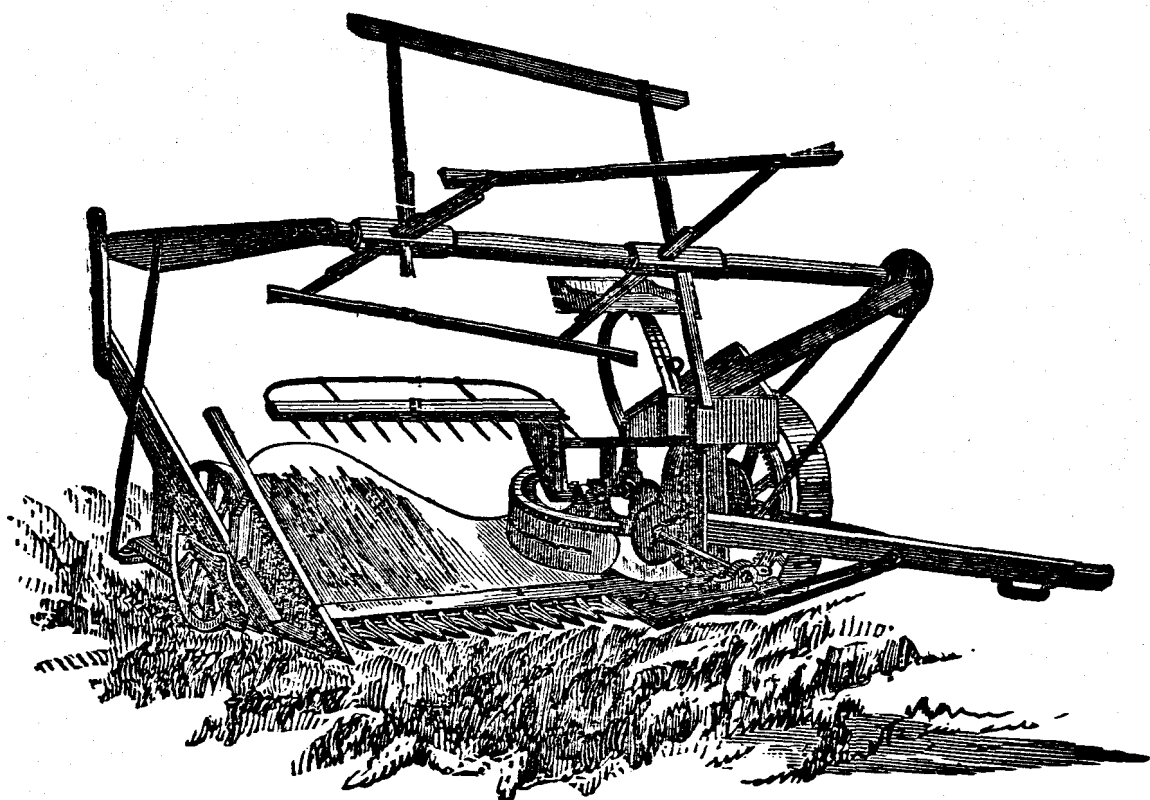


# CAKE AND COCKHORSE



**Banbury Historical Society**

**January 1965**

**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. Banbury Marriage Register has been published in three parts, a volume on Oxfordshire Clockmakers 1400-1850 and South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684 have been produced and the Register of Baptisms and Burials for Banbury covering the years 1558 - 1653 is planned for 1965.

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.

# CAKE AND COCKHORSE

The magazine of the Banbury Historical Society. Issued to members four times a year.  
Volume Two. Number Eleven. January, 1965.

NEWS		Society Activities	178
OBITUARY		Dr. Leon Bagratuni	178
NINETEENTH CENTURY BANBURY	Barrie S. Trinder	The Radical Baptists	179
	Archie Potts	Alexander Samuelson - A Victorian Engineer	192
	A.W. Pain	Banbury Gaol Records, 1829 - 1838	194
NOTICES		A Worcester Hanging Basket	193
		The History of Gilletts' Bank	195
		Cheneys' Calendar	196
ARCHAEOLOGY	J.H. Fearon	Luton Conference	196
		Roman Villa at Wigginton	196

Dr. Kitson Clark's Ford Lectures on the making of Victorian England (The Making of Victorian England. Methuen. 1962) emphasised the high importance of religious history for an understanding of the age, or indeed of any age. He also drew attention to the general neglect of the subject by historians other than purely ecclesiastical historians. Towards a remedy he desiderated in particular widespread local studies. Mr. Trinder's article in this issue is an example of what such a study should be. Based on thorough and well-organised research we have here the testing of some well-worn generalisations: those concerning, for instance, the relation between religious allegiance and politics, the relation between religious allegiance and class.

Mr. Trinder throws considerable light on a number of other important issues. He illustrates the urgency of the struggle over church rates and church burials, of the campaign for disestablishment and disendowment of the national church: and the envy, hatred and malice engendered in the process. Banbury, like many other places, was indeed, as a contemporary said, "a hornets' nest".

This article brings out the fissiparous tendencies of 19th century Dissent and the prevailing odium theologicum. But we have to remember that behind the unworthiness and the wrangling there was wide common ground shared by all Dissenters and by evangelical churchmen: and it is there that we find at work what was, after all, the strongest influence in Victorian England, namely 'evangelical' morality. It was a power intensely active and widely diffused. It provided for much of the nation an ethical code for general reference, strongly enforced by emotion and accompanied by much well-savoured moral denunciation.

There was common ground among evangelicals, too, in their reaction to certain stimuli: to Popery, for example, to Puseyism, Lord's day observance, missions, dancing, the theatre and liberal theology. But not, as yet, to drink. The alliance between Dissent and the brewing interest receives much illumination from Mr. Trinder's researches. The call for total abstinence came later, though when it did, its staunchest advocates were the Dissenters - Roman as well as Protestant, for was not Cardinal Manning in their forefront.

Apart from the wider relevance of Mr. Trinder's article, it is valuable for the large amount of new factual information it provides: and we are grateful to him for adding to our gallery of local historical characters such men as Caleb Clarke and Richard Austin and W.T. Henderson.

E.R.C.B.

Acknowledgements: We are grateful to Mr. W.H. Clark of Adderbury for his drawings, and to Mr. D. Peacock of Warwick for the loan of pictures of Samuelsons' Machines.

Our Cover: The picture on the cover is of the "Patent Britannia Reaping Machine" as manufactured by Samuelsons' Foundry about 1859.

## SOCIETY NEWS AND ACTIVITIES

### Winter Programme 1965

Thursday, 28th January, 7.30 p.m. Conservative Club (next to Martins Bank) High Street, Banbury. "People, Places and Politics: The Records of Banbury Solicitors". A talk and exhibition by members of the Oxfordshire County Record Office staff. The very wide variety of records that have survived in solicitors' muniment rooms give many fascinating and unexpected glimpses of north Oxfordshire life in the past three hundred years. They extend far beyond purely legal documents, and include estate records, account books, journals, election manifestos, and innumerable miscellaneous deeds. Examples of these will be on display, and will illustrate well what is sure to be a most interesting talk.

Tuesday, 30th March, 7.30 p.m. Conservative Club: "Sulgrave, an 11th century thegn's residence", by Brian Davison.

### LECTURES ON LOCAL HISTORY

A course of lectures on local historical topics will be given at the North Oxfordshire Technical College, Broughton Road, Banbury, during January and February. The course is designed primarily for newcomers to the district, but many members of the Society are likely to find it of interest. Enrolment for the course may be made at the College Office any weekday between 9.30 a.m. and 12.15 p.m., 1.45 and 4.15, and 6.30 and 7.15 p.m. All lectures will be at 7.30 p.m. Lecturers and subjects are as follows:

Tuesday, 19th January.	David Sturdy of the Ashmolean Museum: "The Archaeology of North Oxfordshire"
Monday, 25th January.	Geoffrey Dodwell: "Agriculture in North Oxfordshire"
Monday, 1st February.	B.S. Trinder: "Nineteenth Century Banbury"
Monday, 8th February.	G. Forsyth Lawson: "Local Architecture"
Monday, 15th February.	The Rt. Hon. Lord Saye and Sele: "Broughton Castle"
Monday, 22nd February.	J.H. Fearon: "Village History and how to record it".

### DR. LEON BAGRATUNI

It is with very great regret that we record the death on 18th November, 1964, of Dr. Leon Bagratuni. Many members will remember with pleasure the visit of the Society only last June to Castle House, his Deddington home. He justifiably took a great pride in this historic house and had done much to enhance its beauty and ensure its preservation. During his ownership the small chapel in the house was reconsecrated, and the christening of his son took place there.

Dr. Bagratuni had been a member of the Society for several years. He also was keenly interested in the Oxfordshire Victoria County History, and took an active part in local affairs. We extend our deep sympathy to his widow.

