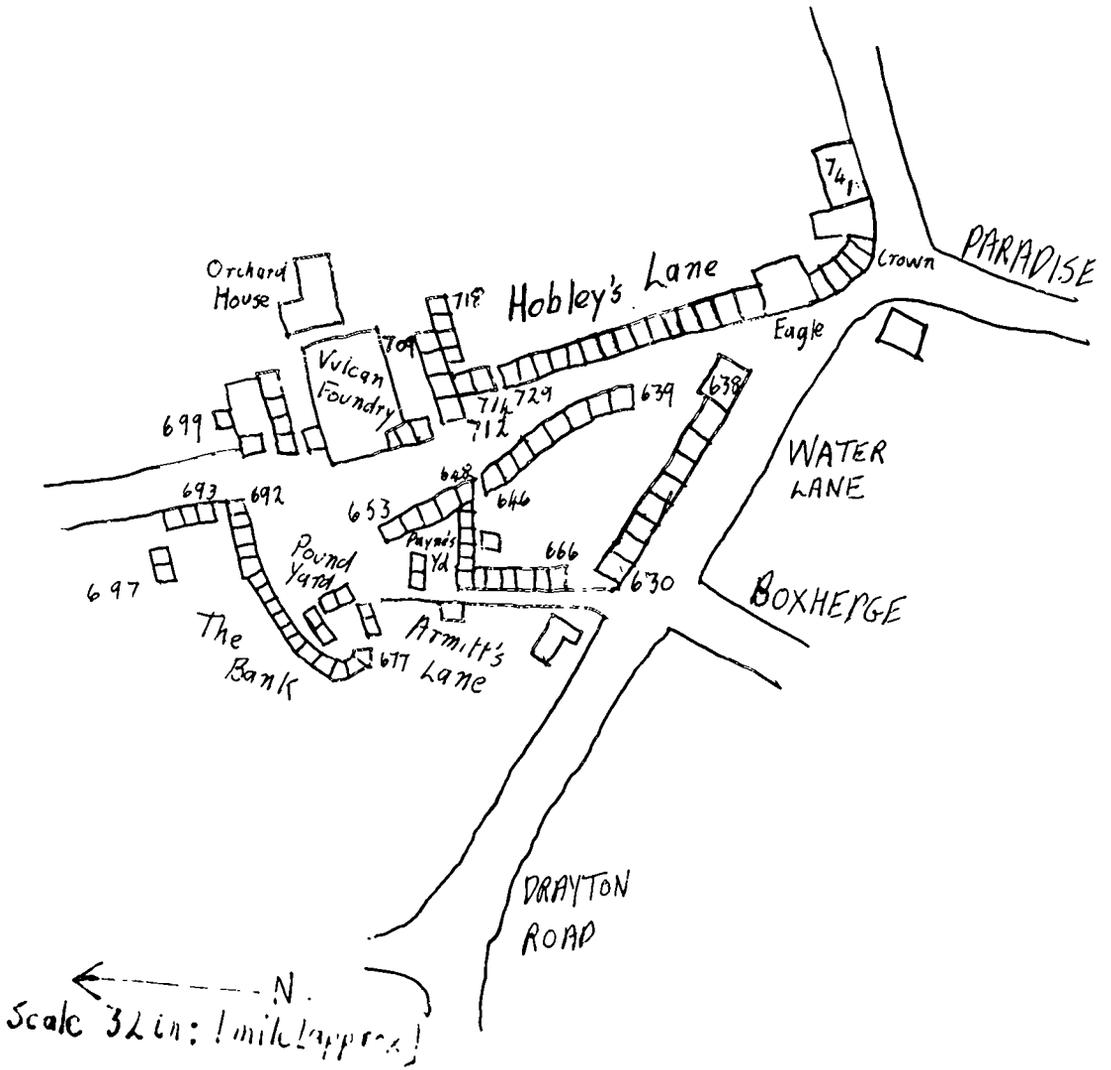


Fig. 5. Sketch Map 2 - Water Lane, Hobley's Lane and The Bank.

not attend church, though his wife had a Quaker burial, and his daughters helped in the taking of the survey. Francillon was a native of Yarmouth, and his children of 22 and 28 had been born at Chipping Norton. The Crown Inn housed Edward Butler, his wife, six children and a servant. At No. 738 lived Charles White, a milkman and an Independent, and at No. 737 Thomas Bonner, the registrar, and his brother John a gardener. Next was the shop of widow Ann Goffe, famous for her "suck-balls" made from treacle<sup>(47)</sup>. In 1850 she was gaining her living as a teacher, and a niece who was a dressmaker shared her home. At the time of the survey the next house was occupied by a watchmaker called Auther, but by March 1851 the occupants were the builder William Hobley, his wife, their three children, a nephew and a niece, and an apprentice. At the Eagle lived Mary White, her three children, her sister and a lodger. Her husband, W. C. White was away at the time of the census.

The house on the corner of Water Lane and Hobley's Lane was occupied by Alfred Hobley, farmer of 40 acres and employer of 3 men, with his mother and sister and a house servant. The next house was the home of John and Lucy Shaw. John Shaw was an engineer's clerk who later became manager of the Britannia Works. He had apparently just moved to the town from Southampton. He was 28 years old, a native of Leeds, while his wife came from Thetford and one of their children had been born in Poplar. In 1856 the Shaws moved into one of the large new houses in South Place, Grimsbury<sup>(48)</sup>. The next house was empty and No. 635 was the home of James Parnell, his wife Sophia and their three children. Parnell was a Devonian, a millwright and a Unitarian. Like Shaw he had evidently spent some time in London for one of his children had been born in the parish of St. Luke's Chelsea. The next house accommodated Thomas Webster a 58 year old schoolmaster who had once been a banker's clerk. He was a Unitarian and his school is described by George Herbert who was one of its first pupils<sup>(49)</sup>. Webster had two sons, one an apprentice shoe-maker and one a foundry worker, a daughter at school and one only ten months old. No. 633 was the home of Thomas Payne a 25 year old iron moulder and an Independent. Payne was married and a native of Greenham, Berks. The survey found No. 632 occupied by Stephen and Charlotte Walker, but they had moved to Hardwick Road by March 1851 when the house was occupied by William Tooly, a turner and his wife. Also in the area, possibly sharing Tooly's house were Hannah Parish a widow and pauper and her three tailoress daughters. No. 631 was the manse of the Superintendent minister of the Banbury Wesleyan Circuit. The survey found there John Stephens, minister in Banbury for the years beginning in September 1848 and 1849<sup>(50)</sup>, and the census records the presence of Richard Hornabrook, a Cornishman born near Launceston who had spent part of his ministry in the West Indies. His eldest children, aged 22 and 19, were born in St. Vincents, and the younger ones, including a son of 12 months, in Jamaica. The Hornabrooks enjoyed the attention of two servants. The house on the corner of Armitt's Lane was occupied by Francis Hobley, a Wesleyan slater and plasterer, his wife Sarah and their two sons. On the opposite side of the entry to the lane was a substantial house which accommodated James Newton, a Wesleyan gardener, his wife and two stepsons. This part of Water Lane was the home of people considerably more wealthy than the inhabitants of the cottages behind.

#### Hobley's Lane (East) (Foundry Street)

Hobley's Lane, earlier known as Woodhull's Rainbow's Lane,<sup>(51)</sup> and later as Foundry Street, ran from a junction with Water Lane by the Eagle to the Vulcan Foundry. The first four houses above the Eagle were quite old, and stone was used in their construction, but the brick terrace above now standing derelict was built sometime during the 1840's<sup>(52)</sup>. Next to the Eagle lived Thomas and Mary Cork with their six children. Thomas Cork was born at Bampton (Oxon) and his wife at Innishannon (Co. Cork), and some fifteen years previously they had been in the United States when their eldest son was born. They were Roman Catholics. The survey found James Gould, an Independent and a labourer at No. 732 but the census recorded William and Ellen Lampet living there. Lampet was a millwright and engineer and the couple had 5 children. They had moved from Townsend where they were recorded on the survey. Next door was John Edwards, a widower plushweaver with his two daughters and a ten year old visitor. He was an Independent. At the house above lived 45-year old William Gunn, a millwright and engineer,

with 38 year old Elizabeth Turner. At No. 729 were William and Ann Masters who had moved from Green Lane. Masters was a foundry smith, an active Anglican and a native of Rugby. At the time of Wilson's survey the house was occupied by George Humphris, a labourer. At No. 728 lived James and Elizabeth Beale and their seven children of whom four were at work. Beale was a Wesleyan and a bricklayer. Next door was Thomas Woodward, a Wesleyan house painter and a widower with five children cared for by his mother. Next came John Humphris, a labourer, his wife and their four children, of whom three were working as labourers. A Roman Catholic tailor, James Moreby, his wife and five children lived at No. 725, and George and Ann Gazy, also Catholics at No. 724. George had died by the time of the census when Ann, then aged 70, had taken in an 18-year old labourer as a lodger. At No. 723 lived Joseph Carter a tobacco pipe maker, his wife and five children of whom the three eldest had been born in London. No. 722 was the home of Robert Prescott, a Unitarian plushweaver. His wife Elizabeth was a laundress and they had four children. The next house was occupied by a farm labourer and active Anglican George Humphris, his wife, three children and a lodger. At No. 720 lived William and Elizabeth Jackson and their two sons. Jackson was a bricklayer. William Newton, a gardener like many of his namesakes, lived at No. 710 with his daughter and two sons.

On the south side of the yard of the Vulcan Foundry was a group of ten cottages sometimes known as Foundry Lower Yard. At No. 718 lived Elizabeth Taylor aged 21. At the time of the survey she was living with Alfred Wise, a foundry worker, but her husband, a bricklayer's labourer had returned by the time of the census. She was recorded as a Wesleyan. Next door lived two Independents, Mary Bland a 71 year old widow, and Mary Wild a spinster of the same age. Another widow, Sarah Penn lived at No. 716 with her two daughters in their twenties. The next house was occupied by John Adams, a farm labourer, his wife and their five children, born at Headington (Oxon.), Castlethorpe (Bucks.) and Warkworth (Northants.). No. 714 was inhabited by another farm labourer, James Haynes, his wife and six children, and George Hinton who followed the same occupation lived in the next house with his wife and brother. No. 712 was the home of James and Mary Ann Nutt. The survey recorded Nutt as a tailor, but the census called him a farm labourer. A millwright, John Coleman lived next door, with Rachel Savage his housekeeper and three children. The adjacent house was occupied by James Ewers, called a labourer in the survey and a plush weaver in the census, his wife and three children. No. 709 was occupied by Mary Woodall, widow of a baker and her two working sons.

Three houses stood in front of the foundry. The first was empty at the time of Wilson's survey, but Francis Pittam, a farm labourer from Epwell lived there with his wife and two children in March 1851. The other two were both occupied by foundry workers, No. 796 by George Barton a millwright, with his wife and working daughter, and No. 707 by Philip Monahan, an Irish engineer of 36, with Mary Bosman a 28 year old Neithrop woman acting as his "housekeeper".

Orchard House, an early 17th century yeoman's house, was occupied in 1850 by William Gregory a Unitarian gardener and seedsman and one time tobacco pipe maker. His wife, a servant and an elderly woman visitor completed the household.

Beyond the foundry was a cottage occupied by the Robinson family. Daniel Robinson apparently died between the time of the survey and that of the census which records his wife as a widow of 67. A daughter working as a smockmaker, a grand-daughter of 11, a son who was a bricklayer and two mill-wright lodgers also lived in the house. The family were Wesleyan and all of the children had been born at Walsall. Beyond this house was a range of four cottages, sometimes known as Lampett's Yard, set at right angles to the road. The first of these changed hands between the survey and the census. In 1850 it was occupied by James Wise a Wesleyan foundry labourer, and in 1851 by Charles Betts a plushweaver. The next house was the home of John Robinson a Baptist carpenter, his wife and four children. Robinson was born at Walsall and it seems likely that he was related to the family at No. 704. At No. 702 lived Thomas and Mary Heritage, both in their 80's, with a widowed daughter. Heritage was a Baptist and had been a malster. The next house also saw a change of tenants between survey and census. In 1850 John and Jane Wyatt lived there, but in 1851 it was occupied by Harvey and Mary Harding. Harding was a millwright and both he and his wife came from Braintree.

Before the beginning of Green Lane were two further detached cottages, one occupied by Richard Harris, his wife and two children, the other by Joseph Bond and his sister. Harris was recorded as a foundry worker by the survey and a farm labourer by the census, and Bond as a foundry labourer by both. Bond's sister was a needlework smocker. On the opposite side of the road were a terrace of three cottages facing the road and a pair set back at right angles to it. The pair were occupied by a branch of the Armit family and by William Masters and his wife who had moved further down Hoble's Lane by March 1851. The terrace was occupied by William Charles a farm labourer, his wife and four children, Rebecca Cooper a Wesleyan widow with three children and a lodger, and by Richard Eyles a plush weaver, his wife and their three children.

The western side of what later became Foundry Square was formed by a crescent of sixteen cottages with four pairs of houses arranged haphazardly at its southern end forming the beginning of Armit's Lane. The area was collectively known as Armit's Cottages or The Bank. The four pairs of houses were known as Pound Yard and stood on the site of the old Neithrop parish pound. They had been there since 1814 at least. The area was one of the most unhealthy in the town. The Board of Health report distinguishes two groups of buildings: Old Pound Yard with ten houses, 35 inhabitants and one privy, and Pound Row, with nine houses, 55 inhabitants and two "small and filthy" privies. The district was notorious for its many pigsties.<sup>(53)</sup>

### The Bank

The top house of the Bank was occupied at the time of Wilson's survey by William Cotterill, a labourer, his wife and their five children of whom one was working as a farm labourer. By the time of the census Cotterill had died and his widow was working as a mop spinner. Next door lived James Prescott, a widower recorded as a cooper by the survey and as a plush weaver by the census. Prescott was a Unitarian, his 21 year old daughter kept house for him, and his two sons were both plushweavers. The next house was occupied by a farm labourer, Samuel Brain, his wife Sarah and their daughter and two grandchildren. One of the most crowded houses in Neithrop came next, occupied by Thomas Mascord, a 58 year old pauper gardener unable to work, his wife Betsy, their eight children and a baby in his wife's care. Three of the eldest children left home between the time of the survey and the census. The next house accommodated William Billington, a dyer's labourer, his wife, seven children and a baby "visitor". Next door lived James O'Neal, an 80 year old pauper plushweaver and native of Shutford with his 70 year old Irish wife. Their neighbours were another plush weaver, Thomas Griffin, his wife and 20 year old seamstress daughter. John Andrews, a plushweaver in 1850 but a farm labourer in 1851 occupied the next house with his wife and stepson, a 12 year old farm worker. No. 684 was inhabited by William and Mary Ann Bosman and their two children. Bosman was a plush weaver and his wife a native of Coventry. A Roman Catholic glazier, William Armit, lived next door with his wife and two small children, and next to them were John Jackson, his wife and their two children. Sarah Bosman a widow and pauper lived in the next house with two adult sons, both plushweavers. The last three houses were occupied by James Cox, a sawyer, his wife Mary and their three sons, Hannah Brain a widow on parochial relief with her labourer son, and William Cox another sawyer, his wife and seven children. Hannah Brain had committed an ingenious crime in 1840. She had obtained from Mr. Slatter the keeper of a cook's shop in the Market Place, "a tray of the nicest pies and tarts" saying that they were for Colonel Miller of Radway. The next day she told Slatter that Miller so liked the pies that he wanted him to go to Radway to cook for a party. Slatter went, to be confronted by an angry, indignant and unwelcoming Colonel<sup>(54)</sup>.

In Pound Yard lived William Massey, a tailor, his wife and baby daughter, John Watts, a widowed labourer with his adult daughter, William Baker who had left by March 1851, George Bosman, an Independent weaver and his wife, William Armit a gardener, Richard Humphris, a sawyer with his wife and five sons, Sarah Prescott an 80 year old pauper and retired school-mistress with her son, and John Prescott a cooper, his wife and their five children. Prescott was sufficiently articulate to give evidence to the Board of Health Commissioner that there was a 16 foot well on his premises into which percolated fluid from a dunghill in a stable yard 20 yards away<sup>(55)</sup>.



