

CAKE & COCKHORSE



*William Viscount Say and Seal M^o of the Court of
Wardes etc. Are also sold by John Hinde*

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Details about the Society's activities and
publications can be found on the inside back cover

CAKE & COCKHORSE

The Magazine of the Banbury Historical Society Issued three times a year.

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"Lord Saye and Seale, though then and yet one of the Barons and Peeres of this yo^r Realme of England and then and yet a Justice of peace and quorum within yo^r said county of Oxon dwelling very neare unto the said Manno^r of Wickham greatly swaying and ruling all that parte of the Country where he dwelleth; yet much neglecting his place and duty unto yo^r Matie and contrary to yo^r highness Ordinances lawes and statutes provided for the peacable goverment . . . did . . . at dyvers tymes as well before as after, and still daylie doth most unduely, uniuistly and unlawfully incite pswade provoke Countenance and maynetaine the other Confederates and pretenders freeholders. . ."

So was William, later first Viscount Saye and Sele, indited in a Star Chamber lawsuit of 1617 (P. R. O. STAC 8/25/6). It is just this local influence that Nelson Bard has investigated in such fascinating depth in the second of his articles that we have been privileged to publish. They both show perfectly the importance of local history and its interaction with national affairs. "Old Subtlety" was arguably the most important national figure ever to be connected with the Banbury area. His authority was paramount in the political manoeuvres that preceded and led to the military clashes of the Civil War - itself surely the most decisive event in our national history, social and economic developments apart.

Nelson Bard shows just how important to Lord Saye was his secure base in the Banbury area, both on his own estates and in his local influence in town and country. Without this base, both economically and

politically, his authority would have been much diminished, if effective at all. It is not far-fetched to suggest that the Civil War might never have started, and the whole course of the history of this country been drastically changed, without the part played by this locality in Lord Saye and Sele's standing.

J. S. W. G.

Our Cover shows a somewhat improbably martial portrayal of the first Viscount Saye and Sele, reproduced by kind permission from an engraving in the extra-illustrated set of Beesley's "History of Banbury" in Banbury Public Library.

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ARTHUR CHENEY

It was only when I looked at back numbers of 'Cake & Cockhorse' that I realised that Arthur Cheney had been auditing our accounts since March 1965 - that, in brief, sums up a great debt of gratitude that the Society owes him. He died in April this year, so-to-speak 'in harness', for once again he had accepted reappointment last year, though in the event he was too ill to examine our 1976 accounts. But for the past twelve years it has been my pleasure (as the one who actually prepares the accounts) to take them to him at his charming cottage in Bloxham, and, in due course, to collect them back; knowing that on each occasion there would be sympathetic and understanding comments and queries showing the very lively interest he took in our affairs. Auditing is a chore, but was one he willingly accepted, as his personal contribution to our Society.

Arthur was one of the well-known printing family, although his own career was in accountancy with the Distillers Company, and on his retirement to Bloxham he joined the Society. In 1967 it was at his request that his distinguished brother, Professor Christopher Cheney, wrote the account of Cheney and Sons which we published to mark their bicentenary. More recently Arthur was of the panel of 'reminiscers' at our always popular meetings, recalling in particular the cycling trips through the dusty lanes of his youth. Banbury has benefitted greatly from the public-spiritedness of the Cheneys - it was our good fortune that our Society was so to be helped by Arthur Cheney.

J. S. W. G.

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Due to faulty proof-reading of our last issue, Mrs Delany was credited with curing her gnat's bite with "a Pottice of white bread and silk". This should of course have read "a Poltice of white bread and milk".

LOCAL INFLUENCE AND FAMILY CONNECTIONS OF THE FIRST VISCOUNT SAYE AND SELE

Lord Saye and Sele had no difficulty rallying his neighbours to his causes. They supported him when he fought the forced loans and the billeting of soldiers; they fiercely resisted ship-money; and when the Civil War broke out, the King found precious few partisans in the area. The Court had no doubts about his influence. The Earl of Banbury, describing the stiff resistance in the Banbury area to billeting, noted that "the causers of this denial are all neighbours to Lord Saye, who . . . has his instruments herein."¹ Dudley Lord Carleton, writing about the progress of the commissioners for the forced loan of 1627 as they travelled to Banbury, doubted "the readiness of that quarter by reason of the ill-example of a neighbouring lord. . . ."² It is not enough, however, merely to narrate Lord Saye and Sele's effect on his locality without exploring his methods. The means of influence open to him, how he used them, and what mechanisms of pressure he employed are crucial aspects of his national prestige and effect.

The question is clouded by recent historical interpretation. Some historians have assumed that the countryside had developed a well-organised opposition to the Court, if not in the 1620's, then certainly in the 1630's. They leave the impression that there were cells of opposition ready to cross the King's purposes at any moment. At the beginning of the century, the Essex Rebellion, the Bye Plot and the Gunpowder Plot featured conspiracy pure and simple, complete with a rudimentary organization, secret correspondence, and subversive intentions. These were the schemes of reckless men, mostly bankrupts, who had lost their influence with their neighbours and the Court and had to resort to other means to effect their ends. If the puritan rebels of the 1620's and 1630's were similar men, then we could expect to find the same sort of organization, perhaps more effective since the puritans, after all, did succeed in overthrowing the government.

In fact, we find nothing of the sort. We are not dealing with the Earl of Essex's desperadoes but rather with men of substance - peers, gentlemen, merchants, yeomen - who had much to lose. Moreover, they were men who had no need of surreptitious organization beyond the traditional channels of influence.

Offices

Lord Lieutenancy: The channels of local influence are fairly obvious. First, there were the county offices, beginning with the lord lieutenancy. Its function was to supervise the military affairs of the shire, to see to the arsenals, castles, and militia. An office of high honor, the lord lieutenancy was very nearly the preserve of the Court nobility throughout England. In the hands of an active local magnate, it could be an effective centre of power. However, it was more apt to reflect the influence of the

officeholder with the Court than with the shire.

This was certainly the case in Oxfordshire. Sir William Knollys, Viscount Wallingford (1616), Earl of Banbury (1626), and lord lieutenant of Oxfordshire from 1612 to 1628, was a classic example of a lord lieutenant exercising scant influence in his county. An old Elizabethan courtier and administrator, widely respected in Court circles, he was peculiarly ineffective in Oxfordshire and especially in northern Oxfordshire. By the 1630's he had apparently outlived his usefulness locally, in Parliament and, very likely, at Court as well. In the Parliament of 1614, he spoke often and to the point and was quite useful to the Howard faction.³ But in the Parliaments of the 1620's, he spoke seldom and to little purpose. Most of his observations would have made sense under Queen Elizabeth but were irrelevant in the 1620's. Further, he was most unfortunate in his choice of a wife. The lady was a Howard, sister of the notorious Duchess of Somerset, and cast in much the same mould. The Howard connection, of value until 1618, became useless if not detrimental after that time. But the connection could be in no way as detrimental as his wife. She was one of the most prominent of the numerous harridans who plagued England under James. Even James observed in 1619, as he dismissed Wallingford from his position as Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, that his "only fault was being governed by his Wife."⁴ She was an outspoken papist and therefore her husband appeared on at least one of the current lists of papists in office.⁵ Worse, the Countess of Banbury was enough younger than her husband that she could become an adulteress, apparently on a grand scale.⁶ The merchant puritans of Banbury were not likely to be amused by her life-style, nor were they likely to pay much attention to her husband's wishes. Why he chose to be Earl of Banbury is anybody's guess. His lands were concentrated around Henley in the southeast corner of the county.

The fact that he was also lord lieutenant of Berkshire, where his family had much greater influence, only served to stretch his responsibilities further. By the 1620's he was ageing, obviously out of touch and out of sympathy with the times, and deeply in debt. His most important involvement in county affairs in the 1620's, the unsuccessful attempt to quarter soldiers in and around Banbury in 1628, may well have cost him his office. He was followed as lord lieutenant by Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, whom Clarendon described as one whose "affectations for the Crown was good; his interest and reputation less than anything but his understanding."⁷ He had no important estates in Oxfordshire.

In 1642, Parliament appointed Saye lord lieutenant of Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, and Cumberland, offices which he held until the Restoration. Saye's term of office must have been difficult years. He had just one manor in Gloucestershire, none in Cumberland, on which to ground his office, and the civil wars disturbed normal administration. In the 1650's Saye had apparently retired from public affairs.⁸

Sheriff: Although the office of sheriff was the oldest in county government, its duties, and therefore its means of influence, had been largely usurped by the justices of the peace. Usually awarded only to prominent men, the sheriffdom was yet a burden to be avoided. For instance, the government relied heavily on the sheriffs to oversee the collection of ship-money. For the sheriffs of Oxfordshire that was a nightmare lasting well beyond their terms of office. The only northern Oxfordshire men to hold the office were Sir Richard Fiennes twice before he became a baron and therefore ineligible, Sir Anthony Cope twice, Sir William Cope in 1618, and Sir William Pope in 1601.⁹

Justice of the Peace: The most important officers of the county were the justices of the peace. Appointed nominally by the King but in reality by the Lord Chancellor or the Lord Keeper, they were responsible for almost all forms of local justice. A single justice of the peace could handle petty cases, both civil and criminal, but several justices of the quorum together in session could handle all cases of common law save treason. Further the government sent numerous extra-ordinary commissions to the justices, including the responsibility of collecting the benevolences, or forced loans, of 1622 and 1626-7. As a rule, the hundred and parish officials took their orders from the justices of the peace.¹⁰ The influence of the justices on implementing national policy was crucial. They determined whether the various commissions would succeed or fail by the simple expedient of refusing to carry out commissions offensive to them. If such refusal were wide-spread, the government was helpless. The examples set by the justices were noticed and often followed by their inferiors, and if they were arrested, they were likely to be considered martyrs.¹¹

In order for the local administrative system to work, the justices of the peace, who were unpaid amateurs, had to be well educated. Most of them had attended either the Inns of Court or a university, and a large number had attended both. Few men in a shire would therefore be qualified to serve on the commission, and an able justice of the peace could expect to be reappointed continually.

Quite naturally, William Fiennes, like his father before him, was usually on the commission. He had been educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford; he attended Lincoln's Inn;¹² and he took the grand tour of the Continent as well.¹³ The earliest mention of Saye's being on the commission of the peace is in 1617 when he was called to account for riotous proceedings over inclosures.¹⁴ In 1622 he was imprisoned for dereliction of duty by refusing to collect the benevolence of that year. That cost him his office temporarily, though the intercession of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, soon restored him to the commission "wherein he hath at other tymes performed very great service unto your Majestie."¹⁵ In 1626 he was listed on the commission¹⁶ and, despite his opposition to the forced loan of that year, he remained on it. Four

Banbury men as well as John Hampden, Sir John Strangeways, Sir Walter Erle, Sir William Armyn, Richard Knightley, and Erasmus Driedon were removed for their resistance, but Saye and Sele and even the Earl of Lincoln, who was sent to the Tower for his resistance, were not removed.¹⁷ Saye remained a justice at least until 1634 and may not have been excused until 1637. He, James Fiennes, and Sir John Cope were crossed off the list that year for their opposition to the collection of ship-money.¹⁸

Lord Saye's turbulent career as a justice of the peace increased his prestige and influence enormously, far beyond that of a more modest justice. Undoubtedly active and competent, he was quite likely a severe judge, considering the sentences he suggested for miscreants found guilty by the House of Lords. The records of his courts leet and baron for the Bloxham manors list a large number of stiff fines.¹⁹ Yet he had a reputation for offering sound justice. At least once local people petitioned the government to have their cases heard by Saye.²⁰ His brushes with the Court only enhanced his reputation. His causes were popular and his bearing courageous. His example counted for more than most justices in Oxfordshire.