### LOCAL HISTORY GROUP AT FARTHINGHOE

A local history Group is being formed at Farthinghoe with the object of investigating the history of the village from earliest times. Aerial photography, record searching and digging are amongst the activities planned. Mr. R.E.J. Lewis of Abbey Lodge, Farthinghoe, will be glad to provide further information.

The Chairman and Hon. Secretary of the Society visited Farthinghoe in December and put forward several ideas to an informal meeting which had been called to consider the formation of the Group. It is hoped that a close association will be built up between this Group (and any others that may be formed in local villages) and the Historical Society. We see as one of our aims the fostering of such activities and the provision of any help that a larger Society can offer.

### POSTCARDS

Two of the Society's former Christmas cards, four-colour views of (1) The Town Hall and Cow Fair, 1863; and (2) North Bar and St. Mary's Church, c.1880, are now available as postcards. Price to members only, 5/- dozen; non-members, 6/- dozen.

### THE RADICAL BAPTISTS

In the early evening of Saturday April 4th 1857 more than six hundred people were fighting in Banbury Market Place following the declaration of the poll in the parliamentary election. Rev. W.T. Henderson, minister of Bridge Street Chapel, "a Baptist preacher, a professed promulgator of the Gospel of peace and good will", appeared as "a miniature Boanerges, with frantic action doing his feeble utmost to keep alive the strife" (1), Henderson and the lay leaders of his congregation had promoted the candidature of Edward Yates, a landowner of radical views, as a protest against the low tone of society in Banbury. When Henderson appeared on the hustings on nomination day he was greeted with cries of "Go back to your pulpit" and "You would shut the Crystal Palace on Sundays and take the people to your chapel", but four years earlier he was greeted with lusty strains of "For he's a jolly good fellow" as he passed the tap room of the Three Pigeons on his way home from a meeting during his campaign to end church rates. (2) Baptists fought fiercely on the radical side in most public controversies in Banbury in the mid-19th century. This was not just the consequence of their having in W.T. Henderson a minister who obviously enjoyed controversy, but the outcome of over 60 years of Baptist activity in the town.

#### The Beginnings.

There is no record of Baptists in Banbury in the 17th century, though doubtless there were some among the Parliamentary armies which visited the town. In 1738 the vicar reported to Bishop Secker that there was one family of "Anabaptists" in the parish, (3), probably that of William Rusketts of Banbury who was recorded as a member of the Hook Norton Baptist congregation in 1728 (4). About 1740 the meeting at Middleton Cheney was founded by Baptists from Chipping Warden, and from that time Banbury Baptists were associated with this new church. Seven members from the town were admitted between 1782 and 1789(5).

By this time other Baptists in Banbury were taking part in the formation of the meeting which evolved into the Banbury Independent (or Congregational) Church. In 1787 this group of "a few respectable persons" began to meet in a room known as the "cock loft" on the premises of the Star Inn in Church Lane. (6) They had decided that Banbury was in a state of "deplorable darkness" and were disgusted with the church "where Christ was not preached" and the Presbyterian Old Meeting which was "tainted with Arianism and lifeless"(7). The meeting received some support from Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and in 1792 opened a chapel in Church Passage, galleried on two sides, with a well proportioned dome, and costing over a thousand pounds. The site had been acquired from Joseph Gard(i)ner, an ironmonger and member of the Baptist church at Middleton Cheney(7). In its early years the meeting followed the usual practices of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, combining liturgical services with a rigid Calvinist doctrine. The first regular pastor Rev. Charles Buck from Hoxton Academy, soon left, being disturbed by the "Antinomiac leaven" in the church. Antinomianism was the belief, common among Baptists in the 18th and early 19th centuries, that salvation was granted only to the elect, and that the moral law was not binding upon Christians under the law of grace. In 1797 a new minister, Rev. James Higgs was installed, and Baptists from Middleton Cheney, as well as the famous J.H. Hinton of Oxford who introduced Baptist preaching to many villages in the county, took part in his ordination. (7) Within the next few years several Baptist members were admitted to occasional communion (8). Throughout the first quarter of the 19th century the congregation was continually set in turmoil by disputes between extreme Calvinists and those of more liberal ways of thinking. Ministers changed in quick succession, some "high Calvinists", some members of Lady Huntingdon's Connexion, others men of more tolerant views. The church only reached some form of stability about 1816 when Thomas Searle, who had been master at the Presbyterian day school in Banbury since 1811, was appointed minister. When the membership list was modified at this time eleven members were excluded, nine were classified as members of other churches, and fifteen as "hearers only". (10) Most of these were Baptists.

In 1810 there was registered a meeting of Protestant Dissenters at the house of Matthew Henderson at the southern end of Calthorpe Street in Neithrop parish. (11) Henderson had been a sergeant in the 3rd regiment of Foot Guards and married Elizabeth Savage of Banbury in 1795. He joined the Independent congregation in 1802 and was recorded as a "hearer" in 1816. One of the witnesses to the registration was John Bloxham, who joined the Independents in 1800 and was one of the founders of the Bodicote Baptist Chapel in 1818. In 1813 another group was meeting on the

premises of Ralph Wardle in Banbury. (12) Wardle was minister of the Independent congregation about this time, (13) and was described as a dissenting minister when he married Hannah Taylor in the same year. Other members of this meeting were Robert Harris, a shoemaker of Church Lane who became a member of the Independent congregation in 1797, and William Osborne, a locksmith excluded from the Independent congregation in 1816. Later in 1813 a warehouse on the north side of Parson's Street, near the junction with North Bar, then occupied by Richard Thorne, a shag manufacturer and dyer, was registered as a Protestant meeting house (14). Thorne was a wealthy man with plush dyeing premises in North Bar, drying racks along the Warwick Road and interests in coal distribution and insurance. In 1802 when he married Sarah Elizabeth Bezley he was described as a "gent and widower of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch". He was admitted to the Independent Church in 1801 and in 1816 was an attender though a member of another church. Other members of this meeting were Richard Boswell, a shoemaker of High Street who was " a member of another church "worshipping with the Independents in 1816, though he became their deacon in 1827, and William Rowe, a toy dealer of High Street who was an Independent in 1827, but was dismissed soon afterwards.

In 1815 another meeting was registered assembling in a room at the "Case is Altered". (15) Mat thew Henderson was again a member and his fellows were Isaac Lewin, a coal and corn dealer of North Bar who was connected with the Independents in the early 1820's, and Watkins Detheridge who occupied a building called "The Fleece" in Butcher's Row for a short period in 1815 and 1816. (16) In May 1815 this congregation moved to a meeting house belonging to Joseph and Sarah Heming." (17)

According to George Herbert, Richard Austin, the brewer, made into a chapel a long room in the yard of William Osborne's shop on the Green. (18) It is likely that this chapel was the "meeting house belonging to Joseph and Sarah Heming" registered in 1815. William Osborne did not move to the Green, to the property next to Heming's, until 1832, only two years before the congregation moved to a new chapel (19). In 1822 Joseph Heming occupied two lots of property on the Green, a House and Garden, and a separate yard and buildings, where he carried on his trade as a carpenter. He died between 1822 and 1826 and the house and garden went to Sarah Heming, doubtless his widow, and the other property to Robert Heming, presumably a son. (20) In 1832 Robert Heming was paying rates for both properties (21). George Herbert records that the Hemings lived at the house later occupied by Charles Page, the veterinary surgeon, (22). This was the original portion of No. 47 The Green, still used by a veterinary surgeon until very recently. Withing living memory, a room, once used by William Osborne's son Joseph as a school, (23) which could well have been the meeting house opened in 1815, stood on the south side of this house. If this room did belong to Joseph and Sarah Heming in 1815, it is still possible that Richard Austin was connected with its opening, and that William Osborne was a leader of the congregation. In 1834 this meeting moved to a chapel newly erected by Richard Austin on the east side of South Bar. (24)

Several members of this congregation maintained links with the Independents. Heming and Isaac Lewin were paying annual subscriptions to the church for most of the 1820's. (25) In 1829 Lewin was concerned with the founding of another new church when he and a certain Richard Sheppard registered for worship " a newly erected building adjoining Mr. Joseph Gardner's in the West Street" (26) . This may have been a fresh schism from the Independents, or quite possibly a defection of members from the South Bar Church.

Both the South Bar congregations called themselves Calvinistic Baptists, and the West Bar congregation was later known as Strict Baptist. It seems that these meetings seceded from the Independents as more liberal views prevailed in that church. There seems good reason to suppose that they were the "antinominian leaven" of which the early ministers of the Independents had taken so much notice.