Fig. 6. The houses on the western side of Hobley's Lane, redrawn from a photograph in Banbury Public Library by T. Humphris of Banbury Grammar School. These were typical of the old thatched cottages of Neithrop township.

### Hobley's Lane (West)

The greater part of the western side of Hobley's Lane comprised a terrace of 11 single storey "ironstone cottages" with garretts set into high pitched thatched roofs. The windows were protected by shutters opening downwards<sup>(56)</sup>.

The first house at the Water Lane end was empty at the time of the survey, but had been occupied by a farm labourer William Busby, his wife and son by the time of the census. The next was occupied by two Wesleyans, Charles and Fanny Ball in 1850, but in 1851 it was empty. The next house, the first of the terrace, was in 1850 the home of a weaver, Thomas Jackson, his wife and their four children, but they had moved to Broof's yard by March 1851. The next was occupied in 1850 by Joseph Gibbard, a malster, his wife and their eight children, but they had moved to Townsend by 1851. William Viggers, a sawyer with his wife and two children lived next door, and then came farm labourer John Dunn with his wife Sylvia. The next house was the home of William Baker, a weaver of baskets and his wife, and then came John Humphris, his wife Nancy, their two children, and a nephew and niece. No. 648 housed Henry Hunt a Baptist plush weaver, his wife, their three children and a plushweaver lodger. Next came James Young, an Independent sawyer with his wife, and then an 83 year old Wesleyan widow, Sarah Jones with her plushweaver son: Her neighbour was another Wesleyan widow and pauper, Alice Smith with three working children, one of whom was a foundry labourer of 13. The next house was occupied by Thomas and Elizabeth South, their four children and a widowed pauper lodger. The survey recorded that South had been transported, but he was there at the time of the census. Attached to the top house in the terrace was a small brick "lean to" with a slate roof which was empty in 1851 but had earlier been the home of a Unitarian, William Waters. Behind the terrace was a solitary house, No. 647 which was the home of John Cooper a Baptist farm labourer and his wife Rebecca.

### Armitt's Lane

The western approach to the Bank from Water Lane was along Armitt's Lane later called Foundry Street. The solitary cottage on the western side housed Ann Claridge a 69 year old seamstress and widow. At the top of the lane on the opposite side was Payne's Yard, consisting of five cottages facing Pound Yard, a pair between this terrace and Pound Yard, and six cottages forming the eastern side of Armitt's Lane. In 1849 the cottages shared two privies<sup>(57)</sup>.

One of the odd pair of cottages was empty, and the other was occupied by George Taylor, a widower, labourer and Baptist, with his four children and William Holtom, a pauper labourer nearly blind. George Pearson, a Catholic pipemaker lived in the first house of the terrace (No.656), together with his wife, three children, a child in care and his widowed mother, 72 year old Hannah Cox, a pauper and bagmender. Next door lived a pauper, Richard Herbert, aged 39, with his wife and four children, and next to them came Thomas James Dunn, a 63 year old labourer with his wife and three working sons. At the time of the survey No. 659 was occupied by William and Maria Baylis and their two children, but the husband had died by March 1851 and his widow had become a pauper charwoman. Another pauper occupied the next cottage, Priscilla Andrews, a Wesleyan washerwoman, with two sons, a labourer and a weaver, and a daughter with an illegitimate baby. The top cottage in Armitt's Lane was unoccupied in 1850, but in March 1851 Elizabeth Turner, a widow and pauper was living there with her adult son and daughter. The next house accommodated Sarah Brain, a Roman Catholic charwoman and pauper with her five children and a lodger. The survey recorded that her husband had been transported, but the census called her a widow. A farm labourer, John Turner, lived in the next house with his wife, five children and a widow lodger. The Turners were recorded as nominally Anglican, but their eldest son went to the Independent school, which must have involved a considerable journey and must have resulted from a definite decision. The next house was occupied by Ann South at the time of the survey but she had moved away by March 1851. A 78 year old lace maker, William Mace lived at No.665 with his wife and John Herbert an 82 year old pauper pig butcher, and the final house in the lane was the home of William Kennedy a Wesleyan variously described as labourer and plush weaver, his wife and their daughter of 26.

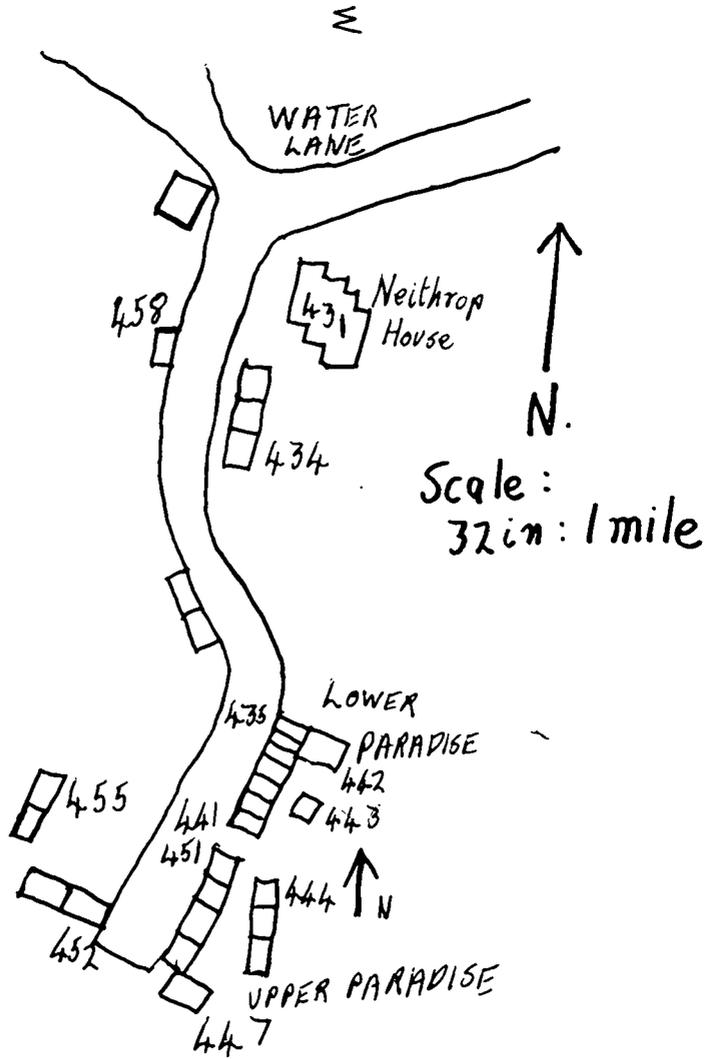


Fig. 7.

Sketch Map 3 - Paradise Lane.

### Paradise Lane

Paradise Lane was a cul-de-sac in the mid-19th century. It began with Neithrop House, then called Park House, beyond which was a terrace of three small cottages. Near to the site of the present car park were Upper and Lower Paradise, groups of eleven and nine old cottages. A faded photograph shows thatched stone buildings with overhanging eaves surrounding the dormer windows of the upstairs garretts<sup>(58)</sup>. In 1824 Upper Paradise was known as Thomas Wyatt's houses, and Lower Paradise as Miss Gunn's houses<sup>(59)</sup>. On the opposite side of the road stands an L-planned stone house with a double frontage on Paradise Lane, dated 1626, and a three storey brick house adjoins it. A solitary dwelling stood between this pair and Water Lane, on the corner of which were the house and workshop of Charles Lampitt.

At Neithrop House lived the 25 year old heiress of a family of Unitarian ironmongers, Elizabeth Milward, proprietor of land, houses, railway shares and mortgages. The house had a staff of four. In the first of the three cottages beyond the big house lived William Willetts, a porter, his wife and mother in law. The second at the time of the survey was the home of Charles Litchfield, a coachman, his wife and working daughter, and in March 1851, of John Humphries a labourer, his wife, a son, a daughter, a nephew and a niece, who had all moved from Hobley's Lane. William Plumb, a blacksmith, lived at No. 434 at the time of the survey, but in 1851 it was the home of George Gardner, a grocer's commercial traveller, born in Kingston-upon-Hull and his wife, a native of Woolwich.

In the first of the cottages in Lower Paradise lived Ann Bradley, a widow and pauper. The next house was empty in 1850 but the census found there Samuel Cox a milk seller with his wife and son. Another widowed pauper, 80 year old Elizabeth Page lived next door, and next to her was a widower, Robert Kurtlow with his son. Both were labourers. In No. 438 lived William Sparks, a widower, labourer and pauper of 72, with his daughter, a charwoman and her bastard son. His neighbour was Hannah Harris a 59 year old widow and pauper living with her son, a labourer. In the next house lived William French, an Anglican shepherd with a Roman Catholic wife and three children. The last cottage in Lower Paradise was the home of Christopher Pargeter, a labourer, his wife, three children and his mother in law, a pauper. Lower Paradise was an exceedingly poor area. Half of the householders were widows and paupers and apart from a shepherd and a milk seller the men were all labourers. In 18th century London milk sellers were "for the most part the refuse of other employments, possessing neither character, decency, manners nor cleanliness"<sup>(60)</sup>. It is notable that apart from the wife of William French everyone in Lower Paradise was recorded as a practising Anglican.

In Upper Paradise, No. 444 was occupied by Thomas Swift, a widower labourer, and his daughter. Next to them lived a widow pauper, Ann Woodward, a 72 year old Wesleyan and probably the relict of Thomas Woodward, the tenant in 1824<sup>(61)</sup>. Her neighbours were a plasterer Samuel Stanton, his wife and their two young children. The occupants of the first house in the terrace fronting the lane were Sarah Humphries, a pauper washer of 78 years, Mary Humphries, probably a sister in law, and her daughter. Next to them lived two widows, Mary Stanton aged 71 and Ann Weaver aged 32 both of whom were paupers and did field work. Ann Weaver had four children under nine. A shepherd, John Hawkins lived in the next house with his wife and three children, and the top house was the home of a Unitarian plushweaver, Daniel Penn, his wife, 6 children and a plushweaver lodger. On the opposite side of the lane lived William French a widower cordwainer and his son William, also a cordwainer, and an Independent blacksmith, Joseph Moreby with his wife and their seven year old son. Nos. 454 and 455 were inhabited by Charles Gregory a sawyer, his wife, a laundress, and their two children; and by Daniel Newton, a market gardener and police constable, with his wife and three children. Adjacent to Upper Paradise was No. 447, home of John Baughan, the weaving master and supporter of the Independent church, his wife and their five children.

The other houses on the western side of Paradise Lane were all empty in 1851, though in the survey No. 458 is recorded as the home of John Weaver, a carpenter, his wife and daughter. At the corner of Water Lane lived Charles Lampitt, engineer and millwright, founder of the Vulcan Foundry, 62 years old, and professor of no religion. His wife, a son, a daughter, a servant and an apprentice made up the rest of the household.

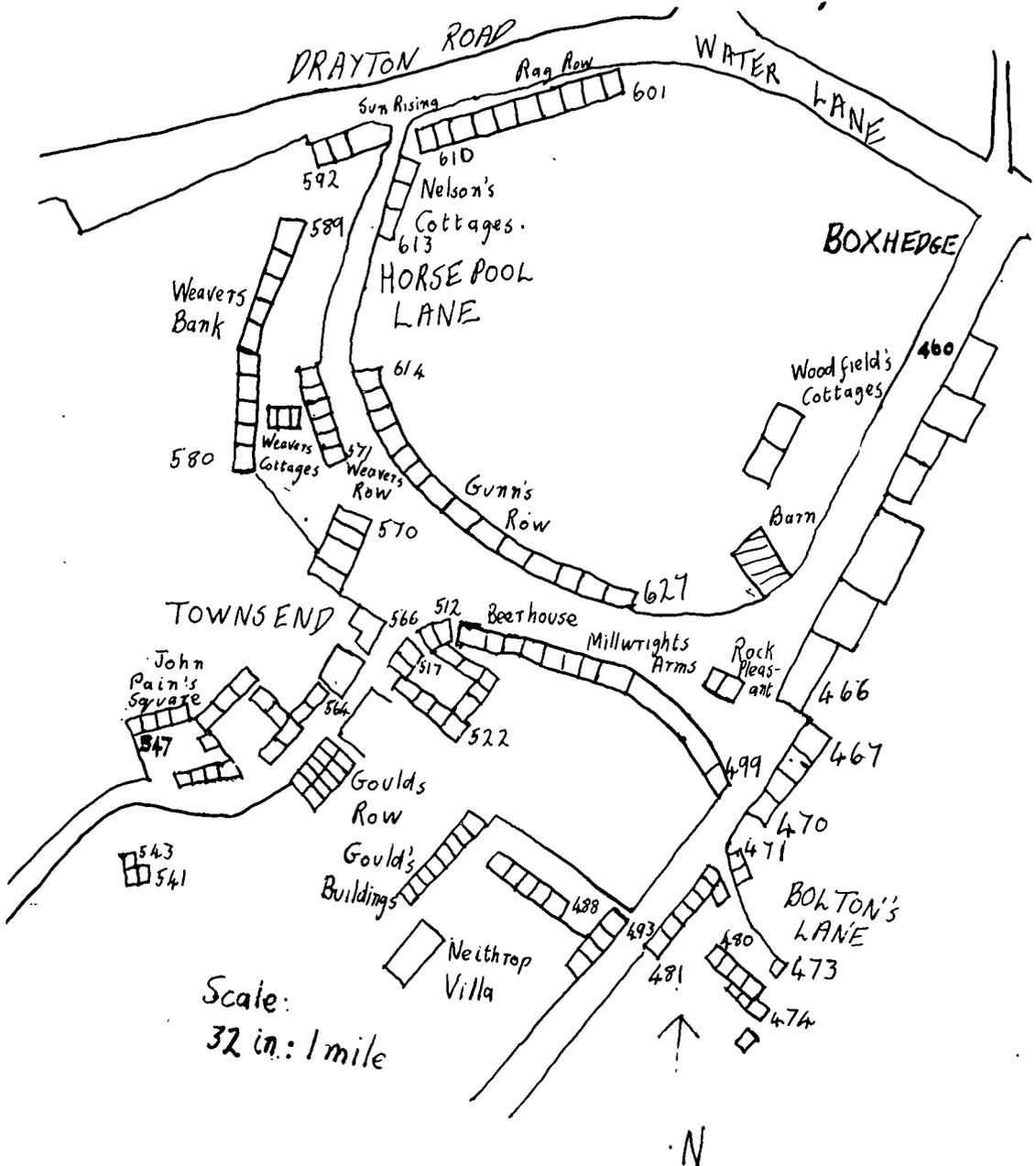


Fig. 8. Sketch Map 4 - Boxhedge, Bolton's Lane, Townsend and Horsepool Lane.

### Boxhedge

On the eastern side of Boxhedge stands an extremely complex range of substantial stone houses dating from the 17th century. In 1850 the first of them was occupied by William Shilson, a 27 year old woolstapler employing three men, his wife, two young children and a girl house servant. Next door lived a brother and sister, Thomas and Betsy Charles, gardeners, with their nephew a millwright, and at No. 462 a labourer and Wesleyan, William Tustain, with his wife, son and a visitor. The house above was the home of James Smith, widower, property owner and an Independent, with his blind mother and a servant. At Boxhedge Farm, the largest house in the group lived Henry Bolton, farmer of 145 acres, employer of 4 men and 4 boys, and owner of a number of houses in Neithrop including Rag Row. Also in the house were his wife, six children and two servants. Next to the Boltons lived Thomas Kirby, a hurdle maker, with his wife and three children. Nominally the Kirbys were Anglicans, but their children attended the Roman Catholic school. In the next house were Thomas Butler, an Independent shoemaker, his wife and their three children.

On the opposite side of Boxhedge were Woodfield's Cottages, the homes of a plasterer's labourer, Thomas Penn, his wife and their five children, and a lodger, and of William Riley, a pauper who died before March 1851, his wife Ann, a 17 year old servant, Mary Penn, possibly their neighbour's daughter, and their grandson John Riley, a millwright.