Lord Saye's tenants: However useful Saye's position on the commission, his influence in his home hundred of Bloxham and in the neighbouring hundred of Banbury was the most crucial element of his power. Without substantial support at this level, William could not have gone far. To begin, he could rely on his own tenants. Most lords could, of course, but the tenantry could not be taken for granted. Many loosely run manors harboured independent men willing to follow the lead of other local or national leaders. Some of Saye's tenants were substantial men of property, being worth £300 and £400 and one being worth over £900.²¹ Such men were most useful but they had to be carefully handled. They may not seem very important to the interests of a national leader such as Saye, but in terms of political obstruction they were invaluable.

If Saye had control of his tenants, he had control as well of the villages of Broughton, Bloxham, North Newington, and Shutford in Oxfordshire and Norton in Gloucestershire. His manorial courts were models of efficiency; when he did not preside personally - and he normally did - the formidable Mr. Sprigge presided. Each manor's court met regularly and transacted a great deal of business.²² Taking manorial business to another court was most unwise, as several tenants learned to their cost.

Further, William, like his father before him, took an active part in village government. Both father and son were among the feoffees of the parish properties and elected men of Bloxham, the only village for which records are available.²³ William was able to exercise his authority in Bloxham to the extent of revoking the feoffees' care of the village charities for malpractice and taking them into his own hands.²⁴

Local Rivals

Moreover Saye and Sele brought a great deal of pressure to bear on neighbours outside his tenantry. As elsewhere, northern Oxfordshire farmers, yeomen and gentlemen had independent minds and means. These men would take a strong interest in the political opinions of the magnates of the region. It could be dangerous to fall foul of a powerful man. Besides, if one of the great men nearby began saying things that his neighbours wanted to hear or wanted to say but had been afraid, they would be much bolder. William's neighbours solidly supported him, most of them balking at the non-parliamentary exactions, many joining the Parliamentary cause against the King, and a few migrating to Providence Island, a puritan colonial venture heavily financed by Saye in the 1630's. Yet the Fienneses were not the only great family in the region.

Copes: In fact, Banbury and its environs were more used to following the lead of the Copes of Hanwell, a family of very long standing and substantial wealth. Their estates were a good deal like the Fienneses', being concentrated in the parishes of Hanwell, Drayton, Neithrop and Calthorpe, compact, inclosed, and profitable.²⁵ Hanwell Castle, though not nearly so old as Broughton Castle, was similarly a magnificent structure and quite indefensible. The resources of the Copes may well have outrun those of the Fiennes family, since they also had valuable holdings in Northamptonshire.²⁶ Sir Anthony Cope was wealthy enough to become a baronet in 1611 with the first creations at a cost of £1,095. Sir William Cope¹ very nearly became a baron in 1616 but he balked at the price of £10,000.²⁷ If the Copes were worth more than the Fienneses, they undoubtedly owed more. Sir Anthony's debts of £20,000 have already been noticed in an earlier article.

The career of Sir Anthony Cope closely paralleled that of Sir Richard Fiennes. In the 1580's, they both sat in Parliament for Banbury; Sir Richard represented the county in 1586.²⁸ In the 1580's and 1590's, they both served the county as sheriff twice and as deputy-lieutenant twice. The lord lieutenant, Lord Norris, once delegated his authority to a commission of five men, including Cope and Fiennes.²⁹ Anthony was knighted in 1590, Richard in 1592. They formed something of a partnership of influence in the area. There can be no doubt, however, that the dominant party was Sir Anthony. He was politically far more ambitious than Sir Richard. He was a stout puritan while Richard was not, and in the Banbury region that mattered. In 1587, he offered a bill in Parliament that substantially altered the Prayer Book along puritan lines; that cost him a term in the Tower.³⁰ Working closely with the Knights and Halheads, Sir Anthony led a protracted battle in 1590 with the sheriff, Sir John Danvers, over may-poles and morris dances.³¹ Cope was a thorn in the side of the government during both of James' first Parliaments and was nearly put off the commission of the peace in 1607 for his puritanism.³² This did not prevent his purchase of a baronetcy, nor did it prevent the King from gracing Hanwell

Castle with his presence in 1605 and again in 1612.³³ Further, Sir Anthony's cousin, Sir Walter Cope, was Master of the Court of Wards.³⁴ During this period, Sir Anthony was the only man in the area of any national prominence.

With the deaths of Sir Richard in 1613 and Sir Anthony in 1614, the roles of the two families were reversed. William Fiennes was a more ambitious and dynamic man than his father and a fierce puritan. Sir William Cope, son and heir of Sir Anthony, was much less ambitious than his father and not nearly so determined a puritan. One of the major factors causing the shift of prominence must have been the difference between William's inheritance of £2,277 in debts and Sir William's inheritance of a £20,000 debt.

Though Sir William Cope accepted a lesser role, he remained an important figure in local politics. He sat in Parliament for the county in 1624 and for Banbury in 1614, 1621, and 1625.³⁵ He was sheriff in 1618. He was on the commission of the peace in 1622, but he was not listed in 1626 or 1634.³⁶ Moreover, he was not averse to opposing the Court. He was an active M. P. and spoke frequently for "country" causes.³⁷ In 1627, he headed an incomplete list of delinquents on the forced loan, owing £24.³⁸ He was listed again in 1635 among those prominent men of Oxfordshire who refused to pay ship-money,³⁹ and his son's name was crossed off the commission of the peace, presumably for the same reason.⁴⁰ Further, he lent £1,500 to the puritan Providence Island Company.⁴¹ Sir William's activities, then, were complementary to Saye's. He died in 1637 and his son died in 1638, leaving a minor to represent the Cope family during the crucial years immediately preceding the civil war. The child's mother, a daughter of Mildmay Fane, Earl of Westmoreland, had royalist sympathies, and the boy grew up to participate in several royalist conspiracies during the 1650's.⁴²

Popes: Perhaps the wealthiest man in the region was Sir William Pope of Wroxton Abbey. Sir William was the nephew of the childless founder of Trinity College, Oxford, and consequently owned, or leased from Trinity, very substantial lands in the area. His wealth enabled him to become a Knight of the Bath,⁴³ to buy a baronetcy in 1611,⁴⁴ to build a house at an expense of £6,000 by 1618,⁴⁵ and to buy an Irish earldom in 1628 for £2,500. His purchase of an Irish title, the earldom of Downe, was one of the grossest examples of this particular abuse⁴⁶ and must have galled Saye since Pope would have precedence over him. The title had no political significance, however, and Pope's local influence was surprisingly small. He was sheriff in 1601 and sat for the shire in 1621, though Sir William Cope and Sir Henry Poole defeated him in 1624.⁴⁷ He evidently never spoke in Parliament, however, and may not have attended.⁴⁸ He was a justice of the peace in 1607 and again in 1626⁴⁹ despite being removed from the bench in disgrace in 1607 due to a dispute with Sir James Whitelocke in which Pope

resorted to violence, rioting, and even garrisoning stolen property.⁵⁰ He had no influence over Banbury at all and could count on no one but his tenants to follow him. In 1628, when the government was trying to collect money to pay soldiers billeted in the area, no one in the entire region would pay except the tenants of Pope.⁵¹

When the first Earl of Downe died in 1631, he left as his heir a grandson not yet of age. The heir's uncle, Sir Thomas Pope, occupied Wroxton Abbey, however, and held it illegally until he became earl in 1639.⁵² This was the only estate in the area to come to the usurper so that he was much less wealthy in the 1630's than his father had been. He apparently was even less able than his father to win a local following. During the 1630's, when numerous justices of the peace were removed from the commission in Oxfordshire, the royalist Sir Thomas was not put on it. During the civil wars he was one of the few men of the region to support the King.

Chamberlains: Sir Thomas Chamberlain was a much more important man locally. He was Justice of Chester, occasionally sat on the King's Bench, and was a most respected member of the legal profession.⁵³ Though his resources could not match those of the other three families discussed above, his son managed a baronetcy in 1643.⁵⁴ Besides, though most of his lands were in Wickham, with some in Calthorpe and Neithrop, he held extensive lands in Bloxham and eventually acquired the Grove, the only demesne in Bloxham Fiennes.⁵⁵ Many tenants leased from both Chamberlain and the Fiennes family, and Chamberlain was at least as active in Bloxham town affairs as Sir Richard had been.⁵⁶ His wife was a cousin of William Fiennes and the two families did a great deal of business together.⁵⁷

This did not prevent them from becoming embroiled in 1617 in a bitter dispute involving inclosures made by Chamberlain. Conflicting accounts cloud the exact nature of the inclosures. Four men, including Thomas Halhead, held lands in Neithrop that overlapped into Chamberlain's manor of Wickham and they wanted rights of common in Wickham as well as in Neithrop. Chamberlain refused.⁵⁸ From here the picture fades, but somehow Chamberlain felt a need to get a bill in Chancery against Halhead to inclose some land.⁵⁹ This may indicate that there were two separate causes involved, for apparently he had been harrassing Halhead for some time.⁶⁰ Saye became involved as the executor of a former servant, who had held lands affected by the inclosure. According to Chamberlain, Saye sent men to rip up various hedges "of twenty years growth", and soon after personally led an attack on Chamberlain's hedges.⁶¹

The authorities were not amused, of course, since the case involved a baron who was also a justice of the peace. After Saye protested his innocence, they referred the matter to Viscount Wallingford's arbitration. He in turn passed it to a local board of arbitrators which included Sir William Cope, Sir William Pope, Thomas Crew (a close associate of

Saye), and at least one Broughton tenant. The verdict allowed the four Neithrop men twenty sheep per yardland into the common of Wickham if they inclosed their land, or thirty sheep if they did not.⁶² More importantly, Chamberlain was limited to five hundred sheep in the common, which may have undercut his profits seriously.⁶³ The case represented a major victory for Saye, who became the local champion against the evil of inclosure. The two families remained in close contact, having little choice really, and there is at least an indication of one more row between them.⁶⁴ Chamberlain died in 1625, and his son exercised little influence locally.

Banbury

Puritanism: In part, Saye was able to dominate his locality by virtue of his own dynamism vis-à-vis his neighbours, in part by outliving all his neighbours but the unimpressive Sir Thomas Pope. But more important was the factor of puritanism. The area was puritan in that most inhabitants preferred a plainer church, subordinating form to sermons, and disdained Spain, popery, and episcopal interference. A large number of the clergy of Bloxham and Banbury hundreds found themselves before the High Commission to recant their mistakes, mostly over form. (Sermons, vital to low-church dynamism, and suspect, at best, to high-church protagonists, were rife, especially in Banbury and Deddington.⁶⁵) Also, the region was fertile ground for the more radical sects, such as Separatists and Independents, "tradesmen or mechanical fellowes [who] will take upon them to know who shall be saved or condemned,"⁶⁶ and eventually Quakerism took deep root.

If a region with such tendencies received firm guidance from a local puritan of national stature, the tendencies would become firmly entrenched traits. First Sir Anthony Cope and then William Lord Saye and Sele offered such guidance. Saye and Sele lived in harsher times than Cope and he was far more strident. In the face of the capture of the church by high-church Arminians in the 1620's and their subsequent efforts to extirpate puritanism, the presence of such a shrewd and articulate puritan as Saye and Sele made it easier for his neighbours to hold to their beliefs despite economic or political considerations.