It may now be convenient to review the evolution of the Calvinistic Baptists from the Independent meeting. From 1787 Baptists, Calvinistic and others, attended the Independent meetings at the Star Inn and later at the Church Passage Chapel. There was continual disagreement between the "antinominians", whose belief in election led to scandalous conduct on at least one occasion, and those who did not hold with election, whose attitude to the church inclined more towards evangelicalism. The conflict seems to have reached its zenith between 1810 and 1816, and the

Antinomians seem to have been the losers. The ties with the extreme Calvinistic Lady Huntingdon's Connection were broken, and after a series of meetings on private premises, a permanent Calvinist meeting house was erected on Joseph Heming's premises in 1815. Under Thomas Searle, following the reorganisation of the church in 1816, the conflict was resolved to some extent, and some Calvinists retained distant connections with their mother church. When Searle was replaced as minister by Nun Morgan Harry in 1826 there were further changes. For a time a meeting registered by Searle and Frederick Fleet, landlord of the Brewer's Arms and chief brewer to Richard Austin, met in Neithrop. (27) After this time there is no mention of any Calvinistic Baptist among the records of the Independent congregation.

Particular Baptists also met with the Independents before the building of their own church. Among the first trustees and deacons of the Bridge Street Chapel, Richard Goffe, George Jones and Jabez Stutterd were all connected with the Independents in the 1820's and early 30's, and the words "withdrawn to the Baptist Church" or "Gone to the Antinomians" appear by a number of other names in the Independent membership book in the mid-1830's. Significantly also the last admission of a Banbury member to the Middleton Cheney Baptist church took place in 1836 (28).

In the early 18th century Particular Baptists were those who believed that Christ died only for the Elect, but from the 1790's this strict Calvinist doctrine was tempered by the views of Andrew Fuller of Kettering and others who maintained that redemption could not be held to be confined to a particular number of people. The name "Particular" thus lost its original meaning and became only a loose term applying to a denomination. Only the "Strict Baptists", like the two Calvinistic congregations in Banbury, continued to be in any real sense "particular".

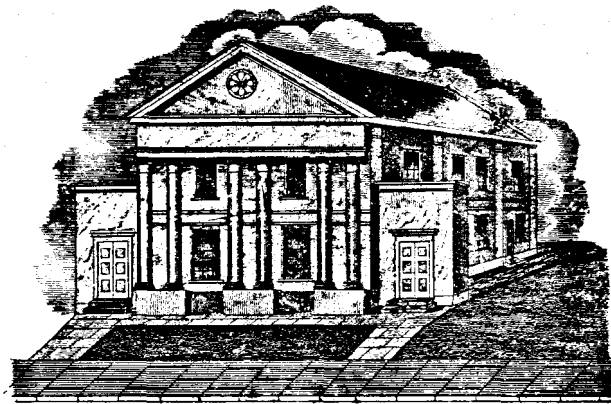
Disputes between the more liberal Baptists, the followers of Andrew Fuller, and the more extreme Calvinists usually centred round the admission of those who had not been baptised by total immersion to the communion table. The trust deed of the Bridge Street chapel, dated April 6th 1841, shows clearly the liberal inclinations of the new church. It declared that communion was open to both anti-paedobaptists and paedobaptists (that is to those who objected to the "sprinkling" of infants as baptism and those who practised it) "without objection or interruption".

The impetus towards a separate Particular Baptist meeting came largely from Caleb Clarke, a hosier who moved to Banbury from Northampton about 1831. The great Baptist revival of the half century between 1790 and 1840 began in Northamptonshire where the Baptist Missionary Association was formed in 1792. During his ministry at College Street Chapel, Northampton in the early years of the 19th century the Rev. J.C. Ryland "introduced preaching to twenty five villages in as many years". (29) Among these villages was Weston-by-Weedon, where Caleb Clarke's father was minister from 1809 to 1831. Clarke served as apprentice to Robert Bartram, a Northampton draper, and set up business in Banbury in 1831 in the Market Place, where he soon began to hold meetings on Sundays at which he himself preached. (29)

Caleb Clarke was a most remarkable man, with "almost supernatural" gifts for medicine. James Cadbury said that he "acknowledged a power not at his command for which he could only account as a gift of God". (30) In 1850 he gave up his hosiery business in order to devote all his time to medicine, and in that year no fewer than 12,060 patients consulted him. At this time he began to charge fees, and let it be known that he had professional qualifications, though it appears that these were nothing more than a German diploma obtained by purchase and a license to sell patent medicines. (31)

In November 1838 a Banbury branch of the Baptist Missionary Society was formed after meetings held in the Wesleyan chapel, addressed by eminent Baptist ministers from Coventry and Northampton (32). Clarke's meeting was first registered in May 1840 with Jabez Stutterd and Richard Goffe as witnesses (33). In October 1840 the annual general meeting of the "Banbury and Buckingham Baptist Auxiliary Missionary Society" lasted over two days, and was held in the Independent Chapel, because the Baptists had "no place of worship sufficiently large to accommodate the numbers expected" (34). No mention was made of any new building, yet by April 1841 the Bridge Street chapel was in use, though it was not registered until 1843.

The list of trustees of the new church suggests that it was not just Caleb Clarke and the Northamptonshire evangelicals who inspired it. The Northamptonshire influence is represented by Rev. William Gray of Northampton, and Clarke's father-in-law Robert Bartram, but the presence of six trustees from the Chipping Norton area suggests that the long established Baptist tradition in that part of Oxfordshire, going back to the ejection of Stephen Ford from the Vicarage of Chipping Norton



Baptist Chapel, Bridge Street South, Banbury.



Austin House, South Bar, Banbury - built as a Calvinistic Chapel by Richard Austin in 1834, ceased to be used as a chapel in 1852. Later a school and house in multi-occupation. Now divided into offices.



in 1662, was just as powerful an influence.

It was nevertheless commonly accepted that Caleb Clarke was the individual most responsible for the foundation of the new church, and his portrait still hangs in the vestry of the Bridge Street Chapel. W.T. Henderson described him as "the projector, architect and builder of the church" (though there is no other evidence that he designed it, and it does not seem to be the work of an amateur) while the Banbury Guardian, in its obituary said that the chapel was built "mainly through his exertions" (36). But Clarke was not appointed first minister of the chapel; that post going, in 1844, to the Rev. Thomas Furneaux Jordan (37). The historian of College Street, Northampton, hints that this may well have caused Clarke some disappointment. Certainly in 1846 he applied for registration of a congregation of Particular Baptists holding meetings in "a house situate in Bridge Street North now in the occupation of Caleb Clarke, hosier" (38). By 1850 this meeting was sufficiently part of the religious establishment in Banbury for inclusion in the list of churches where sermons for the Old Charitable Society were to be preached (39). James Cadbury referred to "the congregation assembling at Caleb Clarke's rooms" and made no mention of his work in founding the Bridge Street chapel. The Banbury Guardian said after Clarke's death in 1851, that "in consequence of some differences, for the last few years he had not identified himself so closely with its (i. e. Bridge Street's) affairs as formerly and had preaching meetings on both Sundays and weekdays in his own house where numbers flocked to hear him." The Guardian added "His services as a preacher were sometimes required and rendered in the country and at some places immense multitudes have gathered to listen to him and he has been compelled to preach in orchards and fields, no building being sufficient to contain the people". (40) Such a man was unlikely to find a comfortable place among a respectable middle class congregation. He was distrusted as an amateur in both preaching and medicine, a distrust shown by his failure to become full time pastor of Bridge Street in 1844 and by the fierce denunciations of his supposed "quackery" soon after his death (41).

#### The South Bar Congregation 1834 - 1852

Throughout its history the Calvinistic chapel in South Bar remained the private property of the Austin family. Richard Austin, the founder, died about 1840 and was succeeded in his many business enterprises by his son Barnes. Richard Austin was a native of Aderbury and in 1803 married Mary, daughter of James Barnes, a brewer of North Bar, Banbury. In 1808 he became a partner in the business, then known as Barnes and Austin, and took over complete control in 1818. (42) He was by then one of the richest men in Banbury, with a home on the Green, (now No. 51), a malthouse and 157 acres of land at Bodicote (43), and fields at Easington where an attempt to grow hops was made. The centre of the business was a complex of buildings in North Bar, rated in 1832 at £132, much higher than any other trading premises in the town. (44) Here Austin conducted an extensive business as a brewer of ale and porter, which flourished so much that beer was exported to India. In 1823 Austin had a substantial credit balance of £1,500 at his bank (45). By 1831 he owned a considerable number of properties in the centre of Banbury, many of them inns, including the Brewer's Arms, the Buck and Bell, the Dog and Gun, the Queen's Head, the Crown, the Fox, the Plough, and the Waggon and Horses.

