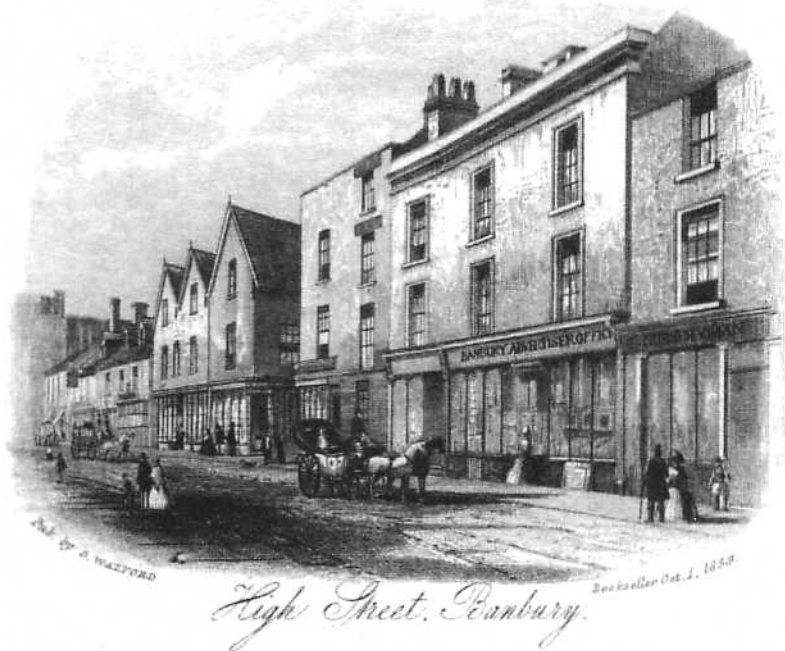


# CAKE AND COCKHORSE



## BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Summer 2003    £2.50

Volume 15    Number 9

ISSN 6522-0823

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

# *Cake and Cockhorse*

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

Volume 15	Number Nine	Summer 2003
<i>Barrie Trinder</i>	Banbury Memoirs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries ... ..	286
<i>Deborah Hayter</i>	Pasture and Profits: Sheep and Enclosure in Sixteenth Century Kings Sutton and Chipping Warden Hundreds. Part Two	304
<i>Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson</i>	The Late Rector of Shalstone [William Cotton Risley jnr.]	312
<hr/>		
<b><i>Obituaries</i></b>		
<i>Barrie Trinder</i>	Professor Colin Bell ... ..	314
<i>Jeremy Gibson</i>	Sarah Markham (née Loveday) ... ..	315
<hr/>		
<i>Jeremy Gibson</i>	Indexes to Volume 15 ... ..	317

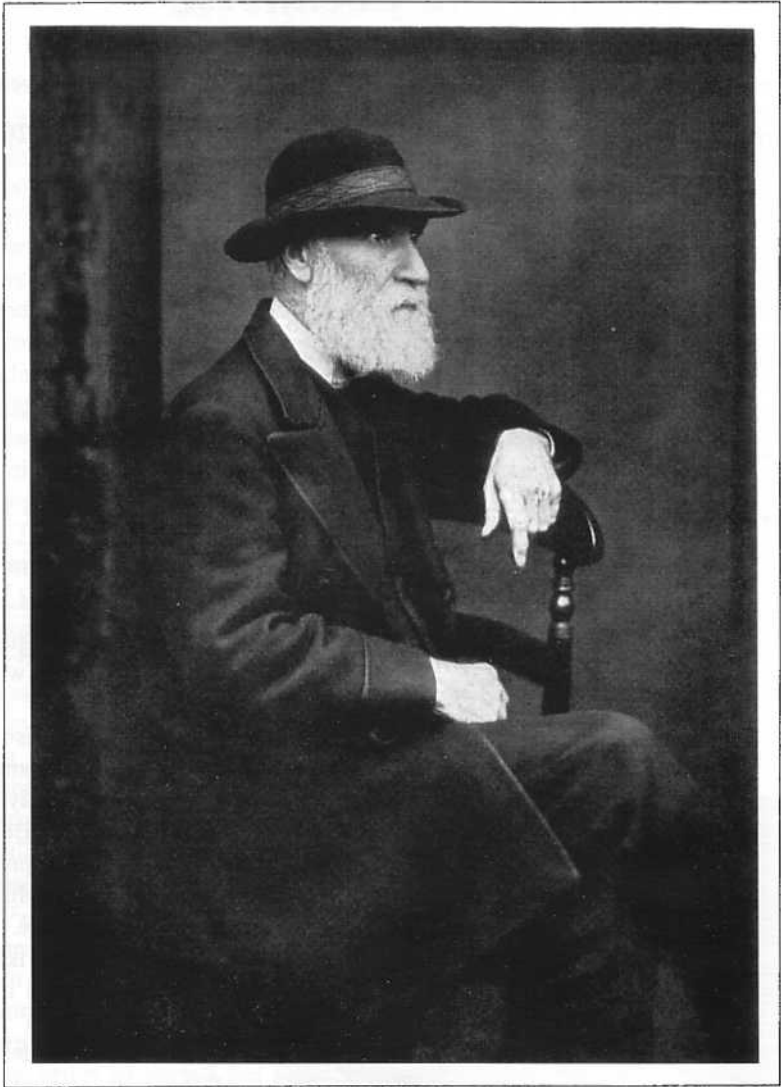


A study in hats – guess which one is not worn by a member of our Society – on our visit to Canons Ashby, organised by Deborah Hayter. Thanks also to Beryl Hudson for equally enjoyable visits to Milton Manor and Shalstone.

This is the last issue of Volume 15, and it is accompanied by a 26-page index – evidence of the vast amount of information contained within our pages.

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*Cover* Banbury High Street as nineteenth century memoir writers would have known it. The White Lion is just out of sight on the left-hand side



*George Herbert aged about 85.*

## BANBURY MEMOIRS OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

*Barrie Trinder*

Banbury has a rich legacy of historical literature. Many of the basic sources for the town's history have been published by this Society, and there are good general histories as well as scholarly studies of particular periods. Several sociological surveys have focussed on the town, and it has received a measure of attention in works of fiction. People interested in Banbury's history have been particularly well-blessed by the writers of autobiographies and memoirs, and the purpose of this article is to examine more than a dozen contrasting works that describe the town at different times between the 1820s and the 1980s.

The distinctions between autobiography and biography, and between the memoirs of an individual and contemporaries' recollections of him or her are often blurred. This selection includes several edited volumes that may not strictly be memoirs, but are close to their subjects in that they include recollections of their memories and their writings of various kinds. Neither straightforward obituaries, nor objective biographies nor entries in reference works are included. All the recollections are, directly or indirectly, of people who have lived in Banbury and accounts by visitors who merely passed through have been omitted.<sup>1</sup> Not all the memoirs were conceived as contributions to local history. Several are intended as inspirations to piety, one is a passage in the life of a prolific author, one a rather paranoiac work of self-justification, another a cultured analysis of changes in the English educational system. Some of the works published in the past forty years were reviewed in *Cake & Cockhorse* when they were published. A full bibliographical list appears below.

The best-known work is one of the earliest. George Herbert was born in 1814, the son of a Banbury weaver. He was apprenticed as a shoemaker, and on completing his time went 'on the tramp', seeking experience of the shoemaking trade in other towns, including Dover, where he met his future wife. After his marriage he returned to Banbury

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<sup>1</sup> For earlier accounts of Banbury by passing visitors see 'Travellers' Tales', J.S.W. Gibson, *C&CH*.5.7, pp.127-38, 5.8, pp. 143-55 (1973-74).

and set up in business in 1837 or 1838. About 1855 he was unable to meet his supplier's demands, although he was owed substantial sums by his customers amongst the gentry and clergy. After his stock was sold-off he resumed work as a shoemaker, but on a smaller scale, and began to earn his living from photography, which for some time he had pursued as a hobby. He gave up shoemaking about 1862, retired in 1887, and lived with a niece until his death in 1902. He wrote the manuscript of *Shoemaker's Window* in 1898-1900 to amuse two old friends, from one of whom it passed into the hands of a descendant, George Gardner Cheney, whose wife prepared it for publication. It has twice been reprinted. *Shoemaker's Window* is too familiar to require further analysis here. Its value derives very largely from the break in the author's acquaintance with Banbury during the period that he was working elsewhere which enabled him to retain an amazingly detailed memory of the town and its workings in the time of his apprenticeship in the late 1820s and early 1830s. It is also of value as a biography that extends into the 1850s, showing how precarious was the life of the self-employed craftsman in the days of long credit. *Shoemaker's Window* is a work of much more than local importance. Its very lack of sophistication makes it one of the key sources for our understanding of the nineteenth century market town.