### Bolton's Lane

In Bolton's Lane (now Boxhedge Road West) there were apparently four dwellings in the substantial stone building which now comprises Nos. 18 and 19 Boxhedge. The first housed John Claridge, a dyer's labourer, his sister and two lodgers. Charles Claridge a labourer, his wife, two children and his brother a ropemaker, occupied the next portion, and next to them lived Mary Ingram a widow stocking knitter, her son William a labourer, and Eliza Crump a seamstress lodger. Their neighbours were William and Mary Gibbs, both of whom were 76 and lived on a parish allowance.

South of this block was a yard surrounded by cottages, most of which were cleared for the building of Neithrop Wesleyan Mission Hall in 1888, and were then described as old buildings<sup>(62)</sup>. The first pair were occupied by William Gunn, a labourer, his wife, three children and an 80 year old widowed labourer, and by George Giberry, a labourer and his wife. No. 473 was the home of William and Sarah Hemming and their four children. Hemming was a gardener's labourer. At the first of the seven cottages on the south side of the yard lived James Pottinger, his wife, three of his wife's children by an earlier marriage, and three children of his own. His wife was a Roman Catholic and all of the children went to the Catholic school. Pottinger was called a shoemaker by the survey, but the census recorded that he was a pipemaker employing one man. Next door lived William Hartley, a mason, his wife and five children, and their neighbours were a 58 year old labourer, John Gunn, his wife, two working sons and a grandson. The next cottage housed George Ingram, a day labourer, and his wife Caroline, a smock frock maker, and beyond them lived a pauper William Pitcher, formerly a nurse, and his wife Mary. The next house, No. 479, was occupied in 1850 by a single woman, Emma Margeter, but by 1851 John Walden, a smith had moved in with his wife and five children. Their neighbours were a Baptist wheelwright, William Adams, his wife and a ten year old daughter employed as a dressmaker.

The western side of the yard was filled by a terrace running along Bolton's Lane. The first house, No. 487, was the home of James Wright, a Unitarian plush weaver, his wife and five children, of whom an eleven year old son was working as an errand boy. The family were recent arrivals in the town from Adderbury, all of them, including a child of four having been born in the village. Their neighbours were William Warkley, a wheelwright or jigger fitter, his wife and a baby son. Warkley was a native of King's Langley and his wife was born at Plymouth. The next house was occupied by a carpenter, George Bond, his wife and four children, and No. 483 by Charles Rimall, a smith, his wife and their two children. William Penn, tenant of the next house, was a weaver at the time of the survey, but the census recorded him as a labourer.

His wife Caroline worked as a dressmaker, and the couple had four children together with two of Caroline Penn's offspring by an earlier marriage. The last house in the row was the home of a Baptist plush weaver, Thomas Randall, his wife and two children.

At Neithrop Villa lived William Walford, Quaker, farmer and annuitant, with his wife and a girl servant. The two substantial stone houses, Nos. 495 and 496, were then empty at the time of Wilson's survey, but by the time of the census one of them was the home of Charles Shilson, a woolstapler and his wife. Shilson was born in Kidderminster, like William Shilson of Boxhedge, and both their wives were natives of Leicester, and it seems reasonable to suppose that they were brothers. The next two houses are small brick cottages with tiny Gothic windows. 494 was the home of John Jackson, a 70 year old labourer and pauper and his wife, and 493 housed a carpenter, Samuel Gibbs, his wife, and Thomas Lampitt, a lodger engineer.

### Townsend Square

The south side of Townsend Square was not fully built up in 1850. At the corner of Bolton's Lane, No. 499 was the home of a Unitarian weaver and pauper, Richard Wagstaff, his wife and six children. The curious pair of houses forming Rock Pleasant were the homes of Thomas Barnes a shoemaker and native of Norwich, his wife and baby son, and of John Ruley, a Baptist millwright and widower with five children.

The first of the houses on the south side of the square, No. 502, was the present No. 5, and was unoccupied at the time of the survey. No. 503 was a beerhouse, the Millwright's Arms, kept by Daniel Grimes, his wife and three children. Their neighbours were a fellmonger, John Ashfield, his wife, brother, sister and three children. A millwright, Robert Baker, lived next door with his wife and five children. Baker was a native of Hillmorton near Rugby and his eldest daughter aged 13 had been born at Oldham. The next house was the home of a plush weaver Jabez Washbrook, his wife and three children, and the next was a grocer's shop kept by Thomas and Sarah Bonham. Bonham, aged 50, had taken over the shop from a George Bonham, perhaps his father, circa. 1845. No. 508 was occupied by Mary Ludlow a widowed laundress with a son and a visitor, and the last of the row was the home of Thomas Dale, a plasterer and shopkeeper, his wife and their four children.

Beyond this row was a square of old houses of which some stone walls remain and from which an elm beam dated 1696 was removed in 1939<sup>(63)</sup>. The first house was occupied by Sarah Mercier, a 24 year old shoebinder, and a 21 year old shoemaker lodger, and by Mary Ann Cherry, a 23 year old dressmaker. The latter house was empty at the time of Wilson's survey. The first house on the northern side of the yard was the home of Elizabeth Moorby a 71 year old Wesleyan widow pauper who "washes a little". Her neighbours were a horse and general dealer, William Hartwell, his wife and their three working children. Only one of the four houses along the top of the yard was occupied at the time of the survey - this was No. 515 the home of John and Hannah Hewers, who had themselves moved by the time of the census. Of the other houses in the row three were occupied in March 1851 by a farm labourer, James Claridge, his wife and two children, by John Jones a tailor, his wife and son, and by a labourer, William Young, his wife, brother and five children. On the south side of the yard the corner house was in 1850 the home of John Enock, a widower plush weaver, and his four children, but the family had moved by 1851. No. 521 was the home of John Locke, a Wesleyan plush weaver, his wife and three children, of whom two sons were plush weavers. Their neighbours were a miller's labourer Henry Dawson, his wife and five children, and the next house was the home of another plushweaver, Francis Mascord, his wife and four children. Another plushweaver, James Beasley, his "housekeeper", Mary Garrett, and seven children, four of them Beasley's and three Mary Garrett's was the tenant of the corner house.

### Gould's Square

A number of properties along Townsend Road took their name from Richard Gould a surveyor and pupil of John Loudon MacAdam and one time owner of Golden Villa<sup>(64)</sup>. A block of ten cottages, "a poor lot of old places" according to George Herbert, had been created out

of the old Neithrop workhouse when it became redundant in 1835<sup>(65)</sup>, and took the name of Gould's Row. A terrace of 8 cottages known as Gould's Buildings stood between the Row and Bolton's Lane. Collectively the two blocks were called Gould's Square or Gould's cottages. It seems that no one was living in the terrace numbered 488-492 either in 1850 or 1851. All of Gould's cottages shared the use of two privies.

The first of the houses in Gould's Buildings was occupied by William News, a coal dealer, his wife and two seamstress lodgers. The next was the home of James Saunders, recorded as a boatman by the survey but as a farm labourer by the census, living with a "housekeeper", Elizabeth Hall. A farm labourer, William Brown, lived at the third house in 1850, but by March 1851 he had been replaced by Thomas Bateman a corn dealer living with a "housekeeper" Jane Giles. No. 526 was the home of a Baptist knife grinder, John Biddle, his wife and three children, and No. 527 was inhabited by Samuel Dale, a hawker living with Elizabeth Elliot, but it was empty in 1851. Nathaniel Savage, a shoemaker or labourer, lived with his wife in the next house, and their neighbours were Phoebe Gregory a 42 year old charwoman and her 13 year old blind son. Wilson's survey recorded that a certain Jeremiah Middleton and three other children were living in the house. The last of the block was the home of William Southam (or Southall) a rag and bone dealer and farm labourer, his "housekeeper" Mary Cox, and the latter's 13 year old daughter. Five of the eight houses were thus occupied by cohabiting unmarried couples, the highest concentration in Neithrop. The findings of Wilson's survey in this respect are confirmed by the census and cannot be just the result of careful questioning. One of the duties of the town missionary in Neithrop in the 1870's was to persuade such couples to marry.<sup>(66)</sup>

The house at the south eastern corner of Gould's Row was the home of a gardener's labourer, William Powell, his wife Ann, four of their children and a grandchild. The next cottage housed Susan Owen, "housekeeper" to William Willson, a labourer, and a 4 year old child. It appears that Susan Owen was a prostitute, and Willson, known in Banbury's underworld as "Badger" Willson was "a debased specimen of mortality who . . . subsisted for years on the wages of her infamy" and in 1858 he was convicted of murdering her<sup>(67)</sup>. A spinster seamstress, Jemima Callender lived next door and her neighbours were a widow, Catherine Wilson, three sons and a girl lodger. Thomas Hemmings, a labourer, his wife Mary and two lodgers lived at No. 535, and No. 536 was the home of Joseph Hobbs, a labourer, his wife and five children at the time of the census, though it was empty in 1850. The next cottage housed another labourer, George Castle, his wife and two children. At the time of Wilson's survey their neighbours were a Roman Catholic family, that of James Jackson a farm labourer, but they had moved to Horsepool Lane by 1851, and their place had been taken by Thomas Page, a labourer, his wife Ann and two children. The last two houses in the block were empty at the time of the census, but the survey found there Jane Ward, and William and Hannah Mullis with their four children. Hannah Mullis had formerly lived in Rag Row and gave evidence on conditions there to the Board of Health commissioner.

In the fields beyond Townsend were three cottages. No. 541 was the home of a Baptist gardener or farm labourer, Thomas Barnes and his wife. No. 542 at the time of the survey was the home of John Wheeler, a groom, his wife and two children, and their neighbours were Joseph and Elizabeth Hale, keepers of a cart, with their two children. The Hales moved to The Bank by March 1851. The latter two cottages at the time of the census were the homes of a farm labourer, Robert Simmons, his wife and 16 year old son, and of brickmaker Thomas Middleton and his wife.

Most of the houses on the opposite side of Townsend had been the property of John Pain, builder, malster, brickmaker, insurance agent, member of the unreformed Banbury Corporation, secretary of the Visiting Charitable Society and treasurer of the Bank for Savings, and the majority dated from before 1814<sup>(68)</sup>.

Set back from the road on the northern side was a terrace of four cottages. The first was occupied at the time of Wilson's survey by John Mascord and his wife Elizabeth. Mascord was a brewer's labourer and a Wesleyan. The next house was the home of Hannah Claridge, a pauper and widow of a farm labourer, with her five children and a niece. Her neighbours were another Wesleyan brewer's labourer, James Ludlow, his wife and three children, and in the next house

were a farm labourer, Robert Beere also with a wife and three children. Another group of cottages fronted the road. The first was occupied by a wooldealer's labourer, John D'Oyley, his wife and their six children. The next accommodated William Woodfield a 65 year old widower, carpenter and active Anglican, whose niece kept house for him. Joseph Kingstone, a "hair commer" who worked for John Head the Quaker woolcomber lived in the next house with his wife. Kingstone attended the Independent chapel and was an active member of the Banbury Temperance Society in its early years<sup>(69)</sup>. The last house was the home of James Ratley, a farm labourer, his wife and son.

Beyond this row was John Pain's Square - eight houses surrounding a courtyard in which were four pig sties. At times of heavy rain the yard would flood and water entered the houses carrying with it the effluvia from the sties<sup>(70)</sup>.

A detached house on the western side of the yard was occupied by Thomas Beere a Wesleyan farm labourer, his wife Hannah and their four children. The four houses on the far side of the square were all inhabited by farm workers. The first by an Anglican William Ratley, his wife and three children, the second by a Wesleyan Henry Wheeler, his wife and four children, the next by John Mullis a shepherd, his wife Mary and their eight offspring, and the last by William and Caroline Beere and their son. It was probably Mary Mullis (or Morris) who described the square to the Board of Health Commissioner. Mary Roberts, a pauper and widow of a farm labourer lived in one of the two houses on the third side of the square and the other was the home of a widower "lath bowler" James Elkington. A terrace of four cottages along the road completed the square. The first was the home of John Young, an Independent and farm labourer and his wife. The second was empty at the time of the survey but by March 1851 accommodated a malster Joseph Gibbard, his wife and eight children. No.563 was empty and then came a coal dealer Thomas Gilby with his wife and three children.

Past the square was a detached property, the home of a Baptist tailor, Edward Busby, his wife, their four children and his sister. Busby was sufficiently eminent in his trade to achieve an entry in the local directory and, like many Baptists, was a supporter of radical candidates in the elections of the late 1850's. At the corner of Horsepool Lane was a farmhouse occupied by Thomas Hobley, a 65 year old Wesleyan, his wife Elizabeth, a daughter in law, a grandson and two grand daughters. Hobley's farm consisted of 90 acres and he employed three men.

#### Horsepool Lane (Union Street)

No.570, the first of the houses in a terrace at the top of Horsepool Lane was occupied by 63 year old Frances Corbett, mistress of Banbury National School in the mid-1830's<sup>(71)</sup> and now proprietress of her own school and still an active Anglican. Thomas and Eliza Riley lived in the next house with their three children and Riley's brother Frederick. Both brothers were millwrights. Their neighbour was a baker's widow, Sarah Weaver with her three children and a house servant. Mrs. Weaver carried on the business of her husband Joseph with the assistance of her elder son Edward and elder daughter Emma. Her daughter Sarah was still at school at the age of 16. The last house in the block accommodated a blacksmith, John Spencer, his wife and four children. Spencer was a native of Grendon (Bucks) and his business appeared in the directory. It seems that these four houses were of considerably higher status than the rest of Townsend.

The houses on the western side of Horsepool Lane (now Union Street) took their names from the Weaver family, several of whom had been extensive landholders in the district<sup>(72)</sup>. Standing well back from the line of the lane was a terrace of ten cottages known as Weaver's Bank, on the line of the lane were six dwellings called Weaver's Row, and three sandwiched between the two blocks were called Weaver's Cottages. The inhabitants of these houses shared three privies, one of which was filthy and dangerous<sup>(73)</sup>.

The first house in Weaver's Row, No.571, was the home of a Baptist farm labourer, John Hutt, his wife and their daughter who attended a dame's school, probably that of Miss Corbett. At the time of Wilson's survey No.572 was occupied by Charles Connor a Catholic shoemaker with his wife and three children, but by March 1851 their place had been taken by Ann Cox, the 28 year old widow of a farm labourer. She was a native of Somerset and her 4 year old daughter had been born in Yorkshire, though her 6 year old son was born in Banbury. A farm labourer, George French and his wife lived next door, and their neighbours were Henry Weaver, a fellmonger's

labourer, his wife and their two children. In 1850 the next cottage was the home of William Blackwell a Unitarian seedsman-gardener who by 1851 was living with his daughter Martha and son-in-law Job Powell in Gunn's Row. George Herbert a 26 year old butcher, his wife and three month old daughter had moved in by March 1851. The final house in the block was occupied by William Mobley, a plasterer, his wife and their six children.

A Roman Catholic family, that of Thomas Callow (or Carroll), his wife Maria and their four children lived in the first of Weaver's Cottages (No.577). Callow had been a plush weaver but in 1850 was gaining his living by carrying a basket, while his wife worked as an earthenware vendor. Two of their sons were farm labourers. The next house was occupied by William Spenser, a "horse breaker", his "housekeeper" Emma Whingand, their three children, and the last of the three by Hannah Carrell, a 50 year old Roman Catholic widow, her labourer son and her 15 year old daughter who worked as a servant.

#### Weaver's Bank

The first house in Weaver's Bank was occupied by a Baptist shoemaker, Benjamin Jarvis, his wife and their three children. Jarvis appears to have been a journeyman only, for his name is absent from the directories. The next house was empty at the time of the census, and the survey records only that the tenant was a widower called William Willson. No.582 was occupied by the Tasker family. In 1850 the head of the household was a widow, Ann Tasker, but she was no longer there in 1851 when the householder was her 19 year old farm worker son Thomas. Her daughters had also disappeared by this time, when there remained two other farm worker sons and a lodger. The next house accommodated an aged couple, William and Elizabeth Jackson who had moved to the presumably cheaper and certainly less eligible surroundings of the Tanyard by March 1851. At No.584 lived a pauper, widow and charwoman of 76, Judy Barnes with a son working on a farm, and their neighbours were Edmund Townsend a "lawyer" (doubtless a clerk of the status of Bob Cratchit), his wife, their four children and a visitor aged 3. At the next house lived Thomas Castle a farm labourer, his wife and two children, and adjacent to them were another farm worker, John Callow, his wife and two children. A 72 year old farm worker, John Cox, lived with his wife at No.588. In 1850 the last house in the row was occupied by a widow pauper Mary Powell, whose three children attended the workhouse school but by 1851 it was the home of a sawyer Charles Friday, his wife and their two year old nephew.

