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

Cake and Cockhorse

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

Volume 10

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This year's Annual General Meeting was held at Barton Abbey. A delightful venue which was appreciated by all those members who attended. The event was saddened by the recent death of David Fiennes who had been both Chairman of the Society and Editor of *Cake & Cockhorse*, an obituary is included in this issue.

D.A.H.

BANBURY MUSEUM

The current special display until November 1st is "Shops and Shopping in Banbury" The changing face of market town shopping; an exhibition to mark Banbury Shopping Festival.

Please note that the Museum's main display gallery will be closed for about two months during September and October 1986. Winter Opening Hours from October 1st will be: Tuesday to Saturday 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., Closed all day Mondays.

Cover Illustration: The second town hall, built c.1590.

THE CHAMBERLAIN AND HIS ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN BANBURY 1554-1835: Part 2.

According to the Parliamentary Commissioners reporting in 1835, the duties of the Chamberlain were to receive 'the revenues, to make the payments to the order of the competent authorities, to keep the accounts and generally to superintend the property of the Corporation'; he also had custody of all the Corporation's muniments and papers.¹ There is sufficient evidence to show that, over the period 1554 to 1835, the Banbury Chamberlains did, in some measure at least, carry out these responsibilities, although no detailed Chamberlain's Account Book, apart from that kept by John Pain from 1814-1834, has survived.²

But the Corporation's income and expenditure was not brought together in a single consolidated account, as is well-illustrated by the fact that the annual audit of the Chamberlain's Account is recorded for most of the years 1554-1741 covered by the Banbury Corporation Accounts, along with the audits of the accounts presented by the Bailiffs/Mayors and, albeit sporadically, those of the Constables and Tithingmen, the Bridgemasters, Sergeants-at-Mace, Surveyors of the Highway, Wardens of the town houses and 'the Wardens of the lands pertaining to Banbury'.³

Of these accounts, those of the Bailiffs and Mayors give the most detail of receipts and charges, whereas those of the Chamberlains are often no more than a simple statement of total income and total expenditure, with the difference between them an amount due either 'to the Company' or to the Chamberlain to complete a settlement:

'2 January, 1625/6.	£. s. d
Mr. William Knight's receipts, being Chamberlain	26. 2. 8
His layings forth come to	21.16. 7
Rests due to us	4. 6. 1', ⁴

or, simpler still:

'This is the account of John Knyght, the baker, John Knyght, the mercer, made 23 November, 1562.

And there remains in their hands clear the sum of £2.2.0'.⁵

The accounts of the Bailiffs, John Longe, for the year 1555-56, and Henry Shuttilworthe for 1557-58, are especially detailed, recording receipts from market tolls, stallage and piccage, payments for freedom, estreats of the court and fees of writs, as well as charges, which include payment for work done and materials used in the building and furnishing of the new Town Hall, entertainment charges - wine, apples, oranges, biscuits, marmalade, capons - travelling expenses, the Sergeant's wages and a contribution towards the cost of his gown.⁶ After 1595, even the Bailiff's and Mayor's accounts are less informative and are limited to receipts from market tolls, piccage, stallage, waifs and strays and forfeiture, with the Chamberlains dealing with everyday financial matters and,

early in the seventeenth century, probably adding some of the responsibilities of the former Wardens of the town houses, so that they 'emerged as the chief accounting officials'.⁷

From the figures available in the Borough Accounts, it is interesting to note the erratic nature of the income and expenditure totals recorded by the Chamberlains and, also, how little these figures relate to what we know of the overall economic picture of Tudor and Stuart England. The lowest income for one year recorded in the Book of Accounts is that of Chamberlains William Penthelyn [or Bentley] and Bartholomew Ekelffield [Eglesfield] who had actual receipts of only £1.9.10d. for 1570/1 (and, it would appear, made no payments);⁸ the highest - £136.15.6d - appears in Samuel Reynolds' [Rennolls'] account for 1676/7, leaving £37.6s.4d. in hand after expenditure of £99.9s.2d. had been made.⁹ These figures would not appear surprising when one remembers that, throughout this period, prices were rising all over Europe, that between 1539 and 1610 it has been estimated 'the purchasing power of £100 of sterling fell to £72.59'¹⁰ and that over the years covered by the Book of Accounts the cost of living had risen six-or seven-fold, with the critical periods being 'the 1540s and 1550s, the 1590s and 1600s and the period of comparative stability after 1650, broken only by a further sharp rise at the end of the seventeenth century'¹¹ And yet, in 1586, £37 still remained in the hands of Mathew Wiget and Simon Hatheway (the difference between one year's income and expenditure); in 1596/7 expenditure came to £37.5s.3d. against income of £38.9s.6d., while John Austen had only 4d. left of £37.16s.1d. income for the year 1637/8.¹² Income recorded for 1609 was £68.8s.9d., for 1611. £23.1s.10d. (against £61.4s.0d. the previous year); the year before the 'record' year, 1676/7, produced an income of £29.9s.10d., with expenditure of £21.19s.2d., and on 9 April, 1649, John Austen, accounting for the period since 27 July, 1646, had receipts of only £9.1s.2d., with disbursements of £9.7s.0d.¹³

Without a more detailed breakdown of income and expenditure it is impossible to explain the fluctuations in the totals recorded in the Book of Accounts, but it must be remembered that some of the accounts audited were for more than one year, some for less; there is also evidence to show that payments due to the Corporation were often in arrears, which would certainly account for some discrepancy in final totals: Henry Smyth, for example, could not include the butchers' stalls rents in 1669 'because he has not received them since St. Thomas' Day last, and several other rents'.¹⁴ The shortfall in anticipated income from rents for the waste ground, the Wool Hall and Corporation property, as well as delays in the payment of interest on charity money may well have led to a Chamberlain paying out more than he had received, or had expected to receive, thus finding himself in debt at his annual audit; Samuel Reynolds overspent 5s.6d., £12.8s.9d. and £19.1s.7d. in the years 1683-85, and Richard Wheatly had a particularly bad run in 1692 (£6.16s.10d.) 1693 (£2.12s.4d.), 1703 (£35.3s.11d.) and 1706 (£21.2s.3½d.).¹⁵

Furthermore, there can have been no clear or regular dividing

line between moneys expected to be paid to the Chamberlain and those rendered to the Mayor; nor, indeed, between the expenses that these two officers could be expected to meet. When William Knight paid out £4.14s.10d. in 1612 'for the glasing of the Court Hall, for irons and other things for the prisons, for paving the Castle Orchard Lane, repairing of the Almshouse and such like things', and when, on 15 January, 1615, he was instructed to pay Bartholomew Naylor 5s. half-yearly to mend and dress the town armour he was taking responsibility, as Chamberlain, for the kind of things that John Longe, Bailiff, had dealt with in 1556-57.¹⁶ The same may be said of payments by the Chamberlain in 1673 and 1677 for repairs to the Market Place.¹⁷

This overlap is further illustrated by a Corporation Order of 1 September, 1658, which decreed that 'from after Michaelmas next the tolls of beasts, sheep, hogs and other cattle, except horses, should be paid to the Chamberlain'; however, it was still in order for 'the moneys thereupon arising' to be re-directed to the Mayor for his use. A further Order of 27 September limited the Chamberlain's share of these tolls to £20, the remainder to be for the Mayor's 'charges in his office and the entertainment which should be given therein'. This particular Order, confirmed on 15 December, 1660, was revoked four years later (4 January, 1664), but an annual mayoral contribution to Corporation funds of £10 was introduced in 1706, an arrangement which was to run for twelve years.¹⁸ Then it was decided at a Hall held on 14 October, 1724, that 'profit arising by the Waste Ground and the Butchers' Stalls' should be reserved to the Mayor's use, 'the same being usually paid to the Chamberlain (the Sheep Ground only excepted)'.¹⁹

The Chamberlain was guardian of the Corporation records. On 15 January, 1640, the keys of the iron-bound Borough Chest 'were delivered by consent, one to Mr. Mayor and one to Mr. John Austen, Chamberlain, and one to Mr. John Webb, senior burgess, and so they were to be delivered and kept successively'. By 1662 the actual records filled five boxes, which, in their turn, were 'put into the common chest... to be there secured for the use of the Corporation'.²⁰ No doubt included were the Chamberlains' Books, first mentioned in 1569 as being submitted to the auditors' scrutiny, but, sadly, only two of which have survived:²¹ the chamberlain's Account from 1747-1816 and John Pain's Account Book for his years in office from 1814 to 1834.²²

The first of these volumes, although by no means a complete record of the Chamberlain's transactions, does give sufficient detail to bring to life the day-to-day activities of the Corporation and, in a wider context, local reaction to national events.