In the neighbouring borough of Banbury, Saye was even more successful. The "godliness" of that town was an example to all England. They had demolished their medieval crosses; they sponsored innumerable sermons in the town and beyond; they harboured meetings of Separatists and Independents. The satirist Richard Brathwait immortalized the saints of Banbury in verse:

To Banbury came I O prophane one!
Where I saw a Puritane one
Hanging of his cat on Monday
For Killing of a mouse on Sunday.⁶⁷

The puritanism of Banbury was long standing and received a major impetus

from Sir Anthony Cope in the later sixteenth century. In William Whately, Banbury had one of the most powerful preachers in England, though in doctrine he was rather moderate.⁶⁸ The leading families of the town were strict Calvinists: the Halheads, who bought a great deal of land in the first half of the seventeenth century;⁶⁹ the Knights, who dominated town government; the Vivers family, who acquired the lease of the rectory of Banbury from William in the 1620's.⁷⁰ In 1640 Edward Bagshaw, recorder of the town, was called to account for preaching the illegality of the temporal power of the bishops.⁷¹ Thus, Saye needed considerable skill and power for even so strenuous a puritan to assume leadership of these people.

Offices: Despite the zeal of the town, Banbury, like any other English town, was subject to considerable pressure from the countryside. Being merchants as well as saints, townsmen were careful in their relations with the great sheep raisers nearby. This included the four families discussed above and perhaps also the Earls of Northampton, whose principal seat at Compton Wynyates was only eight miles west of Banbury. We are told that the earls, William and Spencer Compton, offset Saye's influence in northern Oxfordshire, though I have found no reason to think so.⁷² There was also the influence of that arch-puritan of Northamptonshire, Saye's close associate, Richard Knightley, who held some lands in Bloxham hundred and whose principal home, Fawsley, was thirteen miles away. The town government reflected these pressures. Although the principal town officers were drawn from the merchants, the country gentry were asked to fill various offices, both honorary and functional. The Lord High Stewardship had to go to a person of rank from outside the borough, and in 1608 it went to Lord Knollys, later Earl of Banbury, thus avoiding the local magnates.⁷³ In his hands, the office became a sinecure, but in 1632 the town took the dangerous step of electing Lord Saye and Sele to it.⁷⁴ They certainly knew that it would be no sinecure in his hands, and their choice indicated either their faith in his leadership or the pressure he was able to bring to bear on them.

The revised borough charter of 1608 called for several new offices to correct deficiencies in the old government. One change was the election of thirty town assistants from whom all future burgesses must be chosen in order to establish oligarchical stability. Among the thirty assistants named in 1608 were Richard Cope, a younger son of Sir Anthony Cope, and William Fiennes. The new charter also called for twelve justices of the peace, since Banbury was no longer subject to the jurisdiction of the county justices. Among those listed in 1608 were Richard Lord Saye and Sele, Sir Anthony Cope, and Sir Thomas Chamberlain. All three had been listed as *feoffees for the town charities* in 1602.⁷⁵ We may surmise that William, once he became baron, held at least as many offices in the town as his father.

Parliamentary representation: Banbury was one of a handful of boroughs

that had the right to send just one man to Parliament. According to the charter the member was to be elected by the burgesses and aldermen, but the choice was nearly a property of the Cope family. Though Richard Fiennes held the seat in 1584, from then till 1624 either Sir Anthony or Sir William Cope was returned. In 1624, Sir William sat for the county and Banbury returned his relative, Erasmus Driedon, grand-father of the poet.⁷⁶ In 1625 Sir William was again returned for Banbury, but his election was overturned and James Fiennes took his place after a lapse of three months.⁷⁷ In 1626 the borough returned another nearby landowner, Calcott Chambers, of Williamscott. In 1628 John Crew of Steane in Northamptonshire won the election. He was a son of Sir Thomas Crew, a close business and political associate of Saye and Sele.⁷⁸ In both the Short and the Long Parliaments, Nathaniel Fiennes represented Banbury.

Banbury Castle: A further element of local power for the Fienneses was their possession of the lease of Banbury Castle which sprawled over some twenty acres and included several closes within the town borders.⁷⁹ The Fienneses, as constables of the castle, were royal officials in charge of a large and potentially important fortress, and they could undoubtedly have caused the townsmen a good deal of grief if they wished. Banbury would annoy the constables at considerable risk. There is no record of who owned what in Banbury, so we do not know if the family owned even more property, though it would hardly be surprising if they did.⁸⁰

Forced loans: Banbury was perhaps the foremost town in England in its opposition to unparliamentary taxation. The forced loan of 1627 failed in Banbury, and the government imprisoned four members of the town government for failure to pay: William Knight, the chamberlain, and his eldest son, Bezaliel, Thomas Halhead, and William Allyn.⁸¹ They appeared before the Privy Council and were questioned repeatedly before being imprisoned.⁸² Later that year Lord Coventry included all four on a list of men to be taken off the commissions of the peace or of men not to be considered for the position in their counties. In Oxfordshire only one other person appeared on this list.⁸³ In 1629 four prominent men refused even to pay the traditional assessment for the King's household, purveyance, apparently following the lead of John Hampden.⁸⁴

Banbury's reaction to ship-money was notorious. Assessed at £40 in 1635, a sum which the sheriff assured the government was lower than any other in Oxfordshire, the men of Banbury complained bitterly of over-assessment.⁸⁵ The government managed to squeeze all but £3 out of them, though it took three years. The successive writs of ship-money, each calling for £50 from Banbury, met with even stouter resistance. Mayor Nicholas Wheatley was threatened by both townsmen and the government.⁸⁶ The high constables were coerced into promising to do the government's bidding, but the collections brought in less and less each year.⁸⁷

Billeting: However large a part Banbury played in the country-wide resistance to unparliamentary taxation, the town gained its greatest national notice over the issue of billeting. From the accession of Charles I to the death of Buckingham in 1628, England was in an almost continual state of preparation for war. Armies and navies were dredged together for military expeditions that never began on time, if at all, and the soldiers were lodged about the country. This was a relatively new experience for the English and billeting was merely the most obvious way of handling the situation cheaply. As the military expeditions returned failures, however, and as the evils of the system became increasingly apparent, billeting became a common nuisance. Besides, the government occasionally abused its powers and billeted soldiers in a recalcitrant locality as retribution for past misdemeanours.⁸⁸ Banbury certainly had been guilty of past misdemeanours.

In 1628 the government imposed soldiers upon the town and its environs, as well as levies to support them. The Earl of Banbury described the dangerous reaction of the area to the imposition:

... they flatly refuse to contribut anything to the billeting of the soldiers thearabout. It ys a dangerous example if it be suffered for all other counties to doe the like... you shall do well to advise what course ys best to be taken herein, the Parliament coming on. Some means must be found who be those which are causers of this deniall. For certynly yt groweth from some pestilent and factious head, I will name none but they are all neighbours to my Lo: Saye. Who I feare hath his instruments herein. Something must be speedily done, either by fair means or foul, or else will all other counties do the like.⁸⁹

The situation was further aggravated by a misunderstanding concerning jurisdiction over the soldiers. The officers claimed that the town officials had no authority over the soldiers, but they were also not sure of their own authority.⁹⁰ Numerous ugly incidents occurred, and Constable George Philips was set upon and beaten by soldiers when he tried to arrest one of them. During this incident, Lord Saye's name came from the profane mouth of one Ancient Reynde who roundly impuned the lord's honour. All this could have been suffered by the town and even by Saye until the town caught fire. Massive in proportion to the size of the town, the fire burned over one hundred dwellings, about one third of Banbury. It was a disaster from which Banbury had not fully recovered when beset with the even greater disaster of the civil war and a royalist garrison. Naturally, the townspeople suspected the soldiers of setting the fire. People remembered that some drunken soldiers had threatened to burn the town, and what had been a nasty local affair became a national scandal. The evidence is nearly conclusive that the soldiers had nothing to do with it. They performed good service fighting the fire, and the next day William Whately preached that

the fire was divine wrath for sins and had no connection with the soldiers.

Though Lord Saye was away at Parliament, he was quick to present the issue to the House of Lords as a cause célèbre against billeting. He concentrated on the beating of the constable, produced him and a few witnesses, including Thomas Halhead's brother Henry, and let them mention the defamation of his own name. He was careful to avoid any imputation that the soldiers started the fire. Unfortunately, in order to support the constable's actions, Saye had to attack William Knight, who, as a justice of the peace, had opposed Philips' efforts to arrest the soldier.⁹¹ Saye had no hope that the House of Lords would take effective action, but he used the House as a national forum against billeting.⁹²

Saye's County-wide Influence

Beyond his immediate neighbourhood Lord Saye's direct influence was much weaker, but he could try to influence people by example and by persuasion. Still, he could only do so at the risk of revealing his relative weakness.

Oxford: In the city of Oxford, for instance, Saye's influence was scant. Despite intimations that he was working in the city against the forced loan of 1627, the collectors did well there.⁹³ He never interfered directly with the city government until 1642, when he occupied the city for Parliament and put forward a candidate for mayor. His influence, and his candidate, lasted only as long as he was in the city.⁹⁴

University of Oxford: The University of Oxford was perhaps somewhat more susceptible to Saye and Sele's wishes. The Fienneses had a right to membership at New College because they could claim kinship with the founder, William of Wickham. Sir Richard was the first Fiennes in the sixteenth century recorded as having attended the college, though there is evidence that the right was pressed earlier in the century.⁹⁵ William followed in 1596, Nathaniel in 1625, and several grandsons of William were admitted as well.⁹⁶ Though this hardly represented a flooding of the college which could have transformed it into a family institution,⁹⁷ it may have given the family useful leverage with the University. The family guarded their right jealously against all comers. Both Richard and William went to court against others claiming kinship to the founder.⁹⁸ In 1638 William pressed hard against the claims of two men named Wickham, one from Swalcliffe and one from Abingdon, Berkshire. The case came before the Chancellor of the University, Archbishop Laud, a long-standing enemy of Saye and Sele. He decided that not only did the two Wickham families have no claim on New College, but neither did anyone else.⁹⁹ The Fienneses regained their rights during the civil war and kept them at the Restoration.

Parliamentary elections: Still, on the county level Saye and Sele's importance was evident. He was strong enough to secure the election of his

eldest son James to be knight of the shire in 1626, in 1628, and again in both the Short and the Long Parliaments. Since James was peculiarly non-political, this election reflected entirely his father's strength. Further, Saye was strong enough in the county and willing enough, at least on occasion, to be quite useful to the government. In a tantalizing letter to Lord Dorchester in 1631, Dr. Brian Duppa described the report of one Willoughby, who was in charge of levying an unspecified burden on Oxfordshire:

... he replied that the service went very well on, for though he found for a time some slackness, (the burthen at the first sight seeming insupportable to the County) yet since by the assistance of my Lord Say, (to whose ayde he ascribes so much that he wished your Lordship would give him thanks for it) he had now overcome all difficulties.¹⁰⁰

What this entailed remains a mystery.

Family Ties

Sir Richard's family arrangements: Beyond the county, Saye had many associates and relatives of similar puritan sympathies. The family ties which William inherited from Sir Richard were of some importance. Despite the early death of Sir Richard's first wife, various Fienneses appear in documents of the Kingsmill family of Hampshire as late as the 1640's.¹⁰¹ Sir Richard, though no puritan himself, married all his children into families of puritan sympathies. William's marriage to the youngest daughter of John Temple of Stowe proved a valuable connection for William in Buckinghamshire. Sir William Temple, eventually a parliamentary soldier, was involved in several land transactions with Saye.¹⁰² Ursula, full sister of William, married Sir Edward Marrowe of Warwickshire and bore him six sons. The political record of the Marrowes is unknown, but William acquired the wardship of Edward Marrowe, Ursula's third son, in February 1637, giving him control of substantial lands in Warwickshire, a useful supplement to his other political connections in that county.¹⁰³ In 1642 George Marrowe, Ursula's sixth son, served as a captain in Saye and Sele's Blue Coats.¹⁰⁴ Far more interesting, William's half-sister Elizabeth married William Villiers, a half-brother of the Duke of Buckingham.¹⁰⁵ At first glance, this marriage evidently reflects Sir Richard's connection with a modest gentry family in Leicestershire. In light, however, of the political agitation of the 1620's, the connection may have had greater significance. Saye and Sele and Buckingham were not open enemies until 1626, and previously they had often worked closely together. It is a connection to be borne in mind. Finally, Sir Richard arranged for his step-daughter Elizabeth to marry Oliver St. John, later the first Earl of Bolingbroke.¹⁰⁶ The earl's father was an executor of Sir Richard's will.¹⁰⁷ Though the connection was primarily between the St. Johns and Dame Elizabeth, who died in 1632, Bolingbroke was still a prominent oppositionist working with Saye.