The landlord of the Sun Rising, as the Duke of Wellington was called between the passing of the Reform Bill and 1858 was 35 year old John Holey who lived at the inn with his wife, four children and a house servant. Two houses adjoined the inn on the Drayton road. One was empty in 1851 but had earlier been the home of William Lampitt the engineer who had moved to Holey's Lane by the time of the census, and the other (No.591) was occupied by a lawyer's clerk, George Friday, his wife and two children. At the lower end of Horsepool Lane stood three other houses connected with the Sun Rising and called Nelson's Cottages. The first housed a farm worker, John Hartwell, his wife and three children, the second, a brewer, Matthew Barnes with a wife and two children and the third, George Jarvis a bricklayer with his wife and child. By March 1851 Jarvis had died, his widow was a pauper and had taken in as lodger, Lucy, the daughter of Job Powell of Gunn's Row.

#### Rag Row

Rag Row, a terrace of ten houses stretching along the Drayton Road on the town side of the junction with Horsepool Lane was reputedly one of the least eligible parts of Banbury. The houses, demolished about 1900 were not unduly small, indeed a photograph of about 1890<sup>(74)</sup> shows that they had three storeys, with large windows set into the thatch of the roof illuminating the top floor, rather like rural versions of the Spitalfields silk weaver's houses.

Conditions in Rag Row were described to the Board of Health commissioner by Hannah Mullis, a labourer's wife who had lived there in 1848 and 1849. Rents of 1/6d. a week were collected by Henry Bolton of Boxhedge Farm. Only one privy in a little yard at one end of the terrace served all the houses. The hole beneath the privy was extremely large, and it was only emptied twice in the two years Hannah Mullis lived there. In the winter of 1848-49 fever was

particularly bad in Rag Row and several children died from it. Durng 1849 three extra privies were built for the cottages and a stream of water was turned through them<sup>(75)</sup>.

Mary Francillon, 28 year old daughter of the solicitor took the survey for Rag Row. She seems to have been hesitant to demand too many details, making entries for only four houses, and writing off the rest as lodging houses.

The three lodging houses were the genesis of Rag Row's unsavoury reputation. Though not adjoining, they were administered as one, and all were tenanted by Thomas Ward, a 50 year old native of Westport, Co. Mayo. One he looked after himself, one was managed by his wife Bridget, born at Barley Hill, (also in Ireland) and the third by his son James Sweney Ward and his daughter in law Bridget. The latter couple were both born in Co. Cork and their four children, one only a year old, were born at Cardiff.

The house administered by Ward, senior, gave lodging to four farm labourers, one from Yorkshire, two from Devon and a Buckinghamshire man with his wife and five year old daughter, Sarah Penn, a straw bonnet maker from Adderbury, her 21 year old daughter, William Bannister a 92 year old fiddler born in Northamptonshire, and David King, a 40 year old blind Cornish spirit refiner. Bridget Ward's portion housed her three daughters all born at Warkworth (near Banbury), Hellis Lines a 25 year old farm worker and his 2 year old daughter, George Timms, a 31 year old farm worker with two daughters and Julia Murphy an Irish cotton spinner with an illegitimate son. The house managed by James Ward contained fifteen people on the night of the census, including his wife and four children. Other residents were Thomas Flanigan, an Irish farm labourer, his wife and their three children all of whom including one aged only two were born in Ireland, so the family were doubtless recent refugees from the Famine. The other lodgers were Eliza and Ann Duffing, sisters aged 22 and 20 from Dublin, Julia Murphy, a cotton spinner from Kanturk, Co.Cork, and a four month old baby, William Trueman born in Oxford.

No other house was as crowded as the lodging houses, though Hannah Mullis said that six or seven people lived in each. One was occupied by Patrick and Ellen Donovan and their baby son. Donovan was a mat maker from Co. Cork. Another was the home of a widow Mrs. Hestley and her four children at the time of the survey, but by March 1851 William Southall, a rag and bone man, with his "housekeeper" Mary Cox and her daughter had moved in from Gould's Row. Another cottage was the home of William Smith a pauper and ex-brewer's labourer and his wife and three children. Sarah Taylor, a widow and pauper, her daughter and 86 year old mother lived in another, and other residents of the row were Anslow Smith a widower with four children who traded as a travelling tinker, William Hoble, a plasterer from Bedfordshire and his wife, and Caroline Beale, a smockfrock maker with a daughter and two lodgers.

Rag Row doubtless deserved its reputation. Only one of the inhabitants seems to have had regular work, the others being paupers or travelling casual workers. Of the four households visited by Mary Francillon, only one, that of Widow Hestley, professed any religious affiliation.

#### Gunn's Row

The eastern side of Horsepool Lane and the northern side of Townsend Square were occupied by the crescent of Gunn's Row of which three houses remain. The lower four houses were all unoccupied and it seems likely that the row was of recent construction. The first inhabited house, No.618, was the home of the pauper widow of a farm labourer, Sarah Taylor at the time of the survey, but in the census the head of the household was Richard Enock, a farm worker, and Mrs. Taylor was recorded as his "housekeeper". At No.619 lived a butcher without a shop, Charles Emery, his wife and three children, and at No.620 a foundry labourer Charles Edwards, a Wesleyan, with his wife and five children. The next cottage housed Fanny Beal, another pauper widow of a farm labourer, with three working sons, one a railway labourer, and a brother who worked for a gardener. Her neighbours were Caroline Cockwell, a laundress separated from her husband, and her son. At No.623 lived another farm labourer and active Anglican, John Pitcher with his wife and eight children, and at No.624, William Riley, a millwright, with his wife and their four offspring. The next house was occupied by Henry Castle, an Anglican and farm labourer, with his wife and young child, and No.626 by a baker, Richard Varney, his wife, three

children and two lodgers. Varney did not appear in the directory and probably did not keep a shop. The last two houses in the block were the homes of Job Powell, a gas stoker, with his wife, three children, and William Blackwell, his pauper father-in-law, and of Powell's parents and brother.

### THE TRADES OF NEITHROP

Banbury's first economic function was that of an entrepot where goods from stage coach, waggon, long boat and later from the railway were transferred by ways of shops or the market to carrier's carts for distribution to the "140 places within a circuit of 10 miles" for which Banbury was "metropolis"<sup>(76)</sup>. In the opposite direction, meat, wool, butter, cheese and grain were collected by local merchants for despatch to the big cities. For the most part these activities required unskilled labour, coal heavers, wharfmen, ostlers, warehousemen, and a high proportion of the 51 general labourers among the householders of Neithrop were engaged in work of this sort.

Allied to the town's function as entrepot was its trade in such things as footwear, furniture, clothing and ironmongery for its rural hinterland. In 1851 Banbury had 29 master shoemakers, 5 sadlers, 24 tailors and 14 ironmongers<sup>(77)</sup>. There was a well defined hierarchy within each of the crafts and the system of subcontracting was intricate. When George Herbert was apprenticed, Joseph Ball was acknowledged as the "head master bootmaker" and Herbert's own master was Ball's chief journeyman<sup>(78)</sup>. By 1855 R. and J. Baxter occupied the foremost position in the trade, and gave a St. Crispin's Day feast for over 50 employees<sup>(79)</sup>. The list of trades in the 1832 Reform Procession<sup>(80)</sup> suggests that corporate organisations were or had been strongly established among the artisans of Banbury, and there are some indications that their activities were maintained in the 1840's and 50's. The Society of Journeymen Tailors presented Henry Vincent with a green velvet vest lined with silk in 1841<sup>(81)</sup>. In 1852 the Banbury Typographical Society gave their secretary a volume of the works of Shakespeare in recognition of his services<sup>(82)</sup>. The United Order of Smiths maintained their club in the 1850's<sup>(83)</sup> and there was a society for shoemakers on the tramp which brought many of the best craftsmen in England to Banbury<sup>(84)</sup>.

Membership of the trades certainly carried status, but George Herbert's bankruptcy is a telling reminder that "the middle class lived under the shadow of the personal economic disaster as much as did the working class"<sup>(85)</sup>. Herbert describes his difficulties: "I could have got along well if I could have got in the money, but my customers were all noblemen, parsons, lawyers, and doctors, and the parsons were the worst of all to pay. I used now to go out into the country - as I said, to get orders - but it was not for orders but to look up money for wages, etc."<sup>(86)</sup> The boundary between prosperity and ruin for the shoemaker and tailor was shadowy, but the proud joy in craftsmanship which illuminates the first chapter of Shoemaker's Window shows clearly the distinction between the man with a trade in his fingers and the labourer without.

86 householders were employed in trades other than weaving and building, including 9 shoemakers or cordwainers, 5 tailors, 5 clerks, 10 publicans, 6 sawyers, 18 engineers or smiths, basketmakers, coopers, sadlers and provision dealers of various kinds. The shoemakers and tailors were not independent tradesmen, but journeymen working for masters in Banbury. Of the 9 shoemakers, only 2 ever appeared in Rusher's directories, and only 1 of the 5 tailors achieved that distinction. Apart from the engineers, it seems that artisans did not find Neithrop congenial. Residence there certainly cannot have been good for trade. It is difficult to imagine the local nobility, clergy and gentry stopping their carriages at the house of the tailor Edward Busby, respectable man though he was, since it lay on the edge of the squalor of John Pain's Square.

Industries of more than local significance existed in Banbury long before Bernhard Samuelson took over the Britannia Foundry in 1848. The weaving trade exported its plush all over southern Europe, and provided seat coverings for the Houses of Parliament.<sup>(87)</sup> Beer from Austin's brewery was sent to India, 129 casks being despatched by canal to Liverpool on February 4th and 5th 1840<sup>(88)</sup>. Banbury's agricultural machinery was far famed long before 1848<sup>(89)</sup>. Brewing employed 13 householders in Neithrop in 1850, 6 labourers, 2 brewers, 2 malsters and three coopers. Eighteen householders were engineers and 38 in the weaving trade, but each of these groups requires detailed examination.

Finally among Banbury's industries came the practice of farming. No more than about a tenth of the parish's four thousand acres can have been built upon, and the town was the largest agricultural settlement in north Oxfordshire<sup>(90)</sup>. 52 householders in Neithrop were farm labourers, 5 were farmers and ten were gardeners. The latter are a difficult group to classify, since some were clearly respectable peasant farmers, while others were little more than day labourers. The gardeners certainly showed a strong sense of corporate identity in 1832, when they occupied a prominent place in the Reform procession with their garlands and bouquets<sup>(91)</sup>.

19 householders in Neithrop were employers of labour or unemployed persons living on capital. The former included 5 farmers, 2 builders and a weaving master, but most of them lived on the fringe of the area, and they form in no sense a complete cross section of Banbury's upper middle class.

The birthplaces of 348 of the 389 families found by the survey and census in Neithrop can be discovered from the latter. Of these 159 householders came from Neithrop or Banbury, 144 from neighbouring villages or towns like Brackley or Bicester which had regular trading connections with Banbury, and 45 from further afield. This suggests that Neithrop was an area which received the overflow of the poor not just from Banbury, but from the whole of its hinterland. The proportion of immigrants in different parts of Neithrop varied considerably. On the Bank and in Pound Yard, 19 of the 22 householders were born in Neithrop or Banbury, but the middle class houses in Water Lane contained a high proportion of immigrants from distant places.

By 1850 therefore, the intermingling of tradesman, labourer and burghess which seems to have typified Banbury before 1800, was coming to an end. Neithrop was almost entirely a working class quarter<sup>(92)</sup>, where the "intelligent artisan employed in the immemorial crafts of old Europe"<sup>(93)</sup> was heavily outnumbered by the unskilled labourers, the paupers and the depressed and defeated weavers and farm workers.

#### THE AGRICULTURALISTS

Farm labourers formed the largest single occupational group in Neithrop in 1851. There were 52 heads of households, 26 sons or other close relatives and 13 lodgers.

The labourers were a class largely ignored in the discussions of middle class Banbury, George Herbert describes the degradation they suffered under the operation of the Speenhamland system<sup>(94)</sup>, and they suffered a traumatic defeat during the riots of 1830. Violence reached Banbury in the last week of November 1830, when riots followed a period of midnight meetings, cattle maiming and incendiarism throughout the district. After demonstrations in North Bar against machinery used by Joseph Pain on his Neithrop farm, the threshing and winnowing equipment was dragged into the field opposite Rag Row and set alight. The Riot Act was read, and Thomas Cobb of Calthorpe House brought his troop of Yeomanry to Neithrop. The cavalry tried to approach the crowd but were driven back by the blazing 20 ft. cross bars from the machines. The soldiers then dismounted and tried to disperse the assembled labourers on foot, but the rioters gathered stones into the laps of their smocks and so fierce was the hail of missiles that the Yeomanry were forced to retreat, some being badly injured, and some losing their swords. The following evening as machines at Bodicote were being destroyed, the 10th Hussars arrived from Birmingham and dispersed the rioters. Few of the leaders were captured, though one was put into a lunatic asylum and another escaped to America<sup>(95)</sup>. In February 1831 a number of the rioters were taken to Banbury Gaol, one from as far away as Leighton Buzzard<sup>(96)</sup>. The Oxfordshire Lent Assize was more lenient than courts in some parts of England. One man was transported, three received short prison sentences, and eight were acquitted<sup>(97)</sup>. Only one or two of the rioters were left in Neithrop in 1850.

Dispassionate attempts to record the condition of north Oxfordshire farm labourers about the middle of the 19th century are few, most of what material there is comes from the not disinterested pens of declared Free Traders. Prominent among these was the Rev. William Fergusson, an Independent from Bicester, who reported to an Anti-Corn Law League Conference in 1842 that the best field labourers in that part of the country received about six shillings a week, and that the condition of the poor in general was painful to witness, some of them living only

on gravy made from mouldy bread<sup>(98)</sup>. In a letter to the county's M. P. in 1845 Fergusson said "that rural Oxfordshire conveyed a picture of misery in the midst of plenty not to be surpassed by the most destitute or squalid court or alley in the City of London or any part of the Empire"<sup>(99)</sup>. The Banbury Baptist minister W. T. Henderson was also a Free Trader, and his autobiography written in 1910 contains a number of episodes concluding with the moral that Tariff Reform was evil. Nevertheless his story of his visit to a labourer's cottage near South Newington about 1851 is compelling. There was "one large room on the ground floor, and of anything that could be called furniture the room was entirely bare. Two little children were asleep on the floor and one or two broken chairs and a large box were the only other belongings". The tenant of the cottage had been told by his master that the Queen had sent down a letter saying that no one was to give more than six shillings a week in wages, and he said that he knew of no one who received more<sup>(100)</sup>.

An "Oxfordshire Clergyman" writing to The Times in 1858 described in despairing terms the condition of the labourers in his village. "The rude lawlessness of the besotted youths defies any scheme of spiritual and educational advancement by which the clergy would fain lift up their people to a knowledge and appreciation of something better". He alleged that young women could not go to church without fear of molestation, and that any good which was done by his weeknight schools was undone by the "manifest Evil" of the public houses which his pupils had to pass on their way home. The village streets, he said, were "brutalised in sight and sound by drunkenness and obscene language" and there were often fights attracting a "savage congregation" even during the hours of divine service. The clergyman blamed the ignorance and vice of the countryside on the eagerness of farmers to exploit cheap juvenile labour<sup>(101)</sup>.

The Hand Loom Weaver's Commissioner in 1838 reported that the average wage of farm workers in Banbury was between nine and ten shillings a week, though this was a year of unusual prosperity. In 1847 the Northern Star claimed that north Oxfordshire labourer's wages were between eight and nine shillings a week<sup>(102)</sup>. All the evidence suggests that the farm workers in the Banbury district were an unusually ill-paid and depressed class, and there is an almost complete absence of any reference to them as a group in town affairs, and no indication that any one of them took an active part in any organisation in the town.