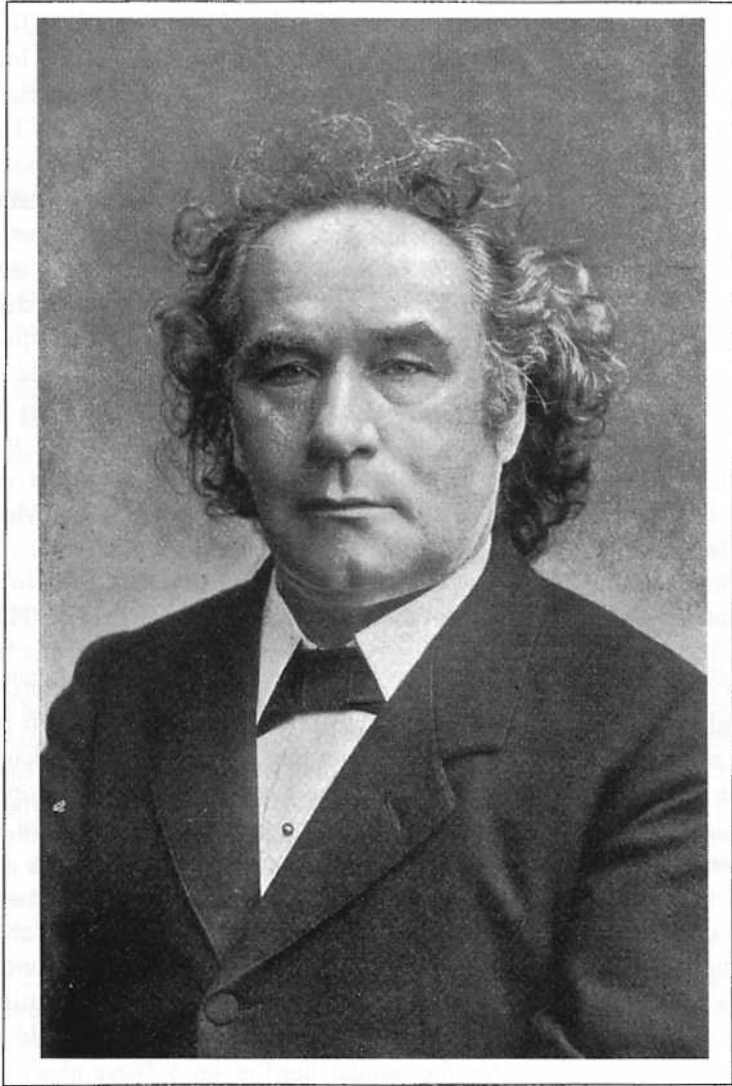
John Golby Rusher (1785-1877), printer and publisher of children's books,<sup>2</sup> and his wife Sarah (née Wilkins) married in 1810. Their daughter, also Sarah, was born in 1812, two years before George Herbert. In 1844 she married the chemist Thomas Beesley (b. 1818), whose shop from 1846 was at No. 5 High Street. Apart from the first two years of her married life, when she lived in Chipping Norton, she spent all her life in Banbury. Her biography consists of her memories of her life, year-by-year, supplemented by published accounts from the *Banbury Guardian*. John Golby Rusher was a prominent churchman and Conservative politician, and his daughter describes how, when he was mayor and before the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, the corporation would process to church each Sunday morning after taking wine and biscuits in the family dining room. She conveys something of the family's outrage when the new corporation elected in 1837 consisted entirely of Liberals, and her father was deprived for six years of his place on the magisterial bench. She had memories of several

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<sup>2</sup> For an article on his father William Rusher, see *C&CH*.11.9.

outbreaks of disorder in Banbury, including the general elections of 1820, 1831 and 1859, and the machine-breaking riot of 1830. Her husband was a leading sanitary reformer, and she makes incisive comments about the ways in which the sources of infection in Banbury were gradually removed through the work of the local Board of Health. She was also an active churchwoman, and reveals much about the Church of England, the bazaar held at Merton Street railway station in 1852 to raise money for Christ Church, South Banbury, the collection of the offertory from worshippers in their pews instead of at the door at St. Mary's in 1862, and the walk-out of the two churchwardens in protest against the introduction by the Rev. Henry Back of new liturgical practices in 1867. Perhaps her most revealing recollection relates to the municipal ball held in celebration of the Queen's marriage in 1840, when the organisers, anxious to ensure that the event would not be spoiled by political tensions, ensured that she, as the daughter of the town's leading Conservative, took the first dance with William Munton, son of the Liberal agent.

Thomas Ward Boss, son of John and Amelia Boss, was born in 1825 and baptised at the Presbyterian meeting house on 5 April 1826. He was eleven years younger than George Herbert, and spent most of his life in Banbury, much of it as librarian of the Mechanics' Institute. He provides splendidly detailed accounts of many aspects of life in the town in the 1830s and '40s, of the London wagons that conveyed the agricultural produce of Banburyshire to London in the years before railways opened, of the Captain Swing riots of 1830, although he was aged only five at the time, and of disorderly parliamentary elections. He provides many precise topographical details. He records his pride when, at the age of 13, he carried a flag in the procession celebrating Queen Victoria's coronation, and when he took part in the first canvass to raise money for the new Banbury Cross. He had a wonderful memory for significant details, recalling the storage of wood under the arches of the old town hall in the Market Place for the annual bonfire on 5 November, and a temperance lecture in 1837 in the schoolroom on The Green, then used by Richard Austin's Calvinistic Baptist congregation, by John Cassell (1817-65), who was a well-known publisher when they next met many years later.



*Joseph Parker, D.D.*



The memoirs of William Nightingale, born in Banbury, probably on 7 April 1776,<sup>3</sup> were written down by the Congregationalist minister, Joseph Parker (1830-1902), who knew him for only a few months between his ordination on 8 November 1853 and Nightingale's death on 17 January 1854. Nightingale was a dissolute youth, although the extent of his wrong-doing may, as in many similar memoirs, be exaggerated. Certainly he broke his apprenticeship as a plush weaver and joined the 84th Regiment of Foot on 12 March 1794, the year after Britain entered what was to prove a long period of war with France. He fought in France and the Netherlands, where 'he committed endless sins while drunk', and after the peace of 1815 served in his regiment in India, returning to Banbury in April 1820. He had attended the Independent (*i.e.* Congregationalist) chapel in Church Passage in Banbury before he enlisted, and renewed his links with the society on his release, although for some years he was tempted to spend the Sundays after he had received his army pension in a public house rather than the chapel. His ways changed after he heard the Rev. Rowland Hill (1744-1833) preach at a chapel in the countryside near Banbury. He encouraged families who were too shy to speak to ministers, and was sufficiently well-read to recommend books to Joseph Parker, although in the opinion of his colleagues, Parker, at the age of 23, was not the most learned of ministers. Parker thought that the memoir dispelled the glamour of the warrior's life, and showed the baleful consequences of disobedience, but it does rather more than that. It outlines the history of a man whose life was shaped by more than twenty years of war with France, and throws interesting light on the role of the laity in a dissenting congregation in a market town.

Parker's autobiography describes his short ministry in Banbury between 1853 and 1858, concentrating on its highlights, the popular opposition aroused by his declamations against Sunday excursionists, which is rather underplayed, his debates with the secularist G.J. Holyoake (1817-1906), the visit of the renowned Congregationalist minister Dr. R.W. Dale (1825-95) of Birmingham, and his 'secular classes' in grammar, Latin and history, where he claimed his pupils included a future millionaire and a high-ranking officer in the Metropolitan Police.

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<sup>3</sup> The text gives Nightingale's date of birth as 7 April 1777, but it appears that he was baptised, the son of Frederick Nightingale, schoolmaster, and his wife Susanna, on 3 May 1776, and 7 April 1776 seems the more likely.

His principal achievement was perhaps to move the congregation from the domed 'new chapel' in Church Passage to the classical building in South Bar that is now a restaurant. Parker moved from Banbury to the chapel in Cavendish Street, Manchester, and subsequently to the City Temple in London, where he became one of the most celebrated clerics of his day, 'probably the last of pulpit Titans of a certain type' as one memoir described him. His career can be followed in several other sources, but all agree that this immature and scarcely-trained young minister made a profound impact on a town where there were at least two other equally enthusiastic young clergy. The autobiography of Parker's contemporary, the Rev. William Thomas Henderson (b. 1825), minister of the Baptist church in Bridge Street between 1851 and 1864, which was written in 1910, has not been printed, but it has been used by historians,<sup>4</sup> and a typescript can be consulted in the library of Regent's Park College, Oxford.