William's family arrangements: William's marriage arrangements for his own children betray little preoccupation to weave a net of discontent. They were all good matches economically and socially, which certainly was more important to Saye and Sele than their potential political importance. Since London had become a marriage market, he was able to match his children with families ranging far beyond his locality.¹⁰⁸

His eldest child Bridget married the young and promising fourth Earl of Lincoln, Theophilus Fiennes-Clinton, between 1620 and 1622. There is no evidence that Saye and the third earl had ever been closely associated before, despite the accident of their names,¹⁰⁹ nor had Lincoln ever been troublesome to the government, just as Saye had not at that time. There is no reason to suppose that the match, an excellent one for Bridget, had any political overtones at the time. Nonetheless, in the 1620's Saye and his son-in-law drew closer as both found themselves becoming increasingly hostile to Court policies. Lincoln had inherited a debt of £20,000 that was cleared in a short time by the management of John Dudley, whom Saye had recommended.¹¹⁰ Lincoln became interested in colonization before Saye, and numerous connections linked the Massachusetts Bay Company and Lincoln and subsequently the Company and Saye. Dudley, who became the first deputy-governor of the colony and served as governor, was only one of the two men's associates who went overseas.

James, a quiet, amiable young man of no political pretensions, married Frances, the fourth daughter of Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, between 1626 and 1631. By no stretch of the imagination could Wimbledon be considered in opposition to the Court. He was courtier enough to be given command of the Cadiz expedition in 1625 and favoured enough to gain a viscounty for his trouble. Certainly William could not have had devious political motives in the marriage of his heir. More striking is the fact that William refused pointblank an offer to match his son with a lady of the stoutly puritan Barnardiston family. If he had intended political connections with opponents of the government, no other family was better suited, but the lady was not sufficiently dowered.¹¹¹ Unfortunately, the chosen marriage proved a disaster. Though James' wife was beautiful, she was expensive¹¹² and a nasty prig who found him lacking piety. To prove her point, she ran off in the 1660's with that paragon of piety, Joshua Sprigge, son of William's old steward.¹¹³ The puritan pair then waited patiently for James to die so they could marry.

By the 1630's, however, Saye's marriage arrangements betray greater anxiety about political implications. He married his daughter Susan to Thomas Erle, son and heir of Sir Walter Erle of Devonshire. Saye and Erle had long been closely associated in Parliamentary opposition. Even more obviously political was the marriage of Nathaniel to the eldest daughter of Sir John Eliot in 1637. Eliot was four years dead, but the lady was well provided and Nathaniel, a capable young politician, was able to

turn the match to considerable advantage. Unfortunately, she died two years later in childbirth. If the connection between the two families died with her, the association of Fienneses and Eliots in the public mind did not.¹¹⁴

The rest of William's children were married in the 1640's. John and Richard were matched to minor heiresses of no political significance. One daughter, however, was betrothed in 1644 to Colonel Richard Norton of Hampshire, a capable parliamentary warrior. He had several business connections with the Kingsmills, Sir Walter Erle, and Benjamin Rudyard before the civil war.¹¹⁵ In the 1640's another daughter Anne married Sir Charles Woolesley, a prominent parliamentarian.

Business Associates

A number of business associates of Saye and Sele had some political significance. In Northamptonshire, Richard Knightley collaborated frequently with Saye in business transactions. He owned land in northern Oxfordshire and had an interest in Drayton.¹¹⁶ William had always worked closely with Lord Spencer of Northamptonshire in Parliament, though they evidently had no business dealings. Sir Thomas Crew, a prominent judge and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1624 and 1625, was a close friend of Saye.¹¹⁷

In neighbouring Warwickshire, Saye's connection with Robert Greville, second Lord Brooke, was notorious. That brilliant and earnest young aristocrat was so much taken with his grizzled and elderly neighbour that it is almost impossible to separate their doings in the 1630's. Further, Brooke's sister married Arthur Haselrigge, and Brooke himself married the daughter of the Earl of Bedford.¹¹⁸ It is worth noting as well that Saye and Sele was on friendly terms with Fulke Greville, the first Lord Brooke, and even held that privy councillor's proxy in the House of Lords at one time.¹¹⁹

John Hampden in nearby Buckinghamshire engaged in business with Saye, as we have seen. Hampden's son married the daughter of Richard Knightley. Finally, on the death of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottinghamshire, in 1625, Saye was elected Lord High Steward of Newbury.¹²⁰

Conclusion

So a network of friends, kin, and business associates of Lord Saye and Sele spread well beyond Oxfordshire into the bordering counties of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire, with a few tentacles stretching beyond into Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, and Hampshire. The government would find these areas particularly difficult to manage in the 1630's, and they would be largely parliamentarian in the civil war. Nonetheless, this does not warrant a conclusion that these connections amounted to conspiracy. Nothing could have been more

natural than such networks of association. Nor is there anything sinister implied when like-minded men are drawn closer together in difficult times, discussing their problems and possible solutions, and even marrying their children within their circle. All that I have described should be expected. Conspiracy could come easily, perhaps, in such a circle but there must be more evidence than the mere existence of the circle itself. If there were evidence of plans, principles, and propaganda developing in the 1630's, or if evidence existed of a para-military organization before the civil war broke out, then it would warrant such a conclusion. But instead the evidence supports a view that opposition was mere reaction to government policy. Conspiracy and organization beyond the traditional local channels was quite unnecessary. When the civil war began, most men followed the lead of the most powerful local magnate, as they had always done, or stayed out altogether. If there was conspiracy or something more sinister than that here described, it was not on a local level in Oxfordshire.

Nelson P. Bard, Jr.

FOOTNOTES

1. Earl of Banbury to the Earl of Manchester, Feb. 28, 1628; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1627-8* (hereafter cited as CSPD), 589.
2. Lord Carleton to Lord Conway, Jan. 19, 1627; *Ibid.*, 25.
3. See the Earl of Huntingdon's diary of this session in Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter cited as HMC), *Hastings MSS*, IV, 253-76.
4. CSPD, 1619-1623, 9.
5. HMC, *Portland MSS*, I, 1.
6. G.E. Cockayne, *The Complete Peerage* (hereafter cited as GEC), I, 400-1. Her descendants have been unable to convince the peerage that they are descended from the Earl as well and should inherit his title.
7. Edward Lord Clarendon, *History of the Great Rebellion*, vol. II, p.532. He attempted to set up the King's standard in Oxfordshire and was merely sent to the Tower for his pains. According to Clarendon, he was soon freed as a man who "could do no harm anywhere."
8. Some time in 1651, Saye retired to the Isle of Lundy, which he acquired after the first civil war, and was reported to be living as a despot and writing a novel. See Sir Charles Firth, "William Fiennes," *DNB*, VI, 1300. He did not serve on the commission of the peace in Oxfordshire throughout the 1650's. See the records of the commissions in the Public Record Office (hereafter cited as PRO), C193, 13/3, 4, 5, 6.
9. John Marriott Davenport, *Oxfordshire Lords Lieutenants, High Sheriffs and Members of Parliament &c.* (Oxford, 1888), 55-58, 61.
10. Mary S. Gretton, *Oxfordshire Justices of the Peace in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford Record Society, XVI (Oxford, 1934), xxiv.
11. J.H. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England, 1558-1640: a Later Eirenarcha* (Oxford, 1969), *passim*.
12. *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*. Vol. I, Admissions from 1420 to 1799 (Lincoln's Inn, 1896), 131.

13. Anthony a Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis. An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford*, ed. by Philip Bliss (London, 1817), III, 546.
14. *Acts of the Privy Council, 1616-7* (hereafter cited as APC), 318-22.
15. S.R. Gardiner, ed., *The Fortesque Papers: consisting chiefly of Letters relating to State Affairs, collected by John Packer, Secretary to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, Camden Society, New Series, I (Westminster, 1871), 195.
16. PRO, C193, 12/2, f. 44.
17. Lincoln's Inn, *Hale MSS*, XII, 93, f. 502.
18. PRO, C193, 13/2, ff. 53-4.
19. Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Court Rolls, II, III.
20. *CSPD, 1619-23*, 329.
21. *The Victoria History of the County of Oxford* (hereafter cited as *VCH Oxon. 1X* (Bloxham Hundred), ed. Mary D. Lobel and Alan Crossley (London, 1969), 69.
22. Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Court Rolls, II. One document, dated 1610, establishes a rigorous set of rules for the courts.
23. Oxfordshire Record Office (hereafter cited as ORO), *Bloxham MSS*, I and II, *passim*. Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Court Rolls, also have much of interest concerning the government of Bloxham.
24. Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Miscellaneous Documents, 1603-1660.
25. *VCH Oxon.*, IX, 107, 114.
26. Alfred Beesley, *The History of Banbury: including copious historical and antiquarian notices of the neighbourhood* (London, 1841), 261.
27. *Ibid.*, and Charles R. Mayes, "The Sale of Peerages in Early Stuart England," *Journal of Modern History*, XXIX (March, 1957), 24-5.
28. *Members of Parliament*, vol. I, 1213-1702 (Westminster, 1878), 415-25.
29. Davenport, *Oxfordshire Lords Lieutenants*, 5-6.
30. J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1587-1601* (London, 1957), 150-2, 156-62. "The whole existing hierarchy, the ecclesiastical courts with their canon law, the royal supremacy, and every relevant Act of Parliament, old and new, including the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and even some of the Acts against Catholic recusants, so acceptable to Puritans all were swept away by this astounding essay in naivety. *Tabula rasa*; stark revolution. Its like was never seen before in English Parliament."
31. *CSPD, 1581-90*, 601.
32. Gleason, *The Justices of the Peace in England*, 73.
33. *VCH Oxon.*, IX, 114.
34. *DNB*, IV, 1093.
35. *Members of Parliament*, I, 452, 459, 365. He was also appointed to a minor post in the government in 1614 as Keeper of the Arms and Armoury and the Tiltyard. See Hampshire R. O., *Cope MSS*, f. 207.
36. PRO, C193, 12/2, ff. 44-7; f. 13/1, f. 77; 13/2, ff. 53-4.
37. Wallace Notestein, Frances H. Relf, Hartley Simpson, eds., *Commons Debates, 1621* (New Haven, 1935), II, 122.
38. PRO, SP, 16/52/74.
39. *Ibid.*, 16/336/51.
40. PRO, C193, 13/2, f. 54.
41. PRO, CO, 124/2/112.
42. *VCH Oxon.*, IX, 115.
43. Pope brought a petition against Sir George Marshall in the House of Commons in 1621; Marshall had presented a slanderous bill against him in Chancery. Pope, according to the bill, "was base and of noe reputation in his Cuntrey and that his Ancestors did gett what he had, Corruptlie, or to that effect." The battle between them, being a revival of a much older dispute, is interesting in its own right since Pope, for one of

the few times in his life, was apparently in the right. More interesting, however, is the fact that Pope received his Knighthood of the Bath through the offices of Marshall at a cost of 1,000 marks and an annuity of £100 as well. See *Commons Debates, 1621*, II, 278; VII, 597. This was Pope's only contribution to the Parliament of 1621 even though he sat as knight of the shire for Oxfordshire. In June 1621 he obtained permission to travel in Spain for half a year. One wonders what impression that made upon his neighbours. See Bodleian Library, *North MSS*, A/2, ff. 266-7.