Farms in Neithrop varied in size from the 150 acres of James Golby on the Drayton Road and the 145 acres of Henry Bolton's Boxhedge Farm, to the 40 acres of William Coleman's holding around Golden Villa and some small market gardens. Only 25 labourers were employed by farmers within Neithrop and it seems that the township housed workers on farms from all over the western side of Banbury parish. It is also likely that many Neithrop agriculturalists were casual labourers.

Agriculture was essentially an occupation for natives of the district. 24 of the householders had been born in Neithrop, and 20 in villages in Banbury's hinterland. Only five came from Banbury borough and three from neighbouring counties. Even among the lodgers seven of the thirteen were natives of Neithrop. Four lodgers came from distant parts of England and one from Ireland, but all of these were at the Rag Row lodging house.

The upper classes liked to think of agriculture as an hereditary occupation<sup>(103)</sup> and in Neithrop their wishes were fulfilled. Of the 16 boys under 20 working on farms, only one, the son of a bricklayer, was the offspring of a skilled worker outside agriculture. Seven were the sons of farm workers, three had no father living, three were the sons of other labourers and two the sons of a man who carried a basket. It was most unusual for the sons of farm workers to follow any other occupation, though one or two were employed as errand boys.

Thirteen seems to have been the usual age for starting regular work on the farm, and four boys of that age were so employed in Neithrop. Only three men over 60 were still active in agriculture. Farm workers occasionally had experience of other occupations, and there are instances in Neithrop of labourers also having been employed as boatmen, rag and bone men, tailors, bricklayers, foundry workers and weavers. Three women, one of them aged 71, gained their living from work in the fields, two of the three being paupers. The Banbury Agricultural Association awarded prizes for female farm servants<sup>(104)</sup>. Three of the farm workers were shepherds and one a horsebreaker, but these were the only ones to claim specialised skills.

The densest concentration of farm workers was in John Pain's Square, but otherwise they were to be found throughout the working class parts of the district.

In spite of the proximity of Banbury town and its opportunities for spending, it is doubtful whether the life of the Neithrop farm workers differed very much from that of the "besieged generation" at Cottisford<sup>(105)</sup>. The depression of the class is best illustrated by a prize awarded by the Agricultural Association for labourers "who shall have maintained themselves and their families (not less than four children) the longest period without parochial relief; the eldest child not to exceed 12 years"<sup>(106)</sup>.

### THE WEAVERS

Banbury was an important centre for weaving a variety of cloths from the 16th century, but after 1750 the manufacture of plush spread throughout the district, and a century later the weaving trade was almost entirely confined to this fabric and horse cloth. In the 18th century the Banbury weavers were notorious among weaving masters for their "powerful combination and large club". One Banbury master wrote in 1787 that "Banbury is not the place for a manufactory, the Masters being so much under the control of the workmen"<sup>(107)</sup>. The weavers had a reputation for being politically active, and in 1834 the trade club corresponded with Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trade Union. The masters refused to employ any men connected with the Union, and encouraged those who did not join.<sup>(108)</sup> A weaver called Beazley threatened weaving master John Baughan with a fire at his factory<sup>(109)</sup>. The other trades in the town gave no support, and the weavers became very submissive. The trades club which according to George Herbert was "fallen off much in my days"<sup>(110)</sup> (the second half of the 1830's) had only 21 members in 1838<sup>(111)</sup> though 50 took part in the Clubs Procession in 1839<sup>(112)</sup>. In 1838 the club was still enforcing considerable restrictions on the trade: no women were allowed to work as weavers, apprenticeships lasted 7 years with only one apprentice allowed per master, and only the eldest son of a weaver was allowed to work at the trade<sup>(113)</sup>. The regulations induced some of the masters to send work outside the town, Gilletts employed 20 girls for warping and winding at Brailes and the trade throve at Shutford<sup>(114)</sup>.

As in other parts of the country, the weaving trade in Banbury in the mid 19th century was "haunted by the legend of better days"<sup>(115)</sup>. Arthur Young found many weavers out of work at Banbury and Bloxham in 1809<sup>(116)</sup>; George Herbert, an unusually skilled workman did not want his son to follow him as a weaver<sup>(117)</sup>; in 1831 a topographer wrote that weaving in Banbury had greatly declined<sup>(118)</sup>; and in 1841 Alfred Beesley found it necessary to assert that if there was a decline it was only relative to the rise of other centres<sup>(119)</sup>.

The Hand Loom Weavers' Commissioner in 1838 found the trade steady, but the fortunes of the firm of Gilletts show that 1838 was an unusually good year, and that it was the last year of prosperity for the trade in Banbury. Profits were halved in 1839 and continued to decline, until the family left the business altogether in 1848. During the 1840's the number of weavers in the district fell by about half, partly through emigration, and partly through changes of occupation<sup>(120)</sup>. Troubles in the trade were particularly severe in 1842 when about a hundred weavers surrounded the house of Joseph Ashby Gillett<sup>(121)</sup>. During the 1840's there was some concentration of work in factories, and in 1852 came the last major crisis in the trade in Banbury. In December 1851 the brothers Baughan, the largest employers in the district, cut their rates of payment by about 25 per cent.<sup>(122)</sup> A strike was called<sup>(123)</sup> and in February 1852 there was a meeting to establish a Plush Weavers' Co-operative, with Robert Cockerill, and Richard Brazier and James Blencowe who were both prominent Primitive Methodists, active in the movement<sup>(124)</sup>. The co-operative operated from premises in Bridge Street and was still in business in 1854, though it had closed down by January of the following year. An offshoot seems to have been a Co-operative grocery store originally in Butcher's Row, and later in Cherwell Street, which had closed by 1856<sup>(125)</sup>.

The average earnings of plush weavers in 1838 were about £30 per annum, but this was a boom year, and by 1851 the level was probably much lower. Payment was made on pieces about 44 yards in length, of which ten could be made in a year<sup>(126)</sup>. The rate for broad upright, the best quality of plush, was reduced in December 1851 from 1s. 10d. to 1s. 3d. per yard<sup>(127)</sup>.

The optimistic conclusions of the Hand Loom Weavers' Commissioner about the "most primitive and satisfactory" state of relations in the Banbury plush trade arising from the isolation of "this little manufacturing community"<sup>(128)</sup> cannot be regarded as a straightforward statement of fact, though doubtless there were differences between Banbury and the factory towns of the West Riding. Threats of incendiarism, the brutal suppression of trade unionism, gatherings of starving weavers around a master's house, descriptions of employers as tyrants<sup>(129)</sup> and oppressors, present a very different picture.

In the prosperous period of the plush trade the weavers certainly formed something of an aristocracy among Banbury's working class. Many had a fair education<sup>(130)</sup>, there was a high degree of adherence to the old Dissenting denominations, and their reputation for drunkenness<sup>(131)</sup> at least implied that they had ample money to spend. George Herbert's portrait of his father, a man proud of his skill, able to turn it to any aspect of the trade, is most impressive, and the Report of 1838 remarked that with the shoemakers who were much more unsteady, the weavers were great politicians among other labourers. Wilson's survey and the census show that by 1851 the weavers, whatever their proud past, had been reduced to the level of farm labourers.

In Neithrop there were 45 plush weavers, 9 weavers of undefined fabrics, four workers in plush factories (winders and warpers), a plush manufacturer and a girth weaver. Of the 45 plush weavers, 28 were householders, 12 sons or near relatives of heads of households, and 5 were lodgers. There is no evidence of any predominance of old men in the trade<sup>(132)</sup>. 16 weavers were under 30, twelve in their thirties and only four over 60. Most were local men, 17 having been born in Neithrop, 9 in Banbury borough, 18 in surrounding villages and one in Coventry. There is plentiful evidence of immigration into Banbury from the villages in the 40's. James Wright, a native of Adderbury had a number of children, one of them only 4, who had been born in that village. Richard Eyles of Byfield had moved to Neithrop rather earlier since his 14 year old son was born in the Northamptonshire village, but his 11 and 8 year old daughters in Neithrop. Henry Hunt of Little Bourton had children of 4 and 2 born in the village. There is also evidence of the links between weaving in Banbury and the trade in Coventry which largely superseded it<sup>(133)</sup>. Three wives of natives of the Banbury district were born in Coventry, and the children of another family had been born there.

A quarter of the 28 plush weavers' households accommodated seven or more people, and overcrowding in a weaver's home would have been made much worse by the need to find room for a very bulky loom<sup>(134)</sup>.

Evidence for the decline of the trade is plentiful. James Ewers aged 32 had become a labourer. Thomas Carroll carried a basket, and Richard Wagstaff, aged only 50 was a pauper. Two weavers had become tailors and three others were labourers. The strict conditions concerning entry into the trade were no longer being enforced. Four families each had two sons who were weavers.

Of 17 sons of weavers old enough to be working, 12 were plush weavers and 5 followed other trades. Some families still carried out several stages of manufacture as George Herbert's parents had done. Benjamin Hartwell had a 15 year old son who was a weaver, and two younger sons working as winders, and Thomas Pargeter's daughter was a warper.

There is some evidence of other textile trades in Neithrop. There were a girth weaver, two rope makers, a net maker and two lace makers. The latter trade had once been widespread in the villages on the Northamptonshire side of Banbury<sup>(135)</sup>. In the lodging houses were two cotton spinners, but they were probably passing migrants.

## THE ENGINEERS

Before 1850 agricultural engineering in Banbury had no more than a local significance in terms of production, but was already of national importance for its technical innovations. Even after the expansion of the Britannia Works until it employed 300 men by 1859<sup>(136)</sup>, owing largely to the obtaining in 1851 of a licence to make the famous McCormick reaper<sup>(137)</sup>, the small firms retained a remarkably high reputation for work of good quality and for their contributions to the development of mechanical engineering.

In Neithrop engineering activities centred round two families, the Rileys and the Lampitts. Several of the Rileys had their own workshops for millwrighting, and an ingenious chaff cutter made by one of them had drawn great attention at an Agricultural Association meeting in June 1838<sup>(138)</sup>. John Riley who appears in the census as a boy of 3 entered the Britannia Works in 1861, and retired as works secretary in 1912<sup>(139)</sup>. Charles Lampitt had been in business as a millwright for many years, but in 1847 produced his first mobile steam engine which was tested in fields on the Oxford Road.<sup>(140)</sup> Soon afterwards he opened the Vulcan Foundry in Neithrop and by 1859 the works was producing portable steam engines for threshing, sawing and chaff cutting, fixed steam engines and turnip cutters<sup>(141)</sup>. Later in the century the firm was responsible for a number of important innovations in the building of traction engines, including the famous Lampitt geared engine, and a method of achieving two speed drive on chain engines<sup>(142)</sup>.

The Neithrop engineers comprised 10 local men, almost all Lampitts and Rileys, and 16 from entirely outside the Banbury hinterland. Only one millwright and one apprentice came from a nearby village. The immigrants came from all parts, from Stroud, Leeds, Devon, Braintree and Ireland. For the most part they were young men, only four of the sixteen being over 30. Several were apprentices who had come to Banbury from considerable distances. Henry Tussell, Charles Lampitt's apprentice, was a native of Wells, Somerset. Most of the engineers lived in the better houses in the township, and there was a concentration of them in Water Lane.

That engineering in Neithrop was on a workshop rather than a factory scale is shown by the ratio of skilled to unskilled workers. There were 27 men employed in specialised trades and only 7 as foundry labourers. The skilled men consisted of 14 millwrights, four designated "millwright and engineer", 2 foundry engineers, 2 wheelwrights, an engineer's apprentice, a foundry smith, an iron moulder and engineer's clerk and a jigger fitter. Only one of them, the patriarch of the Lampitts, was aged over 60.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the engineers is their indifference to religion. Of 15 skilled heads of households three were Anglicans, of whom only 2 were active, none at all were Wesleyans, 4 belonged to the old dissenting denominations and 8 professed no religion at all, a higher proportion by far than in any other occupation group. It is interesting that William Bunton of Bridge Street, Banbury's most celebrated atheist, originally came to the town to work as an engineer at a foundry<sup>(143)</sup>. This indifference to religion was not necessarily the result of emigration, since 4 of the eight were natives of Neithrop.

The seven foundry labourers contrast sharply with the skilled men. Only one was born outside Banbury parish, and of the six heads of households, 2 were active Anglicans, and 4 were Wesleyans. The youngest engineering worker was the 13 year old son of Alice Smith, a pauper and widow.

### RELIGION IN NEITHROP

The most unusual information on Wilson's survey is about the religion of the Neithrop poor. Detailed knowledge of any sort about the religious observances of the Victorian working classes is so sparse that facts of any sort are valuable. There is no indication on the survey as to the precise significance of the religious information, but by setting in the context of church activities in Banbury generally certain worthwhile conclusions do emerge.

William Wilson, Junior was instituted vicar of Banbury on July 19th 1849 at the age of 27<sup>(144)</sup>. He gained the living through an exchange with the aged absentee, Thomas William Lancaster, that "learned but odd man"<sup>(145)</sup> as Dr. Edward Burton described him, who had been vicar since 1815<sup>(146)</sup>, and who now took the Wilson family living of Worton, a cure of some 45 souls<sup>(147)</sup>. The new incumbent sprang from a family deeply dyed with Evangelicalism. His grandmother's family were on intimate terms with George Whitefield. His second cousin, Joseph Wilson, was the founder and active promoter of the Lord's Day Observance Society<sup>(148)</sup>. His father, William Wilson, Senior (1793-1867), was for 26 years vicar of Walthamstow, one of the earliest patrons of infants' schools<sup>(149)</sup>, and in the last years of his life a respected elder statesman among the clergy of the Oxford Diocese. The new vicar's uncle, Daniel Wilson, was Bishop of Calcutta and builder of that city's great Gothic cathedral. Daniel Wilson's conversion from

being "a willing slave of Sin and Satan" had been aided by John Newton and Rowland Hill<sup>(150)</sup>, and during his short period as curate of Worton in the first decade of the 19th century he achieved great fame as a preacher. People would walk many miles to hear his sermons which often produced tears in his congregations, and on one occasion a lady in an adjoining parish asked her vicar "Pray do not let Mr. Wilson preach here again; he alarms one so"<sup>(151)</sup>. To describe William Wilson, Junior, as an Evangelical would not do justice to the complexity of his position in the church, but there can be no doubt that, like Samuel Wilberforce his bishop, he inherited a bountiful legacy of moral earnestness and zeal for the church from his Evangelical forebears. Wilson's period at Wadham College in the early 1840's had exposed him to Tractarian influences which were possibly the cause of his disagreements with his father<sup>(152)</sup>, but the introduction to Banbury of the ceremonies and the odium which this caused were left to his successor, Henry Back.

The exchange of livings was engineered by Samuel Wilberforce who had been Bishop of Oxford since 1845<sup>(153)</sup>. There are curiously few references to Banbury in Wilberforce's correspondence, and no direct records at all of the exchange of livings, but with its militant dissenters and multiplying Papists the town is likely from the first to have been one of his principal problems. In December 1850 he wrote of "the greatness of our needs in Banbury"<sup>(154)</sup>. There is considerable evidence that Wilson was regarded with especial favour by his bishop. On a visit to Christ Church, South Banbury, in 1855, Wilberforce noted that he had been asked for advice by "Good Wilson"<sup>(155)</sup> and on another occasion the bishop noted "the greatness of his work, his quietness under it and the good done by his monthly meetings in his new room"<sup>(156)</sup>.

Wilson's preferment raised doubts and apprehensions among his parishioners, rather because they feared the "well-known zeal for the church" with which he was already credited<sup>(157)</sup> than because they dreaded another absentee. He soon showed himself the equal of the most zealous and energetic men discovered by the bishop<sup>(158)</sup>.

By November 1849 he had appointed two curates who, with the vicar of South Banbury, made up the largest clerical staff ever known in Banbury. There were prayers and a sermon at St. Mary's every Wednesday evening, cottage lectures twice a week in Neithrop and once a week in Bridge Street and Upper Cherwell Street<sup>(159)</sup>. Early in 1850 Wilberforce had advised the institution of a Litany and sermon at 9.30 a. m. each Sunday in St. Mary's especially for the poor, and pew holders were requested to allow the poor to occupy their seats<sup>(160)</sup>. In the mid 1850's a Ragged Sunday School was meeting at Neithrop each Sunday, the Sunday School teachers met at the Vicarage hall two evenings a week<sup>(161)</sup>, and on two other nights Wilson conducted adult classes in the same place. In the day time he catechised the children at the National School and at three private academies<sup>(162)</sup>. He was the first Anglican clergyman in Banbury to support the Mechanics' Institute,<sup>(163)</sup> serving on the committee, giving lectures and donating the Illustrated London News to the reading room<sup>(164)</sup>, and few important public meetings took place without him.