Eliza Redford (née Eustace) was born at West Hanney, then in Berkshire, on 27 April 1816, and went into domestic service in her early teens. In 1836 she married a sack-maker, and herself began to work for a sack-making business in Wantage, where she became an active Wesleyan Methodist about 1840. She was the mother of twelve children, only three of whom survived beyond infancy. Her husband broke his leg when drunk which forced the family to apply for parish relief, and in the hope of getting him away from temptations in Wantage she took a job about 1851 with the brothers Ebenezer and Thomas Wall, makers of ropes and sacking in Castle Street, Banbury. The Walls had been active in the Baptist Chapel in Bridge Street, but by the early 1850s they were affiliated to the Disciples of Christ, the denomination founded in the United States by the Scottish Baptist minister Alexander Campbell (1788-1866), who visited Banbury in 1847. At first the Disciples met in the Infants' School in the yard of the *White Horse*, but moved in 1866 to the chapel in Gatteridge Street, later occupied by the *Banbury Advertiser* and now by the Jehovah's Witnesses. The book also provides evidence of a schism within the Disciples of Christ about 1860 that led Thomas Wall to build a small place of worship in the Gothic style in the garden

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<sup>4</sup> B. Trinder, *Victorian Banbury* (1982), B.H.S. 19 and Chichester, Phillimore, pp. 111-113; B. Trinder, 'Joseph Parker, Sabbatarianism and the Parson's Street Infidels', *C&CH*, 1.2 (1959); *The Christian Commonwealth*, Dr. Parker Memorial Number, 4 December 1902.

of his substantial house at No.7 South Street, Grimsbury. The chapel was later adapted as a dwelling and remained occupied until well into the second half of the twentieth century. In the 1861 census the Redford family are shown residing at No. 29 Broad Street, and all the details on the enumerator's return tally precisely with those related in the biography. The purpose of the book is to justify the author's conduct with respect to accusations about her relationships with Ebenezer Wall. It is a paranoiac ramble, but nevertheless provides evidence about aspects of religious life in Banbury that lie beyond the reach of conventional historical sources.<sup>5</sup>

Richard Belcher was the son of Henry Belcher, born in Chipping Norton in 1785, who after a spell working to gain experience in London, married in Banbury on 21 October 1811 and set up a partnership with Richard Goffe in a drapery business in the same year. Belcher attended the Independent (Congregationalist) Chapel in Church Passage, while retaining his membership of the Baptist society in Chipping Norton. Richard Belcher's mother was the daughter of Richard Boswell, a shoemaker born in Pershore who went to Banbury to be foreman of a shoemaking business on behalf of a Mrs. Armitt, a widow, whom he subsequently married. Boswell was also linked with the Independent Chapel, and was the first shoemaker in Banbury to cease trading on Sundays, when previously much trade was done. He became a supplier of leather to other shoemakers, and held large stocks of boots which were from time to time bought wholesale by colonels of infantry regiments passing through the town. Belcher repeats a rumour that the treasurer of the trustees building the new St. Mary's church absconded with £1000, but the event, if true, must have taken place before he was born. His parents both died in 1825, and from 1827 he was educated at what he called 'Samuel Hill's first class school for tradesmen's sons'. Belcher's adult life was spent away from Banbury, but his distant memories of his childhood provide some insights into life in the town from a viewpoint different from that of George Herbert.

John Drinkwater (1882-1937), the playwright and poet who was closely involved with the foundation of the Birmingham Repertory Theatre, never lived in Banbury, but his autobiography preserves family

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<sup>5</sup> B. Trinder, 'Schisms and Divisions: the Origins of the Dissenting Congregations in Banbury 1772-1860', *C&CH*, 8.8 (1982), pp.216-19.

recollections of ancestors who did play important parts in the town's life. John Drinkwater was born at Leytonstone, Essex, to a theatrical family but spent much of his youth in Oxford, where he attended the City of Oxford School from the age of nine, and lived in Winchester Road with his maternal grandfather, John Beck Brown, who had an ironmongery business in Cornmarket Street. He recalls holidays with other relations in a farming household at Piddington. John Drinkwater was the great-great-grandson of John Drinkwater (1763-1840) of The Ark, Warwick Road, and the grandson of George Drinkwater (1808-73), a stage-coaching entrepreneur, who was landlord of the *Three Goats* at the corner of George Street and Cornmarket Street, Oxford, that he re-named the *George*.



*John Drinkwater of the White Lion, Banbury.*

George Drinkwater's brother John (1798-1878), the author's great-uncle, born at The Ark, began a long career as a landlord in Banbury in 1823 at the *George and Dragon*, moving to the *Flying Horse* by 1830 and to the *White Lion* by 1832. He was the celebrated host at one of Banbury's principal hotels for about forty years, before he retired to a farm at Drayton Fields that he had bought in 1854. For a time he had stage-coaching links with his brother in Oxford. In some respects the best feature of John Drinkwater's autobiography is his evocation of

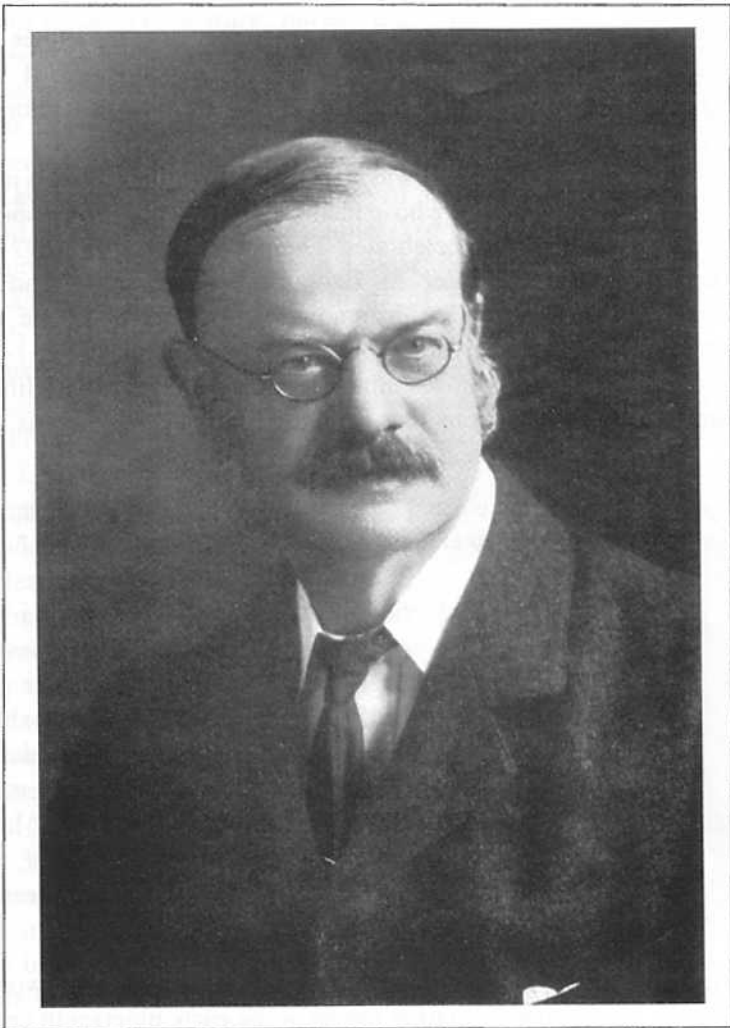
coaching in Oxford, based on family recollections and notes in the Bodleian Library written by William Bayzand, once guard on the *Mazepa* between Oxford and Hereford, and afterwards janitor at the Radcliffe Camera.

Richard Edmunds (1822-95) was, like William Nightingale, a member of a dissenting congregation whose memoirs were recorded by one of his clergy, in this case by the celebrated Thomas Champness (1832-1905), who was Wesleyan minister in Banbury between 1865 and 1867. Edmunds was the son of an ironmonger, also Richard, one of the Conservatives in Banbury who favoured the Reform Bill in 1831-32. He was also an Evangelical whose enthusiastic participation in the liturgy at St. Mary's led to suggestions that he should join the Wesleyans, which he did.



The younger Richard was educated at a small private boarding school in Warwickshire, joined the business when he was 14, and often rode to markets in other towns. His religious conversion began when he heard his father preach in the Wesleyan chapel at Bloxham in the autumn of 1837, and reached a climax in a cottage meeting service in Grimsbury in May 1839. He himself became a popular local preacher, taking his first services at a cottage meeting at Nethercote.

The memoir, often unintentionally, reveals much about the workings of Wesleyan Methodism in market towns in the early nineteenth century, the role of cottage meetings in catering for the religious needs of outlying suburbs and in nurturing local preachers, and the ways in which the local preaching activities of men like Richard Edmunds, regularly travelling to distant societies and hosting circuit meetings in Banbury, mirrored their secular occupations, visiting and entertaining in his shop customers from the town's hinterland. Richard Edmunds had a long career in public life in Banbury, serving as mayor in 1858, and joining the magisterial bench in 1874. He took his last service at the age of 70 at Farthinghoe in August 1892. The memoir assembled by Thomas Champness includes a selection of his sermons.