The upkeep of Banbury's second Town Hall - 'a picturesque hall of timber and plaster supported by pillars',²³ built in the seventeenth century and falling into disrepair in the eighteenth - was a constant charge on Corporation funds. On 2 September, 1748, Thomas Maul was paid 18s., and Mr. Barker received 4s.8d. on 16 September and £2 on 14 November in the same year 'for work at

the Hall'. Between 6 February, 1749, and 29 December, 1752, Samuel Slatter had submitted bills for £1.8s.9½d., £2.14s.2d., £1.3s.6d. and £11.6s.3d. for work done at the Hall, the last, on 29 December, only three months after Robert Wilde had been paid £23.10s.0d. (5 October, 1752) in the same service.²⁴

Further payments of 2s.11d. (31 December, 1747) and 2s. (14 May, 1750) were for 'mending Hall windows', 5s. for a lock for the Council Chamber door (1 November, 1785) and 6d., paid to Mr. Sander 'for mending a door in Hall' (30 March, 1786).²⁵ By way of furnishings, 'a large lantern for the Hall' cost 2s.2d. (11 October, 1747), 'a pair of candlesticks, brass knobs' 1s. (11 October, 1749), 'chairs for the Hall', provided by James Gardner, £1.12s.10d. (7 January, 1752); 10s.6d. for a 'table cloth for Hall', 1s.5d. for a brush (31 August, 1753), 'a lock and other things to the bookcase' 3s.6d. (18 September, 1754), in which, no doubt, were kept the six Common Prayer Books, bought for £2.5s.0d. and a copy of 'Shaw's Parish Law' for 5s. on 13 December, 1755.²⁶

Other purchases included 'a box for the Charter' (5s.9d.), '10 yards of check for curtains' (18s.4d.), 3 dozen ½" rings (10½d.), 'curtain rods and making' (3s. - all on 11 August, 1755), 2s.4d. for a pair of bellows, 10s.6d. for a table (22 October, 1755) and 2s.6d. 'for a fire shovel and tongues' (2 May, 1793);²⁷ heating was provided for with the frequent purchase of 'one hundred coles' (costing 2s. in 1755) and, on 31 January, 1755, 'a faggott to the Hall 1½d.'. On 13 May, 1756, 2s.1d. was paid 'for the Bell and Hanging' and then, rather surprisingly, only two months later, 1s.6d. to 'Lamprey for mending the Bell'.²⁸

It had been agreed at a Hall, held on 29 September, 1797, 'that £53 be taken from Corporation money in Chamberlain's hands towards £73 paid for Weights and Measures for use of borough, Mayor having proposed to pay remainder';²⁹ however, if the Chamberlain's Book is to be believed, the Mayor, the Rev. Robert Spilman, actually handed over £21! ³⁰ On 6 February, 1800, the furniture was moved from the Town Hall at a cost of 4s. in preparation for the replacement of the decaying building by a brick-built construction, completed, in all probability, in 1801 on the same Market Place site.³¹

In 1802, 1805 and 1808 we find the Chamberlain again having to meet bills for repairs to what Beesley in 1841 called 'the present wretched Town Hall',³² and on 5 November, 1814, Alderman John Pain, who had contracted for building the new Hall for £450, was asked 'to survey the state of the repairs of the Town Hall and to report to the Corporation at the next Hall what he considers requisite to be done effectually to repair same'.³³ If he did so report his recommendations are not recorded, but his own accounts as Chamberlain show little expenditure on the Hall, other than £3.3s.6d. for paving the 'bottom of the Hall steps' (September, 1816), £2.16s.0d., paid on 3 November, 1825, to 'Mr. Drury for repairing the clock in the Town Hall in 1820', and Mr. Bromley's 'glazier bills', amounting to £2.7s.0d. in 1831 and a massive £18.15s.10d. just a year later, which, assuming the Chamberlain made a habit of settling bills in arrears, could well represent damage done to the Town

Hall windows during the turbulent public reaction to the Parliamentary struggle for the First Reform Act.³⁴

The wages of £1 a half-year, paid to the Sergeants-at-Mace and the Crier, are recorded; although paid half-yearly in 1749, the Crier was being paid quarterly in 1771, half-yearly in 1772, then quarterly again in 1773.³⁵ Additionally, the Crier appears to have been provided with a new coat of office every two or three years: that provided for Samuel Collins in November, 1753, cost £1.15s.6d., those supplied in October, 1755, and September, 1758, £1.18s.10½d. and £1.18s.3¾d. respectively; a coat was also supplied in 1761, but only the cost of making it, 5s., was noted. His badge of office was purchased for £3.3s.0d. in November, 1749.³⁶

On the 'entertainment' side of Corporation activities, the Chamberlain's Account records 16s. paid of 13 April, 1748, for the Judge's Cake (a gift regularly made every Oxford Assizes - 'a noble cake, made simnel-wise, with arms of the Corporation upon it'), £1.17s.0d. on 2 May, 1796, for a cake for Lady Guilford, and £1.1s.8d. to 'Mr. White for a cake and basket' on 5 March, 1771 - another Assize gift, possibly;³⁷ not so in 1786, when the Corporation on 16 August 'ordered that the Chamberlain prepare a handsome Cake to be presented to Mrs. North on her coming through Banbury'.³⁸ Cakes meant celebrations and, fittingly, from 1777 the entry of fees payable by a newly-elected Freeman of the Borough gives not only 'filing the entry 1s.6d.', but also 'Cake Money 3s.'. In Samuel Clarson's mayoral year of 1750-51 he received 5s. from the Chamberlain for 'ale at a Hall adjourned to his house', and 12s. 'for ale, bread and cheese and fire on the King's birthday' (30 October).³⁹

Such occasions of national thanksgiving were also celebrated in the town itself, with the lighting of bonfires (other than on 5 November, which was a regular joy-day) and the ringing of bells. During the reign of George II (1727-60) it would seem that a bonfire and the ringing of bells were the order of the day to commemorate the King's birthday, his coronation on 11 October, and the birthday of his eldest son, Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, on 20 January; after Frederick's death in 1751 the anniversary of his son, the future George III, was celebrated instead. The regular outlay to furnish a bonfire was 1s. (apart from in 1759 when 2s. was spent on furze to fuel the blaze on the Prince of Wales' birthday), while 6s.8d. would appear to have been the going rate 'paid to Ringers'.⁴⁰

There is no word of bonfires in George III's reign (1760-1820), but the ringers continued busy, being called upon in 1788 to celebrate the anniversary of the King's birthday, accession and coronation, Queen Charlotte's birthday and the birthday of the 'Prince of Whales' - a slip of the pen by Robert Knight, which, whether accidental or deliberate, certainly expressed the feelings of many of his countrymen and anticipated Charles Lamb's use of that spelling in his verse attack on the Prince Regent. Furthermore, the bells greeted the news on 10 March, 1789, that the King, in spite of the ministrations of his doctors, had regained his wits (having suffered what the National Register called 'alienation of his rational faculty'); and when he attended a three-hour-long

service in St. Paul's Cathedral on 23 April to give thanks for his recovery the bells of Banbury rang out again. Much less enthusiastic, however, was the response to his son's birthday four months later: 'Prince of Wales birthday a little ring 1s.6d.! 41

And not only royal occasions roused the town; success of arms in the Seven Years War (1756-63) and triumphs of diplomacy were similarly acknowledged: 5 November, 1756, 'Defeat of the Austrians' at Lobositz; 5 November, 1757, 'the King of Prussia's victory' over the French and Austrians at Rossbach; April, 1758, 'Taking Louisburg'; 21 September, 1758, 'Prince Ferdinand victory over French' [Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, seconded from the army of Frederick, King of Prussia, defeated the French at the battles of Rheinfeld and Crefeld]; 6 August, 1762, 'for the taking of Martinique'. The Treaty of Amiens of 1802, marking the mid-French War truce, was welcomed, at a cost of £1.15s.3d. for 'Ribbons and Trumpeters proclaiming peace'. 42

Although not so great a financial burden as the Town Hall, the Leather Hall did require expenditure for repairs over the years 1751 to 1812. In March, 1799, the cost of repairs and other bills came to £70, while in August, money from the £100 legacy to the town of the Rt. Hon. Francis, Earl of Guilford, who had died in 1790, was used to settle the debt.⁴³ At a Hall held on 8 March, 1799, both the upper and lower parts of the Leather Hall were let on seven-year leases at a rent of £10 a year, and it was agreed that two-thirds of these rents were to be paid by the Mayor to the Chamberlain annually 'towards liquidating expenses of repairing the Leather Hall'.⁴⁴

From 1773 to 1793, and again, from 1802 to 1813, a record was kept of the Widows' Account.⁴⁵ 'The money for the widows is due at Michaelmas. In order to procure it a Debenture is to be taken from the office of the Deputy Auditor of the Exchequer (Mr. Hill's Office), which Debenture endorsed by the Chamberlain entitles the person who presents it at Mr. Barrett's Office at the Exchequer to receive the money. It is usually paid about Christmas.