Not all of his activities won popularity in the town. A campaign to stop Post Office work on Sundays came to an ignominious end in December 1849 when only 20 people at an overcrowded meeting supported Wilson's motion<sup>(165)</sup>. His refusal, on the instructions of the bishop, to allow an Old Charitable Society Sermon at the parish church in 1850 caused members of the Church to<sup>(166)</sup> attend dissenting places of worship where such sermons were being preached<sup>(167)</sup>. In general Wilberforce disapproved of co-operation with Nonconformists, and in April 1849 had told the Rev. Jordan of Fritwell that his conduct in support of Wesleyan missions was "antagonistic to the mind of Christ"<sup>(168)</sup>.

Wilson was responsible for considerable alterations to the parish church including the removal of the eastern gallery, and the addition of the chancel and it was he who had built the great hall of the vicarage<sup>(169)</sup>, which he put to regular use in the evangelisation of the parish. The extent of the concern felt for the parish of Banbury by both priest and bishop was shown by the choice of the town for the most spectacular display of Wilberforce's Lenten Mission of 1850, described by a contemporary church periodical as the "first step towards a more energetic and united action in dealing with the souls of men . . . for the first time for centuries an English bishop has been seen giving to the earnest parochial clergy of his diocese active personal assistance in rousing the lukewarm or reclaiming the erring children of the Church". Wilberforce

arrived in Banbury on the evening of Saturday February 23rd and addressed the communicants of the parish, about 200 in number, in the National School. On the Sunday morning there was a gorgeous display of ecclesiastical splendour at an ordination service with a procession from the vicarage to the church consisting of the bishop, 12 officiating clergy and 16 ordinands. All of the 2,700 seats in St. Mary's were full for the service which lasted from 10 a.m. till 2 p.m. An hour later the church was again full for a service in which the bishop confirmed 86 young people. In the evening three thousand attended to hear Wilberforce preach on "The sinner in Death and Judgement" than which, according to the Banbury Guardian, "a more powerful and touching sermon was never heard in the walls of this or any other church". Services continued on the Monday and Tuesday, and included an address by William Wilson, Senior, on "Sanctity in Childhood", delivered to almost all of the school children in the town, the dissenters attending by their own special request. The mission concluded with a mid-morning service on the Wednesday with 26 clergy, a congregation of 2,500, and a sermon from Wilberforce on "Perseverance". A deep impression was made by the "long and ordered stream of supriced clergy which passed continually during each day in reverent and earnest silence to and from the church" and one reporter concluded that "the counsel and example of the Bishop and the sympathy of many brethren must have left the earnest vicar of the parish strengthened and encouraged to carry out the work begun with increased energy as with an enlarged prospect of success"<sup>(170)</sup>. Wilson's survey of Neithrop, made six months after the mission, can be seen as a continuation of this Anglican counter attack upon a dissenting stronghold. It typifies his zeal and his systematic thinking.

There was no place of worship at all in Neithrop township, and apart from Wilson's own cottage meetings, the only regular religious activities were services led by Wesleyan prayer leaders<sup>(171)</sup>. In the parish church space for the poor was limited to about 300 seats in the aisles and under the galleries<sup>(172)</sup>. Wilson once described the system of freehold pews in the church as, with church rates, the greatest impediment to the ministry and welfare of the church in Banbury<sup>(173)</sup>. In righteous anger he once declared that the last generation, in demolishing the medieval parish church had "turned the poor out of the church"<sup>(174)</sup>. Proposals for a second church in Banbury went back at least to 1839, when, it was reported that the poor were alarmed at the proposal to erect more pews in St. Mary's since this would deprive them of what few seats they had<sup>(175)</sup>. In 1846 Charles Forbes was appointed Vicar of the parish of South Banbury, but progress towards building him a church was very slow and settlement of the parish boundary proved difficult. Soon after his preferment, Wilson donated the site of a new chapel of ease for St. Mary's in Armitt's Garden, Neithrop<sup>(176)</sup>, and work also commenced on the building of Christ Church South Banbury. The survey was conducted late in August 1850<sup>(177)</sup>, and by January 1851 plans for the new church had been submitted to Wilberforce, who informed the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that it would be "amidst a large poor population" and would "provide in connection with the old church, a place of worship for a population of 1,600, all poor to a man, close to their own doors"<sup>(178)</sup>. The survey was taken by a group of 15 district visitors<sup>(179)</sup>, ladies, for the most part young, who distributed alms throughout Neithrop, and who met monthly at the Vicarage when their alms books were subjected to audit<sup>(180)</sup>. The choice of interviewers explains why some of the most overcrowded houses were not fully recorded.

The chapel of St. Paul the Apostle in Neithrop was opened in February 1853<sup>(181)</sup> and the following year had an average congregation of 360.<sup>(182)</sup> Wilson remained in Banbury until he died, worn out by family differences and overwork, in 1860. On the day of his funeral there was hardly a house or shop in the town which did not close its windows as a mark of respect. Unlike his uncle he was not a good preacher, but "his strength lay in his personal and pastoral visits". One of his most vigorous opponents throughout his years in Banbury admitted that he had been universally "respected and beloved"<sup>(183)</sup>.

Religious affiliations of the households visited by Wilson's surveyors are indicated by coloured circles, a different colour for each denomination. For Anglicans the code was further sophisticated. Some received a full circle, while the rest had circles filled with colour to different degrees, down to the merest sliver of a new moon. The number of variations is infinite,

and for the purpose of tabulation distinction has been made only between those households which had a full circle and those which did not. It has been assumed that a full circle represented a household where at least one member was considered a regular attender at the parish church, and that the unfilled circles represented diminishing degrees of affiliation.

The principal object of Wilson's survey was doubtless to show the necessity for the construction of a new church in Neithrop, permission for which was requested from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in January 1851<sup>(184)</sup>, only four months after the survey was taken. Wilson's argument was that there was insufficient accommodation at St. Mary's for "the poor and the servants of the middle class" and that a chapel of ease was necessary "for the spiritual good of these poor, to bring to them where they lie closely congregated the pure Gospel as St. Paul and the other Apostles and our Blessed Saviour Himself taught it"<sup>(185)</sup>. This argument assumed that there were large numbers of loyal Anglicans among the poor, eagerly awaiting the provision of facilities for worship. It is not unlikely therefore that the figures for Anglicans, both practising and nominal may be over-generously calculated. Conversely the figures for the dissenting denominations are likely to be reasonably accurate, for unlike the vicar of South Banbury, Wilson never put forward papal or nonconformist aggression among the poor as a reason for constructing a new church. Furthermore nonconformist membership lists and baptismal registers confirm the affiliations shown in the survey. There are no distinctions between the three Baptist congregations in the town nor any mention of the Primitive Methodists. The only two families in Neithrop whose connection with the latter church can be established, were recorded as "nothing" by the survey, which suggests that the Primitives were an insignificant force in Neithrop and were totally omitted, and that they were not included with the Wesleyans. The survey was taken by female district visitors and it may well reflect the views of wives rather than their husbands, since the visitors were more likely to converse with their own sex, and for reasons of personal safety more likely to conduct interviews in daylight hours when the men would be working. Among the Independents, several women were in full membership of the church, while their husbands were not, which confirms this possibility.

Church attendance in Banbury as shown by the 1851 Census<sup>(186)</sup> was considerably higher than the national average, the accepted figure being 79 as against 61 for England and Wales generally. This figure is reached by adding together all attendances, both of children and adults, morning, afternoon and evening, and expressing them as a proportion of the total population<sup>(187)</sup>. A figure for minimum church attendance can be obtained by adding together the largest congregations of the day at each church which totalled 2,825 adults, or 32% of the total population. Figures for the individual churches are given in Table 2.

St. Mary's parish church never suffered unduly from the prolonged absence of T. W. Lancaster, since active curates were always in attendance and the church in Banbury never lacked active lay defenders. Attendances at St. Mary's on the census Sunday were extremely high, especially since a number of the appropriated pews were held by members of other denominations for secular reasons.

The Wesleyans in Banbury had been established since 1791 and in 1851 were meeting in the Church Lane chapel, erected in 1812. They were the largest of the Nonconformist denominations in the town (a predominance retained in the 20th century)<sup>(188)</sup> and while no figures for membership are available, it is clear that the society was flourishing in spite of heavy debts. The Wesleyan Reform schism did not reach Banbury until December 1851<sup>(189)</sup>.

The Unitarian church meeting at the newly erected Christ Church Chapel traced its descent from the ejection of Presbyterian ministers in 1662. In the first half of the 19th century its influence on affairs in Banbury was considerable, several of its members, the Cobb family in particular, occupying important positions in the town. Hostile newspapers in the late 30's often referred to the "Whig and Unitarian" rulers of the borough<sup>(190)</sup>. Since 1844 the minister had been the Romantically minded Henry Hunt Piper, father in law of Edward Cobb, and author of a liturgy which in 1853 was to cause his flight from Banbury and the decline of the church.<sup>(191)</sup>

TABLE 1 : Religion in Neithrop according to Wilson's Survey.

	<u>Total house- holds</u>	<u>Proportion of total households</u>	<u>Proportion of householders actively committed (i. e. excluding nominal Anglicans &amp; professors of no religion)</u>
CHURCH OF ENGLAND (Full)	75	23.2	39.3
CHURCH OF ENGLAND (Nominal)	88	27.2	-
WESLEYAN	47	14.6	24.6
ROMAN CATHOLIC	16	5.0	8.4
BAPTIST	17	5.3	8.9
INDEPENDENT	19	5.9	10.0
UNITARIAN	16	5.0	8.4
QUAKER	1	0.3	0.5
NOTHING	40	12.4	-

There are very few indications of religiously divided households in Neithrop. These have been classified by the religion of the husband. No allowance has been made for those whose affiliations or those whose religion can be established from other sources.

TABLE 2 : The Ecclesiastical Census in Banbury.

	<u>Highest Adult Attendance 30.3.1851</u>	<u>Proportion of Total</u>
ST. MARY'S	1,300	45.7
WESLEYAN	470	16.6
ROMAN CATHOLIC	250	8.9
BAPTIST: BRIDGE STREET	200 )	12.6
BAPTIST: SOUTH BAR	77 )	
BAPTIST: WEST BAR	50 )	
INDEPENDENT <sup>(1)</sup>	120	4.2
UNITARIAN	214	7.4
PRIMITIVE METHODIST	144	5.1

(1) There was no regular minister at the Independent Church in March 1851 which doubtless affected attendance at a chapel which rated preaching so highly.

TABLE 3 : Religion and Social Class.

The object of this simplified table is to demonstrate the varying degrees of religious affiliation among the major occupation groups. The term "tradesmen" includes engineers, shoemakers, tailors, shopkeepers, publicans, etc. Anglicans with less than a full circle have been grouped with the non-believers. The figures are percentages.

	<u>CHURCH</u>	<u>WESLEYAN</u>	<u>DISSENT</u>	<u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>	<u>NOTHING</u>
Tradesmen	20.5	5.7	25.7	5.4	43.9
Weavers	13.1	18.4	39.4	2.6	26.3
Builders	20.0	25.0	10.0	10.0	35.0
Farm Labourers	22.5	12.5	10.0	5.0	50.0
Other Labourers	30.1	14.0	4.6	4.6	46.5
Widows, paupers, casual workers	32.5	16.4	3.2	6.5	41.9

TABLE 4 : Emigration and Religious Behaviour.

	Church	Wesleyan	Dissent	Roman Catholic	Nothing or Nominal C. of E.
Banbury and Neithrop	19.3	17.0	15.5	5.2	43 ~
Villages in the immediate hinterland	26.7	11.6	17.7	4.6	39.5
Distant places	21.8	12.7	16.3	3.6	45.4

The Bridge Street Baptist chapel had been built in 1841 and had endured an unhappy first decade. In 1851 its minister was the newly appointed W. T. Henderson who was to bring it to a position of considerable eminence by the end of the decade. The other two Baptist chapels were both Calvinistic, and were the private properties of the Austin and Gardner families.<sup>(192)</sup>

The fortunes of the Independent congregation then meeting in Church Passage were generally reckoned to be at a low ebb in the early '50's.<sup>(193)</sup> There was no minister in March 1851 which probably explains the low congregation recorded on the census.

The Roman Catholic Church of St. John had been opened against much vocal opposition in 1838 and since then a Catholic friendly society had been formed, a school opened, and nuns from Chartres had arrived to assist the priest<sup>(194)</sup>. Charles Forbes, vicar of South Banbury, was thoroughly alarmed at the progress of the Papists among the poor of his parish in the late 1840's<sup>(195)</sup>.

Primitive Methodism was introduced to Banbury in 1836 and in 1839 a small chapel off Broad Street was opened, adjoining some of the worst slum cottages in the town. Congregations were not large, but there were considerable improvements after the enlargement of the chapel in 1847. Most of the adherents were working men, but very few came from Neithrop township.<sup>(196)</sup>

The figures for religious affiliation as recorded by Wilson's survey are set out in Table 1. Their value is chiefly comparative, since they give no idea at all of the numbers of the poor who attended church on any particular Sunday. 191 or 59 per cent of the 323 families for which an opinion was obtained professed some active affiliation. The proportion of these 191 families claiming adherence to each denomination is shown in column 3 of Table 1. It makes an interesting contrast with the proportion of actual worshippers of each denomination on Census Sunday which is shown in the second column of Table 2. Table 3 shows in simplified form the religious preferences of the principal social classes. Particularly notable is the high degree of support for Nonconformity among the weavers, and the relative indifference of the farm workers, half of whom, it appears, did not go to church regularly. The weakness of Dissent among the unfortunate is also notable.

75 householders professed full adherence to the Church of England. It seems doubtful whether this number attended St. Mary's every Sunday with their families for their presence would have strained the capacity of the free seats, quite apart from the demands of the poor from other parts of the town. Nevertheless the Church of England was easily the most popular church among the religious poor. 37 per cent of the Anglicans had come to Neithrop from villages in the hinterland of Banbury, a higher proportion than for any denomination except the Baptists. 21 of the Anglican householders had been born in Neithrop, 12 came from outside the district altogether and 5 from the borough. Among the unskilled there was considerable support for the church, with 13 labourers, 9 farm workers and 20 widows and paupers declaring themselves Anglicans. The older children of the churchmen mostly went to the National School, but for the younger ones 9 parents preferred the Infants School in Church Passage which was managed largely by Nonconformists.

The families represented by circles less than completely filled were presumably the non-attending poor Anglicans for whom Wilson wanted to build a new place of worship. In class structure and in places of birth this group resembles very closely the active Anglicans, though most significantly while 19 of the 61 active Anglicans whose ages are known were under 40, 44 of the 83 nominal members of the church fell into this age group. It seems that the Church meant less to the younger generation. The majority of the children of this group went to the National School, though one family sent its offspring to the Roman Catholics and one to the Independents.

The Roman Catholic proportion of the population may not be fairly represented by the total of 16 families since the survey did not record most of the Irish families in the Rag Row lodging house. The four widows and paupers are a high proportion of the total, but the sample is rather small for much significance to be attached to this. A number of locally born men of middle age, and one man of 80 were Catholics, which suggests that there were working class English members of the faith in the district long before the opening of St. John's. Only 2 Catholic householders were born outside the Banbury district, though three locally born men had Irish wives. One mixed marriage was recorded, of which the children attended the Roman Catholic School, as did 17 of the 19 Catholic children in Neithrop.