*William Charles Braithwaite.*

The memoir of William Charles Braithwaite (1862-1922), edited by his sisters, is also a composite work rather than an autobiography, but is based on Braithwaite's recollections, and includes 72 pages of his own writings. W.C. Braithwaite was the eighth child of Joseph Bevan Braithwaite (1818-1905) and his wife, Martha (1823-95) daughter of the Banbury banker Joseph Ashby Gillett (1795-1853). All four of the children's grandparents were Quakers by birth. The family home was at No. 312 Camden Road in north London, one of a semi-detached pair, of

which the other in due course was occupied by Charles Gillett (1861-1919). The Braithwaite children regularly spent three-week summer holidays in Banbury with their grandmother. W.C. Braithwaite attended Oliver's Mount School at Scarborough and University College London, but at the age of 20 embarked on a tour with his father and Charles Gillett, representing the British & Foreign Bible Society. They went through Paris, Basle, Schaffhausen, Saltzburg, Vienna and Budapest, before taking a boat on the River Danube that took them through the Iron Gates to Bucharest. They travelled over the Black Sea to Odessa, saw the battle sites in the Crimea and visited Yalta before crossing the Black Sea again to Batum, from where they explored the Caucasus and saw Mount Ararat. They took a steamer from Trebizond to Constantinople, before visiting the site of Troy, Ephesus, Rhodes, Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem, and crossed the Mediterranean to stay for a time in Athens before returning to England by sea. At first W.C. Braithwaite followed a career in the law, working with his father, a conveyancing barrister at Lincoln's Inn, and being called to the Bar in 1886, but in 1896 he became engaged to Janet Morland, and was offered a partnership in Gilletts Bank at Banbury. The couple first set up home in Dashwood Road, moved to West Bar and subsequently to Castle House,<sup>6</sup> adjacent to the bank in Cornhill. W.C. Braithwaite was a member of the borough Education Committee from its formation in 1902, and a magistrate from 1906. He had been involved with the adult school movement from his early working days in London, and in Banbury was the leading figure in the Windmill Adult School in North Bar, which took its name from the public house that had formerly occupied the premises. While he lived in Banbury Braithwaite wrote two books on the history of the Quaker movement that are still regarded as authoritative, as well as a volume of poetry published shortly before his death.<sup>7</sup> He had many talents, was a national figure in Quakerism and in the adult schools movement and was accorded profound respect in banking circles. His memoir throws light on a period of Banbury's history that has been relatively neglected.

Anthony Williams was an Ulsterman, and, like many from that province, a staunch upholder of the English establishment in state and

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<sup>6</sup> For Castle House, see 'The House at Pye Corner', *C&CH*.13.8 (1997).

<sup>7</sup> W.C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (1912), London: Macmillan; W.C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1919), London: Macmillan; W.C. Braithwaite, *Verses* (1922), London: Swarthmore Press.

church. Born in 1892, he was educated at the King's School at Worcester Cathedral, Exeter College, Oxford and Salisbury Theological College, and after serving in several parishes in the diocese of Ripon, succeeded Canon A.J. Jones as Vicar of Banbury in 1931. He was offered the parish by T.B. Strong (1861-1944), by that time Bishop of Oxford, whom he had known as Bishop of Ripon. His autobiography provides a vivid picture of Banbury in the 1930s and during World War Two. He knew William Potts (1868-1947), the historian, who served on his parochial church council. The new church of St. Hugh was opened at Easington while he was vicar, and the organ at St. Mary's was rebuilt. Plans for a Church of England secondary school in Banbury were delayed by the onset of war, and never subsequently realised. The vicarage in the Horsefair was the hub of many activities during World War Two, and Anthony Williams has much to say about British troops based in Banbury, evacuees and Americans. He left Banbury in 1946 to become vicar of Bournemouth, and served as Bishop of Bermuda between 1956 and 1962. His autobiography is a valuable contribution to the history of twentieth century Banbury. The choice of frontispiece, the author shaking hands with Richard Milhous Nixon, was, with hindsight, unfortunate.

The autobiography of Cecil Lancelot (Lance) Harman shows a different aspect of twentieth century Banbury, although his life began in 1909 in a vicarage, at Brislington, Somerset. He was educated at Uppingham, read forestry at Christ's College, Cambridge, worked for Alfred Savill & Sons, land agents, and served as a surveyor for the War Department during World War Two. Afterwards he became a director of Hunt Edmunds Brewery in Banbury, of which his maternal grandfather, Thomas Wilkinson Holland (d. 1908) had become a partner in 1872. The author's picture of the management of the brewery has a ring of reality, if only because it would be incredible in a work of fiction. The short working days, the gentlemanly manner in which the chairman placed bets from the boardroom, and the irregular relationships with farmers who supplied the brewery with barley have been highlighted in the standard history of the brewing industry.<sup>8</sup> His chairman and other directors, the outside manager and the brewer are, perhaps wisely, not named, although a historian of the company would have no difficulty in

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<sup>8</sup> T.R. Gourvish & R.G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry 1830-1980* (1994), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.



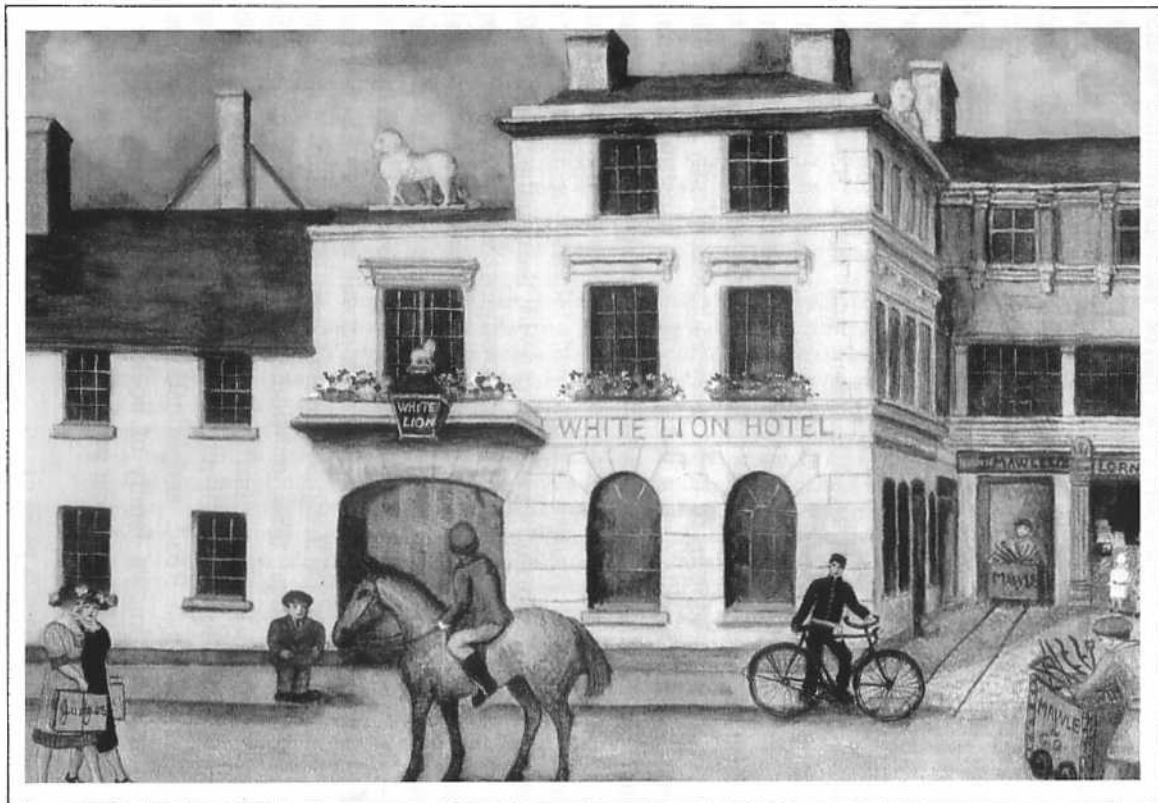
identifying them. The company secretary, on whom the brewery was entirely dependent, 'Raymond' in the memoir, was R.B. Miller, who died in 1963 after spending half his lifetime as a member of the town council in Banbury and twice serving as mayor. He was a member of the Banbury Historical Society from its foundation, and the author of the history of the brewery published in 1946, and of several short works on Roman Catholicism in Banbury.<sup>9</sup> Lance Harman, however charmed he may have been by the situation he found when he moved to Banbury, was clearly an able manager, in due course becoming managing director and chairman of the company. The brewery was rebuilt in the mid-1950s with the high chimney that was for several decades one of Banbury's chief landmarks, the quality of beer was improved, previous attitudes to quality having been wholly lackadaisical, and public houses were developed as restaurants and hotels. Harman represented Bloxham on Banbury Rural District Council, which he later chaired. Hunt Edmunds became a public company and was taken over after which the brewery closed, while the author moved to Evenley and subsequently served on Northamptonshire County Council. Lance Harman sometimes seems over-concerned with describing eccentrics and telling good anecdotes, but this is a much more consequential contribution to local history than it appears at first sight.