		£.	s.	d.
The debenture is for		10.	8.	0
Fee for the debenture	3s.8d.)			
Poundage to Mr. Barrett	10s.4d.)			
Clear money received			14.	0
Twelve widows at a Groat				
a week each make the sum		10.	8.	0
Which makes a yearly deficiency of			14.	0'46

Two more payments made at the end of the eighteenth century are also worth recalling. On 29 September, 1797, it was 'agreed that the Corporation pay from the Chamberlain's money the cost of fitting Corporation Pews in Banbury Church, with Brass Rods, cushions, Curtains and Mats'; and on 31 August, 1798, the 'Chamberlain ordered to pay 10 guineas towards defraying expenses of the Banbury Military Association and that he draw on the Bank of Messrs. Heydon and Wyatt for the same'.⁴⁷

On the income side during the years covered by the

Chamberlain's Account there was a steady flow of fines for refusal to serve Corporation office (at the rate of £5 up to 1772 and five guineas thereafter) and fees payable on election to the freedom of the borough. The year 1799 would seem to have been an especially propitious year for local publicans, as eight of them received the freedom, and, what's more, were charged £5.14s.0d. each for the privilege, rather than the customary five guineas; the recipients were Mr. Usher (The Wheel), Mr. Gibbon (The Crown), Mr. Cotterell (The Fleece), Mr. Holmes (The Angel), Mr. Buckingham (The Dog), Mr. Beer (The 'Blew Pig'), Mr. Grainge (The 'Plow') and Mr. Mascord (The Windmill).⁴⁸

Then there was the income from the letting and leasing of Corporation land and buildings, such as the Leather Hall, and also rent from at least two schools. From 1762 to 1786 the Rev. Mr. Harrison paid £1 a year rent for the Church School (or 'Upper School' as it is also called), Mr. Stockley paid the same 'for his school', a rent raised to two guineas for the Rev. Mr. Harrison from 1787 and Mr. Stockley from 1788.⁴⁹ That there was one other school - perhaps even two - is suggested by the single entries; 'Arlington for the school 12s.2d.' on 15 December, 1771 (Messrs. Harrison and Stockley were regularly paying their rents at this time) and, on 30 December, 1793, 'To half-year rent received of Mr. Pain for Mrs. Bloxham's School £1.1s.0d.'.⁵⁰

Further income was derived from fines in the form of rents imposed for encroachment on the Waste, which could range from 1s. to 7s.6d. a year (e.g. in 1777 Henry Claridge was allowed to 'erect in front of his house two bow windows 5' deep on Corporation Waste ground on payment of yearly rent of 5s.', and Joseph Snow in 1799 paid 7s.6d. a year for 'pallisades'),⁵¹ and apprenticeship fees, which, in the years 1748-56, meant 2s. for each contract, although Martin Lucey was bound apprentice to Richard Page, barber, in 1749 for only 4d!.⁵²

In the period covered by the Chamberlain's Account the Chamberlain's total annual income is only recorded for three separate years: 1768 (£98.0s.3½d.), 1771 (£78.3s.7½d.) and 1772 (£96.6s.5¼d.),⁵³ but John Pain, whose Account Book, 1814-34, is (apart from a rather muddled start and a couple of casting errors en route) a much more efficiently kept record of the Chamberlain's receipts and expenditure, combining a detailed statement of accounts and, from 1822, the auditors' statement of acceptance, handled receipts of £176, on average over the nineteen full years he was in office, and, over the same period, a yearly average of £141 in disbursements.

His accounts for the years December, 1814, to September, 1820, are lumped together,⁵⁴ with his first audit (recorded in the Corporation Journal and not the Account Book) being taken on 29 September, 1820, when the auditors (the Mayor and as many other Corporation officers as were present at the time) failed to spot a casting error of £2.10s.0d. in the receipts. At that same time, however, it was decided that 'in future the Chamberlain's accounts were to be audited on the proper day as appointed by the Charter of

the Corporation' ⁵⁵ (i.e. the Feast of St. Matthew, 21 September, or within four days after), but the next audit was not carried out, in fact, until 30 December, 1822; thereafter, the audit was regularly taken in early November, which accorded, not with the Charter of 1718, but the Borough Ordinances of 1557-58.⁵⁶

John Pain's accounts show that certain regular commitments made up the bulk of Corporation expenditure: the fee-farm rent, the Mayor's expenses, the Town Clerk's salary and expenses, the Crier's wages, the wages and expenses of the Sergeants-at-Mace, Court Leet expenses, the Widows' Account (the 'Widow's Groat'), Corporation expenses and, from 1819, an annual subscription of £4 to the National School (formed in 1817), and £2.4s.0d. or £2.3s.6d. paid as regularly 'to Betts Baker for Cake for the Judge' at the Oxford Assizes.⁵⁷

By the first Charter the Corporation was required to pay to the Crown a fee-farm rent of £6.3s.4d. a year. Over the years 1814-33 a fee-farm rent of £18.0s.4d. was still being paid out of the proceeds of tolls of the Cattle and Sheep Markets to the assignees of the Crown: £12.11s.4d. to Mr. Reeves, of 6, Lyons Inn, London, for J.H. Frank, Esq., and £5.9s.0d. to Messrs. J and T. Bell, of 6, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London, for Edward Holland, Esq.⁵⁸

At a Hall on 2 September, 1805, some regulation of the Mayor's expenditure was agreed:

- '[1] As it is necessary to reduce expenses of serving office of Mayor, dinner usually given by Mayor on day of the Court to be abandoned.
- [2] All perquisites belonging to Mayor to be paid to Chamberlain (a) for paying expenses of Mayoralty, (b) residue to Corporation.
- [3] Mayor allowed to draw on Chamberlain for entertainment expenses on day of election not exceeding £6, and for expenses of entertaining Corporation on day of his being sworn into office and the necessary attendants not exceeding £15'.⁵⁹

Accordingly, each year John Pain paid this mayoral allowance of £21, apart from the year 1819-20, when Robert Brayne received £20.⁶⁰

On 5 November, 1825, it was decided to pay the Town Clerk a salary of £25 a year 'from Michaelmas last... which is to include his attendances on the Magistrates at their Courts of Record and Petty Sessions and other occasional meetings for transaction of judicial business as also for his attendances at the different Halls held by virtue of summons from Mayor'.⁶¹ Until then the Town Clerk had been paid only expenses - often very much in arrears, those for 1820 and 1821, amounting to £56.1s.0d., not being settled until February, 1824 - now he received a regular salary, but always at least one year in arrears, having to wait until February, 1831, for example, for his 1829 salary to be paid.⁶²

The other officials were paid quarterly and promptly, the Crier 10s., the two Sergeants-at-Mace £1.6s.0d. each. In 1824

and 1825 the Sergeants were each being paid £1.19s.0d. a quarter;⁶³ then one of them, Thomas Wise, was awarded a salary of £6 a year from Michaelmas, 1825 'for executing the office of Clerk of the Market, serving summons, providing fines at the Town Hall for the accommodation of the Mayor and magistrates and in lieu of all other charges except those for being a Macebearer'.⁶⁴ The accounts only record that Thomas Wise was paid £1.19s.0d. for 'two quarters salary as Clerk of the Market to Michaelmas, 1825', but then £4.2s.0d. for one quarter's salary, due Christmas, 1825, as Sergeant-at-Mace, while his fellow-Sergeant, Robert Gardner, received but £1.6s.0d. Wise continued to receive £4.2s.0d. a quarter until December, 1826, when, 'being ill with a broken leg', he was succeeded by his son, William, at the now established rate of £1.6s.0d. a quarter.⁶⁵

By the time of Richard Griffin's mayoralty (1823-24) Court Leet expenses had risen to £12.15s.6d.⁶⁶ from the figure established in 1805, when the Town Clerk had been 'allowed the following for expenses of Court Leet Day:

	£.	s.	d.
To himself for holding Court	2.	2.	0
To Sergeants-at-Mace attending Court 10s.6d each	1.	1.	0
To dinners for Town Clerk at public house and 13 jurymen @ 5s. each	3.	10.	0
To the Cryer and Breadweigher 5s. each		10.	0
Dinner each		6.	0
To 4 Constables attending to be sworn into officé 5s. each ⁶⁷	1.	0.	0
To servants at public house		10.	6
	<hr/>		
	8.	19.	6 ⁶⁸

Town Hall maintenance costs were less burdensome than they had been in the eighteenth century, but we find John Pain settling bills from masons Mr. Holyoake (6s.8d. on 1 January, 1825, 10s.2d. on 2 September, 1829) and Mr. John Flowers (£1.2s.0d. on 1 January, 1834), plasterers Mr. Joseph Hopkins (11s.9d. on 1 November, 1828, 12s.9d. on 1 January, 1834) and Mr. Butler (£6.9s.7d. on 17 May, 1833), Mr. Cheney 'for gilding and painting' (£7 on 17 May, 1833), as well as paying 9s. to '3 Men taking care of things' (24 March, 1820).⁶⁹ Then there was 6s.6d. to have the Mace box repaired (September, 1816), £1.2s.0d. 'for a mat for the Corporation pew' (27 October, 1828), 5s.6d. 'for binding statutes' (17 March, 1830) and £5.18s.7d. 'for newspapers for the use of the Corporation', a bill settled on 23 January, 1832, but doubtless incurred during the heady political arguments of the previous year.⁷⁰