The first minister who can be identified for certain with this congregation was Rev. J. Bloodsworth, whose popular ministry is mentioned by George Herbert. He lived at Bodicote and left the district about 1835. It seems unlikely that he was replaced until about 1839 when Rev. John Clark was appointed. He was followed in 1840 by Rev. J. Galpin who was succeeded by David Lodge in 1848. Lodge remained until some time in 1851. A minister called George Smith of Oxford was in charge in January 1852. (47)

The closing of the South Bar chapel came with the demise of the Austin family business. George Herbert notes that Barnes Austin inherited large properties from his father, but wasted much of his inheritance in unsuccessful attempts to breed and train racehorses. He converted part of his farmland at Bodicote into a racecourse for training purposes. By 1850 the brewing business had been sold to Messrs. Harman. (48) In 1851 the chapel was still open with David Lodge still officiating as minister on the 30th of March when there were adult Congregations of 70 in the morning and 77 in the evening, with 39 Sunday school scholars (49). In July Lodge applied for registration of "a room situate in the parish of Banbury" for use by Calvinistic Baptists. (50) This suggests some quarrel among the congregation, and by January a new minister George Smith was taking the services. On the 2nd December 1852 a meeting of Wesleyan Reformers was held in the chapel, but by the end of

the month it seems the building was closed (51). The premises were subsequently used as a school, and are now divided into offices, though the name Austin House is retained.

#### The West Bar Congregation, 1829 - 1877

The Calvinistic chapel in West Bar, built and opened in 1829, was the private property of the Gardner family. The Gardners lived at the house now numbered 36 West Bar, and the chapel was the upper storey of the adjoining building, now numbered 34 B. It was approached by an outside flight of steps and held about 150 people.

Like the Austins, the Gardners were a family of considerable wealth. Joseph Gardner of Middleton Cheney, who died in 1830 at the age of 74, supplied the site for the original Independent Chapel in Church Passage in 1792. This lay at the rear of his ironmonger's shop at No. 65 High Street. By 1832 the business was in the hands of James Gardner, inventor of the Banbury turnip cutter. On his death in 1847 the foundry side of the business was sold and went to Bernhard Samuelson, while the ironmonger's business went to Benjamin Gardner, who, it seems, had inherited the house in West Bar from Joseph in 1830. (52).

The first minister of the congregation was Robert Radford, who was living in North Bar in 1824 and moved to the Green in 1826 (53). Since the chapel was not opened until 1829 this makes it likely that Radford came to Banbury as minister of Richard Austin's South Bar congregation, and then headed a splinter group which grew into the West Bar Church. Radford left Banbury about 1843 and for some years there was no resident minister. In 1850 a Mr. Smith was preaching regularly at the church, possibly the same George Smith who was associated with the South Bar congregation before its dissolution in 1852. In March 1851 the congregations at the West Bar Church numbered 70 in the morning and 50 in the evening (54). There was no full time minister after this time, though a Rev. W. Greenaway was associated with the church for many years.

The congregation moved from the Chapel in West Bar in 1877 because more accommodation was needed for the Sunday School, and because the condition of the steps up to the chapel was dangerous in winter. The Ebenezer Chapel which still stands in Dashwood Road was opened in June 1877 to replace that in West Bar. At this time the leading figure in the congregation and the donor of the site was Alderman Joseph Osborne, a schoolmaster who left teaching to make a fortune in wine and spirits, and the son of William Osborne the locksmith, a founder of one of the first separate Baptist meetings in 1813. (55) The Ebenezer chapel remained open until the mid-1950's when it was sold to the neighbouring furniture factory of Messrs. Hydes.

#### The Bridge Street Congregation 1841 - 1863

The stucco-fronted classically styled Baptist church in Bridge Street was financed by public subscription and opened in 1841. The original arrangement of pillars on the street front was altered about 1900, and in 1858 a schoolroom was built on the site of a disused graveyard at the rear of the chapel.

The first decade of the chapel's history was stormy, with the defection of Caleb Clarke in 1846 a high point of controversy. The first minister, Thomas Furneaux Jordan aroused some ill feeling among his congregation, and died suddenly after a meeting inquiring into his character (56). He was succeeded in 1850 by William Thomas Henderson, a young minister fresh from Stepney College. He was introduced to the Banbury congregation by William Cubitt whom he knew as deacon of Austin Street chapel, Shoreditch. Cubitt, a commercial traveller for the Banbury plush firm of Gillett, Lees and Co. moved to Banbury in 1849 and lived on the Green. In 1851 there were adult congregations at Bridge Street of 150 in the morning and 200 in the evening, (57), but Henderson did not consider the cause a strong one. By 1855 membership was increasing and the congregation was becoming more prosperous. Henderson attached particular importance to attracting those "in good position of life". (58) Among the leading members were Richard Goffe, a "gentleman" and a tailor, one of the first radical members of the town council after its reform in 1835 who remained a councillor well into the 1860's and was five times mayor; Jabez Stutterd, a "gentleman" retired from the ironmongery trade who lived in the large and attractive house now numbered 34 West Bar, Ebenezer Wall, joint proprietor of the rope and sacking business from which Rope Walk takes its name; John Stutterd a High Street draper; Robert Heygate Brookes, a dentist, chemist and insurance agent of 37 High Street; Thomas Stephenson, a grocer of 34 Bridge Street and later Mayor of Guildford; and William Petty Payne,

a watchmaker and insurance agent of 84 High Street. Such membership suggests a highly influential church. During the 1850's it was deeply involved in most public controversies in the town. Ecclesiastical Disputes

The abolition or *reductio ad absurdum* of church rates, the imposition of which could be levied by the parish vestry on all householders for the upkeep of the parish church, was a common interest of all dissenting denominations before 1868. In Banbury the Baptist congregations were easily the most active opponents of the rates. Quakers certainly were more conscientious in their outright refusal to pay, but the Baptists tried more vigorously by active measures to bring the imposition to an end or render it valueless. In 1838 the Dissenters made it clear that they only abstained from opposing the rate on the condition that they would not be asked to pay, but when they were asked in the following year they determined to bring the matter to an end. Richard Thorne, the Calvinist dyer, was elected to the chair of the vestry meeting, and George Harris, Baptist timber merchant and vociferous opponent of Popery, brought forward a motion to nullify the rate. Ironically he was seconded by Dr. Tandy, the Roman Catholic priest. A poll was demanded in which the rate was narrowly approved. (59) Not long afterwards, three Baptist tailors, Richard Goffe, John Stutterd and Richard Potter were evicted for a time from their shops after refusing to pay the rate, and some of their possessions were auctioned to raise the amounts they owed. Great amusement was caused by the sale of Goffe's pet goose. At this time Goffe was leader of a group known as the "Banbury Thorogoods", named after John Thorogood, a nationally renowned "martyr" in the cause. (60)

The campaign which successfully put an end to the compulsory rate in Banbury came in 1852 and was led by W.T. Henderson. With the support of his deacons, Henderson proposed at the Vestry Meeting that the rate be reduced to a farthing. A poll was demanded which the opponents of the rate won by a substantial majority. Since a farthing rate would have yielded much less than the cost of its collection this was effectively the end of the compulsory rate in Banbury (61).

W.T. Henderson and his deacons were again involved in the disputes which arose in 1854 when the Southam Road cemetery was opened on the recommendation of a Board of Health inspector. It was proposed that the cemetery should be supported by a general rate, but that the Nonconformists should pay separately for their own portion of ground. This aroused the unanimous opposition of Banbury dissenters and Henderson was amazed that even the Tory-inclined Wesleyans supported the stand taken by the Baptists. After a number of Nonconformists had been tried for non-payment of the cemetery rate by the very magistrates who had sold the ground for the cemetery, Henderson charged the bench with partiality in an article in the Banbury Advertiser. An action was commenced in the Court of Queen's Bench, and great excitement was aroused in the town, though the proponents of the rates soon capitulated and the libel action was withdrawn. As a result of this article Henderson was invited to become Editor of the Banbury Advertiser, a post he held until 1860.