Marjory Lester (née Pursaill) was born in 1914, the daughter of Robert Pursaill, a London Quaker of humble origins who had become acquainted with a member of the Gillett family at the Peel Institute in Clerkenwell, and Olive Ormiston Chant, daughter of a well-known hymn-writer. After Robert Pursaill served in the Friends' Ambulance Unit during World War One, he and his wife moved in 1920 to Banbury, where he was manager of E.W. Brown's bakery. The family lived at Cedar Villa in Boxhedge, then in Middleton Road, and from about 1958 at No. 4 West Bar, previously the home of W.C. Braithwaite's spinster sisters. Marjory Pursaill attended what was then the County School in Marlborough Road, and in 1935 married Charles Lester, a member of the well-known family of bookmakers. Her books<sup>10</sup> throw some light on religion, in particular on the role of the Quakers and of the

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<sup>9</sup> *Cake & Cockhorse*, 2.4 (1962), pp.50, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Marjory Lester. *Memories of Banbury: an illustrated record of an Oxfordshire childhood*, Banbury, 1986, and *These Golden Days: an illustrated record of an Oxfordshire market town from the 1930's*, Banbury 1992. Reviewed in *C&CH*, 12.4 (Autumn 1992), pp.108-109.



*The White Lion Hotel, an illustration in 'These Golden Days', by Marjory Lester (reproduced by kind permission).*

brotherhood movement, but they also illuminate the dazzling, no-expenses spared world of Banbury's bookmakers in the mid-twentieth century. The second volume includes informative recollections of Grimsbury, Banbury's eastern suburb. Marjory Lester's recollections were originally published as an accompaniment to her watercolours, but they are a valuable source in their own right on Banbury's twentieth century history, not least because they bridge the gap between the worlds represented by W.C. Braithwaite and Lance Harman.

The 'confessions' of the prolific writer Anthony Burgess, who, as John Wilson (1917-1993) was an English master at Banbury Grammar School between 1950 and 1954, have recently been discussed in this journal, together with his novel *The Worm and the Ring*, published in 1961, which is recognisably set in Banbury, and the consequent libel action.<sup>11</sup> It is appropriate to reiterate that neither the autobiography nor the novel is intended to be local history, but both convey a vivid sense of what it was like to live in Banbury in the 1950s, and of the intricacies of the language spoken by people in the town.

The final autobiographical work in this survey is the only one to have been written by an acknowledged historian, although by an historian best-known as an educationalist. Harry Judge,<sup>12</sup> at the age of 33, became headmaster of Banbury Grammar School in January 1962, seven and a half years after the departure of John Wilson, and some months before the launching of the libel case against *The Worm and the Ring*. Harry Judge was responsible for the implementation of comprehensive schooling in Banbury, and was appointed principal of Banbury School from September 1967. In 1973 he moved to direct the Department of Educational Studies at the University of Oxford. The section on Banbury provides some good local colour, in particular the descriptions of the ways of working of the County Education Department in the early 1960s, and of the influence of Richard Crossman, M.P., of Prescote Manor, when he was a government minister between 1964 and 1970, but the book offers much more. Harry Judge skilfully integrates elements of

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<sup>11</sup> B. Trinder, 'A Literary Jubilee: Anthony Burgess', *C&CH*, 15.2 (2001), pp.62-65. See also R. Lewis, *Anthony Burgess* (2002), London: Faber & Faber (reviewed by the author in *C&CH*. 15.8 (2003)).

<sup>12</sup> Harry Judge was a committee member of the B.H.S. from 1963 until 1966, when on his resignation he was elected a vice-president. In 1977 he returned to speak to us on 'History, Politics and Education', one of the most brilliant talks our Society has ever been privileged to hear. *Ed.*

family history with the broad pattern of educational developments in England. His father lived at Kidlington and gained a scholarship from the village school to Lord Williams's School, Thame, from which he joined the Great Western Railway as a clerk, in which capacity he worked at Cardiff where Harry Judge himself was educated before going to Brasenose College, Oxford. The consequences of the educational changes of the second half of the twentieth century for the many schools mentioned in the book are from time to time updated. Harry Judge was a powerful influence on educational policy in England from the time of his appointment at Banbury until the 1980s. His recollections could have been a dull recital of committee reports, Plowden, Redcliffe-Maud, Newsom, Robbins, James, but instead we have a cultured and subtle view of far-reaching changes, set skilfully in their historical context.

The cross references between the works reviewed and the questions that arise from them above are numerous and intriguing. How well did the young Sarah Beesley know her contemporary the apprentice shoemaker, or the rather older William Nightingale, who would have been the subject of disapproval by her respectable family, both as an ex-soldier and a dissenter? Thomas Ward Boss was living in South Bar in 1855 and recalled seeing the Rev. Joseph Parker with his two elders visiting their new chapel then under construction. Was the writing of *Shoemaker's Window* in any way stimulated by the impending publication of Boss's *Reminiscences*? John Drinkwater, the poet, lectured in the town hall at Banbury where the audience included Marjory Lester, who had fond memories from the 1930s, '40s and '50s of the White Lion where for forty years the landlord was Drinkwater's uncle. It was also the venue of an embarrassing dinner given by a former colleague for John Wilson/Anthony Burgess, on his return from the Far East in 1957. There are many more links and diligent readers will doubtless discover others. They show the value to local historians in general of reminiscences of whatever sort, and the richness of our inheritance of such sources in Banbury.

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**PASTURES AND PROFITS:  
SHEEP AND ENCLOSURE IN SIXTEENTH CENTURY  
KINGS SUTTON AND CHIPPING WARDEN HUNDREDS**

**Part 2** [Part 1 appeared in *C&CH.15.8*, pp.255-274, with a map.]

*Deborah Hayter*

Having looked in some detail at the owners and farming of the deserted villages of the Sutton Hundred, we turn to the open-field vills: Croughton, for instance, had 600 sheep on enclosed pasture in 1547 but was not enclosed until 1807; it is possible that the flock may have been grazing on the pastures of Astwick, or on the heathy ground along the Oxfordshire boundary. This is very much not a deserted or shrunken village. Similarly, Marston St. Lawrence was not enclosed until 1760, but yet had 600 sheep in 1547: Bridges describes the southern half of the parish as enclosed in the early 1700s.<sup>1</sup> Syresham is another large and thriving village, enclosed by Act in 1795, but with 360 sheep in 1547, and 460 acres of 'old enclosures' by the time of the Award. All these villages had found ways to accommodate larger flocks within or alongside the open-field system.

Chacombe, Culworth, Farthinghoe and Greatworth were all enclosed by agreement in the early seventeenth century. There was a flock of 720 in Farthinghoe in 1547, and it seems unlikely that these were all on the demesne which was enclosed in 1510: probably there had been some partial enclosure before the final agreement c.1612. The 1634 agreement to enclose at least half of the fields of Greatworth was recorded in Chancery and a copy preserved locally with a map. There are fourteen signatories to this agreement, mainly the yeomen of the village but with four gentlemen, including Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, who appears in the sheep listings with flocks in Stuchbury, and William Pargiter of Greatworth (Esq.), who later appears with 1000 sheep in Halse. The agreement goes into great detail about the closes, and it looks as if the enclosure and division has been in place for some time, and is being made legally binding on all the parties by this document – there is no mention of yardlands at all.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bridges: *Northants*, p.181.

<sup>2</sup> NRO XYZ 990 & 991. Lawrence Washington (d.1616), grandson of Lawrence (d.1583/4), sold Sulgrave in 1610 to his cousin Lawrence Makepeace, so it is unclear why a Lawrence Washington should have been a signatory in 1634.