Bills totalling £54.14s.6d. settled between 5 May, 1827, and 17 May, 1833, with Mr. Churchill of the Red Lion Inn (frequently the Corporation's meeting place), the occasional purchase of cakes and, it would seem, a special outlay of £1.15s.0d. on oysters and lobsters (November, 1816) and 18s. for oysters (November, 1821) indicate that the council was not averse to mixing business with

pleasure.⁷¹

The practical application of charity money - 'the gift of Spriggs and others' - was regulated by the Chamberlain, and from 1813 to 1833, from the £30 interest paid by Francis, Lord North and Guilford, who from 1750 held £750 of the charity money,⁷² John Pain made payments for a regular supply of 'bread for the church' as it was described in his accounts, to provide fourpenny loaves each month for twenty poor widows. On 6 August, 1818, John Rutter was paid £20.6s.8d. for '5 years 1 month Bread to church', and then each year of John Pain's account from 1819 Samuel Beesley, who had taken over the 'Original Cake Shop' in Parson's Street from Rutter in 1818, supplied the bread for which he was paid £4.13s.4d., £5, £4.13s.4d., £4.6s.8d., £3.13s.4d., £3.13s.4d. for the years 1819-24 and £4 each year thereafter.⁷³

It has been shown that the yearly average of income during the years 1814-34 when John Pain was Chamberlain was £176, and of expenditure £141. However, Peregrine Bingham and David Jardine, the Municipal Corporations Commissioners who visited Banbury in 1833, arrived at the lower figures of £125 for receipts, £110.17s.3d. for outgoings.⁷⁴ For the purpose of the inquiry the Corporation had submitted to the Secretary of State in 1833 a statement of 'property belonging to the Corporation as follows:

Tenants Names	Property	Rent
John M. Wardle	Gallows Leys	1. 1. 0
Ihos. Perry	House	10.10. 0
James W. Golby	House	6. 6. 0
William Gazey	Stallage & Piccage	32. 0. 0
Thomas Gillett	Tolls	36. 0. 0
John Drinkwater &c.	Sheep Pens	12. 0. 0
Elizabeth Baker	House	10. 0. 0
Divers tenants	Waste Ground	22.10. 0
Divers tenants	Chief Rents	16.12. 0
William Sheyler	Burlings Garden	
		£146.19. 0 75

This was not the full story as far as the Corporation's income was concerned and, in their report, completed on 19 November, 1833, the Commissioners filled in the picture, although their deductions to arrive at a figure of £125, which is less than the Corporation's incomplete submission and considerably less than the figure suggested by the Chamberlain's own accounts for the previous nineteen years, are difficult to follow and their conclusions difficult to accept:

'The property possessed by the Corporation in their own right, and distinguished from that which they hold in trust for charities, consists of four inconsiderable

tenements within the borough, let at rack-rents, in the whole amounting to £24.17s. a year. As lords of the manor, they are also entitled to chief rents and rents for encroachments on the waste, usually amounting together, after deducting the expense of collecting them, to about £28 a year. They also receive the stallage pittance, let at £32 a year; the tolls of the cattle market let at £36 a year, and the tolls of the sheep market producing £12 a year. From the produce of the tolls, however, must be deducted the fee farm rents paid to the assignees of the Crown, amounting together to £18.0s.4d. a year, so that the new receipts for tolls are only £29.19s.8d.

Besides these sources of income, there are the fines on freedom, and the fines for not serving corporate offices, and also a small annual sum paid by the trustees of the Banbury Savings Bank for the use of the Town Hall. These fines and payments on an average of the last three years, have amounted to £10.14s. a year. The net income of the corporation is therefore somewhat less than £125 per annum.⁷⁶

This assessment overlooks the fact that the Corporation's income should have been more than it actually was, for rents were often in arrears, or simply not paid, and fines due for freedom and for refusal to serve corporate office were not regularly collected. It was especially difficult to keep track of encroachments. In 1821 Thomas Wise, Sergeant-at-Mace, was instructed to provide the Committee of the Corporation with a list of encroachments on the Waste,⁷⁷ but only two years later he was reporting that he had never collected any rent from Thomas Rusher 'for his cellar entrance and steps', nor from 'Robert Jarvis, George Kirby, Miss Long, Messrs. Cobb, Wm. Hitchcox, Richard Haddon, Mary Saul, Susanna Page, nor Wm. Millward', so that it was necessary then to make a 'list of new and recent encroachments... so that rents may be charged'.⁷⁸

Of nineteen freemen admitted between 1819 and 1834 the five-guinea fee would appear to have been collected from only seven of them,⁷⁹ while the £5 fine was paid by only two of the four who had refused to accept Corporation office,⁸⁰ although the Municipal Corporations Commissioners claimed that 'in modern times they [i.e. fines for refusal to serve] have seldom been enforced'.⁸¹

Nevertheless, the Report from the Select Committee on Municipal Corporations was the writing on the wall for the close corporations, whose undoubtedly narrow, incestuous and haphazard administration was anathema to the Whig politicians, impelled by the Utilitarian principles of Jeremy Bentham. The administration of local finances, such as we have seen in Banbury during a period of almost three hundred years, was particularly unacceptable; as the Committee saw it, 'a consequence of the system of close election has been that publicity has been rarely given to the amount and application of the funds belonging to the different Corporations. It is probable that

if in this respect the Corporators had acted under the influence and control of public opinion... more benefit would have been conferred on the community. It is desirable, therefore,' they concluded, 'that the Management and Expenditure of Corporate Funds should be subjected to a systematic and efficient control'.⁸² Accordingly, the theme of the legislation which followed in 1835, and which was to follow thereafter, was to be accountability and efficiency within an ordered structure of local government.

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79. Richard Griffin (1820), Marquis of Bute, Rev. Richard Barnard (1823), Rev. Thomas Wyatt (1824), Richard Edmunds (1825), Fiennes Sanderson Miller (1829), Charles Brickwell (1830). No fee paid by Rt. Hon. Lord James Stuart, Thomas Brayne (1819), Burrows Matthias Kirby (1825), Henry Tawney (1829), John Pain, Junior (1831), John Golby Rusher, Edward Philpots, Edward Railton, John Churchill (1832), John Bromley, Simon Harrison (1833), Richard Parry (1834).
80. Thomas Wyatt and Henry Tawney refused to serve as Mayor on 4 March and 2 September, 1833, respectively, and paid the fine; Rev. W. Pearse and John Payne refused election as Assistants, 14 August, 1833, and did not pay fine.
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BRINKWORTH PRIZE FUND

Awards have now been made for the first year of the Brinkworth Prize Fund's operation. Schools in the Banbury area were invited to submit work of some historical nature. More specific guidelines were not given on this first occasion as we were anxious to be as flexible as possible and encourage schools and teachers to present what was most practical to themselves.

The purpose of the Prize Fund is to encourage an interest in history, and in particular, in local history. We envisage projects arising from study, where possible, of original records, or published primary sources; from interviews and locally compiled statistics; and from observation on the ground. Where the project concerns national history, comparison of various secondary sources may provide a substitute.

We were enormously impressed by the immense amount of work that must have been put in by the various teachers concerned: Mrs. Newby at Wroxton C.E. Primary School: Mrs. Hartlett at Shenington C.E. Primary School: and Mrs. Diedo Williams at St. John's R.C. Primary School, Banbury. We get the impression that the children working on the projects enjoyed doing so, we know we have enjoyed reading them, and we hope that those who spent so much time supervising them have found it all as worthwhile too.

Even with a very restricted entry, and from primary schools only, the Brinkworth Prize Fund has shown there is scope for very worthwhile projects which can be of long-term use to local historians and should encourage an interest in history and its research amongst the participants.

In future years we hope to retain the maximum flexibility as to subjects and presentation. Whilst projects on national history and involving a large number of pupils will not be precluded, there must be a bias towards local history. Only here is there scope for original research of long-term value, and this can best be done with a small number of participants - where this can be reconciled with the teaching requirements of the school.

Jeremy Gibson & David Hitchcox

THE BANBURY HORSE RACES

PART 2

By 1829, when racing was revived at Banbury after a lapse of nearly a century, the character and organisation of the sport had become almost totally transformed by innovations which may be traced back to the first half of the 18th century. The most important of these, and one that was to have a far-reaching effect on the future of racing was concerned with the establishment of the racehorse in the form which has come down to the present day.

Through the importation of Arabian bloodstock, improved feeding and selective breeding, members of the landowning class with leisure and wealth at their disposal, and motivated as much by fashion as by economics, were able to develop a horse which, as the 18th century progressed (and particularly between 1775-1800) ran faster and matured earlier.

Racegoers were demanding more varied and exciting entertainment at their meetings; consequently horses were bred to race at greater speed over shorter distances so that more races could be run in a day. More races meant bigger prize-money and above all, greater opportunities for gambling. Owners also tended to breed horses to run at a younger age so as to be assured of a quicker return on their investments.

At the beginning of the 18th century horses were rarely raced before the age of five, but by 1730 there were races for 4-year-olds. 3-year-old racing followed after the foundation of the great classic events in the later 18th century; the St. Leger in 1776, the Oaks in 1779 and the Derby in 1780. Inevitably there were races also for 2-year-olds, and these were established at Newmarket in the mid-1780s.