Another controversial cause in which Henderson was involved was the burial with full Christian rights of infants not baptised with water, something invariably refused at this time by Anglican clergymen. One such funeral which Henderson conducted was attended by the Mayor of Banbury and great feeling was excited in the town on behalf of the bereaved parents. After Henderson had buried at the church gates of Wroxton the six year old daughter of Mrs. G. Williams, one of his congregation, Colonel North of Wroxton Abbey had the mother evicted from her farm. (62)

Baptists were outspoken in the opposition to the establishment of St. John's Roman Catholic church in Banbury in 1838. George Harris, a coal merchant, carried on a long and bitter pamphlet war with Dr. Tandy, the catholic priest. He was set on "exposing the superstitions of popery, the villainous schemes of robbery and plunder carried on by Popes, Cardinals and Legates. . . . schemes of bloodshed and burying for the pretended purpose of promoting the glory of God". (63)

In the light of the political radicalism expressed by the Baptist in the years 1857 - 59 their support for the Wesleyan Reform movement in Banbury is of great interest. The Wesleyan Reformers protested against the ministerial absolutism of the Wesleyan connection, and less directly against the staunch political Conservatism of many Wesleyans, a cause of bitter reproach from other Nonconformists. At one of the first meetings of the Reformers in Banbury in May 1852, R.J. Langridge, after dealing with the immediate need for reform in the Wesleyan Church.

went on to talk about the urgency of reform of the House of Commons, stressing the need for more men like Cobden and Bright, and urging that working men, "the producers", should have the vote (64). It was to this movement that W. T. Henderson gave his support, loaning his chapel, presiding at meetings, and, after the establishment of a Wesleyan Reformers' congregation at the Temperance Rooms in Parson's Street in 1852, preaching an occasional sermon. (65) On at least one occasion the South Bar Calvinist chapel was used by the Reformers for a special meeting.

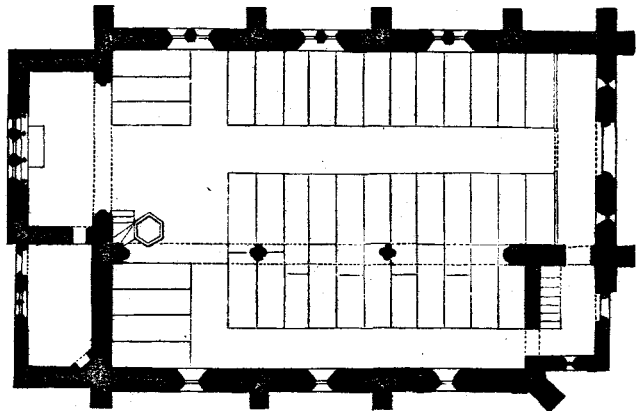
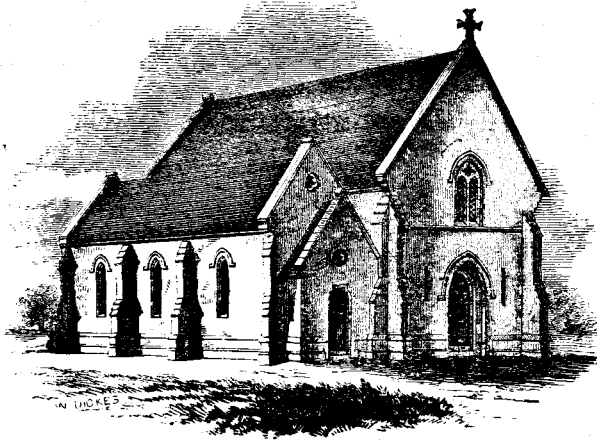
Other causes in which Baptists were active were the Anti-Slavery movement, to a convention of which went Richard Goffe and Caleb Clarke in 1840, (66) and the Anti-State Church Movement, which was particularly well supported in the Banbury area after the Church Rates triumph of 1852. At a meeting at the British Schools in October 1853, most of the platform party was composed of Baptist ministers from town and country and of lay leaders from Bridge Street. (67)

Political Controversies  
 Nonconformity was a vital element in Banbury politics in the 19th century, as it was in most English towns. Lord John Russell once remarked "I know the Dissenters. They carried the Reform Bill; they carried the abolition of slavery; they carried Free Trade; and they'll carry the abolition of church rates". Nonconformist influence was rarely unanimous in Banbury or elsewhere however, and the Baptists were a distinct segment in a wide ranging spectrum of Dissenting opinion.

During the Reform Bill crisis of 1831-32, Dissent in Banbury as in the country at large was more or less solidly behind the Bill. After its passage some defected to the Tories, chiefly Wesleyans though among them was the rich Calvinist Richard Austin, but most Nonconformists went on to support the Liberal Henry William Tancred, Banbury's M.P. from 1832 to 1858 and the nominee of the Cobb family, the Unitarian owners of the Old Bank.

The first distinctively Baptist part in Banbury politics came in the 1841 General Election when Barnes Austin, son of Richard Austin, one of the richest men in the town, sponsored the candidature of the notorious Chartist, Henry Vincent, but recently released from Oakham Prison. Vincent fought against the Liberal Tancred and Hugh Holbech of Farnborough Hall, a Conservative. Much of the campaign was a battle between Vincent and Tancred to determine which was the true Reformer and friend of the people. Vincent's campaign was most successful with the non-electors, and the enthusiastic reception given him on polling day suggests that he would certainly have won an election on a wider franchise with a secret ballot (68). Vincent fiercely denied allegations that he was wholly implicated in the Physical Force side of the Chartist movement, yet his language was nothing if not provocatively intemperate. He described the times as "an era in which the Democracy of England will trample down the Aristocracy"; Toryism he called "practical atheism because it denies the natural equality in which God made man" (68). On election day the Chartists were active early in the morning, throwing stones at obnoxious persons and buildings, and were only quieted by the going among them of Mayor Thomas Tims (69). The election was won by Tancred who had 124 votes against 100 for Holbech and 51 for Vincent, but such was the enthusiasm for Chartism that Tancred's victory speech could not be heard for groans, hissing and cheers. To preserve property, the customary alcoholic largesse was not dispensed to the populace on election night. After the election a "Public Festival in honour of Henry Vincent" was held at Austin's brewhouse, great efforts being made to attract the respectable. Over 800 sat down to tea, including many who had not voted for Vincent. The first speech in his honour was made by Joseph Osborne, a Calvinist schoolmaster and subsequent patron of the Ebenezer Chapel. The second was by Rev. John Clarke, minister of Austin's chapel until 1841 (70). Not all who voted for or gave support to Henry Vincent were Baptists - the chairman at the "Public Festival" was W. W. Coleman, the Cornhill grocer, later to become a most respectable Conservative and churchwarden, but the predominance of Baptists cannot be doubted. Vincent's biographer said he had "friends at Banbury and Oxford" which led him to accept nomination in 1841. It is clear that prominent among these friends were Barnes Austin, Joseph Osborne and Rev. John Clarke, and that the South Bar congregation virtually sponsored the Chartist campaign.

A further link between Chartism and the Baptist churches came in November 1841 when Joshua Stutterd, a member of the family which attended the Bridge Street chapel, stood along with Barnes Austin and others as Chartist candidates for the town council. (72)



Ebenezer Chapel, Dashwood Road, Banbury.

"The low tone of general society in Banbury", wrote W. T. Henderson, "sufficed to explain in a large degree the part which many of my friends at the Congregational and Baptist chapels felt bound at last to take in the public affairs of the Borough" (73). That part was to promote candidates in the general elections of 1857 and April 1859 and in the by-election of February 1859, candidates whose radicalism was far more marked than that of the official Liberal nominees.

Some degree of continuity with the campaign of 1841 is suggested by a speech made during the 1857 campaign by Ebenezer Wall, a member of the Bridge Street congregation, in which he declared that he had "nailed his colours to the mast in 1841 when he tried with others to return Henry Vincent (74). W. T. Henderson also had a Chartist past: "I myself had been a Chartist ever since I had read in the papers that Frost, Williams and Jones, the Newport rioters, were to be hanged, drawn and quartered. The sentence was never carried out, but the impression made on my mind, a boy of 14, was never removed". On April 10th 1848, while a student at Stepney College, Henderson had actually marched with the Chartists through London streets lined with special constables, from Stepney Green as far as St. Paul's, where his nerve and that of his fellow students failed, and they returned to college. Another link with 1841 came with a visit to the Bridge Street chapel by Henry Vincent during Henderson's ministry. (75)

Henderson and his associates finally decided to oppose Henry Tancred in 1857 when the M. P. admitted that he had never heard of a motion proposed in the Commons by Edward Miall, editor of The Nonconformist, for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. The candidate chosen in 1857 was Edward Yates, a landowner possessing several small estates, including one at Brackley. Yates's programme contained snatches of Chartist sentiment: "There are far too many nominees of the aristocracy in the House of Commons; far too few representatives of the people" (76). The most distinctive note of his campaign was his opposition to the state church: "no religious persecution. . . . no religious robbery. . . . no game laws. . . . no parson magistrates". (77) Yates's supporters took the anti-Palmerstonian side opposing a "forward" foreign policy in the election in which, according to Lord Shaftesbury, the only issue was are you for or against Palmerston. G. V. Ball the Independent chemist in seconding Yates's nomination claimed that the people were not Palmerstonian, and one of the chief points made by W. T. Henderson in attacking Tancred from the hustings was that he was an unqualified supporter of Lord Palmerston. Yates was a weak candidate; the Banbury Guardian declared that he had "taken the surest step to a most distinguished and successful failure", and Henderson bluntly admitted that he was "wholly incompetent". (78) It is not surprising that he amassed no more than 58 votes.