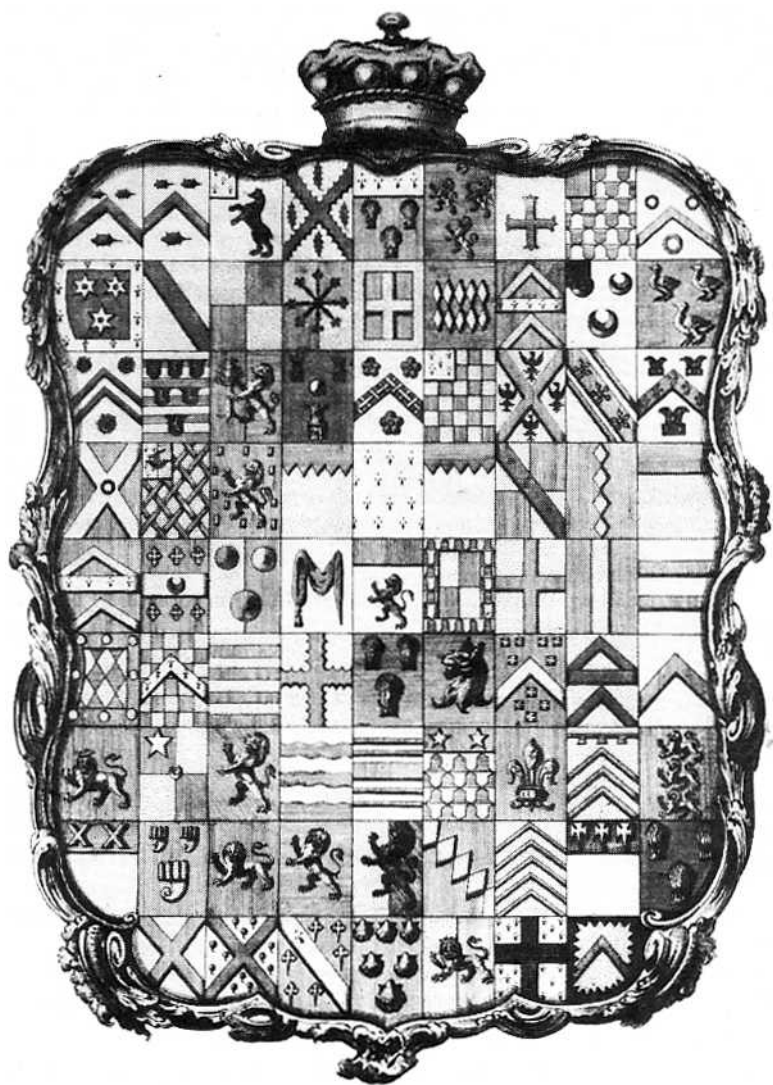
44. Katherine S. Van Eerde, "The Jacobean Baronets: an Issue between King and Parliament," *The Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (June, 1961), 141; *GEC*, IV, 449-50.
45. *VCH Oxon.*, IX, 172.
46. Charles R. Mayes, "The Early Stuarts and the Irish Peerage," *English Historical Review*, LXXIII (April, 1958), 245. A series of letters between Pope and his son, who was carrying on the negotiations, reveals fully the sordid nature of the whole affair. Besides the bargaining, the Popes knew so very little about Ireland that they had a difficult time finding a town of which to be earl, that actually existed and did not have another nobleman. Failing to find one, they settled on the county of Downe. See Evelyn Philip Shirley, ed., "Original Letters of Sir Thomas Pope, Knt.," *Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society*, IX (1865-6), 3-18.
47. Chamberlain to Carleton, Jan. 31, 1624; Norman E. McClure, ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, vol. II. *Memoirs*, vol. XII, part II, The American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, 1939), II, 543.
48. In the first session he spoke only once, in a personal cause. He received licence to go to Spain in June 1621, so he must have been out of the country during the second session. *B.L.*, *North MSS*, A/2, ff. 266-7.
49. *PRO*, C193, 12/2, f.44.
50. John Bruce, ed., *Liber Familicus of Sir James Whitelocke, A Judge of the Court of the King's Bench in the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, Camden Society, LXX (Westminster, 1858), 21-24. "Justice Yelverton told him he was fitter to lead the rebells in Northampton (whiche lately before had been in commotion,) then to sit thear as a justice of peace." Pope was committed to the sheriff. He then took Yelverton to court, but Pope had such a poor case that he himself was committed to the Fleet for his trouble.
51. Earl of Banbury to the Earl of Manchester, Feb. 23, 1628; *CSPD*, 1627-8, 589. In this same year Pope and Saye contested over Saye's solicitor, Mr. Spring. Pope had Spring arrested during Parliament, and Saye stretched his privilege of Parliament to utmost to cover his solicitor. *Lords Journals*, III, 873. See note at end.
52. *VCH Oxon.*, IX, 176.
53. *Liber Familicus of Sir James Whitelocke*, 73, 95. "Sir Thomas Chamberleyne had caryed himself in the place [as Justice of Chester] withe good opinion of the countrye for his uprightnesse, . . ." Lord Keeper Williams, faced with Sir John Bouchier's petition against him in the House of Lords for a hasty decision, justified his actions by asserting that he had consulted Chamberlain and another justice before rendering his judgment. See S.R. Gardiner, ed., *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, officially taken by Henry Elsing, Clerk of the Parliaments, 1621*, Camden Society, vol. CIII (Westminster, 1870), 107. He was also the only northern Oxfordshire man to contribute to the King's request for financial aid to the Palatinate in 1620, paying the modest sum of £20. *PRO*, SP, 14/119/14.
54. G.E. Cockayne, ed., *Complete Baronetcy, 1625-49* (Exeter, 1902), II, 206.
55. Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Court Rolls, II. In 1606, a document signed by Richard Lord Saye and Chamberlain and concerning common land mentioned the Grove as having come into the possession of Chamberlain by trade.
56. *ORO*, *Bloxham MSS*, I, II, *passim*.
57. *ORO*, *Dashwood MSS*, V/ii/9.
58. *VCH Oxon.*, X, 56.

59. APC, 1616-7, 318-9.
60. Henry Halhead, **Inlosures Thrown Open: or, Depopulation Depopulated, not by spades and mattacks; but, By the Word of God, the Laws of the Land, and Solid Arguments. And the most material Pleas that can be brought for it, considered and answered** (London, 1650), 8-9. Halhead very likely described the procedure by which Chamberlain proceeded in his inclosures. If Halhead's account is accurate, then Chamberlain was quite vulnerable to Saye's pose as champion of the commons. Halhead, however, was an intemperate man, and to judge by his book, he was none too coherent and cannot be considered a reliable source.
61. PRO STAC 8/25/6; APC, 1616-7, 319.
62. Broughton Castle, **Fiennes MSS**, Court Rolls, II, April 24, 1617, lists the number of sheep allowed in the commons at Bloxham Fiennes as twenty sheep and ten lambs per yardland.
63. B. L. , **Risley MSS**, VII, 1/5.
64. ORO, **Dashwood MSS**, V/ii/9. A letter from Saye to Chamberlain's wife indicates that channels of communication between the families were open only through Lady Chamberlain.
65. Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 283-7.
66. HMC, **Hatfield House MSS**, XX, 48.
67. [Richard Brathwait], **Barnabee's Journall under the Names of Mirtilus & Faustus Shadowed** [London, 1638], B 4.
68. Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 240-2.
69. B. L. , **Risley MSS**, VII, 1/1-4, 6-8.
70. Richard Vivers, twice mayor of Banbury in the 1620's, was notoriously opposed to church discipline. See **VCH Oxon.**, X, 109.
71. **CSPD, 1639-40**, 522.
72. **VCH Oxon.**, I, 446. Earl Spencer (1630-43) was, according to Beesley, much given to luxury and ease and exerted himself in nothing until the civil war when he fought and died for the King. In fact, he occupied Banbury Castle, and his younger son kept it against all comers, including a large force under Colonel John Fiennes, until the King surrendered. This does not indicate influence in the area but rather mere military success. Compton had far more difficulty with the townsmen than with any military force. See Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 293-4, 300-5.
73. The charter is kept at the Banbury Public Library, Reference Room, but it is reprinted almost entirely by Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 255-6.
74. The original commission is in Broughton Castle, **Fiennes MSS**, Miscellaneous, 1603-1660.
75. Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 248.
76. *Ibid.*, 264.
77. In June a Lady Coppin and her son petitioned the House of Commons against Cope. They had had him arrested and imprisoned for debt but he had been freed under a **habeus corpus** and gone abroad. He was then returned for Banbury, giving him Parliamentary immunity. The House preferred to remove him from his seat rather than allow him his privilege under such circumstances. See **Members of Parliament**, I, 465; S.R. Gardiner, ed., I, **Debates in the House of Commons in 1625**, Camden Society, New Series, VI (Westminster, 1874), 7, 14-5. Cope had brought action against Sir George Coppin over numerous lands in Essex previously. **PRO, Chancery Proceedings**, 2nd Series, Bundle 304, No. 4. See also Chamberlain's letters to Carleton which record Cope's difficulties in detail; **Chamberlain's Letters**, II, 571-2, 534.
78. **Members of Parliament**, I, 465.
79. Beesley, **History of Banbury**, 280.
80. Sir Anthony Cope held of the Bishop of Lincoln several closes and a cottage within the borough, valued together at £50 in 1606. The Copes and Chamberlains held extensive

- lands in adjoining Neithrop and Calthorpe, giving them some leverage in the town. Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 251; *VCH Oxon.*, X, 44.
81. A list of Banbury and Bloxham men who refused to pay the loan does not include these four men. PRO, SP, 16/52/74.
 82. William Knight owed £3. 6s. 8d. and his son owed 40s. APC, 1627, 52, 67, 331, 449.
 83. Lincoln's Inn, Hale MSS, XII, No. 93, f. 502. None of these men are listed on the commissions of the peace for the county. It is possible but not likely that the Banbury men were to be kept from being justices of the peace in Banbury.
 84. Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 281, 283.
 85. CSPD, 1635, 475; 1636-7, 438-9.
 86. CSPD, 1637, 382-3.
 87. *Ibid.*, 436, 437, 440, 448, 453.
 88. HMC, Braye MSS, 114-5, for instance, shows a clear-cut case. Western Northamptonshire was reported as being recalcitrant toward the forced loan on the 10th of February, 1627. The same day the Privy Council ordered soldiers billeted in Buckinghamshire to be moved to western Northamptonshire.
 89. PRO, SP, 16/94/73.
 90. Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 778-9.
 91. This must have been peculiarly painful to Lord Saye. Not only was Knight a close business and political associate who had gone to jail the year before over the forced loan, he had also served temporarily as Saye's steward. Broughton Castle, Fiennes MSS, Court Rolls, II, April 24, 1617.
 92. The best account of this incident is Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 278-9. The sources can be found in the *Lords Journals*, III, 700, 708, 825, 831, 836, 838, 845, 851; Frances H. Relf, ed., *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords, officially taken by Robert Bowyer and Henry Elsing, clerks of the Parliaments, 1621, 1625, 1628*, Camden Society, XLII (London, 1929), 66-7, 73-8, 206, 214; HMC, *House of Lords MSS*, IV, 13, 16.
 93. Carleton to Lord Conway, Jan. 19, 1627; CSPD, 1627-8, 25.
 94. H.E. Salter and M.G. Hobson, eds., *Oxford Council Acts, 1626-65*, Oxford Historical Society, XCV (Oxford, 1933), viii.
 95. Sir Edward Fiennes, in his will of 1528, made provision for both his sons to attend New College. PRO, Wills, PCC, 1528, 2 Jankyns. It has been suggested that the admission of Richard Fiennes to New College in 1569, at the age of 13, caused something of a scandal; *VCH Hants.*, II, 320.
 96. Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxoniensis: the Members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford, 1891), II, 495-6.
 97. As conjectured in *VCH Hants.*, II, 317.
 98. CSPD, 1636, 426; B.L., Wood MSS, F. 28, f. 118. Richard's father also had to fight for the right. See Sir Richard Fenys to Burghley, Nov. 11, 1572; CSPD, I, 454.
 99. CSPD, 1637-8, 205-6.
 100. PRO, SP, 16/199/14.
 101. National Archives, *Kingsmill MSS*, II, 1174.
 102. B.L., *Rawlinson MSS*, D, 892, ff. 56-7, 61.
 103. The grant of wardship is among the *Fiennes MSS*, Miscellaneous, 1603-60. Ursula was still alive in 1640 and in possession of Wolvey Manor in Warwickshire. *VCH Warwick*, VI, 282. Saye was able to present a Presbyterian to the living of St. Martin's Church in Birmingham, in 1646, on the strength of his wardship. *Ibid.*, VII, 366.
 104. Beesley, *History of Banbury*, 304.
 105. David Fiennes, "William Fiennes, First Viscount Saye and Sele (1582-1662) and George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628)," *The Genealogists' Magazine*, XVI (September, 1970), 334-5; B.M., *Harleian MSS*, 1834, f.184.