Changing tastes gave rise to new kinds of races. Long-distance plate races and matches gradually began to decline in favour of the novelties of sweepstakes and handicaps. Stake racing which became popular after its introduction in 1750, was organised on the principle of each entrant in a large field of runners subscribing a set percentage of the prize-money - an attractive proposition for the competitor who risked a small amount for the chance of winning a great deal more. Handicap racing which followed later, was based on the system of bringing together horses of different merit and giving each an equal chance to win by the apportionment of weights according to age and sex. (It is important to note that for the younger horses running faster races weights had to become lighter to avoid the risk of damaging valuable bloodstock; and by the 1790s ranged from 5st.3lb to 9st.10lb.)

The next important stage in the development of racing came with the reform (long overdue) of its conduct and organisation by the Jockey Club, which was founded at Newmarket in c.1751. By establishing and enforcing a set of consistent rules the Club gradually assumed control over racing during the next 25 years, and became recognised as the final authority on all disputes.

With stricter supervision came the need for accurate systematisation of the rules and records of racing in published form. The first in this field had been John Cheny whose racing calendar ended with his death in 1750. He was succeeded by other publishers notably James Weatherby, who was authorised by the Jockey Club in 1773 to produce an official calendar which contributed much towards standardising racing practice on courses throughout the country.¹

By the 1830s the turf was well launched upon the tide of progress and popularity and had become transformed out of all recognition. The numbers of races had multiplied; more and younger horses ran over shorter distances (2 miles or less); stake races were in the majority; and the professional jockey (providing the lighter weights required) was slowly replacing the owner-rider or "gentleman jock", as he was called in common racing parlance.

Race meetings were no longer organised by the privileged class solely for their own and their friends' amusement, plebian onlookers merely being tolerated if they behaved properly. With the growth of public interest in a sport that was fast becoming a highly organised and commercialised social recreation, racing attracted vast crowds who flocked to the courses for the spectacle, the betting and the prospect of a 'good day out' in a festive holiday atmosphere.² There was always at every event more than just the racing, and substantial profits could be made out of the spectators from the various social amenities laid on for their amusements. So by now it was becoming apparent that compared to the earlier period, racing was relying for much of its success and prosperity on a mass audience, whose attendance formed an integral feature of every meeting.

To put the sport in its proper perspective it must be emphasised that aside from the prestigious major events, eg. at Epsom, Newmarket, Doncaster, Goodwood, Ascot, Cheltenham, etc., racing in the early 19th century was still carried on very much at the local level. Minor meetings were generally one day events with races being run in short heats to spin out the day's programme. Owners, (or 'subscribers') representative of different social strata - the gentry, professional gentlemen, farmers, publicans, tradesmen etc. - tended to be drawn from the locality, racing with horses of all ages and frequently of non-thoroughbred or half-bred stock. It was also not unusual for some races to be restricted to horses from within a certain radius around a town or which ran with a particular hunting or racing club.

Efficient organisation was essential to the viability of every meeting, local or otherwise. The supervision of racing and its associated amenities lay in the hands of impartial officials whose primary function was to ensure good order and the enforcement of regulations. To the clerk of the course, appointed and paid by the race committee, fell the responsibility for organising the entire meeting. This meant arranging the race programme and checking the condition of the course, as well as seeing to the provision of weighing-scales, adequate stabling, the services of a local blacksmith, and refreshment facilities for the spectators. The

responsibility for ensuring fair play on the course and deciding in disputes was fulfilled by the stewards who as honorary officials were chosen by the clerk from among influential and reputable members of the landowning class or the local town community. Finally there were the judges whose work involved knowing all the runners and watching the finish of each race, their verdict being absolutely final and indisputable. At some meetings, however, the judging was done by the stewards themselves.

If discipline and organisation were essential to racing, so too was money which was obtained in various ways to cover the cost of the cash prizes and trophies awarded to the winners. To start with, the bulk of the prize-money was made up of the stakes and forfeits paid by the entrants themselves. The rest was raised by the local race committee whose own race fund was swelled by subscriptions from innkeepers, blacksmiths, saddlers and harness makers, caterers, etc., for whom meetings always meant a sizeable increase in trade; and from rents charged to entrepreneurs engaged in supplying the various spectator facilities at the race ground; to the publicans for the right to sell liquor from their refreshment tents; and also to the proprietors of the food stalls, gambling booths, and the grandstands which were erected for the benefit of the wealthier class seeking segregation from the lower orders. Additional contributions to the prize-money might be offered by the town, and of course by members of the nobility and gentry (notorious gamblers and keen followers of the turf) whose sponsorship and attendance could usually guarantee a high-standard event. Of equal importance was the patronage extended by the borough and county M.Ps or prospective candidates, whose gestures of generosity were obviously made with an eye to attracting votes within their constituencies, particularly when race meetings and election campaigns coincided.

Much of the popularity and success of racing depended also on the social support it received from the publican whose important position in the town derived from the many services he was able to offer to his clientele in the way of comfort and hospitality, and whose premises served as a major social centre for the local community. During the racing season it was the landlord of the coaching-inn or tavern who provided food and accommodation for the visiting racegoers, as well as stabling for the horses entered for the forthcoming races. In the better-class establishments he also played host to the stewards and their friends, gentlemen of rank and wealth who sat down together to enjoy the excellent public dinners or 'ordinaries', as they were termed, laid on as the main evening's entertainment after the close of the day's racing events.

It is hoped that what has been said in the foregoing account of the development of racing from the mid-18th century onwards may provide an historical background to the state of the turf in Oxfordshire in the second quarter of the 19th century. At the time when races were re-introduced at Banbury, i.e., in the early 1830s, the only other meetings of any importance to be held in the county were on Portmeadow, Oxford, and on Cottisford Heath, north of Bicester. In the annual racing calendar the Cottisford meeting

(begun in 1812) was held either at the end of March or beginning of April; Banbury always followed Oxford, both meetings taking place in August.

As one of the two venues for racing in the northern part of the county, Banbury produced some lively and well-conducted events during the short period of their revival from 1829-32. Though there was social unrest in 1830, an outbreak of cholera in 1831, a typhus epidemic in 1832, and intense political agitation between 1831-2, these problems do not seem to have deterred the promoters or in any way diminished the spectator appeal of the sport. Indeed, such public entertainment may have had considerable value in temporarily relieving the tensions and anxieties of a restless society in what was a potentially volatile situation.

This period, which was the most momentous in the social and political history of Banbury, is also one of enormous interest to the sporting historian for whom there is no shortage of evidence to show how racing was conducted as an important and popular social recreation associated with the town and its surrounding region. Though Banbury was not to be served by its own newspaper until 1838, full coverage of the race meetings held there was regularly published in the Oxford Journal [JOJ] and other local newspapers in the form of advertisements, and also reports of the results which frequently included comments on attendance, additional entertainment, and even minor dramas occurring on the raceground.

Of vital importance to the successful outcome of any meeting was the advance publicity given to it in the local press. The racing programmes advertised in the JOJ prior to the events held at Banbury in 1830 and 1831, provided all those associated with the forthcoming races with detailed information regarding the rules of entry, runners' ages and carrying weights, distances in heats, prizes and sponsors, additional regulations covered the registering of the horses, stabling, shoeing, and the provision of alcoholic refreshment on the course (see illustration.)³

A look at the programme for the 1830 one-day meeting shows that this was a somewhat modest and parochial affair. There were only three races; one for thoroughbreds, its prize-money enhanced in value by the addition of a costly plate donated by the town; the other two for non-thoroughbreds, subsidised by the Banbury Racing Club, an ephemeral body that appears not to have lasted for more than one season. The authority of stewardship on this occasion was vested in three well-known and respected members of the district: William Montague of Astrop; Robert Brayne, a prominent surgeon residing in the Horse Fair; and William Walford, a Neithrop land-owner who practised as an attorney in Sheep Street, and was Banbury's Coroner and Town Clerk for many years.

The races scheduled for this meeting were held on 6 August⁴ preparations for which had already included the enlargement of the course and the erection of a grandstand for the 'quality';⁵ the Stewards' Ordinary in the evening was arranged to take place at the Red Lion Inn.⁶ According to the Journal's report on 14th August this had been a well-attended and entertaining event, and the races

BANBURY RACES, JULY 27, 1830.

FIRST RACE.

A SWEEPSTAKES of Five Sovereigns each, with a £50 Plate added by the Town; three-year-olds to carry 7st. 3lb.; four, 8st. 3lb.; five, 9st. 11lb.; six and aged, 9st. 3lb. Mares and fillings allowed 3lb. A winner once in 1829 (matches excepted) to carry 3lb.—twice, 6lb.,—and thrice, 7lb. extra. The winner to be sold for 200 Guineas, if demanded; the second horse being first entitled. Heats, one mile and a quarter. Three horses to start, or no race. One Sovereign entrance.

SECOND RACE.

A SWEEPSTAKES of 3 Sovereigns each, with 30 Sovereigns added by the Banbury Racing Club, for horses, &c. not thorough bred—to have been bona fide the property of persons residing within 10 miles of Banbury three months previous to starting.