On November 3rd 1858 Tancred announced that owing to severe illness he had to resign as Banbury's M. P. and a by-election was called for February 1859. The independent Liberals who had sponsored Yates in 1857 again put up their own candidate against the official Liberal, Bernhard Samuelson, who inherited the support which had previously gone to Tancred. Since this was a by-election a more distinguished candidate than Edward Yates could be found. Henderson and three colleagues approached Edward Miall, former M. P. for Rochdale, renowned supporter of John Bright, and editor of the fiercely disestablishmentarian Nonconformist. At first Miall was reluctant to stand, but the pleas of Henderson and his colleagues at length persuaded him.

The Banbury Baptists were disappointed by their famous candidate's showing during the campaign. By his speeches on public policy his friends were "greatly enlightened and benefited", but he refused to canvass, he felt too keenly the personal insults common to a fiercely contested election, and the "high tone" of his speeches was lost at riotous meetings. (79) Miall strongly urged the reform of church and government, demanding the complete separation of Christianity from the State, votes for all and the ballot. Disestablishment apart, his programme was not basically very different from that of his rival Liberal, Bernhard Samuelson. In a three cornered contest, a Tory, John Hardy, being the third candidate, Miall came last with 118 votes, only one vote separating Hardy with 176 and Samuelson with 177. This was the famous election decided at the last moment by the supposedly invalid vote of Police Superintendent William Thompson, who, according to Henderson, was a Miall supporter, sent from the committee room to ensure that the Liberals held the seat. The majority of the leaders of the Bridge Street congregation as well as some Calvinistic Baptists were conspicuous in their support of Miall.

Less than two months after the by-election came the general election of 1859. A deputation of independent Liberals approached Sir Charles Douglas, illegitimate son of the Earl of Ripon. Later he was interviewed by Henderson and others at the house of R.H. Brookes, the Baptist dentist. The interviewers were amazed by the extreme radicalism of his opinions. (80) Douglas was urged by politically aware friends to avoid "such a hornets' nest as Banbury", but stood nevertheless. His programme was less radical than that of Miall and sufficiently inoffensive to Conservatives to permit them to vote for him in large numbers. According to one contemporary source, Douglas's 235 votes came from 106 Liberals, 107 Conservatives and 22 uncertain voters, while Samuelson's minority of 199 was made up of 190 Liberals and 9 Conservatives. (81) This was a most unpopular result; from two o'clock onwards on polling day there was continuous fighting in the Market Place with many black eyes and bleeding noses inflicted. The Market Place had just been resurfaced with loose stones and when Mayor Richard Edmunds appeared on the balcony of the old Town Hall to declare the result he was pelted with these stones. One struck him on the forehead and he retired within, blood gushing from his head. A heavy chair was hurled from the hustings and seriously injured a small girl. Douglas left his rooms at the Red Lion by a back window and went secretly to Aynho where he caught a slow train to London. Crowds roamed the streets all evening, breaking the windows of every known Douglasite, and burning an effigy of the new member outside the Red Lion. Henderson considered himself very lucky to be able to return to his home, Laurel Cottage in Middleton Road, without coming to harm. (82) The reasons for this curious alliance of Tory and Radical which enabled Douglas to win the election are difficult to determine. Neither Henderson nor his opponents had any doubts that Douglas was a radical successor to Yates and Miall, and his programme of parliamentary reform, the ballot, abolition of church rates and a non-interventionist foreign policy was clearly radical, though not particularly extreme. Nevertheless the majority of Banbury Conservatives did transfer their allegiance to him. One explanation may be his friendship with John Fortesque, a well known Tory, and before the election his only acquaintance in Banbury. (83) An interesting light is thrown on the nature of the contest by a warning to Sir Charles sent by a Mr. Whittle, a reformer of Warwick, who said that Sir Charles was brought to Banbury "more upon a religious than a political opposition". (84)

Henderson left the town in 1863 before the next general election. When this came in 1865 Douglas again contested Banbury, though reluctantly, and was soundly beaten by Samuelson, a Tory coming second. Before the 1868 election he had become a Roman Catholic and therefore an electoral liability, and the independent Liberals, a somewhat changed body, though still Nonconformist in outlook, put forward the wealthy Wesleyan, William Mewburn of Wykham Park.

#### Conclusions

The evolution of the separate Baptist congregations was a very slow process. Over half a century passed between the first meeting in the town attended by Baptists and the opening of the Bridge Street chapel. Immigration from neighbouring towns and villages was probably an important factor in establishing the Baptist meetings in the town. The influence of the Northamptonshire Baptists and those of the area around Hook Norton and Chipping Norton seems to have been particularly strong. No particular social or economic pattern distinguished the different meetings. It was rather an excessive reverence for theological niceties which brought about divisions. The minute book of the Independent Church for the first decade of the 19th century suggests an atmosphere of meticulous intolerance. Joseph Curtis, "... continuously heard among Mr. Wesley's people what grievous and horrid doctrines were preached at the Independent Chapel... desired to come to hear for himself... was convinced that what he heard was more agreeable to the Word of God". Mary Pargeter, "attended among the Arminian Methodists for some time by after hearing at the chapel she was persuaded of the inability of her own merits to do anything towards her salvation. Wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness and as mere formality can never be substitutes for real religion". William Beal "... perceived differences between what he heard at the church and here... desired to attend upon the Gospel... but being a great bigot to the church it was a considerable time before his prejudice subsided". (85) The short history of the Independent congregation written by Rev. Ingram Cobbin in 1806 abounds in references to changes of ministers caused in turn by the Antinomian elements and their opponents. If such strong feelings were aroused it is not difficult to understand why fragmentation took place so often, and why the three

separate Baptist congregations emerged from the Independent meeting. The patronage of rich men like the Gardners and the Austins was certainly a vital factor in establishing permanent separate meeting houses, but it was a means to separation; not the cause.

The Banbury Baptists were essentially a middle class body. In the whole of the working class area of Neithrop surveyed by Vicar Wilson in 1851 there were no more than eighteen Baptist families, and several of these were shopkeepers on the main Warwick Road. Middle class predominance was even more marked among the leaders of the churches. There were no labourers or even craftsmen among the deacons of Bridge Street. The predominant occupational groups were shopkeepers and small scale manufacturers. This is in notable contrast to the situation in rural Oxfordshire, where, according to Dr. McClatchey, the Baptists were "always the poor man's church". (86)

The consistent tradition of radicalism in both ecclesiastical and political controversies among the Banbury Baptists is most notable. True, some Baptists were staunch supporters of the Liberal establishment in the town, some even voted Conservative on occasion, but the general tone of the congregations was distinctly radical, at least until the 1860's. In ecclesiastical matters the continuous active opposition to church rates, the support of the Anti-State Church Movement, the burial with full Christian rites of unbaptised children in defiance of the Church of England, all add up to an unbroken tradition of antagonism to the existing religious establishment. In politics the pattern was set by the patronage of Henry Vincent by Barnes Austin's congregation in 1841. Links between Chartism and the Baptist-sponsored candidates of 1857-59 were naturally faint after a lapse of 16 years, but the speech of Ebenezer Wall and Henderson's Chartist sympathies are evidence for some degree of continuity. In the three elections of 1857-59 the Baptists saw themselves as the leading radical body in the town. Henderson admitted that it was his custom "to preach without reserve on public events" and since this did not "lead to any unpleasantness", it may be assumed his congregation was broadly in sympathy. He took the radical view of the Crimean War; he favoured the North in the American Civil War; he gloried in Kossuth and in the Polish struggle for independence (87). By the 1850's the Banbury Liberals and their M.P., casting aside the radical views they held in the 1830's, had come to accept the forward foreign policy and the domestic inaction of Lord Palmerston. The Baptists in Banbury preserved the contrary traditions of Richard Cobden and John Bright.

Barrie S. Trinder.

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Abbreviations: B.G. Banbury Guardian; Bod. Lib. Bodleian Library; B.P.L. Banbury Public Library; C.R. Records of Banbury Congregational Church; N.H. Northampton Herald; O.C. & C.C. Oxford City and County Chronicle; O.D.P. Oxford Diocesan Papers; P.C. Potts Collection (Banbury Public Library); R.D. Rusher's Directories of Banbury.