The 47 Wesleyan families comprised the largest denominational group with the exception of the Anglicans. 24.6 per cent of the householders of Neithrop with active church affiliations were Wesleyans, as against 16.6 per cent of the total of church attenders in Banbury as a whole, which suggests that the Wesleyan congregation contained a substantially higher proportion of the poor than those of other denominations. Five of the householders were employers, but a very low proportion, only four in all were self employed or skilled tradesmen. The Wesleyans had considerable success in attracting the unfortunate for 10 of the 47 householders were widows or paupers, while of the 52 members of other Protestant dissenting denominations, only 2 came from this class. The remainder of the Wesleyans included 7 weavers, 5 building craftsmen, 5 farm labourers, 6 other labourers and a policeman. The Wesleyans had a particularly high proportion of members in their 30's and more men in this age group were Wesleyans than were active Anglicans, the only age group for which this was so. This suggests that Wesleyan evangelism had been particularly successful in the 1820's and 30's. Forty per cent of the Wesleyans had been born in Neithrop parish, and only seven of the 47 families came from outside Banbury's immediate hinterland. Most Wesleyan children went to the National Schools and only one family sent its offspring to the British School. Three Wesleyans had been active Chartists and at least two of these maintained their support for radical causes. This is one of the most surprising discoveries revealed by the survey, for the political behaviour of Banbury's best known Wesleyans was exactly according to the model of passive Conservatism laid down by Jabez Bunting<sup>(197)</sup>. It seems that the rank and file were not necessarily content to accept this lead.

The nineteen Independent householders included a proprietor of houses, John Baughan the weaving master, five tradesmen and seven weavers. Eight of the seventeen whose birthplaces are known came from Banbury parish, six from neighbouring villages and three from further afield. One of the latter was a Scot. Only nine children of Independents had their schools recorded, and of these only two went to the National School, the others being divided between the Infants School and various Dames' Schools.

The social composition of the 16 Unitarian families in Neithrop was very similar to that of the Independents. Elizabeth Milward was a landed proprietress, five householders were tradesmen, five were weavers, one was a retired bank clerk. The predominance of weavers among both Unitarian and Independents may reflect the beliefs of the weaving masters, and is also some indication of the superior educational standards of the weavers. On average Unitarians were older than members of other denominations, only four heads of households being under 40. For this reason there were too few Unitarian children at school to reveal significant patterns, but two did go to the National Schools which shows that they were not rejected even by the proudest of the sects.

Of the 17 Baptist householders, seven were tradesmen, three were weavers and three farm workers. Only a quarter of the Baptists had been born in Banbury parish, eight had moved in from surrounding villages and four from further afield. 8.9 per cent of the Neithrop householders who went to church were Baptists as against 12.6 per cent of the total of church attenders in the town as a whole, which suggests that the Baptists attracted less than an average proportion of the poor. It is unfortunate that the survey does not distinguish between the three Baptist congregations.

Forty of the householders in Neithrop (12.4 per cent) professed that they attended no church. Among the poor such a confession must have required some courage for almost all charitable work in Banbury was carried on through the agency of the churches or by church

attenders. Going to church was considered a certain way of earning the generosity of the wealthy.

" There's blankets, coals and calicoes,  
With Quartern and Half Quartern loaves,  
For all the precious souls as goes  
To hear the Parsons preaching" . (198)

The non-believers came from all social classes. One was Francis Francillon, whose rejection of organised religion was well known, and who confessed at a public meeting in 1849 that he seldom went to any place of worship<sup>(199)</sup>. Another was Henry Bolton of Boxhedge Farm, landlord of Rag Row and, like Francillon, a regular supporter of the cause of Reform at Banbury elections. Twelve non-believers were self employed or skilled tradesmen including seven engineers, three were weavers, four farm workers, five labourers and seven widows or paupers. Most of the co-habiting unmarried couples in Neithrop were placed among those of no religion. Of the 34 heads of households whose places of birth are known, fifteen (46 per cent) came from Neithrop parish. This was the highest proportion for any single group and suggests that lack of religion was not a new phenomenon in the township. A similarly high proportion - 18 per cent - came from distant towns, while a much smaller proportion than from most denominational groups came from the countryside around Banbury. Table 4 suggests that people brought up in a churchless suburb, or distant immigrants were less likely to go to church than those from nearby villages.

### THE CHILDREN

As late as the 1830's it was usual in the Banbury district for children to commence full time work at the age of ten or even well before. George Herbert was apprenticed at nine and a half, and the Moreton Pinkney lacemakers began work at five<sup>(200)</sup>. In Neithrop in 1850 it seems that while it was still not unknown for children to start work at ten, this was by no means common, and that the majority began at about the age of 13. Table 5 shows the number of children of each age group at school and working. Of the four working ten year olds, Eliza, daughter of William Adams was a dressmaker, John, son of John Enoch, a quill winder, William, son of William Hartley, a labourer, and Sarah Butler, relative of Jabez Washbrook, a servant. None of these came from particularly large families nor were their parents paupers. Three of the five working eleven year olds were errand boys, one a servant and the other a quill winder. Of the seven twelve year olds, three were girls in domestic service, one a labourer, one a farm worker, and two were errand boys. Many of the 13 year olds were farm workers. An unusual feature of the figures for school attendance is that 17 children were already scholars at the age of two, although it was not until the age of six that children were more likely to be at school than not. It is surprising that in such an area there were so few children who did not attend school at all. Only three of the 42 seven year olds, and five of the 40 eight year olds, and two of the 28 nine year olds were non-attenders. Regularity of attendance was of course a different matter and cannot be measured from the survey or the census. Much later in the century teachers still had the utmost difficulty in persuading parents to send children to school regularly<sup>(201)</sup>, and the situation is unlikely to have been better in 1850.

Wilson's survey details the schools attended by 198 children in Neithrop. Of these, 113 went to the National Schools, now St. Mary's. This was the nearest school and was used by parents regardless of religious denomination. The British Schools in Crouch Street, run by Nonconformists with a sprinkling of Reforming Anglicans, were attended by only two children from the area. Although the committee of the British Schools kept "ever before them that the servants and nursery maids of the future are being trained by them"<sup>(202)</sup> it seems that the Schools were largely for the middle class. A considerable number of children, 34 in all, went to the Infants School in Church Passage which was largely run by the same people as the British Schools. 22 Neithrop children went to dames' schools, including several children of labourers, and probably these schools were for the most part rather worse than those run by the denominations, and probably charged even lower fees. 20 children went to the Roman Catholic School, 3 to the school at the workhouse and 4 to the Independent School at the Church Passage chapel.

TABLE 5 : Children at School and at Work.

Age Group	Children at School	Children neither at school nor working	Children at Work	Total
2 year olds	17	32	-	49
3	14	19	-	33
4	25	19	-	44
5	29	16	-	45
6	28	6	-	34
7	39	3	-	42
8	35	5	-	40
9	26	2	-	28
10	29	6	4	39
11	24	1	5	30
12	18	3	7	28
13	17	6	13	36
14	8	8	16	32
15	2	-	22	24

It was not unusual for children to return to school after they had left to begin work. Hannah, 13 year old daughter of William Cotterill, George, 13 year old son of Robert Prescottt and Deborah, 15 year old daughter of James Wright, were all recorded as working by the survey but as scholars by the census. Later in the century this practice survived in many country schools. The log book of Worthen (Salop) National School records the admission in 1863 of "a backward bad attender" for the fifth time.

A number of children from Neithrop were given scholarships to the National School by the Blue Coat Charity Trustees in the late 1840's, including the children of a gardener, a milkman, a basket maker, a fellmonger and two labourers. All were recorded as Anglicans by the survey, and two had particularly large families. Conditions for granting the scholarships were severe, and reflect the general attitude of the middle classes to the poor of the period. In 1847 it was decreed that respectable and church attending parents should have preference, that parents should be called before the trust and told about the conditions concerning good behaviour, that offenders would be expelled and the clothes given to them taken back, that children should appear annually before the Trust in their new clothes and that no child was to be absent without the permission of one of the clergy(203).

Of the ten children of 14 or over who remained at school, three were the children of farmers, but one was the daughter of a widow mop spinner, one the son of a plush weaver and one the son of a transported agricultural labourer.

#### The 12-22 Age Group

Marriage under the age of 22 seems to have been very rare in Neithrop, and only one couple under this age are recorded. 166 males and 132 females between 12 and 22 were living in the district. 22 boys and 23 girls were still at school, 8 males and 31 females were at home and apparently not working, though this figure includes a number of the spinster daughters of the middle classes who were not expected to work. 39 girls and 8 boys were domestic servants, either living with middle class employers, temporarily out of service or living at home with parents. 130 males and 37 females were working at other occupations.

There is no doubt that the disparity between numbers of men and women in this age group is accounted for by girls going to service outside the township, which was already an established practice by this date. The workings of the system later in the century are described in Lark Rise. At 10 or 11 the girl would leave school and spend about a year helping in her mother's home, then go for a year or so to a "petty place" at about £2 p.a. This would often be a shopkeeper's household, and Jane Humphris, 14 year old servant to Clement Bromley the plumber, was no doubt in such a "petty place". After this a post would be secured in a more

ambitious household, often obtained by the clergyman's daughter through the Church Times or the Morning Post, and paid at about £7 p.a., much of which would be sent home to parents<sup>(204)</sup>. Mrs. Redford, a ropemaker of Back Lane, Banbury, describes in her autobiography how in the 1850's her 16 year old daughter went in service to a rectory near Banbury, was seduced by the Rector and subsequently bore his child<sup>(205)</sup>. The tradition of service was encouraged by the upper classes. In 1841 the Banbury Agricultural Association offered a prize of 50 shillings, donated by Susan, Lady North, "to the wife or widow of a cottager recommended by a member of the Association, who shall have placed out in service the greatest number of children born in wedlock, of whom three at least shall be in service at the time of receiving the premium"<sup>(206)</sup>.

There is plentiful evidence that girls from Neithrop were departing for service elsewhere, despite the prejudice felt by some employers in favour of girls from villages. Twelve girls of about 13 years of age recorded in Wilson's survey were not living at home at the time of the census 6 months later.

Of the 37 women between twelve and twenty two who followed other occupations, the majority, 23 in all, were concerned in the making of garments, and were recorded as seamstresses, tailoresses, milliners or bonnet makers. One made lace and one worked in a plush factory. Three were shoebinders and one a pipe maker. There were four laundresses, a char woman, two teachers and a hawker.

### THE LODGERS

149 of the inhabitants of Neithrop were lodgers, staying either with relatives other than parents or strangers. This total, just nine per cent of the total population, does not include those staying at Ward's lodging house, nor the domestic servants living in with the wealthy, nor apparent co-habitants. 26 of the lodgers were children at school or under 13 and not working, four of these were lodging with people to whom they were not related, eight with aunts and uncles, 11 with grandparents, and the rest with unspecified relatives. The high death rate in Neithrop no doubt created many orphans, and it is possible that some children were refugees from overcrowded homes.

There were 24 young people under the age of 22 staying with relations in Neithrop, six with aunts or uncles, four with grandparents, and eleven with brothers or sisters. It seems to have been common practice for young single men or women from villages near Banbury to move into the town to join married brothers or sisters already working there. George Walker, a 23 year old tailor from Wardington, moved to join his 25 year old married brother, also born in Wardington and also a tailor. John Ashfield a 26 year old fellmonger from Witney had been joined by his brother aged 15 who took up the same trade. Older children in a family sometimes moved to lodgings in order to relieve over crowding in their parents' homes. William, eldest of the six children of Benjamin Pain, went to live with his grandmother between the time of the survey and that of the census, and there are other examples.

Nine of the lodgers in this age group were apprentices; 2 saddlers, a plumber, a wheelwright, an engineer, a smith, a carpenter, a cordwainer and a dressmaker. Four came from outside the Banbury area and five from nearby villages.

There were few independent tradesmen in Neithrop and the number of employees living in is correspondingly small. Apart from domestic servants, apprentices, and one or two errand boys, there were only a journeyman smith employed by Thomas Lawrence, and an assistant in Robert Cockerill's blacking factory.

The largest single occupational group among the lodgers were those engaged in engineering, a trade demanding skills which the locality could not produce. Otherwise the occupational pattern is similar to that for householders, with six farm workers, nine other labourers, seven weavers, seven paupers, four shoemakers or cordwainers and three building workers among the men, and eight servants, ten seamstresses, and five paupers among the women.

The majority of the lodgers were young people, 116 of the 149 being under the age of 30. In the 20-30 age group there was a marked predominance of men over women, 29 : 16, though in the age group 10-20 numbers were almost exactly equal. There were only 18 lodgers between 30 and 70, and 13 over 70, of whom seven lived with relatives.

THE UNFORTUNATE

Table 6 shows the number of widows in each age group in Neithrop and whether or not they were paupers. Of the 55 widows in the district, 36 were paupers, but the age pattern reveals interesting variations. Of the seven under 40, five were paupers, but among the twelve between 40 and 50 there were only four paupers. Women in this age group were less likely to be left with large families of young children, and were still young enough to work. Of the 35 widows over 50, only nine were not receiving parochial relief, and fourteen of the sixteen over 70 were paupers. Thus for the young woman and for the very old, widowhood almost inevitably meant pauperdom.

TABLE 6 : Widows.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Paupers</u>	<u>Not Paupers</u>	<u>Total</u>
20 - 30	-	1	1
30 - 40	5	1	6
40 - 50	4	8	12
50 - 60	8	4	12
60 - 70	4	3	7
70 - 80	11	1	12
80 - 90	3	1	4
Unknown	1		
<b>Total</b>	<u>36</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>55</u>

The range of occupations open to widows was very limited, laundry work and charring being the most common. Some were housekeepers for working unmarried sons, and one continued her husband's bakery business while another carried on a market garden. A number seem to be victims of extreme poverty. Three had been left with four or more children, and of these a particularly pathetic case seems to be that of Hannah Weaver, aged 32, left with four children under ten. She shared the cottage of another widow and pauper, 71 year old Mary Stanton and supported her family by field work.

Eighty eight people over 60 lived in Neithrop, about 5.5 per cent of the total population. Of these 40 were men and 48 women, and 32 of the 88 were paupers. 41 were over 70 and of these 18 were paupers.

Eighteen of the over 70's were still living with their spouses, nine were widowed but kept their own households, seven were living with relatives, six were lodgers and one was staying in Ward's lodging house. Of the six lodging with strangers, four were staying in labourers' households where there were more than four children.

A number of significant points emerge from analysis of the occupations of the over 60's. Only three men were still farm labourers at that age, although nine were general labourers. Fifteen seem to have relied entirely on a parish allowance for their living. A policeman was still active at 71. Otherwise the occupational pattern of the old is not very different from the general pattern for Neithrop, though a number of members of otherwise vanished trades survived, including a lace maker, a stocking knitter and a male stay maker.

Six men of working age were living in Neithrop outside the workhouse and receiving poor relief. One was the nearly blind William Holtom, lodging with George Taylor. One of the others, 58 year old Thomas Mascord of The Bank, a gardener, was also unable to work. No reasons are given why the other four, Richard Herbert, a 39 year old farm worker. William Smith, a 63 year old brewer's labourer, Francis Herbert aged 21, and Richard Wagstaff a weaver, were receiving relief. In theory the Banbury Guardians were prohibited from giving relief to the able bodied outside the workhouse<sup>(207)</sup>.

In 1841 the average number of people living in each inhabited house in Neithrop parish was 5.06<sup>(208)</sup>, but in the township of Neithrop in 1851 there were 1,607 people living in 371

houses, giving an average of 4.3 per house, which suggests some easing in the situation during the 1840's. The comparable average for the whole of Oxfordshire was 5.00 and for England and Wales generally, 5.5.<sup>(209)</sup> It seems that pressure on accommodation in Neithrop was not very great for there were many empty houses, and it was a very rare event for two couples to share a house.

But average figures are not a reliable guide to domestic comfort. The cottages of Neithrop were not commodious and the average figure is heavily weighted by the 86 households where there were only one or two people. 157 houses contained five or more people and 56 of these had seven or more occupants.

Three of these were Ward's lodging houses, and nine were middle class households where servants were employed. Most of the latter houses survive, and are substantial buildings unlikely to have been uncomfortably overcrowded. In the remaining 44 overcrowding is likely to have been a serious problem.