Certificates of pedigree of the horses, &c. and of their having so been the property of the Subscribers, to be produced to the Stewards the day before starting. The horses, &c. never to have started, paid or received forfeit, previous to the day of naming. The horses, &c. to be ridden by Gentlemen, Farmers, or Tradesmen: two-year-olds, 8 st.; three, 9st. 3lb.; four, 10st. 7lb.; five, 11st. 7lb.; six, 12st.; and aged, 12st. 2lb. The winner to be sold for 80 Sovereigns, if demanded in the usual way. The second horse to save his stake; and the winner to subscribe Two Sovereigns to this Stake for the year 1831. Seven Subscribers, or no race. One Sov. entrance. Heats, one mile and a quarter.

THIRD RACE.

A SWEEPSTAKES of 10 Sovereigns each, half forfeit, with £25 added by the Club, for horses, &c. not thorough bred: three-year-olds to carry 9st. 3lb.; four, 10st. 7lb.; five, 11st. 5lb.; six, 11st. 12lb.; and aged, 12stone. A winner once to carry 6lb.—twice, 8lb.,—and thrice, 10lb. extra. Heats, one mile and a quarter. To be ridden by Gentlemen, members of a Fox Hunting or Racing Club. Five Subscribers, or no race.—One Sovereign entrance.

Subscriptions to close on Saturday the 17th of July, and the horses to be named to Mr. Weatherby, in London, or the Clerk of the Course, before Twelve o'clock at night. Certificates from the breeders of the half-bred horses to be sent to the Stewards the day before starting. All horses, &c. (except those belonging to persons in the town) must stand at such Inns where the landlords are Subscribers of One Sovereign to the Racing Fund, and shall be played by a Smith who subscribes Half a Sovereign.

All Entrances and Stakes to be paid to the Clerk of the Course the day before starting, or not entitled to receive, altho' a winner.

No publican resident out of the parish of Banbury will be allowed to erect any booth, shed, stall, &c. &c. or to sell wines, spirits, &c.—No publican resident in the parish of Banbury will be allowed to erect any booth, shed, stall, &c. or to sell wines, spirits, &c. unless a Subscriber of 20s. to the Racing Fund.

If any of the Stakes are walked over for, the public money will not be added.—The entrance money to go to the Fund.

All disputes to be settled by the Stewards, or whom they shall appoint—such decision to be final.

ROBERT BRAYNE, Esq. }
W.M. MONTAGUE, Esq. } Stewards.
W.M. WALFORD, Esq. }

BANBURY RACES, 1831.

Tuesday after Oxford Races.

FIRST DAY.—FIRST RACE.

A HANDICAP SWEEPSTAKES of £25 each, £15 Forfeit, or £3 if declared on or before the 1st of May, with £50 added from the Race Fund. Two mile heat. Three horses to accept or no race. To close on the 25th of March, and to declare on the 1st of May.

SECOND RACE.—A SWEEPSTAKES of 25 Sovs. for two-year-old Colts 8st. 2lb., Fillies 6st. Half-mile heat. Three Subscribers or no race. To close and name on the 1st of June.

THIRD RACE.—A SWEEPSTAKES of 5 Sovereigns each, with a Silver Cup, value £25, added by W.M. MONTAGUE, Esq. for horses bona fide the property of the Subscribers, not thorough-bred, that have never won previous to the day of naming, and that have been regularly hunted with the Banbury Harriers. The winner to be sold for 80 Sovereigns, if demanded, the second horse being first entitled, &c. Certificates of the horses having been hunted to be signed by W. MONTAGUE, Esq. Mile heat.

FOURTH RACE.—The WINDON STAKES of 10 Sovereigns each, with £25 added by the MANAGER or BUTLER, three-year-olds to carry 7st. 3lb., four 8st. 3lb., five 8st. 11lb., six and aged 9st. 3lb., Mares and fillings allowed 2lb. A winner in 1831 extra, once 3lb., twice 6lb., thrice 7lb. Two mile heat. Three horses to start or no Race. To close and name on the 1st of June. One Sovereign Entrance.

SECOND DAY.

FIRST RACE.—A SWEEPSTAKES of 10 Sovereigns each, for two-year-old Colts and Fillies, not thorough bred. Colts 8st. 7lb., Fillies 6st. 4lb. Half-mile heat. To close and name on or before the 1st of June, 1831. Present Subscriber Mr. Umbers.

SECOND RACE.—ST. LEGER STAKES of £25 each, £10 Forfeit, for three-year-olds. Colts 8st. 7lb., Fillies 6st. 4lb.; a winner of the Derby or Oaks 7lb. extra. Two mile heat. Four Subscribers or no Race. To close the 1st of June.

THIRD RACE.—The WARDEN HILL STAKES of 10 Sovereigns each, half forfeit, with £20 added by H. V. STUART, Esq. M. P. for Banbury, for Horses, &c. not thorough-bred. Hiltedden Coplow Weights; extra for winners, once 6lb., twice 7lb., thrice 10lb. Two mile heats One Sovereign Entrance. To close the 1st of June.

FOURTH RACE.—The CHERWELL STAKES of 5 Sovereigns each, with 40 Guineas added by the Right Honourable LORD NORREYS and JOHN FARR, Esq. Members for the County, for Horses, &c. of all ages; two-year-olds 6st. 2lb., three 6st. 3lb., four 6st. 12lb. Five 6st. 4lb. six and aged 6st. 10lb.; winners extra, once 3lb., twice 6lb., thrice 7lb.; and the beaten horses at Banbury 1831 allowed 3lb. The winner to be sold for £200, if demanded. Two mile heat. One Sovereign Entrance.

The Horses to be named to Mr. WEATHERBY, in London, or Mr. J. P. JUDGE, Clerk of the Course. Certificates of the half-bred horses to be produced to the Stewards before starting.

No publican resident out of the parish of Banbury will be allowed to erect any booth, shed, &c. on the Race Ground. No publican resident in the parish of Banbury will be allowed to erect any booth, shed, &c. unless a Subscriber of One Sovereign to the Race Fund.

The Horses of all persons (except those resident in the town) must stand at such Inns the landlords of which subscribe Two Sovereigns to the Race Fund, and be played by a Smith who subscribes One Sovereign, or not entitled to receive although a winner.

All Entrances and Stakes to be paid to the Clerk of the Course before starting, or not entitled to receive, although a winner.

If any of the Stakes are walked over for, the public money will not be added.—The Entrance money to go to the Fund. All Disputes to be settled by the Stewards, or whom they shall appoint—such decision to be final.

STEWARDS.

Right Hon. Lord NORREYS, M P.
H. VILLIERS STUART, Esq. M P.

J. P. JUDGE, Clerk of the Course

admirably contested. Among the names of 'subscribers' appearing in the list of results there were several known to be from the town and the neighbouring locality; John Drinkwater, John Bazely, James Gurden,⁷ and William Montague Esq. (Steward).

There was to be more interesting sport in the following year when a large number of races was held over two days (August 9th and 10th), the programme for which was advertised well in advance in JOJ on February 5th 1831. By comparison with the 1830 meeting this was an event of a much more prestigious character. Out of the eight races five were for thoroughbreds, including one (the St. Leger Stakes) open to winners of two of the great Classics. It is immediately noticeable that, apart from the one race run for a Silver Cup offered by William Montague, political patronage was strongly in evidence at this meeting. Handsome contributions were added to the prize-money by the Marquis of Bute and Henry Villiers Stuart, representing the Wroxton 'interest',⁸ and by the two county MPs one of whom also doubled as Steward.⁹ The Clerk of the Course was J.P. Judge, a well-known local publican.¹⁰

As it turned out the meeting was a fair success, and the JOJ was able to report on August 13th that "There was an immense assemblage of persons at the Races on Tuesday last; indeed we might say that almost all the nobility, gentry and inhabitants of the neighbourhood were assembled on the occasion. The weather was unfavourable towards the close of the first day's sport, and those who were on foot were in a sad plight, from the wet and dirty state of the course. On Wednesday the course presented an appearance of not so numerous a company, although the weather on that day was very fine, and there was an additional number of heats. Ordinaries followed each day's sport, and the races were altogether well conducted, and gave general satisfaction". Local owners who brought their horses to this meeting included Mr. Sotham, Mr. Brickwell, and Mr. Tawney¹¹ who rode his own "Harlequin" to win the Silver Cup on the first day; and mounted on Mr. Arnold's "Warwickshire Lass", won the Cherwell Stakes for its owner on the second. It was, however, a meeting not without some danger and excitement and two incidents occurring after the third race on the first day were reported together with the results; "Mr. Brickwell's horse won the first heat, but fell in the second heat, in consequence of a person imprudently crossing the course; he was fortunately not much hurt. After this heat a pickpocket was detected, and summary justice was inflicted on him by the 'mobility', who ducked him severely in the river Cherwell" Despite these mishaps this was an important meeting, the standard of racing undoubtedly enhanced by the presence and performance of the nationally renowned jockey James Chapple who (according to the results published in Baily's Racing Register for 1831), was hired by two notable members of the Oxford racing fraternity, Messrs. Hicks & Sadler, to ride their horses in several of the races. Needless to say he won them easily.