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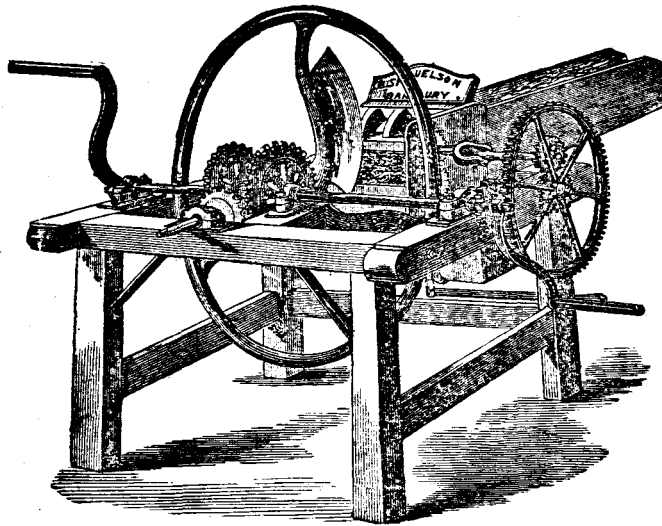


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One of the chaff-cutters that were products of the Britannia Works from the time of its foundation.

#### ALEXANDER SAMUELSON - A VICTORIAN ENGINEER

Sir Bernhard Samuelson's contribution to Banbury's industrial growth has been well chronicled. It is less well known that his younger brother, Alexander, also worked in the town for six years. Of course, his influence upon Banbury's history was not as great as Bernhard's. Nevertheless, Alexander Samuelson played an important part in the early years of the expansion of the Britannia Works, and his life is therefore of local interest.

Alexander Samuelson was born in Hamburg on the 20th July 1826, the fourth son of S.H. Samuelson, an English merchant resident in Germany. His father returned to England in the following year, and Alexander was educated at schools in Hull and Liverpool.

At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to the firm of Jones and Potts of Newton-le-Willows, which was engaged in building locomotive engines; and he completed his apprenticeship with Bury, Curtis and Kennedy of Liverpool. On the completion of his apprenticeship he became a draughtsman with the firm of Nasmyth, Gaskell and Co. of Patricroft, where he helped to design the famous Nasmyth steam-hammer which was to make possible the large-scale manufacture of the great iron bars needed for the new railways and steamships.

In 1845 Alexander Samuelson joined the renowned engineering firm of Boulton and Watt at their Soho Works in Birmingham. James Watt and Matthew Boulton had been dead for some years when Samuelson joined the firm and the business had passed into the hands of their sons. One of his tasks was to help design the experimental atmospheric pumping engines which the great railway engineer, I.K. Brunel, hoped to use on the South Devon Railway.

Meanwhile, his brother, Bernhard, had opened his own railway works at Tours, and Alexander left his job with Boulton and Watt to join him in France. Bernhard Samuelson returned to England in 1848, where he took over Gardner's factory in Fish Street. William Potts records that Bernhard Samuelson "saw the need for labour-saving machinery in agriculture and gathered round him men capable of carrying out his ideas". Among these men was his brother, Alexander, who shared in the management of the Britannia Works from 1848 to 1854.

The evidence suggests that Alexander Samuelson played a significant part in the development of the Britannia Works. Few would deny the business ability of Bernhard Samuelson, but his training had been in commerce and his knowledge of engineering was largely self-taught. His brother Alexander, however, was a trained engineer who had worked with some of the greatest engineers of the century, and the organisation of this side of the business, therefore, was largely under his control. This is partly confirmed by William Potts who states that Bernhard Samuelson acted as his "own manager, correspondent and traveller". Potts does not say who handled the technical problems of production. There can be little doubt that Alexander's expertise proved invaluable to his brother in the firm's early years, when the mass-production of agricultural machinery was getting under way.

After six years at Banbury, Alexander left to become a partner in the engineering and shipbuilding business of his brother Martin at Hull. In 1861 the partnership was dissolved, and Alexander moved to London where he established himself as a consulting engineer. His work included advising on the making of special types of machinery, the valuation of engineering plant, and in giving evidence before the courts on questions involving technical matters.

In the summer of 1873 Alexander showed signs of overwork, and after a fainting fit doctors diagnosed the existence of a heart disease. In spite of their warnings Alexander insisted upon travelling to France to assist in the liquidation of the Marseilles Land Co. He arrived in Paris on 4th September, but in the course of the evening he suffered a heart attack and died the next day. His body was brought back to England and buried at Kensal Green.

Alexander Samuelson's death was not reported in the national or local press, and his name does not appear in the history books. He was not among the outstanding engineers of his time, although his career brought him into contact with some of the greatest engineers of the Victorian age and he assisted both Nasmyth and Brunel on important projects. That he was a highly competent engineer is beyond doubt. He was made a Member of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in 1857, and a Member of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1862. His association with Banbury is probably known to few, yet his influence on the town's history was not inconsiderable.

York.

Archie Potts.

Main sources: (General) "Evolution of Modern Industry" by F.R. Jervis.

"History of Banbury" by William Potts.

Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

Proceedings of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

The author wishes to acknowledge assistance received from:

The Editor, Banbury Guardian.

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The City Librarian, Oxford City Libraries.

#### A WORCESTER HANGING BASKET

A most attractive small Worcester china 'hanging basket' has recently been acquired by the Borough Council for the Museum. Sides of deep blue surround a view of what is described on the base as "Old houses in Banbury". The rather crude drawing is in fact of the well-known High Street building now housing Neale & Perkins and Browns. It is probably by the same craftsman as the plates already in the Museum, with views of the old church and the vicarage, and it is particularly satisfying that it has been possible to add it to this small collection.

The basket is likely to date from ca. 1810 - 1820. However it has been suggested that the drawing on it was made later. This view is similar to the engraving in Beesley's History of Banbury. In both the name boards of the shop holders, "T. Goffe" and "Tite", are visible. As Timothy Goffe, tailor, did not move to the High Street until 1834, although Hannah Tite, grocer, was there at least two years earlier, some such explanation is likely.

We are indebted to our member Mr. A. Brett for first drawing our attention to this basket in an Oxford antiques shop. This enabled us to inform Mr. Muskett, who with the Libraries and Museum Committee's sanction took prompt action to secure it for the Borough.

BANBURY GAOL RECORDS, 1829 - 1838

Banbury Gaol was formerly situated in the Market Place in the building which now houses a betting shop. Mention of the Gaol is made in the Charters of Elizabeth I and James I, and in 1646 a Parliamentary grant was made towards rebuilding it. The Charter of George I reaffirmed Banbury's right to maintain a gaol and appointed the Mayor as its Keeper. A report on the borough of Banbury made by the Crown commissioners in 1833 (but not published until 1835) observed that the Gaol was "an insufficient building, affording no classification. A treadmill had lately been erected."

The extant Records of Banbury Gaol cover the period 1829 to 1838, and we are greatly indebted to their present owner Ald. Miss G. Bustin for permission to examine them.

It is evident that no great sum was lavished on the nineteenth century prison service for the Gaol Records are handwritten in four cheap notebooks, whilst the Deputy Keeper of the Gaol, one Robert Gardner, received £1.13.4d. per month salary for what must have been very much a full-time job. The Account Book maintained by him shows that whilst 6d. would support a prisoner for one day, more grimly it cost 5/- to have a prisoner "privately well-whipped."

Entries in the Record range from the full and informative to the brief and enigmatic. For example "28 Nov., 1829 Abraham and Mary Keen committed for trial to the Sessions. Very full of vermin from head to foot. Mr. Walford ordered me to provide them with clothes, which I did. The boy's clothes from Mr. Baker's, the woman's from Mrs. Hiron's". Compare this with "2 Apr., 1831. Thos. Hobday brought by Thompson for not paying to a child by E. Carsen, widow". Nothing is learnt of the sentence received. Sentences varied considerably from the "reprimanded by the Mayor and discharged" for drunk and disorderly, to transportation for stealing; as these entries show:-

"11 Mar., 1831 Michael Falby brought by Jabez Welch for stealing Ribbons etc. from Robert Kirby's and Mr. Fairbrother's, and committed the same evening."

"2 Apr., 1831 Sessions Day. Michael Falby sentenced to 7 years transportation". Apparently he languished in gaol for a year, for it is not until 20 Apr., 1832 that we read "Falby and Murray started for the Hulk by the Old Union Coach. Myself and Mr. T. Taylor went with them. We lodged them in Newgate at night and went to Woolwich the next morning, where we arrived at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 11 o'clock and came to Banbury on Friday".

A happier result of the Session is shown by this entry:- "2 Apr., 1831. A presentment made by Thos. Brayne, Mayor, to the Grand Jury to advance my Salary, and they unanimously agreed to advance it from 20 to 40 pounds per annum".

The annual Michaelmas Fair usually resulted in a minor crime wave in Banbury as the number of arrests for vagrancy, drunkenness, pocket picking and even indecent exposure rose steeply each October.