106. Fiennes, "William Fiennes, First Viscount Saye and Sele and George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham," 334-5.
107. PRO, Wills, PCC, 1612, 18 Capell.
108. Lawrence Stone, "Marriage among the English Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History: an International Quarterly*, III (Jan., 1961), 195, uses Saye and Sele's marriages of his children as an extreme example of this.
109. I am told by Mr. David Fiennes that the Fiennes in Fiennes-Clinton derived from an obscure marriage connection in the early sixteenth century between a lady of the Fiennes family and a Clinton heir. Why the Clintons adopted Fiennes as part of their name is unknown.
110. Thomas Prince, *Annals of New England*, reprinted in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series II (Mass., 1836), VII, 12-3. Dudley is also said to have been instrumental in arranging the match between Lincoln and Bridget, "who prov'd a most virtuous Lady and a great Blessing to the whole Family." Also concerning Bridget, see Elizabeth Countess of Lincoln, *The Countess of Lincoln's Nurserie* (Oxford, 1622), reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, IV, 27-33, a treatise by Theophilus' mother and dedicated to Bridget extolling the virtues of breast-feeding, practised by Bridget.
111. James O. Halliwell, ed., *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., during the reigns of James I and Charles I* (London, 1845), I, 314. "But he [Saye], . . . acknowledging his due obligation for so great a respect, refused the offer in direct terms." D'Ewes married the lady shortly thereafter.
112. B. L., *Rawlinson MSS*, 892, f. 270.
113. GEC, XII, part 2, 488-9. Dorothy Verney wrote in 1648, "your Coussen James Fines and his wife are parted; they say the reason is because they canott agree in disputes of conscience, and thatt she doth not think him holy enough; but in my opinion their is very little Conscience in parting from their husbands." Margaret M. Verney and Frances P. Verney, eds., *Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London, 1907), 394-5.
114. DNB, VI, 1294-6.
115. Hampshire RO, *Daly MSS*, part 2, ff. 366, 369, 370, 378.
116. B. L., North MSS, C 30/71, 76-9.
117. Crew was involved in several transactions preserved at Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Miscellaneous Documents 1603-60. See also National Archives, *Kingsmill MSS*, II, 1349, and B. L., *Risley MSS*, VII, 1/5.
118. Robert E. L. Strider. *Robert Greville, Lord Brooke* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 5, 11.
119. *Lords Journals*, III, 205.
120. The patent is in Broughton Castle, *Fiennes MSS*, Miscellaneous Documents 1603-60.

Ed. Note. Most of the Fiennes MSS. collection, referred to as being at Broughton Castle, has now been deposited at the ORO. Reference is made in fn. 51 to Saye's "solicitor, Mr. Spring." It seems possible that this was the steward and attorney William Sprigge, referred to elsewhere. Unfortunately there was not time to check this before printing.



THE QUARTERINGS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THOMAS TWISLETON

Some members have asked about the heraldic display which decorated the cover of the Summer 1976 issue of C. & C.H. * It was described as "an 18th century engraving of the quarterings of the Right Honourable Thomas Twisleton, Baron Saye and Sele." (I have deleted the erroneous third t in Twisleton which, pace the Complete Peerage which has it wrong, is a name spelt remarkably consistently with two ts for at least five centuries).

Thomas¹ was born, probably at Broughton Castle, in or about 1735; his father John married Anne, daughter of William Gardner a yeoman of Little Bourton, clandestinely at the Fleet Chapel. He was a professional soldier, played a main role in suppressing the Gordon riots in 1780,² rose to be Major General, successfully claimed the barony in 1781, committed suicide in Harley Street in 1788 and was buried in Broughton church where is his memorial. In 1767 he married Elizabeth Turner of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire, who was second cousin to Jane Austen; each was a daughter of a Cassandra Leigh whose fathers were brothers from Adlestrop in Gloucestershire, a third brother Theophilus being Master of Balliol and Vice Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Thomas, or more likely his wife, was the originator of the Gothic work at Broughton Castle in the long gallery, the small library and elsewhere; similar work, by Sanderson Miller, had preceded that at Broughton both at the Turner home at Ambrosden and at the Leigh home at Adlestrop. (See C. & C.H. Winter 1969).

The engraving, the original of which is coloured, shows quarterings identical to those on the monument to Thomas's eldest son Gregory which may be seen on the south wall of Broughton church. Underneath the arms are inscribed the words "To the Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Baron Saye and Sele, this Plate, Engraved at his Expence and given as an Encouragement to this Work, Is most humbly Inscribed, by His Lordship's most dutiful and obedient humble Servant Joseph Edmondson, Mowbray Herald Extraordinary." Joseph Edmondson (d 1786) was led to study heraldry by his employment of emblazoning coat-armour on carriages³; he became a distinguished herald and genealogist, published many books, and achieved an entry in the Dictionary of National Biography which Thomas the baron did not.

The shield comprises 79 quarterings, the family names listed beneath it. They are numbered from left to right, eight rows of nine and a bottom row of seven. It is a superb example of heraldic decoration, worthy of an emblazoner of carriages. Whether or not it is a superb example of historical research and heraldic accuracy I cannot say. It takes a herald to catch a herald and I am no herald. His Lordship paid to have it done. Let's leave it at that and just pick up a few points of historic interest.

Numbers 1 and 2 are identical, the Twisleton arms "confirmed" in

* Reproduced opposite.

1602, as now flutter quartered with those of Fiennes above the castle gateway. The arms appear twice because the parents of Thomas's grandfather Fiennes Twisleton were both Twisletons; his mother Cecil, the heiress of the senior Twisleton line, rode off with her raffish and impecunious second cousin George. (See C. & C.H. Autumn 1970). The origin of the three moles in the arms is not known; an 18th century source⁴ says of a 17th century Twisleton "Arms, a chevron between three mudworths (note:- so-called in Lancashire etc), called also moles, wants or twisles, Sable." That explanation would be a likely Tudor pun, but I cannot find twisle for mole in any dialect dictionary.

Numbers 3, 4, and 5 take us to Kent to the families of Bere or Beer (note the bear in the arms) and Nysel. John Beer of Dartford, justice of oyer and terminer in the days of Henry VIII, married the heiress of the Nysels of Wrotham.⁵ Their daughter Anne Beer in 1546 married Christopher Twisleton,⁶ Comptroller of the Port of Hull (d 1579).⁷ When Edward the last of the male Beers died in 1628 he left his Kentish property to John Twisleton, grandson of Christopher and Anne, grandfather of the Cecil Twisleton who married her cousin George. Their Dartford house, Horsman's Place, had been acquired at the dissolution of the monasteries and was rebuilt by John Beer in 1551.⁸ It was sold by Thomas Twisleton in 1768, the year after his marriage, presumably to pay for the Gothic work at Broughton (and for a wife who was expensive in more things than ambitious building). There is therefore a direct relationship between the Beer and Nysel arms and one of the notable features of Broughton Castle. So much for the Twisleton connection.

The next group starts with the three lions of Fiennes (no. 6), quartered with those of Twisleton in the modern coat. As shown here, there is a crescent on the upper edge, indicating a second son. James Fiennes, the first Baron Saye and Sele executed by Jack Cade in 1450, was the second son of his father; his elder brother succeeded to Herstmonceux in Sussex and built the castle there which is now the Royal Observatory and still has the three Fiennes lions over the gateway. That senior line continued at Herstmonceux as Lord Dacre of the South until the male line died out with the death of Gregory in 1594. A junior branch survived in the male line at Claverham in Sussex into the 17th century.⁹

In the Fiennes connection are included No. 7 (Boulogne), No. 8 (Filliol), No. 9 (Chanceaux), No. 10 (Jordaine), No. 11 (Monceux), No. 17 (Battesford) and No. 18 (Pepplesham).

Giles Fiennes, who settled in England about the middle of the 13th century, came from Artois; the village of Fiennes is mid-way between Calais and Boulogne. He was married off to a minor manorial heiress, Sibyl Filliol of Wartling in Sussex, whose mother was sister and heiress of Almaricus de Chanceaux. Their son John married the daughter and heiress of Jordan the (Windsor) Forester; their son John married Maud de Monceux, heiress of the manor of Herstmonceux alongside Wartling. They

were now on the up and up. John and Maud's son William made a real catch, Joan Say of whom more in a moment. Their second but eldest surviving son William (d 1403 and beautifully buried in Herstmonceux church) married the Battesford heiress whose mother was the Pepplesham heiress, both of Sussex. It was a remarkable story of how to succeed in mediaeval England without really trying – accumulating manors through five successive generations by marrying girls who were or would become heiresses or coheiresses, in two cases girls whose mothers were also heiresses. As the Americans would say, they kept a low profile during the process of accumulation.

The next generation however did not believe in low profiles. Both sons fought at Agincourt and became prominent financiers. The eldest son Roger built Herstmonceux Castle; the younger, James, before he gained his barony and lost his head, owned both Knole and Hever (the present mansions were not yet built) both of which his son William sold to pay for extensions to Broughton Castle which came to him with his wife. The stones of Broughton certainly rest not a little on the inheritances of Filliol and Chanceaux, Jourdain and Monceux, Battesford and Pepplesham.