In amongst the grassy townships, what of the successful open-field villages which did not appear to have enclosed pastures or large sheep flocks in the sixteenth century and carried on with their ploughing of the yardlands until Parliamentary enclosure put a stop to it? Even in these villages the picture is not a simple one. The manor of Aynho was bought by Rowland Shakerley, a London mercer in 1540; in 1561 he enclosed his demesne and by 1612 there were c.700 acres enclosed.<sup>3</sup> In 1615 the manor was bought by Richard Cartwright (he had made his money in London in the law), who set about building up a considerable land holding in the villages round about, buying land in bits and pieces as it became available.<sup>4</sup>

Charlton seems not to have had a manor house or a resident landlord at least since the Black Death, and was still being farmed in open-field until it was enclosed by Act of Parliament in 1772. Land was still being bought, sold, inherited and mortgaged as 'x yardlands with their appurtenances' into the eighteenth century. However, the Act refers to the West Field which was to be allotted '*to and amongst the several persons having and using or who for forty years last past have had and used stocked and enjoyed the same as Common and Common pasture for their respective cattle at a determinate rate or stint.*'<sup>5</sup> A document of 1681 shows this pasture to have been in existence in the seventeenth century, since '*one cow common in West Field*' is included.<sup>6</sup> Morton, writing in 1712, describes how this sort of pasture came about: '*Many of the Lordships, and especially of the larger ones, have a Common, or uninclosed Pasture for their Cattell in the Out-skirts of the Fields. Most of these have formerly been plow'd; but being generally their worst sort of ground, and at so great Distance from the Towns, the Manuring and Culture of them were found so inconvenient, that they have been laid down for Greensod.*'<sup>7</sup>

Ordinary husbandmen and yeoman farmers found ways to expand their businesses if they needed to. Henry Phillips of Charlton whose will, dated 1551, gives us a glimpse into an otherwise completely unknowable life, had besides his holding in Charlton, '*my farme with the land,*

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<sup>3</sup> Cooper: *Aynho* p.40.

<sup>4</sup> NRO Cartwright papers, various.

<sup>5</sup> quoted in *Charlton & Newbottle. the History of Two Villages*, Charlton & Newbottle History Society, London (2000), p.64.

<sup>6</sup> KRO U455 T138.

<sup>7</sup> Morton: *Northants* p.14.

*common meadowe, pasture, barnes and appurtenances in the towne of Lawrence Marston*', which he had presumably acquired during his lifetime, and so could leave to his wife.<sup>8</sup> He was emphatically not just a peasant cultivator plodding up and down the strips which he had inherited from his father: he had taken on extra land in a village five miles away and must have employed labourers to work it. His son Richard was one of the two 'occupiers' of the Rectory and advowson of Newbottle in 1594, together with a close, dovehouse, and 6 ½ yardlands in Charlton, the former possessions of Dunstaple Priory.<sup>9</sup> The Lay Subsidy lists Henry Philipps in 1544 as worth 40s., not very much compared to Peter Dormer (£100), though he was exceptional; the minimum was 20s., on which 2d. was paid in tax. But there was also Thos Phylypes who was perhaps the farmer by this time, and he was worth £14, among the wealthier farmers.<sup>10</sup> The Philipps had exploited such opportunities as came their way, particularly after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, which freed odd parcels of land here and there, such as that in Charlton.

The Haddons farmed in Charlton for 350 years, and built a typical yeoman farmhouse in the seventeenth century which was for two hundred years the largest house in the village. 'Haddons Farm' is first mentioned in a lease of 1556; four Smythes/alias Haddons appear in the Lay Subsidy in 1544, worth 20s., £7, £6 and £3, but by the seventeenth century the Haddons were substantial farmers. William Haddon's will, dated 1659, shows him to have owned one house with 7¼ yardlands, in which he lived, another house with 4¾ yardlands and four cottages adjoining it, and a house in Astrop 'and its lands', which is to go to his third son, provided that he pays £200 to the fourth son. Thirty-five sheep are to be disposed of in the will (so there must be more than this to manure the land), and £80 is to go to his daughter (which £80 '*is owed to me by my eldest son William*').<sup>11</sup> These are very large sums of money, as was the £125 paid by William Haddon to Richard Cresswell in 1622 for 3¼ yardlands.<sup>12</sup> All this wealth was created not just by wool, as far as we can see, but by the profits of open-field farming, on a large scale, and with

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<sup>8</sup> NRO Wills 1st Vol. P.272.

<sup>9</sup> KRO Thanet papers, U455 T138.

<sup>10</sup> PRO E179/156/183.

<sup>11</sup> PRO E179/156/183; Will: NRO PROB 11 f266.

<sup>12</sup> NRO Cartwright Papers, C(A)1590.





*The house that the Haddons built, in two stages, in Charlton on the profits of open-field farming. The date on the date-stone on this later half is 1662.*

a close or two of pasture intermingled. The Haddons are 'yeomen' in every document, save one: there is an indenture of 1651 in which he is 'William Haddon, gentleman' and a reference is made to his '*newe dwellinge house in Astropp*'.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately it has not been possible to identify this new dwelling house, and the gentry status did not stick for long – the Haddons were yeomen again by 1700, though they still lived in the biggest house in the village.

There are other examples to show that yeoman farmers could make serious money in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – sheep were not the only route to riches. In 1611 Shakerley Marmion, the squire of Aynho, heavily in debt, sold to eleven of the village copyholders the freeholds to their lands for very large sums - £100 for one yardland and £350 for two yardlands, for instance. These farmers must have been making good profits from their yardland holdings to be able to do this.<sup>14</sup> In 1642 two messuages with 3½ yardlands in Astrop changed hands for the startlingly large sum of £905.<sup>15</sup>

The table overleaf shows the extent of sheep-farming and enclosures in the Warden Hundred.

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<sup>13</sup> NRO SAS 132.

<sup>14</sup> Cooper: *Aynho*, p.41.

<sup>15</sup> NRO Cartwright papers, C(A) 1472.

WARDEN HUNDRED

Enclosures

Village	Sheep		Deserted	Shrunken	Enclosed			Act of Partt
	1547	1564			by 1500	by 1600	by 1700	
Appletree	360	360	✓		✓		✓	
Aston le Walls					80a		c 40%	enc 1712
Byfield								1640 cov pasture 20% ley
Chipping Warden	✓				pastures			completely
Edgecot	600	600	✓		240a			completely
Eydon	720	360					44% ley	
Famdon (in Woodford)	✓			✓				
Greatworth	✓							Agreement 1634
Hinton (in Woodford)	✓							
Lower Boddington								1753
Stuchbury	1000	1800	✓				?Hill grove pasture	40% ley
Sulgrave	✓							1758
Traftord	720	600	✓					
Upper Boddington						completely		c 40% grass
Westhorp (in Greatworth)							?Hill grove pasture	30% ley
Woodford	✓							36% ley
								? Woodford Hill = pasture
								1778
								1758

*Sheep flocks, pastures and enclosures in the Hundred of Warden.*

Beresford, in *The Lost Villages of England*, showed the Hundred of Warden as having lost a very high proportion of its settlements: four out of twelve, or 33%.<sup>16</sup> The table above has sixteen settlements, in fact, giving Boddington as two separate vills, and separating Hinton and Farndon which are both in the parish of Woodford. It is immediately obvious that this was a very grassy area: Stuchbury and Trafford were completely deserted and enclosed by 1500, Stuchbury Pastures being grazed by a large flock belonging to a number of people, among whom was Lawrence Washington who owned the manor of Sulgrave. Edgecote was cited in 1517 as having had 240 acres enclosed, but was still at least partly in open field in 1521, when Thomas Chauncey bequeathed '*one londe of barley to the church*'; it was completely enclosed about 1700, and in the eighteenth century the remains of the village were removed and rebuilt outside the park.<sup>17</sup> Appletree was also enclosed early, and even those vills which were officially 'enclosed' by Act of Parliament had already acquired by one means or another plenty of pasture by 1700. Woodford was noted in 1547 as having pasture, and it is probable that Farndon and Hinton shared the common pasture at the top of Woodford Hill. This is not recorded in documents, but looks as if it has never had ridge and furrow, and unless it has been completely destroyed by modern cultivation this may indicate its use as permanent pasture during the medieval period.<sup>18</sup> There is a considerable amount of information about farming in Byfield and Westhorp from a series of glebe terriers of the seventeenth century: the parson was expecting to get about 220 fleeces in a year in tithe from the pastures here – sheep were obviously still important.<sup>19</sup>

In all this we can see three different types of enclosure: some pastures were the result of desertion and abandonment, where smaller and less viable settlements, like Astwick, were left to the sheep in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We can imagine that the few remaining inhabitants of places such as this would have found alternative niches in nearby villages in the second half of the fourteenth century. Secondly, there were enclosures after the inhabitants were evicted by their landlords, such as in Newbottle, catalogued by Wolsey's Commission of

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<sup>16</sup> Beresford: *Lost Villages*, p.235.

<sup>17</sup> Leadam: *Inlosures*, p.303; will NRO Prob 1st series Bk B; Baker: *Northants*. Washington only acquired land in Sulgrave in the 1530s, and the manor in 1538.