1832 saw Banbury embroiled in a political crisis and a general election following the passing of the Reform Bill by Parliament in the spring of that year. The election campaign which ran from June to December was vigorously fought between the Conservatives, whose candidate Henry Pye of Chacombe Priory was backed by the lord of Wroxton, and their opponents the Banbury Radical Reform Party, represented by their nominee, H.W. Tancred, a Whig barrister of Lincoln's Inn, London.

In the midst of all the political sniping and backbiting during the campaign, Banbury held its annual race meeting on August 21st, though as it transpired there was some impromptu sport on the 22nd. The race programme (advertised in JOJ on August 18th) consisted of six stake races which included one with 30 Sovereigns added by the Marquis of Bute, and another with an additional £20 subscribed by H.J. Pye. Two of the races were for 'Gentlemen riders' only, and as a new rule was now added ordering "Each jockey to pay 2s.6d. for weights and scales", it may be assumed that a number of professional jockeys were being employed to ride in the other four. Arthur Annesley, Esq., of Bletchingdon Park was to officiate as the only Steward at this event, J.P. Judge, as usual acting as Clerk of the Course.

Despite adverse conditions this was a moderately successful meeting which received an interesting write-up in the JOJ on August 25th; "Our races took place on Tuesday; there were some well contested sweepstakes run for, notwithstanding the unfavourable weather. Hundreds of persons who would have enlivened the course with their attendance were kept at home, from the almost continued rain that fell throughout the day. The principal stand was crowded during the former part of the day's sport, and numerous carriages graced the course. On the whole there was much better sport than, from the wet state of the course, could have been expected. The ordinary at the Red Lion was attended by about 50 gentlemen, where harmony reigned till a late hour. - On the following day there were several matches made by the townsmen and the gentry in the neighbourhood, for horses and ponies, which sport continued till dusk".

The results published at the same time show that in the fifth race (viz. for horses belonging to persons within a 10-mile radius of Banbury) one of the owners was J.P. Judge, the Clerk; and in the "Sweepstakes of 2 Sovereigns with £45 added by J. Easthope Esq., and the Town"¹²(a race not included in the official programme) the names of Mr. Tawney, the winner, and Mr. T. Taylor appeared among the owners of the six horses entered.¹³

On August 25th the Northampton Herald produced a similar report of the day's activities which also included a comment on a slight change in the programme as well as a choice item of social chit-chat; "...Lord Norrey was present and officiated for A. Annesley Esq., the steward, who was ill; we also noticed among the assemblage Sir H. Peyton, Messrs Pye, Stuart, Willes, Col. Charity and several sporting characters from Cheltenham."¹⁴

None of the local news reporters, however, appear to have been aware of an incident which involved one of the town's publicans

whose refreshment stall at the raceground was robbed some time during the meeting. The two men responsible for the crime were later apprehended, for it was recorded in the Banbury Gaol Journal on August 24th: "Burchell and Wood brought [to the gaol] by Thompson having stolen 2 Tables from Hayward's Booth on the Race Course".¹⁵

With the election campaign at its height in the summer of 1832 it was inevitable that racing would be drawn into the political arena. After all what could be more ideal than a crowded race-course for the demonstration of party strength and allegiance?. Although it appears to have been unsuccessful, no small effort was made by his followers to whip up support for the Tory candidate on the first day of the August race meeting, which incident was naturally played down by the Liberal newspaper, the Oxford University and City Herald, in its report on August 25th; "Mr. Pye was on the ground, and an attempt was several times made to get up a cry of 'Pye for ever' in which ... that gentleman's servants joined most lustily; the attempt, however, completely failed".

Even elections however bitterly contested could have their humorous side, particularly when sport was involved. Politics and racing were so closely linked that at times of intense electoral activity political skits written in the form of race cards, program programmes, or commentaries on a race already run, were often used as weapons of propaganda or ridicule to discredit the opposing party. The Banbury meeting held on August 21st 1832 provided the denigrators of the Reform Party with the perfect opportunity to display their hostility to radicalism through the medium of a lampoon published as a poster, which was probably either circulated among the community or pasted on walls at strategic points throughout the town. Anyone who knows his Banbury history, and particularly the local personalities involved in the election campaign, will be able to recognise the names of prominent reformers who came under the lash of the satirist's wit; William Spurrett and Charles Rowell, ironmongers; James WakeGolby, Thomas Ims and Francis Francillon, attorneys; William Potts, printer, and later publisher of the Banbury Guardian; and Thomas Brayne, Mayor of Banbury in 1831 (see illustration).¹⁶ Despite all manner of offensive tactics used in the hard fight put up by the Tories, it was clear that by the end of the campaign their candidate would lose the election, and in December 1832 the Liberals swept into power, and H.W. Tancred became Banbury's new M.P.

1832, the year of triumph for Radical reform and the overthrow of the Wroxton influence, also marked the end of racing at Banbury for another decade. Again the question arises as to the reasons for its cessation, which may have been due to lack of financial support, or to failure of interest on the part of the borough which, now under Liberal control, was to be more concerned in the immediate future with Municipal Reform and improvements in public services.

When in 1842 racing made yet another come-back, it was into an urban Society that in the meantime had undergone great changes

BANBURY RACES.

The following came off yesterday. It was a match for 50,000 Guineas a-side, between Mr. Tancred's celebrated Horse, *Committee*, by *Cobweb* out of *Hermaphrodite*, and Mr. Pyc's noted Horse, *Agent*,---pedigree in a direct line from *Eclipse* which after an amusing rather than a hard race was won in a Canter by the latter.

Agent at starting took the lead at an easy but steady pace. *Committee's* rider complained of a false start, lost his temper, expressed his "indignation," and the owner complaining of "undue advantage" began whipping and *Spurr(et)ing* with his patent *Rowcls*, and passed *Agent* at a slapping pace. *Agent* waited upon him quietly, when *Committee* bolted and ran out of the course, *wheeling in a circle*, and shewing his half blood and vicious temper. *Agent's* rider here let go the *Stuart Curb*, and left his competitor a mile in the rear. *Committee* having thrown his first rider *Gold-wake* in the mud, was rode in, contrary to the rules of the Turf, but all fair in Jockeying, by *Tim-id Tom*; who, not knowing the winning chair, rode *Committee* another mile at the top of his speed, ignorant that he had been distanced---this afforded much fun. *Agent* was capitally rode by his owner.

It is reported that *Committee* was so much *distressed*, that he is since *off his feed*, *wring in the withers*, and so *touched in the wind*, that doubts are entertained of his starting again. His owner, Mr. Tancred, would be glad to dispose of him.

After this there was a Race for *Chamber-Potts*, between Sir Alfred's *Neddy Bray* and Mr F---n---ll---'s *Ditchwater*, which after much entertainment, ended in a *dead heat*, and the prize was divided between them.

August 22, 1832.

BLOXHAM, PRINTER, BANBURY.

Political Poster for Banbury Races 1832.

not only in its political and class structure, but also in its attitudes to leisure and recreation which were to find expression in new social activities organised by the townspeople themselves after the mid-1830s. This theme will provide the background to the third and final phase of the history of the Banbury Horse Races in a future issue.

Evelyn Brown-Grant

Footnotes

1. By the early 19th century it had also become the practice for the firm of Weatherbys to receive and register entries of horses for races operating under Jockey Club rules.
2. As yet no entrance fees were charges to spectators since racegrounds were not enclosed until c.1875.
3. Bodl. N.G.A. Oxon. a.4 : JOJ 1830 (May 8th) and 1831 (February 5th). Reproduced by kind permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.
4. July 27th had been the original date set for the event, but as this coincided with the Cheltenham meeting, it was postponed until early August.
5. See Part 1 of this article in C. & C. Vol. 10, No. 2 (Spring 1986), p.31.
6. The Red Lion in the High Street, whose landlord was John Churchill, also served as the Banbury Post Office from 1824-36.
7. John Drinkwater : great-uncle of his namesake the poet and dramatist; landlord of the Flying Horse in Parson's Lane in 1832; later, innkeeper of the White Lion, a large posting-house, and proprietor of an important coaching business. John Bazeley : landlord of the Bear Inn, Market Place in 1837; removed to the Star Tavern, High Street in 1840. James Gurden : auctioneer and agent for the Protector Fire Insurance Co. in Sheep Street, Bicester in 1830.
8. John Stuart, 2nd Marquis of Bute : lived at Wroxton Abbey after his marriage to the eldest daughter of the 3rd Earl of Guilford in 1827, when he became High Steward of Banbury and assumed the role of patron of the borough. Henry Villiers Stuart of Dromana, Co. Waterford : enjoyed the North influence at Banbury through his uncle the Marquis of Bute, who secured his election as Tory M.P. for Banbury in 1830.
9. Montague Bertie, Lord Norreys of Wytham Abbey : Captain of Oxon. Yeomanry in 1830; Tory M.P. for Oxon. 1830-1, and again from 1832-52. John Fane of Wormsley, Stokenchurch : son of the eminent agriculturalist J. Fane, Esq; Tory M.P. for Oxon. 1824-31.
10. John Pratt Judge : worked as a salaried member of staff at Gilletts Bank c.1825; later became landlord of the Vine Tavern, Cornhill, from where he also let out horses and gigs for hire.