The Neithrop machine breaking riots of 1830 described by George Herbert in Shoemaker's Window, are reflected by "23 Feb., 1831. Thomas Riley, Rich'd Neal, John Neal, Will'm Pain, John Jackson and Thos. Waters brought by Claridge and Thompson on charge of breaking machines at Neithrop, the 29th Nov. last". "24 Feb. John Robinson brought by Thompson from Leighton Buzzard on the same charge. Six of the above committed to Oxford by Rev'd C. Wyatt of Broughton, except Rich'd Herbert, who was discharged."

That nineteenth century Banbury had its own persistent and incorrigible offenders is shown by the fact that members of the Duckett family were gaoled ten times in the space of two years.

Apparently when the Gaol was subject to periodical inspection, conditions of the prisoners were to some extent improved. On 29 Nov., 1829 "The Honorable F. Twistleton with H. Tawney and his brother visited the prison". Whilst there is no record of any observations they may have made, it is significant that the following day Robert Gardner writes "Put new straw in 3 beds". Again, in June, 1831 there is a note "Gave the Prisoners  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb Bread each,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ozs. Cheese and 12 ozs. gruel for the first time (according to Oxford regulations) as being the allowance per day for each Prisoner". In the same month the following items appear in the Account Book:- "Glaze Bread Bill £3.5.8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Tite Cheese Bill 10.4 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.; Edwards Meat 9.0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Coles Oat-meal 7.6d.; Salt 6d. and Cooking Fire, etc. 2.6d."

Influence in high places could be useful as one Jos. Savage found. "21 Aug., 1832. Joseph Savage brought by D. Claridge, for an assault on Chas. Mander & Willm. Dumbleton."

"25 Aug., 1832. Liberated by the Mayor, who came to the Prison in Person and ordered him to be set at liberty."

"29 Oct., 1832. Jos. Savage brought by G. Dumbleton, for assaulting John Parrish the Butcher. Taken to the Hall, and committed for one Calendar month or pay 15/-. In the afternoon the Mayor sent a note saying if his Mother paid 10/- I was to release Joe, which I did." One can imagine Robert Gardner being deeply suspicious of this irregular step and determined to have all the facts set down in writing for fear of later repercussions.

The activities of the notorious Burke and Hare are recalled by the following macabre entry :-  
 "20 Oct., 1831. Terrill of Bodicot brought by D. Claridge charged with bringing a box containing a Corpse, to go to London. Taken from Broughton churchyard."

"22 Oct., 1831 Terrill taken before D. Stuart, Esq., and committed to Oxford if he did not find securities by Monday at 2 o'clock, which he failed in doing."

"25 Oct., 1831 Terrill taken to Oxford by D. Claridge at 4 o'clock this morning."

Contrary to one's expectations, summary justice was not always administered; there are frequent examples of prisoners being remanded pending further enquiries and then having the case dismissed for want of conclusive evidence. A curious leniency was almost always shown to drunken women who were usually merely admonished, although this may in part have been due to the crowded condition of the Gaol. Similarly a rough mercy tempered justice as in the case of "woman brought by Thompson charged with being an Imposter by having her Infant Child Baptized by Rev. M. Nelson and Rev. C.J. Parsons both in one day and begging victuals and money of them. Committed by J.G. Rusher, Esq., Mayor, for one month, who permitted her to have her two children with her in the Gaol."

Occasionally descriptions of the prisoners were included. These varied from the strictly factual to the amusing. Hannah Hitchman is thus described. "Native of N. Newton. Settlement at Buckingham by service. Short stoutish maid, very short teeth in front and a Devil for Water in swilling and washing down." Unfortunately there then occurs one of the tantalizing gaps in the Record and we learn nothing of her crime or punishment.

There was a decided inclination on the part of the authorities to slough off their responsibilities by prevailing upon offenders to leave the district. This is well illustrated by the case of John Rymill charged with leaving his wife and family. "1 Sept., 1832 Rymill discharged on promising to behave better and taking his wife and children with him to Northampton."

Despite their occasional inconsistencies and clear evidence that certain passages were written retrospectively and with an uncertain memory, the Banbury Gaol Records constitute a unique source for historians and sociologists. Even this brief review shows how unchanging is human nature. The crimes recorded have parallels in any modern Police Court, although in their sentences nineteenth century Banbury magistrates did their best to make the punishment fit the crime. Violence was met with violence. Whippings and a spell at the treadmill were commonly meted out in cases of brutal assault. Juvenile delinquency was discouraged by a "private whipping" and fourteen days hard labour. Even six hours in the stocks was not lightly to be regarded when the sentence was carried out in January, as often happened.

Those whose interest has been aroused by this short account may like to know that a full transcript of Banbury Gaol Records is being prepared for eventual publication.

Borough Library,  
Banbury.

A.W. Pain, A.L.A.

#### THE HISTORY OF GILLETTS' BANK

We are delighted to report the publication of Audrey M. Taylor's book Gilletts: Bankers at Banbury and Oxford (Clarendon Press, 1964, 35/-).

Members of the Society have become acquainted with Miss Taylor during her researches and have for a long time been eagerly awaiting the appearance of her book. Many will be particularly interested in her chapters on the plush industry and on the bank's customers in the early 19th century. The book is well illustrated, the colour plate of Joseph Ashby Gillett and his daughter Martha being particularly fine. We shall, of course, be publishing a full review of the book in our reviews issue in the autumn.

## ARCHAEOLOGY

Future Midland activities in archaeological research were discussed at a conference at Luton on 7th November organised by Regional Group 9 of the Council for British Archaeology. Specialists surveyed the whole field from the palaeolithic up to the 14th Century A.D. and put forward proposals for research projects. Concern was expressed at the speed with which important sites are disappearing as a result of development projects and several pleas were made for amateur archaeologists to get out of their motor cars and get their boots muddy. Constant observation on building sites and other earth - moving projects is necessary to ensure that valuable evidence is not being destroyed. No special skills are needed, but any unusual finds, such as pottery, foundations, bones, metal objects etc. should be reported to an expert at the earliest opportunity.

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Coarse pottery sherds picked up in October from a building site behind the "Horse and Jockey" in Bodicote were identified by the Ashmolean Museum as late Anglo-Saxon.

### ROMAN VILLA AT WIGGINTON

The existence of a Roman villa site at Wigginton has long been known (Beesley, History of Banbury, p. 41) and a partial excavation was carried out by the Rev. C. Winstanley in 1824. Nothing further was done until 1964 when extensive damage by ploughing to the foundations and pavements was observed. A group of amateurs (not at that time members of this Society) attempted a rescue dig in the late autumn, but had not made much progress when winter set in. Their well-intentioned efforts have not been brought to the notice of the Society and the Ashmolean Museum, with the result that professional archaeologists have visited the site and provided valuable guidance for future activities.

The farmer, Mr. H.G. Frogley, has kindly consented to leave two acres of the site unworked for the whole of 1965, and plans are now being made for a large-scale excavation, under professional supervision, in the spring and summer. The full extent of the remains has not been determined, but there is reason to believe that this may be one of the more important villa sites in the Midlands. Anyone who would be interested in taking part in this project is asked to contact Mr. J.H. Fearon (Fleece Cottage, Bodicote) as soon as possible.

### CHENEYS' CALENDAR

Every year the well-known local printers Cheney and Sons Ltd. produce a calendar. As is fitting with the oldest established firm in Banbury, this normally has a local or historical theme. This year it portrays men associated with the town and locality during the past four hundred years. Amongst them are the first Viscount Saye and Sele, Sir William Compton, William Whately, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, and the Cheneys' own ancestor John. Two twentieth century figures are Vice-Admiral L.E. Holland, a director of Hunt, Edmunds & Co. Ltd., who went down with H.M.S. Hood, and Field Marshall The Earl Alexander of Tunis, K.G., who is Chairman of Alcan Industries Ltd.

Most of the portraits include a motif appropriate to the man, for instance the old church with Whately. Without wishing to seem pedantically critical, one minor error may perhaps be mentioned: the plan of the castle site shown with Sir William Compton, stated to be Elizabethan, was in fact drawn in 1685, after the destruction of the castle itself.

Unfortunately the calendar is not on sale. The only way to receive a copy appears to be to become a customer of the firm, and we are sure Cheneys would welcome any printing enquiries members may have. They are to be congratulated on a most handsome addition to our local historical literature, the design and production of which are, needless to say, impeccable.

OXFORD ARCHITECTURAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Society is concerned with the archaeology, history and architecture of the Oxford regions. Its activities include lectures, excursions and the publication of an annual journal, Oxoniensia. The Society also endeavours to preserve and safeguard local buildings and monuments. Full membership (to include Oxoniensia) two guineas. Ordinary membership, fifteen shillings.

Apply Hon. Treasurer, O.A. & H.S., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Our Cover : The picture on the cover is of the "Patent Britannia Reaping Machine" as manufactured by Samuelsons' Foundry about 1859.

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