Boulogne is a different story. Eustace Count of Boulogne at the time of the Conquest had a son Geoffrey or Godfrey, perhaps illegitimate, who married a daughter of Geoffrey de Mandeville; they had a son William who had a son Faramus, a prominent supporter of King Stephen in England. Faramus left only an heiress Sibyl who brought to her husband Enguerrand Fiennes (killed crusading at Acre in 1189) rich lands in the Boulonnais and in England.¹⁰ That is the traditional connection; modern research broadly confirms it. But Enguerrand Fiennes was an Artesian and his family remained in France until the senior line ended with Robert Fiennes the Swarthy, constable of France after the battle of Poitiers. He and his French descendants had only one lion on their coat of arms, while Giles had three and of a different colour. Giles was almost certainly descended from Enguerrand through younger sons, one of whom must have adopted a wife's coat of arms with three lions on the way; but it is very unlikely on heraldic grounds that Giles fitted into the Artesian family in the place in which later pedigrees show him. Part of the evidence of the descent is the early use of the Boulogne arms by Giles's descendants, as in the early heraldry recorded at Herstmonceux.¹¹ If anyone cares to visit the church of Weston-sub-Edge near Chipping Camden, he will find there a memorial to Pharamus Fiennes (d 1708), so named by a genealogically conscious father; Pharamus was rector of Weston and Sub-Warden of Winchester College to whose appeal for the erection of the new 'School' in 1683-1687 he contributed £20, double the contribution of his fellow fellow next on the list, Mr. Peregrine Thistlethwaite.¹²

Next come the coats of arms deriving from the Say connection, all truly Norman and responsible for some of the more fantastic antics of

James Fiennes who latched onto his grandmother's Norman connections in his efforts to keep up with the Bohuns. They are Say (No. 12), Mandeville (No. 13), Eudo (No. 14), Maninot (No. 15), Chenie (No. 16), Beauchamp (No. 38), Toney (No. 40), FitzGeoffrey (No. 42), Bigod (No. 43), Grantemesnil (No. 44), Maudiut (No. 45), Newburgh (No. 46), Vere (No. 56), and probably others. It would be tiresome to go into detail and, apart from Say, there is no special significance for the history of Broughton. Say ancestry is well documented in the Complete Peerage; others not directly married to Says derive from the mother of the Joan Say who married William Fiennes, Maud daughter of Guy Beauchamp, 2nd Earl of Warwick. In those strong-armed days the actions of such Normans were many; the tone of the times was well summed up by a monk in the foundation narrative of Walden Abbey¹³ who described one Geoffrey Say (c 1135-c 1213) as "vir in armis strenuus sed in mondanis rebus minus sapiens et incircumspectus."

It is worth noting the similiarity of the arms of Say (No. 12), Mandeville (No. 13) and Vere (No. 56); the reasons for the similarity and the family relationships they reflect are discussed in J. H. Round's book *Geoffrey de Mandeville*.

Cecil (No. 20) and Neville (No. 28) record the marriage of James Fiennes (c 1603-1674) to Frances Cecil in 1629. She was one of the coheir-esses of Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon (a grandson of Lord Burghley) whose mother was one of the coheiresses of John Neville, the last Lord Latimer. The Neville arms with the annulet for difference, representing the Latimer line, are those on the chimneypiece of the Queen Anne room at Broughton Castle. (See C & C. H. Summer 1976).

The Wykeham connection is represented only by the arms of William of Wykeham himself (No. 19) who bought Broughton Castle in 1377 and gave or left it to his heir and great-nephew Thomas Perott who changed his name to Wykeham. It is strange that neither the arms of Perott nor those of Trillow are shown; both were among the six quarterings regularly used by the family from the 16th to the 18th century, or in the coats at Broughton Castle on the north front, over the oak-room porch and on the white room ceiling, also on several tombs and hatchments in the church. There is some evidence, which needs investigation, that when William Fiennes married Margaret Wykeham in 1448 and thereby acquired the reversion of Broughton Castle and other Wykeham estates, he was marrying a cousin. One source¹⁴ states that one of Margaret Wykeham's great-grandmothers was a Trillow, while the Complete Peerage gives William a Trillow grandmother. The omissions of Perott and Trillow are to me as unaccountable as the inclusion of many of the unmentioned quarterings whose connections with Thomas Twisleton I have failed to trace.

D. E. M. Fiennes

References

1. G. E. Cockayne, **The Complete Peerage**, xi, 493.
2. - De Castro, **The Gordon Riots**; monument in Broughton church.
3. **Dictionary of National Biography**.
4. - Prestwich, **Respublica**, 1787.
5. **Visitation of Kent, 1619-21**, ed. R. Hovenden, *Harl. Soc.* 42 (1878); memorials in Dartford church.
6. **Canterbury Marriage Licences, 1543-1869**, *Harl. Soc.*
7. **Dodsworth's Church Notes, 1620**, *Yorkshire Arch. Soc.*, for inscription then in Brayton church.
8. **Hasted's Kent**.
9. **Visitation of the County of Sussex, 1530 and 1633-4**, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, *Harl. Soc.* 53 (1905), 11-12, 77-78; *Inq. P.M.* quoted in **Sussex Arch. Coll.** 52 (1909), 120-21.
10. J. H. Round on 'Faramus of Boulogne', **Genealogist**, N.S., 12.
11. John E. Ray, 'The Parish Church of All Saints, Herstmonceux, and the Dacre Tomb' (with pedigree), **Sussex Arch. Coll.** 58 (1916), 21-64.
12. **A Description of the City, College and Cathedral of Winchester**, printed for R. Baldwin in Paternoster Row, London, one shilling. By Thomas Warton, about 1750-60.
13. G.E.C., **The Complete Peerage**, xi, 466, quoting Dugdale, **Monasticon**, v, 121, note 'b'.
14. British Library, Harleian MS. 1835.

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Members may be interested to know that the County Museum, Warwick, have published **The Town Maps of Warwick** at £8.00 (postage and packing extra). The maps have been compiled by the County Record Office. The publication consists of collotype reproductions, each measuring 18" x 24", of five maps of the town of Warwick in 1610, 1711, 1788, 1806 and 1851. The 1788 and 1806 maps are new discoveries, which came to light fairly recently in the Castle muniment room, while that of 1851 was drawn for the Local Board of Health by the Ordnance Survey on a scale of 10 feet to the mile, and is an example of a class never before published; the centre part of it in this edition runs to six sheets. The maps are accompanied by a further ten sheets containing the names of the inhabitants, street by street, transcribed from original records contemporary with the maps or nearly so. With the 1610 map there is a list of the communicants in St. Mary's in 1586; the 1711 map is placed beside the 1670 Hearth Tax return; the 1788 and 1806 maps have their own books of reference; and the 1851 map is accompanied by four enumeration districts of the 1851 census covering approximately the same central area. There is also, as a frontispiece, an enlarged panoramic view of the town in 1731. The whole is inserted into a ring binder, which is sufficiently portable to be used in the open when exploring the streets of Warwick, but from which the pages can be removed, by opening the rings, so that they can be used singly, or perhaps mounted in sequence on a wall as part of an exhibition.

Obtainable from the County Museum, Market Place, Warwick.

The Oxford Canal. Hugh J. Compton. Published by David and Charles, 1977. £3.95.

This book is one of a series published by David and Charles on British Canals. Hugh Compton, a member of the Banbury Historical Society, has spent many years doing painstaking research into the origins and history of the Oxford Canal, and its links with the canal network, the impact made on it by the railways, and its condition today.

He points out the problems of transporting heavy goods before the canal was built, particularly as the River Cherwell was not commercially navigable. Coal had to come from the northern coalfields by sea and then along the Thames to Oxford, then by horse and cart, to reach the Banbury area, whereas the building of the canal enabled it to be brought, at a fraction of the cost, from the midland coalfields. Hugh Compton tells us that it was almost impossible for some of the villages around Banbury and Brackley to obtain coal, and there was little wood to be used as fuel, so many of the poor perished from cold. A contemporary source wrote: "They are now dying (I may say like rotten sheep) of putrid disease, probably occasioned by their damp, cold, comfortless dwellings" (Anon. History of Inland Navigation, 1749). When the Oxford Canal opened as far as Banbury in 1778, coal sold at 5p per cwt, with a discount price of 4½p for those who took it by wagon more than 14 miles from Banbury.

The Oxford Canal formed part of the main water route from the Midlands coalfields to London, via the Thames, until the building of the Grand Junction Canal, after which its use was more restricted.

The book contains a number of interesting references to Banbury, including a little about Banbury boatyard, built in 1790, although there is, disappointingly, no reference to Herbert Tooley, who currently runs the boatyard, and is a well-known figure in canal circles, and is mentioned in *Narrow Boat* by L. T. C. Rolt. The 'Firefly', a steam powered boat developed at Bodicote and used on the Oxford Canal in the 1840s and later on the Sor Brook, is illustrated.

Despite the distinctive engineering features of the Oxford Canal, with the diamond shaped Shipton weir lock, and the lift bridges typical of the Oxford, there is little in the book to whet the appetite of the industrial archaeologist. There is little, too, about the boatmen who 'worked the cut', apart from tantalisingly brief references to 'Number Ones' (who owned their own boats), such as Jo Skinner, who was still bringing coal from Coventry to Banbury in 1958, in his mule-drawn boat 'Friendship'. Alas, Dolly, the mule, caught a cold from wading through the water when the towpath was in a poor state of repair, and died.

The book contains much fascinating historical information, much never before published, and should, despite its limitations, prove of interest to canal enthusiasts.

Christine Bloxham

DEAR MISS HEBER

The following letter is republished by kind permission of Sir Sacheverell Sitwell, bart., and also with grateful acknowledgment to Mr Francis Bamford who edited the book in which it first appeared in 1936.

Mrs. Wrightson to Miss Heber

Swalcliffe. March 8th 1789

MY DR. MARY,

I set down to give you an account of the Romantic adventure which took place this Mornng, tho' I am very seriously anxious for the happy termination of it from my knowledge & good opinion of One of the parties.

Our cook, you must know (who, indeed, I always thought a Very pretty woman) has long been the 'Dulcina de Tobozo'¹ of Mr. Wykham,² & his declarations of its being his intention to marry her have for some time past been Well known in this County. As she was too prudent to listen to his addresses on any other terms, & indeed I don't know that any other were proposed, last Week he inform'd her of his intention to be married tomorrow & gain'd her consent to accompany him to Town this morning. A Post Chaise was therefore order'd to stop a few fields distant from the House at 6 O'clock, at wch time they met & decamped together.

The scheme We thought very rash & hazardous. I therefore fully remonstrated with her On the subject as soon as I was apprized of it And said every thing to her that my Own Ideas cd. suggest, besides informing her that such a plan might be attended with great danger to herself as the young man is under age - & of course (as we suppose not having the Consent of his Guardians) cd not procure a Licence that wd stand good in Law - & that it wd not be safe for her to remain with him in London till they were three times ask'd in Church. Of all these circumstances I inform'd her - & she assured me she determin'd to attend to all I said - but, soon after, a New Gold Watch, Various Great Coats, Gowns, Riding Hats, Caps, etc, etc, sent by her admirer, proved more powerful arguments than sober prudence cd supply.

I have therefore only to hope that the report is true wch has been circulated in the neighborhood, that he has contrived already to have the Bands publish'd among the multitude in London - if so, they may be married tomorrow very safely. I shall be very glad to hear that proves to be the case, as I am not a little anxious for the Young Woman, Who has always appear'd perfectly modest & well dispos'd - & indeed as a Servant I have every reason to speak well of her. Nor am I particularly Obliged to Mr Wykham for running off with her to-Day, as I happen to expect a party of Gentlemen at Dinner from Honington³ - &, being at present without a House-keeper, have only the Kitchen-maid to dress the Dinner. But when a Lady has had her Cook run away with, it is certainly Apology sufficient to her guests. Mr Townsend, indeed, has Often laughed at accounts he has heard of the Love affair in its earlier stages.

The child⁴ has now pretty quiet nights, but that nasty humour still continues & has lately disguised her amazing by breaking out in scabs on her face. She yesterday became possess'd of a 7th Tooth, wch like the former she cut wth great ease. She is remarkably quick in understanding every thing that is said to her. Mr Wrightson joins me in good wishes.

I remain, yrs ever,

H. W.

Extract from **DEAR MISS HEBER: An Eighteenth Century Correspondence**, edited by Francis Bamford, with Introductions by Georgia and Sacheverell Sitwell, published by Constable, 1936.

Letter No. 19, from Mrs. Henrietta ('Harriot') Wrightson (d.1820), wife of William Wrightson (1752-1827) of Cusworth, co. Durham, and sister of Miss Mary Heber (1758-1809) of Weston in Northamptonshire, to whom it is addressed.