11. Mr. Sotham : probably A. Sotham, landowner of Wootton; a keen racing enthusiast, he was reported in JOJ (May 10th) as having ridden his own horses in two matches held at Woodstock in 1828.
Mr. Brickwell : Charles Brickwell, surgeon, of Cornhill; Mayor of Banbury in 1832.
Mr. Tawney : possibly a relative of Henry Tawney, co-partner with J.A. Gillett in the New Bank in the Market Place; a Mr. Tawney was an officer serving with the 1st Regiment of the Oxon. Yeomanry Cavalry in 1832.
12. J. Easthope : a London stockbroker who had once worked as a clerk in Cobbs Bank (the Old Bank) in Red Lion Street; purchased the Morning Chronicle in 1834 which he owned until 1847; Director of the London and S.W. Railway in 1846; Whig MP. for Banbury in 1831-2.
13. Mr. T. Taylor : possibly Thomas Taylor, a cooper who was High Constable and Treasurer in the 1830s; more likely to be Thomas Taylor, saddler and harness maker who had a shop in the Market Place in 1833; later took over from J.P. Judge at the Vine Tavern.
14. Sir H. Peyton of Tusmore : father of H. Peyton, M.P. for Woodstock 1837-8.
Mr. Stuart : either H.V. Stuart, former M.P. for Banbury and one of the 21 Assistants to the Common Council in 1832; or Daniel Stuart of Wykham Park, nr. Banbury; journalist and former owner of the Morning Post. Served as J.P. and Alderman for Banbury in 1832.
William Willes, Esq., of Astrop House.
Colonel Charity : 'subscriber' at the 1832 race meeting; in 1837 Col. Charretie was living in Imperial Square, Cheltenham, Glos.
15. Entry taken from Robert Gardner's Banbury Gaol Journal, to be published shortly in the Banbury Hist. Soc's Record Series.
William Thompson, one of Banbury's four constables; worked as a turner and chairmaker in the Cow Fair.
Charles Hayward was the landlord of the White Horse public house in the High Street.
16. Poster from the Potts Collection (1832), p.84. Reproduced by kind permission of the Banbury Library.

N.B. Biographical information has been collected from the following sources:

Rusher's Banbury Directories, and Pigot's Directories of the period.
W.R. Williams : Parliamentary History of the County of Oxford, 1899.
A.M. Taylor : Gilletts, Bankers at Banbury and Oxford, 1964.
George Herbert : Shoemaker's Window, 1971.
B. Irinder : Victorian Banbury, 1982.
W. Potts : A History of Banbury, 1978.

BOOK REVIEW

OXFORDSHIRE COUNTRY LIFE IN THE 1860s: The Early Diaries of George James Dew, (1846-1928) of Lower Heyford, edited by Pamela Horn. Obtainable from Beacon Publications, 11 Harwell Road, Sutton Courtenay, Abingdon, OX14 4BN, price £3, post free for pre-paid orders.

Many will have read George Dew's diaries from 1870-1879, edited in 1983 by Pamela Horn. The present volume, which comprises his earlier diaries, started when he was 15, from January 1862 to December 1869, also has a most helpful introduction and notes by the editor, to bring parochial happenings into a wider national or international context.

The diaries reveal a serious minded, pious youth, imbued with Samuel Smiles's ideas of Self Help, prone to anxiety about his own health and short-comings; but fascinated with his neighbours, although censorious about many of their failings. From the detail a kaleidoscope of village life appears.

George was apprenticed as a carpenter in his father's building business, which employed a blacksmith and included undertaking and part-time baking amongst the trades; later he was also employed independently as agent for the Royal Insurance Company and to collect the church rates. His work as undertaker stimulated him to much musing over the coffin, especially as drunkenness was so prevalent.

He was studious, with a special interest in antiquities, and was a great buyer of books (which he lists), often having to borrow from his father after exceeding his means. When reading near the window of his bedroom he records "impudent and rude" people staring and making remarks about him. Later he developed an interest in photography, purchasing his own camera and making a dark room. One of his valued acquaintances was Mr. W.Wing, the local historian of Steeple Aston.

Many aspects of life around Heyford are touched on. There are lively and critical comments on the clergy, their sermons and their doctrinal tendencies, and also on dissent and the power of popular local preachers. His firm was involved in the contemporary church re-building, and with work at nearby Rousham.

On the impact of diseases in the village he refers to typhoid, smallpox, measles, diphtheria and mumps amongst the human population, and to an epidemic of rinderpest amongst the cattle.

There is a fairly detailed account of a murder in Upper Heyford, of extra fascination as two parishioners were involved; and of a skimmington or lew-balling because of adultery in a railway carriage between a Heyford man and a wife of Steeple Aston, [cf, the skimmity ride in Hardy's 'The Mayor of Casterbridge'].

The canal figures chiefly as a place to bathe or skate - the latter spoilt by the passage of the ice-breaker. But ease of travel on the railway, with frequent excursions to Birmingham,

Oxford and Banbury reveals how quickly rail travel became popular. There is an account of George and his Aunt Elizabeth going to Malvern for fourteen weeks for the water cure [hydrotherapy], - "Dr. Grindrod said my stomach was quite raw and that he had never seen one in so bad a state before" - showing how the lively social life contributed to the cure.

Towards the end of this section of the diaries he starts walking out with Mary Banfield who was appointed headmistress of Lower Heyford school in 1867. At first they had to be very circumspect in their meetings to avoid gossip, and late in October 1869 George writes "I was irresistibly compelled to admit I have no objection to its coming to an engagement", and a fortnight later she writes to him "I am willing to leave my future in your hands". They were married three years later in 1872.

It is the detail of the diaries that are fascinating.

As well as the expected accounts of local day to day rural life, there are frequent and often surprising glimpses of the wider world of Victorian England.

J.S.Rivers.

DAVID FIENNES C.B.C.

David Fiennes died on the sixth of July at the age of only 70. Since coming to Broughton 10 years ago he had played an active part in the work of the Society, being the Editor of Cake and Cock Horse for 20 issues running from the Autumn of 1977 until the Spring number of 1984.

He was himself a regular and lively contributor of many articles mostly on the various family relationships at Broughton. David was deeply interested both in local history and in the history of his family, and wrote with the skill and mind of a man who was both a natural historian and a scholar.

Members of the Society will remember the happy gathering at his home, The Woadmill, for the annual dinner some years ago and acknowledge, with gratitude, the debt the Society owes to him.

We shall all miss him alike as a friend and as a wise and diligent supporter of our Society.

Saye and Sele.

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

The Magazine *Cake and Cockhorse* is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. By 1985 there had been 88 issues and at least 230 articles. Most back issues are still available and out-of-print issues can if required be photocopied.

Other publications still in print include:

Booklets -

Old Banbury - a short popular history, E.R.C. Brinkworth

New Light of Banbury's Crosses, P.D.A. Harvey

Banbury Castle - a summary of excavations in 1972, P. Fasham

The Building and Furnishing of St Mary's Church, Banbury,
N. Cooper

Pamphlets -

History of Banbury Cross

The Globe Room at the Reindeer Inn, Banbury

The Society has also published twenty or more volumes in its records series (list available of those still in print). These have included *Banbury Parish Registers* (in seven parts: Marriages 1558-1837, Baptisms and Burials 1558-1812); *Banbury Corporation Records: Tudor and Stuart; Banbury Wills and Inventories, 1591-1650* (Part 1, 1591-1620; Part 2, 1621-1650); *A Victorian M.P. and his Constituents: The Correspondence of H.W. Tancred 1841-1860; Shoemaker's Window: Recollections of Banbury before the Railway Age*, by George Herbert (now available in Gulliver Press edition); *South Newington Churchwardens' Accounts 1553-1684; Wigginton Constables' Books 1691-1836; Bodicote Parish Accounts 1700-1822; Victorian Banbury*, by Barrie Trinder (with Phillimore); and *Aynho: A Northamptonshire Parish*, by Nicholas Cooper (with Leopard's Head Press). Volumes in preparation include *Banbury Gaol Records 1805-1852*, edited by Penelope Renold, and *Baptisms and Burials 1813-1838*. An edition of letters to the 1st Earl of Guilford (of Wroxton, father of Lord North, Prime Minister and M.P. for Banbury) is also planned.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 pm at the North Oxfordshire Technical College, Broughton Road, Banbury, on the second Thursday of each month. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local archaeological, historical and architectural subjects. In the summer, the AGM is held at a local country house and other visits are arranged.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer or seconder being needed. The annual subscription is £8.00 including any records volumes published, or £5.00 if these are excluded.

Application forms can be obtained from the Hon. Membership Secretary, c/o Banbury Museum, 8 Horsefair, Banbury, Oxon.