<sup>18</sup> RCHM: *Inventory, N-W Northants*, p.203.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Hall: *Open Fields*, pp.227-8.

*ibidem morari et inhabitari ac iconomia uti solebant ociosi ab inde abierunt.*’; the luckless 36 villagers went away ‘idle’ or as we would say ‘unemployed’.<sup>20</sup> Thirdly, there were enclosures and conversion of arable to pasture which did not involve depopulation at all, continuing through the sixteenth and into the seventeenth centuries. Some communities created ‘cow pastures’ and common grazing without making individual enclosures, or laid groups of ridges to grass; others rearranged and enclosed all or part of the open-field township to create separate holdings, for pasture or plough, such as Chacombe and Farthinghoe.

It is clear that there were already considerable areas of enclosed pastures in those townships that were enclosed by Acts of Parliament: this may invalidate statistics which add up all those acreages affected by the Acts. By the eighteenth century few of the open-field vills were still completely open and unenclosed; but they were still mainly worked in common, and by common right: the enclosers wished to extinguish common right and customary leases.

We can also see that farmers in open-field villages could be opportunistic and enterprising, and were not limited to their own townships when seeking to expand their businesses. In particular, the Dissolution of the Monasteries made quite small parcels of land available as well as whole manors, and these were bought up or rented by quite modest husbandmen as well as by the gentry-on-the-make like the Spencers.

### **Abbreviations:**

BHS	Banbury Historical Society
IPM	<i>Inquisitio post Mortem</i>
KRO	Kent Record Office
NRO	Northampton Record Office
ORO	Oxfordshire Record Office
ORS	Oxfordshire Record Society
NRS	Northamptonshire Record Society
PRO	Public Record Office
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
VCH	<i>Victoria County History</i>

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<sup>20</sup> Leadam: *Inclosures*, p.300.

**Primary Sources not in print:**

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**Northampton Record Office:** Cartwright Papers, various

Ellesmere (Brackley) papers, various

Enclosure Acts and Awards

Kings Sutton Poor Rate Books

Probate records, various

Montagu (Boughton) papers 'A Booke of Fines and Estreats Q. Eliz & Jac I

Various terriers, indentures, leases, agreements etc. filed with parish papers

**Oxford Record Office :** probate records

**Public Record Office:** *Inquisitiones post Mortem*

Lay subsidy of 1301; E179/156/183

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# THE LATE RECTOR OF SHALSTONE

*Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson*

[Text of a brief talk given at the A.G.M. at Shalstone]

Ninety-five years ago last March, the funeral took place in Shalstone church of the former rector for 29 years, 1878-1907, William Cotton Risley. He was predeceased by his wife, Martina, and followed in 1909 when his only son Martin died in his thirties. However, all of his three (unmarried) daughters lie buried with their paternal grandparents, and John Barber, in the large tomb outside the south door of Adderbury church: the last as late as the 1950s.

The family represents the only descendants of William Cotton Risley senr. (1798-1869) who lived at Deddington House: in consequence it was the surviving daughter, Ethel Risley, who is responsible for the Bodleian Library's archive of papers, letters and diaries which will – in short time, we hope – shed more light on Banburyshire history.

William the Rector was a conservative figure with a small 'c' as, according to his obituary in the *Banbury Guardian*, he took no active part in politics. That is, apart from the possession, from the late 1850s, of seven votes to cast in general elections – for South Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Oxford University. His father the diarist was more keen politically – and had fifteen votes – the extra ones in South Warwickshire, East Worcestershire and Monmouthshire. William the Rector had a keen sense of family tradition, so that his resignation of Shalstone was linked to the possibility of living once more in the family house at Deddington. Moreover, his wife Martina had drawn out in longhand the tree which allowed the Risleys to claim 'Founder's Kin' with William of Wykeham: William the Rector too took pains to restore Cotton gravestones and monuments at Cottisford. However, for all that, his will was proved at £35,976 gross – including the 'Eldon Urn' valued at £25.

*'May 22 1838:- received a letter... from Makepeace & Walford under cover from Lord Eldon relative to our coat of arms preparatory to engraving the same on a Silver Tea Urn presented to me by Lord Eldon.'*

Risley the diarist was acquainted with Eldon, then Viscount Encombe, at New College, where Risley had been sub-warden before his marriage, and Encombe a scholar/fellow. Eldon was the second Earl – his grandfather the famous Lord Chancellor who was a stickler for wigs and fancy tights to uphold the majesty of the law. In 1838 he had been asked to become a personal chaplain to the newly-succeeded Earl of Eldon.

*'May 25 1838 – The Silver Tea Urn arrived from London by Sovereign Coach. Sent for W Spiers to take dimensions for making an Oak Box to put it in.'*

So he treasured the Urn so much that Spiers, the Deddington parish clerk and carpenter for Franklins, was called in. Spiers' family tools, by the way, are now in Banbury Museum. Let the Urn stand as a symbol of William the Rector's values – rather in the way of the cupboard of objects act as a metaphor for the strange travels written by the late Bruce Chatwin. And why not – given William the Rector and Chatwin were both at school at Marlborough? William the Rector was also trained for the priesthood at the new Cuddesdon College – itself an object of suspicion by the low Church tendency at work in Deddington in the time of his youth.

Still, he wished to end his days at Deddington House (wreathed in glory with an entry in the privately printed *Oxfordshire Leaders*, edited by a Deddington solicitor, son of a Hempton carpenter, George Coggins, who managed to insert himself as the humble last of the county great). And why not – look at what the house had seen.

Then in 1838 the father received, by carter no doubt – the Sovereign Coach coming no nearer than Weeping Cross on its way from London to Banbury and beyond – the Eldon Urn.

There also he on occasion waited on the arrival of John Loveday from Williamscombe to join him on his way to Quarter Sessions at the new County Hall in New Road, Oxford. A joy to recall that Loveday's grandson and great-granddaughter were members of the Banbury Historical Society.

Finally, there he decided – on 29 June 1860 – to attend one of the days at the British Association for the Advancement of Science – the geology section – in the new University Museum in South Parks Road. Did he know that in another section that day that Captain Fitzroy, of the *Beagle*, was giving a talk on 'British Storms'? The very same Captain who in 1831 brought the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego to meet King William and Queen Adelaide and stay at Walthamstow Infants' School, a property of the Evangelical Wilson family of Worton, whose son was briefly Vicar of Banbury. On the following day he chose to attend a tea drinking of the children of the National Schools – why oh why didn't he go to Oxford that day, and witness his bishop, Soapy Sam Wilberforce, in full debate over evolution with T.H. Huxley? Or see (reputedly) a distraught and ignored Fitzroy waving a Bible over his head?

I suspect because Deddington provided quite enough 'storms' in Risley the diarist's times. How very odd that William the Rector should have been to see Wilberforce in pursuit of – surely the poisoned chalice – the living of Deddington in 1864. How much better the silver urn than the poisoned chalice; how much better for Shalstone to have received three decades of care from such a Rector.

Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson has for many years been preparing an edition of selections from the *Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848*, now virtually complete, for publication by the Banbury Historical Society.

## OBITUARIES

### *Professor Colin Bell (1942-2003)*

With sadness we record the death on 24 April 2003 of Professor Colin Bell, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Stirling. Colin Bell had enjoyed a distinguished career as a sociologist and as an academic administrator, which began in 1966 when he commenced work with the Banbury Social Survey. Colin was born in North London in 1942 and grew up in Kent. After studying for his first degree at the University of Keele, and for a Master's at the University of Wales, Swansea, to lead the three-person field team which for two years studied the workings of Banbury, replicating the research carried out by Margaret Stacey between 1948 and 1951 and published in 1960 as M. Stacey, *Tradition and Change: a Study of Banbury* (Oxford University Press). The results of Colin Bell's work appeared in 1975 as M. Stacey, E. Batstone, C. Bell and A. Murcott, *Power, Persistence and Change* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), which was reviewed in *Cake & Cockhorse*, 6.5 in 1976. Some of his research on Banbury was published in C. Bell and H. Newby, *Community Studies: an introduction to the sociology of the local community* (New York, Praeger, 1972), and in C. Bell, 'Church attendance in a small town', in *New Society* (30 May 1968). Colin also wrote a review of the second edition of George Herbert's *Shoemaker's Window* (Phillimore and Banbury Historical Society, 1971) in *C&CH*, 3.3 (1972).

The Banbury Social Survey took place during the era of England's World Cup victory, of the Beatles, and of the plan for *Banbury: 70,000*, a world very different from that of the opening years of the 21st century. Colin's stay in Banbury extended over only two years yet it was memorable. He quickly gained an uncanny sense of how the town worked, of who talked to whom, and how decisions were made. He was genuinely interested in every individual with whom he came into contact. He was immensely hospitable. He enjoyed life and it was enjoyable to spend time with him. We extend our sympathy to his family.