1. A character from **Gil Blas**.
2. William Richard Wykeham, of Swalcliffe Park, co. Oxon (1769-1806), married Elizabeth, d. of W. Marsh, who died in 1792, leaving a son and daughter. The son died in 1798; and the daughter, Sophia, was created Baroness Wenman in 1834, and died, 1870. This remarkable woman was twice sought in marriage by William, Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV), and it is to be regretted that she refused his proposals. Had it been otherwise, we might have seen the daughter of Mrs. Wrightson's cook as Queen of England, and aunt to Her late Majesty Queen Victoria.
3. The seat of Gore Townsend, near Shipston-upon-Stour, Warw.
4. "The child" was her daughter Harriet, later owner of Weston, who married (1) The Hon. Frederick S. North-Douglas and (2) Col. the Hon. Henry Hely-Hutchinson; born in May 1788, she died in 1864.

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STUDIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WEST MIDLANDS HISTORY

Mr. Philip Styles, the eminent Warwickshire historian who died last November after a long crippling illness, will be known either personally or by reputation to many of our readers. Most of his work was published as articles in local journals of limited circulation, and so is not as accessible as it should be. During his last years Mr. Styles revised his Warwickshire articles with the intention of reprinting them in collected form. Most of these are now to be published as the main part of a volume of **Studies in Seventeenth Century West Midlands History**, both as a tribute to the author and to make his work more easily available to scholars. A Philip Styles Memorial Fund is being set up for this purpose. In addition to Mr. Styles's revised Warwickshire articles the volume will include

reprints of his pioneering articles based on Bewdley, Worcs., corporation records and on Painswick, Glos., poor law documents, and a previously unpublished study of Worcester in the Civil Wars. There will also be a memoir of the author by Professor H.A. Cronne (a colleague at Birmingham University), an appreciation of him as an historian by Dr. Anne Whiteman, Vice-Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, a list of all his published works and an index. Two of the revised articles are of particular 'Banburyshire' interest - 'The social structure of Kineton Hundred in the reign of Charles II' and 'A census of a Warwickshire village [Fenny Compton] in 1698'.

The volume will cost about £5 and will be published in the autumn. Full particulars and an order form should be available by the time this number of Cake and Cockhorse appears, and may be obtained from Dr. D.M. Barratt, Department of Western MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford. Friends of Mr. Styles who would like to make a donation to the Memorial Fund instead of, or as well as, subscribing for the volume may also send contributions payable to the Fund to Dr. Barratt.

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THE BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY: ANNUAL REPORT

Your Committee have pleasure in submitting the 19th Annual Report and Statement of Accounts for the year 1976.

This was an active year for the Society. However despite an addition of 22 members the total fell by ten to 313. New members are always welcome and we hope that present ones will encourage their friends to join. Subscriptions are low in comparison with similar organisations and are effectively subsidised by fund-raising and other income. Both through meetings and publications members get exceptional value for money, and, through the latter, an encouragement to do research which will reach a wide public.

The committee has seen several changes. As Treasurer, following George Gardam's death at the end of 1975, Weaver Owen stood in temporarily until the A.G.M., but to our great regret was prevented by poor health from continuing. Mrs Anne Hart then took on the post, but has herself temporarily left the area since the end of the year, so that Geoffrey Parmiter, who has been co-opted to the Committee, is now acting Treasurer. We are most grateful to all of these for undertaking the job at short notice and having to go through the business of working out just how the accounts are kept, what has been done and what needs to be done, and so on, which are always greatest at the start. As this report is being written the sad news has come of the death of Arthur Cheney, for many years our Honorary Auditor; and we are grateful too to Geoffrey Ellacott, who has audited the 1976 accounts.

We have also welcomed to the Committee David Fiennes and David Smith, and said goodbye to Peter Lock, who has left Banbury, thanking him for the help he gave the Society.

Speakers during 1976 (to whom as always we are most grateful) included David Vaisey (Victorian Oxford and its Shops), Professor Margaret Stacey (Power Persistence and Change), David Fiennes (Banburians and Providence Island) and Professor Harold Ellis (Royal Ailments, at the Annual Dinner held at the Medical Centre). The village meeting was held at Hook Norton.

On one of the hottest days of the century the A.G.M. was held at Kirtlington Park, by kind invitation of Christopher Buxton, giving members an opportunity to see a fascinating house not normally open to the public.

Alan Donaldson once again organised the programme of summer visits, helped by Geoffrey Forsyth-Lawson, which included a well-supported trip to Bath.

Following the great success of 'Take My Advice', Leo McKern very generously offered to perform 'Rogues and Vagabonds', an entertainment about actors and actresses devised by Michael Meyer. We were privileged to have as performers Polly Janes, Michael Meyer, Leo McKern and Edward Fox. Lord Saye and Sele, our President, kindly allowed us to use Broughton Castle, and the evening was a highly enjoyable 'sell-out', raising £275, which helps to offset the deficit on the year and in the long run will go towards the cost of future records publications. Anne Roberts deserves a special vote of thanks for organising the catering for the superb buffet in the interval.

During 1976 two records volumes were issued to members, although the earlier was accounted for in the accounts for 1975. The second part of "Banbury Wills and Inventories", 1621-1650 (with an index to the first part, 1591-1620, which still awaits publication) was issued as Volume 14 with the aid of a generous grant from the Marc Fitch Fund. With the money raised at 'Take My Advice' the Society purchased an electric typewriter, which has enabled the general editor, Jeremy Gibson, to prepare volumes in a form ready for photography by the printer, without a further expensive and time-consuming typesetting or typing (with all the further opportunities for error). The cost of this has already been covered in typing "Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart", which will be issued later in 1977 as Volume 15; and the delayed Volume 13 (Wills) will similarly benefit. Future volumes in advanced preparation include the 1723-1812 Banbury baptism and burial registers; abstracts of wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury before 1660; a further collection of wills and inventories, 1660-1723; and letters to the 1st Earl of Guilford (father of Lord North, Prime Minister and M.P. for Banbury), which throw a revealing and entertaining light on the conduct of Corporation affairs in the later 18th century.

Under Julian Barbour's continuing able editorship, economies continued to be achieved in the production of "Cake and Cockhorse", and with the end of Volume 6 the format was changed to A5. Contributors, in addition to present committee members, included Nelson Bard jr., Pamela Horn, John Portergill, Douglas Price, Barrie Trinder and Frank Willy. A combined index to volumes 5 and 6, prepared by Jeremy Gibson, was also issued to those requesting it. Such indexes, although perhaps of little direct interest to members, are essential for the long-term use and value of the magazine.

At the A.G.M. and in "Cake & Cockhorse" we distributed questionnaires requesting information about the interests of members, and what they would like from the Society. The response to this was extremely disappointing, and we would like to reiterate our request to members to tell those on the Committee what they feel about the Society. The Society is for its members, and the committee often feels lamentably out of touch with the 'grass roots'. Please help us remedy this and suggest activities which would interest you. We would very much like to start up one or two activity groups on topics such as oral history, vernacular architecture, gravestone recording (in which we would cooperate with the newly-formed Oxfordshire Family History Society), and working-class housing, but you cannot have such groups without people! If you would be interested in doing something practical on these topics, or would like to suggest others, please contact a member of the committee and we will see what we can do. Your committee work extremely hard to keep the Society running smoothly, but they do need active support from the rest of the membership.

Finally, a word on the extremely serious financial position revealed by the accounts. Like everyone, we are badly affected by inflation, and in particular by exorbitant and constant increases in cost of postage. The cost of holding meetings has also risen steeply. As a result the ordinary expenditure exceeded income by £124. A legacy from the late Miss Whitehorn and the proceeds from "Rogues and Vagabonds" have enabled us to 'write-off' the production cost of "Old Banbury" and postcards, which are selling very slowly and gave a misleading impression in the balance sheet. In future these sales will contribute positively to the Society's income. With our ambitious programme of records publications, and costs inevitably continuing to rise both in the cost of meetings and magazine, an increase in subscriptions, which will be proposed at the A.G.M., is not only essential but long overdue.

The year 1977 sees the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Society. By the time this report appears this will already have been marked by the Annual Conference of Local History Societies at Broughton Castle in May, and the issue of a leaflet 'A Walk Round Banbury' (price 10p at the Museum). Further events are planned for the autumn which we hope will in all make the year an especially exciting and active one.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Revenue Account for the Year ended 31st December 1976

1975	Expenditure		1975	Income	
	375 "Cake and Cockhorse"	436	683	Subscriptions	718
	57 Less: Sales	62		Less: Proportion attributable to records	225
318		374	225		493
2	Subscriptions	2	59	Deposit account interest	43
	Lecture and Meeting Expenses, printing, stationery, telephone and sundries	155			
72	Postage	102			
84	Annual Dinner	279			
	164 Less: receipts	252			
6		27			
	Excess of ordinary income over expenditure	-		Excess of ordinary expenditure over income	124
49		-			660
<u>531</u>		<u>660</u>	<u>517</u>		<u>660</u>
	Extraordinary expenditure:			Extraordinary income:	
-	Electric typewriter	136		Proceeds from concert at Broughton Castle	275
	Stock of "Old Banbury and postcards at 1.1.76	330	176	Legacy	50
(14)	Less: sales	56			
		274			
-	Stock value written off	274		Excess of extraordinary expenditure over income	85
	Excess of extraordinary income over expenditure	-			85
176		-			85
<u>693</u>		<u>£ 1070</u>	<u>693</u>		<u>£ 1070</u>

Publications Account for the Year ended 31st December 1976

	'Wills and Inventories'			Publications reserve, balance at 1.1.76	670
-	Part 1 (Vol.13)	4	787	Subscriptions	225
19	Part 2 (Vol.14)	469	20	Sales	85
	Banbury Corporation		35	Royalties	2
	Records (Vol.15)	45		Grant towards "Wills and Inventories", Part 2, from Marc Fitch Fund	270
	Bodicote Churchwardens' Accounts (Vol.12)	-			
372		518			
	Postage and packing	55			
	Less: reserve	25			
25		30			
-	Research	29			
	Publications reserve, balance at 31.12.76	675			
<u>1067</u>		<u>£ 1252</u>	<u>1067</u>		<u>£ 1252</u>

Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1976

1975	Liabilities		1975	Assets	
9	Subscriptions in advance	36	-	Cash in Hand	5
288	Sundry creditors	270	750	Deposit account	300
670	Publications reserve	675	164	Current account	609
25	Postage reserve	-	914		914
	Capital account			Sundry debtors	110
	27 At 1.1.76	252	90	Stock of postcards	-
	Less: excess of expenditure over income	209	240	Stock of "Old Banbury" (written off)	-
(225)		43			
252		43			
<u>1244</u>		<u>£ 1024</u>	<u>1244</u>		<u>£ 1024</u>

Audited and found correct. G.J.S. Ellacott, F.C.A. 7 April 1977.

BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

The Magazine **Cake & Cockhorse** is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Publications include **Old Banbury - a short popular history** by E. R. C. Brinkworth (2nd edition), **New Light on Banbury's Crosses, Roman Banburyshire, Banbury's Poor in 1850, Banbury Castle - a summary of excavations in 1972, The Building and Furnishing of St Mary's Church, Banbury, and Sanderson Miller of Radway and his work at Wroxton**, and a pamphlet **History of Banbury Cross**.

The Society also publishes records volumes. These have included **Clockmaking in Oxfordshire, 1400-1850; South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684; Banbury Marriage Register, 1558-1837 (3 parts) and Baptism and Burial Register, 1558-1723 (2 parts); A Victorian M. P. and his Constituents: The Correspondence of H. W. Tancred, 1841-1850; a new edition of Shoemaker's Window; Wigginton Constables' Books, 1691-1836; and Bodicote Parish Accounts, 1700-1822. Part 2 of Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650, was published in June 1976, and Part 1 is well advanced.**

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7 pm in the large Lecture Theatre, Banbury Upper School. 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 £3.00 including any records volumes published, or £1.50 if these are excluded. Junior membership is 50p.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Membership Secretary.

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