24 of these were occupied entirely by one family of parents and children, the remaining 20 contained other relatives of the householder or lodgers. Only four of these had three or more lodgers which shows that outsiders were not the cause of overcrowding. It seems rather that where overcrowding was already bad, a lodger would be taken in by a family made poor by a profusion of children and desperate for the extra income from the lodger's rent. The heads of the overcrowded households were a fair cross section of Neithrop's poor; 6 overcrowded houses were tenanted by farm workers, 9 by other labourers, 7 by weavers, 4 by building workers, 3 by gardeners, 2 by fellmongers and 2 by working widows. Overcrowding was concentrated in some of the worst houses in the township. There were 5 overcrowded houses in the Tanyard, 4 on The Bank, 3 in John Pain's Square, 3 in Gould's Cottages.

## CONCLUSIONS

In the 18th century Banbury's working class lived in close proximity to the tradesmen, the poor in such places as Blue Pig Yard and the artisans particularly in Calthorpe Street, tucked behind the prosperous High Street and the fashionable South Bar, and overlooked by the Cobb family mansion. Neithrop township was then no more than an agricultural hamlet, its population swelled by a few weavers, but during the first half of the 19th century it grew into a sizeable settlement where were segregated a considerable proportion of the working class. Its closely packed cottages received the borough's overspill and attracted immigrants from surrounding villages.

Wilson's survey shows that a maximum of about 60 per cent of the families in Neithrop were actively connected with a church, and that among these the Church of England easily had the most support. The Wesleyans had considerable influence among the young, and it is clear that in Banbury working men found it possible at the same time to be Wesleyans and active political radicals. Except among the weavers and lesser tradesmen and artisans, Dissent enjoyed but little support in the hamlet.

Most children in the township went to school at some time in their lives, the majority taking advantage of the proximity of the National School. Some started work as early as the age of ten. A high proportion of the daughters of the Neithrop poor left the township to go into service. The extremes of poverty were an ever present threat. At most ages widows were more likely to be paupers than not, and a high proportion of the older people were dependent upon poor relief. Large families led to conditions of appalling overcrowding in many homes, and this was sometimes made worse by the need to take in a lodger. Neithrop's low average of persons per household was most probably caused largely by bad sanitation and the consequent high infant mortality.

The cramping of so many houses into such a restricted area and the lack of proper drainage made Neithrop particularly unhealthy by national standards, "presenting perhaps as extreme cases . . . as are to be found in the filthiest and most crowded towns in England".<sup>(210)</sup> Sanitation was a national problem to which many solutions had still to be found in 1851, but in Neithrop it was aggravated by the absurdity of the legal distinction between Banbury borough and parish, "almost worse than no government at all . . . a state of anarchy" as Edward Cobb described it<sup>(211)</sup>, and by the efforts of some of the Neithrop landowners to perpetuate it<sup>(212)</sup>.

In 1850 there were few signs of improvements imminent for Banbury's poor. The plush trade showed no indications of recovery, and the benefits of the railway and the Britannia Works were yet to be realised. Conditions in the newly erected working class area of Cherwell were if anything worse than those in Neithrop township. The erection of cottages for working men was extremely profitable and a complete return on invested capital could be expected in 12 years. Consequently little attention was given to drainage, and filth accumulated in the streets just as it did in Neithrop<sup>(213)</sup>. There was ample justification for Robert Cockerell's declaration in 1852 that "The love of money appears to be the horror of the time. Men who are in the way to get money appear to have no mercy on others, and to be anxious to bear them down to the ground".<sup>(214)</sup>

There seem to have been few contacts between the Neithrop poor and middle class Banbury. Some did take part in movements for social change or reform, the Chartists, Cockerell, Pritchard and Heritage, and the teetotaler Kingstone, but they were exceptional individuals, all of whom had some claims to middle class status. There may have been contacts with the trading classes through the churches, but the well known experiences of Joseph Arch at Great Barford<sup>(215)</sup> show that attendance at church did not necessarily lead to social contact with other members of the congregation. It is curious that none of the 47 Wesleyans in Neithrop was a local preacher.

Newspapers, pamphlets and posters relating to events in 19th Century Banbury reveal complex social tensions between Churchmen and Dissenters, tradesmen and the agricultural interest, Reformers and Conservatives, which found expression in dual provision of schools, charities, friendly societies, corn exchanges, building societies and cemeteries. The condition of the working class in Neithrop and the language used by members of all sections of the middle class in the evidence given to the Board of Health commissioners show a social barrier between prosperous and poor which overlay all of the internal divisions of the middle class. The boundary of the borough was a physical expression of "one line which ran right through Victorian society, the line which divided those who were respectable from those who were not".<sup>(216)</sup>

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B. S. T.

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39. Neithrop Rate Books. 1814, 1824, 1832. Deposited in B.P.L.
40. B. Trinder. The Radical Baptists. C & CH. ii. 11. p 181.
41. Poor Law Assessment Book for Banbury 1832. B'P.L. Doc.No. B 106.
42. O.R.O., S.S.F., Temp.Box.10. Bundle I.
43. Register of the Baptisms in the Welton (and later Banbury) Circuit of the Primitive Methodist Church. 1824 seq.
44. Herbert. Op.Cit. p 70.
45. Rammell. Op.Cit. p.13.  
B.G. 23.5.1850.
46. A.Beasley to F.Francillon. Mar.1842.  
In B.P.L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-1842 p 129.
47. Herbert. Op.Cit. p 42.
48. R.D. 1856. B.G. 28.3.1912. Bell's Weekly Examiner. 1859.
49. Herbert. Op.Cit. p 7.
50. Hall's Circuits & Ministers, 1765-1912. Ed. T.G. Hartley. Sub Banbury.
51. Neithrop Rate Book, 1814.
52. Herbert. Op.Cit. pp 43-44.
53. Rammell. Op.Cit. pp 21/24.
54. B.P.L. Banbury Cuttings, 1838-42. p 85.
55. Rammell. Op.Cit. p 28.

56. Photograph in B. P. L. Case 'B' Fol. 17.
57. Rammell. Op. Cit. p 24.
58. I am grateful to Mrs. Bagley of Merton Street for the loan of this photograph.
59. Neithrop Rate Book, 1824.
60. Quoted in M. D. George, London Life in the 18th Century. (1966 Ed.) p 341.
61. Neithrop Rate Book. 1824.
62. Banbury Methodist Circuit Archives. N/1/W.
63. Information Mr. M. Trinder
64. Herbert Op. Cit. p 49.
65. Ibid. p 48  
Potts. History of Banbury p 189.
66. B. G. 4. 5. 1871.
67. Banbury Advertiser 21. 10. 1858.
68. Neithrop Rate Book 1814.
69. British & Foreign Temperance Intelligencer. 8. 5. 1841. p 151, 23. 4. 1842 p 135. I am grateful to Dr. Brian Harrison of Nuffield College for these references.
70. Rammell. Op. Cit. p 22.
71. R. D. 1832-36.
72. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 47.  
Neithrop Rate Book 1824.
73. Rammell Op. Cit. p 24.
74. B. P. L. Case 'E1' Fol. 22.
75. Rammell. Op. Cit. p 25.
76. B. G. 6. 7. 1843.
77. R. D. 1851.
78. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 8.
79. B. A. 8. 11. 1855.
80. Herbert. Op. Cit. pl 7. p 116.
81. National Vindicator of the West and Wales. 17. 7. 1841.
82. B. G. 28. 10. 1852.
83. B. G. 9. 7. 1857.
84. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 21.
85. Vincent. Op. Cit. p 77.
86. Herbert. Op. Cit. pp 20-22.
87. A. M. Taylor. Gilletts: Bankers at Banbury and Oxford. (1964) p 79.  
Report from the Secretary of the Assistant Hand Loom Weavers' Commissioners. 21. 12. 1838.
88. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 111.  
O. R. O. SSF. Temp. Box 10. Bundle L.
89. Beesley. Op. Cit. p 569.
90. Ibid p 561.
91. Triumph of Reform. Procession Bill reproduced in Herbert. Op. Cit. plate VII.
92. Cherwell was certainly not the first distinct working class area in Banbury. CF. M. Stacey. Tradition and Change (1960) p. 6.
93. Vincent. Op. Cit. p 81.
94. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 48.
95. T. W. Boss. Reminiscences of Old Banbury. (Banbury 1903) p 10.  
Herbert Op. Cit. pp 77-79.
96. Banbury Gaol Records 1829-38. MS in possession of Miss G. S. Bustin. I am grateful to Mr. A. W. Pain for allowing me to use his transcript of the Records.
97. Oxfordshire Lent Assize List 1831.  
Copy in B. P. L. Case 'D' Fol. 85.
98. A. Prentice. A History of the Anti-Corn Law League (1853). Vol. 1. p 342.
99. Ibid. vol. ii. p 341.
100. W. T. Henderson - Recollections of his Life (1910. MS) Vol. 1, pt. 2, p 4.
101. Quoted in B. G. 6. 12. 1855.
102. Northern Star 23. 1. 1847.
103. J. L. & B. Hammond. The Village Labourer. (Ed. 1948) Vol. ii. pp 8-9.
104. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-42. pp 107-108.
105. Flora Thompson. Lark Rise to Candleford. (Ed. 1957) pp 95-120.
106. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-42 pp 74, 75, 108.
107. R. P. Beckinsale. The Plush Industry of North Oxfordshire. Oxoniensia XXVIII. 1963. pp 57-58.
108. H. L. W.
109. Banbury Gaol Records sub. 22. 3. 1834.
110. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 113.
111. H. L. W.
112. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-42. p 15.
113. Herbert. Op. Cit. 113.  
H. L. W.
114. Beckinsale. Op. Cit. p 60.
115. E. P. Thompson. The Making of the English Working Class (1963) p 269.
116. Quoted in Taylor, Op. Cit. p 76.
117. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 7.
118. Samuel Lewis. A Topographical Dictionary of England (1831). Sub BANBURY.
119. Beesley. Op. Cit. p 566.
120. Taylor. Op. Cit. pp 80-90.
121. Taylor. Op. Cit. p 89. Quoting diary of Martha Gillett.
122. B. P. L. Potts Colln. (1847) p 104.
123. B. G. 29. 1. 1852.
124. B. G. 26. 2. 1852.
125. R. D. 1853/4/5/6.
126. H. L. W.
127. B. G. 26. 2. 1852.

128. H. L. W. Quoted in Beckinsale Op. Cit. p 59. For an assessment of the Reports of the Hand Loom Weavers' Commissioners generally, see E. P. Thompson. Op. Cit. p 301.
129. B.G. 26.2.1852.
130. Herbert. Op. Cit. p.113. CF "The leaven of self educated and articulate men of considerable attainments among the weavers of Lancs. & Yorkshire." E. P. Thompson Op. Cit. pp 291-292.
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132. CF Taylor. Op. Cit. p 88.
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134. See illustration in Potts. History of Banbury. Facing p. 218.
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146. E. R. C. Brinkworth. A 19th Century Vicar of Banbury; T. W. Lancaster. C & CH. ii. 4. p 57.
147. Gardner. Directory of Oxfordshire. 1852. Sub Worton.
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153. Dictionary of National Biography, sub Lancaster, T. W. Quoted with comment in Brinkworth, Op. Cit. p 61.
154. S. Wilberforce to C. Forbes, 11.7.1850. Letter Book of Samuel Wilberforce. Dep. d. 209. pp 70-71.
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156. Ibid. p 439.
157. Jackson's Oxford Journal, 30.6.1849.
158. Diana McClatchey. Oxfordshire Clergy, 1777-1869. (1960). p 88.
159. B.G. 14.11.49.
160. B.G. 24.1.1850.
161. B.G. 28.2.1850.
162. Lists of Church Officers, 1855. et seq. Deposited in Banbury Public Library.
163. Oxon. Dioc. Pprs. b 70. p 66.
164. B.G. 19.12.1850.
165. Minutes of Banbury Mechanics' Institute (Banbury Public Library). Report for October 1852, entry sub 31.3.1855, et passim.
166. B.G. 20.12.1849.
167. B.G. 11.4.1850.
168. Letter Book of Samuel Wilberforce. Dep. d. 209. pp 22-23. Trans. p 124.
169. Oxf. Dioc. Pprs. b 70. p 66.
170. A. R. Ashwell & R.G. Wilberforce "Life of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Wilberforce D. D. (1880-1882) Vol. ii. pp 30-34. B.G. 28.2.1850. William Potts. Banbury through 100 Years. (Banbury 1942) pp 69-70.
171. Wesleyan Prayer Leaders Plan. 1845. Brailsford Collection.
172. Letter Book of Samuel Wilberforce. Dep. d. 210. pp 12-14. (Trans. p 15).
173. E. P. Baker. Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation Returns for the Archdeaconry of Oxford, 1854. Oxfordshire Record Society, (1954) pp 12-13.
174. B.G. 27.5.1852.
175. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-1842. p 53.
176. B.G. 27.5.1852.
177. In fact between August 9th and August 31st. The Wesleyan minister recorded in the survey was John Stephens who left Banbury at the end of August. The survey gave the age of Emma Jane, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Prescott as 3. According to the Baptismal Register of the Old Presbyterian Meeting, she was born on 9th August 1847.
178. Dep. d. 210. pp 12-14.
179. The districts allocated to each one are shown on the key map to the survey.

180. List of Church officials, 20.2.1855.
181. B.G. 10.2.1853.
182. E.P. Baker, Op.Cit. pp 12-13.
183. Oxf. Dioc. Pprs. b. 70. pp 66/68.  
W. T. Henderson. Recollections of his  
life. (1910) MS in possession of M.  
Spokes, Esq. Trans. B. Trinder.  
Vol. i. pt. 2 p 11.
184. Dep.d. 210. pp12-14.
185. B. P. L. Potts Colln. (1852) p 51.
186. Census Pprs. Eccles. Rets. H. O.129/6/163.
187. K.R. Inglis. The Religious Census of  
1851. Journal of Ecclesiastical History.  
XI.
188. Stacey. Op.Cit. p 61.
189. B. Trinder. History of Methodism in  
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190. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-42. p.115.
191. Tyssen. Op. Cit. pp 276-298.
192. B. Trinder. The Radical Baptists. C & CH.  
ii. 11. pp 179-192.
193. Henderson. Op. Cit. vol. i. pt. 2. p 7.
194. Rev. A. Wall. St. John's Church, Banbury  
(1938).
195. Rev. C. Forbes. An Address to the  
Parishioners of South Banbury. (1850).
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Banbury. pp 12-13.
197. Ibid. pp 14/23.
198. W. Bunton. The Banbury Parsons (1850).  
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199. B.G. 20.12.1849.
200. Herbert. Op. Cit. p 7.  
Mozley. Op. Cit. Vol. ii. p 223.
201. E. Samuels. Cropredy & Bourton National  
School in the 19th century. C & CH.  
ii. pp 87-90.
202. Annual Report of Banbury British Schools  
Society. 1855. B. P. L. Potts Colln.  
(1852) p 104.
203. Minute Book of the Bluecoat Charity  
Trustees, kindly made available to  
me by the late Alderman R. B. Miller.
204. Thompson. Op. Cit. pp 163-183.
205. The Banbury Female Martyr, composed  
by herself. (c.1863) pp 37-41. I am  
grateful to Mr. E. R. C. Brinkworth for  
making this book available to me.
206. B. P. L. Banbury Cuttings 1838-43.  
pp 107-108.
207. B & S. Webb. English Poor Law Policy  
(Rep. 1963) pp 321-323.
208. Rammell. Op. Cit. p 8.
209. 1851 Census
210. Rammell. Op. Cit. p 32.
211. E. Cobb to T. Draper. 4.7.1867.  
O.R.O., S.S.F. Box 21, Bundle E.
212. B.G. 1.8.1850.
213. Rammell Op. Cit. p 26.
214. B.G. 26.2.1850.
215. Countess of Warwick (Ed.) Joseph Arch:  
the story of his life. (1898) pp 16-22.
216. G. Kitson Clark. The Making of  
Victorian England (1962) p 126.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- B.G. Banbury Guardian.  
B. P. L. Banbury Public Library.  
R. D. Rusher's Directories of Banbury.  
O.R.O. Oxfordshire Records Office.  
SSF. Stockton, Sons and Fortescue  
Collection (No. 315).  
H. L. W. Report from the Secretary of the  
Assistant Hand Loom Weavers'  
Commissioners. 21. 12. 1838.  
The Oxford Diocesan Papers are in the  
Bodleian Library.

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