Colin Bell left Banbury to teach at the University of Essex in its formative years, before accepting a chair in sociology in Australia in 1975. After returning to Britain, he taught from 1980 at the University of Aston, and from 1984 at Edinburgh, where for five years he was vice-principal. He served as Vice-Chancellor at the University of Bradford from 1998, and at Stirling from 2001. His publications were numerous and distinguished.

Finally, it is pertinent to observe that only certain aspects of local society were analysed in *Power, Persistence and Change*, and much data collected by the Banbury Social Survey remains in the library of the University of Swansea, and will perhaps, one day, be used by future historians. Colin Bell's influence on the recorded history of Banbury may not be over.

**B.T.**



*Mrs Sarah Markham (née Loveday) (1909-2003)*

With the death of Sarah Markham on 14 May 2003 at the age of 93 our Society has lost one of its most loyal and scholarly members.

Sally (as she was known to her many friends) was daughter of Dr Thomas Loveday, sometime Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, whose family had lived in Oxfordshire, first at Caversham at the extreme south of the county from 1666, and from 1777, through marriage and inheritance, at Williamscote just north of Banbury. Sadly on the death of Dr Loveday in 1966 the house passed, by entail, to an American cousin who after a short period of residence found its sale necessary. The Loveday connection remained strong, however, not least through Sally's uncle David Loveday, well-remembered still as Bishop of Dorchester (and an active Vice-President of our Society).

Francis Markham has kindly allowed me to quote from his tribute to his mother at the service of thanksgiving on 11th July.

'She had happy memories of her childhood... but she had a particular attachment to... Williamscote or Wilscothe... Wilscothe, and also Arlescote a few miles away in Warwickshire, were the tangible links with the eighteenth century Lovedays who were to absorb so much of her time and interest in later life.

'The family used to come down from Newcastle [where her father was then on the University staff] and spend holidays in a cottage on the estate. Sally was a little girl with a romantic imagination and she would sit up in a tree with an apple and a book like the heroines she read about. Sensibly she chose a tree with a good view of the road in case a hero should happen to pass that way.

'Writing of Wilscothe about ten years ago she said:

"No place has ever meant so much to me as Wilscothe. Other places... have been real homes, but at Wilscothe every sound, every blade of grass had its own significance. The old round cobble stones outside the green court seemed to hold the secret of life, or at any rate of my life. I am not talking only of the house or the cottage, but of the village and the fields, the copses and the hedgerows. All the lovely country scenes are still as clear to me as ever; the woods with the primroses, the wild orchids in the fields, the river where we often played and the tree trunks laid across it on which we had to balance to walk over; the sudden glisten of a dragon fly as it skimmed across the road; the grain pouring down the threshing machines, the barges on the canal pulled by horses on the tow path. I was ten when I wrote the following lines which seem to describe it all:-

Pale primrose comes and comes and goes  
By shallow shadowed water;  
The summer comes and spring must go  
To make way for her daughter.

The bluebells come and ring and go  
And cowslips follow after,  
While woodlands echo, hills resound  
With their own silent laughter.”

Although on her father's death some of the estate archive found its way to the Bodleian Library, fortunately Sally inherited the family papers including the records of over a hundred tours between 1729 and 1765, made by her ancestor John Loveday (1711-1789). These were detailed notes of his experiences and describing buildings and their contents, particularly country houses and churches. Only the most extensive tour, in 1732, had been published (by Sally's grandfather, J.E.T. Loveday), and that in the very limited edition of the Roxburgh Club. Sally set herself the task of transcribing the entire collection and writing a biography of John Loveday. I like to think that I was one of those who encouraged her in this gigantic work, and for my sins was allowed to read the typescript at least twice. I was also anxious that exact details be provided of the paintings, sculpture etc. in each place visited, matter inappropriate to the text of a biography. The British Academy agreed and made a grant to cover the cost of this 75-page Appendix. Finally, the meticulous footnotes and informative index are models of their kind, even down to the detail of 'Caesar, Gaius Julius (d. 44 B.C.), Roman general and leader' for references to busts and a portrait. *John Loveday of Caversham: The Life and Times of an Eighteenth-Century Onlooker* (Michael Russell, 1984; reviewed in *C&CH* 9.6, Summer 1984) has become a frequently quoted source and in recognition Sally deservedly was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Her last years were devoted to making an even more detailed and informative transcription and index to the 'diaries' in computer form, which it is to be hoped will eventually be available electronically.

Sally's second book was very different, though also from family papers. *A Testimony of her Times: based on Penelope Hind's diaries and correspondence 1787-1838* (Michael Russell, 1990) used these to portray the life of an ordinary Sussex parson's wife. The charm of the book comes from the intense interest taken by a childless family in their servants and their children. Of particular importance is the literal record that was kept of these children's conversation. There is little evidence of such at this time. My favourite is six-year-old 'Little Betsy Miles in saying her Catechism to her Mother and repeating the tenth Commandment, finished it by saying "Nor his Ox nor his bottom"; and seeing her Mother smile she said "You know the other is a bad word".'

Over the years Sally contributed a number of articles and reviews to *C&CH*, and she and her husband Gervase were regular attenders at our A.G.Ms. Her membership of our Society was specifically mentioned in the tribute. Her two books and her hoped-for electronic records will ensure her work remains. To those who knew her well, we have our precious memories. J.G.

# BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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

The magazine *Cake and Cockhorse* is issued to members three times a year. This includes illustrated articles based on original local historical research, as well as recording the Society's activities. Well over a hundred issues and some three hundred articles have been published. Most back issues are still available and out-of-print issues can if required be photocopied.

## Records series:

*Wigginton Constables' Books 1691-1836* (vol. 11, with Phillimore).

*Banbury Wills and Inventories 1591-1650*, 2 parts (vols. 13, 14).

*Victorian Banbury*, by Barrie Trinder (vol. 19, with Phillimore).

*Aynho: A Northamptonshire Village*, by Nicholas Cooper (vol. 20).

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

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

*Oxfordshire and North Berkshire Protestation Returns and Tax Assessments 1641-1642* (vol. 24).

*The 'Bawdy Court' of Banbury: The Act Book of the Peculiar Court of Banbury and Cropredy 1625-38*, ed. R.K. Gilkes (vol. 26).

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

Current prices, and availability of other back volumes, from the Hon. Secretary, c/o Banbury Museum.

## In preparation:

*Banbury Chapbooks*, by Dr Leo John de Freitas.

*Turnpike Roads to Banbury*, by Alan Rosevear.

Selections from the *Diaries of William Cotton Risley, Vicar of Deddington 1836-1848*, ed. G.W. Smedley-Stevenson.

The Society is always interested to receive suggestions of records suitable for publication, backed by offers of help with transcription, editing and indexing.

Meetings are held during the autumn and winter, normally at 7.30 p.m. on the second Thursday of each month, at Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury. Talks are given by invited lecturers on general and local historical, archaeological and architectural subjects. Excursions are arranged in the spring and summer, and the A.G.M. is usually held at a local country house.

Membership of the Society is open to all, no proposer being needed. The annual subscription is **£10.00** including any records volumes published, or **£7.50** if these are not required; overseas membership, **£12.00**.

# BANBURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## Autumn 2003 Programme

Meetings for at least an experimental period are to be held at Banbury Museum, Spiceball Park Road. Entrance from Spiceball Park Road, not the canal towpath or the bridge from Castle Quay Shopping Centre. Location and parking areas are shown on the programme card accompanying this issue of *Cake & Cockhorse*.

*Thursday 11th September. 6.00 p.m. – 8.00 p.m.*

Social evening at **Banbury Museum**, Spiceball Park Road, with conducted tours of the Museum.

*Thursday 9th October. 7.30 p.m.*

Place names, landscape and settlement in the Banbury region. *Deborah Hayter*.

*Thursday 13th November. 7.30 p.m.*

Our canal in Oxfordshire: its construction, its wealth and its people (new research). *Hugh Compton* (author of *The Oxford Canal*, 1976).

*Thursday 11th December. 7.30 p.m.*

The history of duelling with pistols. *Hugh Hinde*.

*Thursday 8th January, 2004, 7.30 p.m.*

The Gunpowder Plot, 1605. *Graham Sutherland*.

*Thursday 12th February*

Oxfordshire Churches. *Richard Lethbridge* (Author and Member of the Oxfordshire Historic Churches Trust).

*Thursday 11th March*

The Theory and Practice of Medicine from Medieval Times to the Scientific Revolution. *Steve Bacon*.

All meetings are held at the  
**Banbury Museum**, Spiceball Park Road, Banbury,  
at 7.30 p.m (September Reception at 6.00 p.m).