

1861 census but as a farm labourer in 1871. An account of the Colony in 1873 recorded that Padbury combined carrying to Banbury with hauling stone from quarries.¹⁶ The Colony was founded in 1849-50 by the Quaker John Enoch who had visited the Charterville at Minster Lovell, one of the five settlements established by Feargus O'Connor's Chartist Land Company. Each of the eight cottages had a living room, parlour, pantry and three bedrooms, with a barn, hovel and privy outside, and a plot of 1½ acres.

In *The Woodlanders* Thomas Hardy described Mrs Dollery, a carrier to Casterbridge (Dorchester), who 'hopped up and down many times in the service of her passengers' and wore short leggings under her gown 'for modesty's sake'. A consistent minority of carriers were women. Rusher's Lists identified between five and seven female carriers in each census year between 1821 and 1891 and ten in 1901. In 1821 Ann Ellis and Ann Gilkes travelled two or three times a week from Adderbury to Banbury, Judith Dogget from Broughton, Mrs Howkins from Chalcombe, Mary Gubbins from Chipping Warden, Mary Tuckey from Moreton Pinkney and Phoebe Hartley from South Newington. Most women carriers were widows continuing their husbands' businesses, but some were spinsters and some were married women whose husbands pursued other trades. Mary Haynes, carrier from King's Sutton, was the wife of a farm labourer and Susanna Hitchcox, carrier from Alkerton in 1871, was married to a carpenter. In 1851, Mary Tugwood, the Radway carrier, employed a 'carrier journeyman' who lived-in. In 1881 Mary Mullis of Avon Dassett, the 34-year-old spinster daughter of a farm labourer operated her own business, travelling to the *Bear* in Banbury twice a week. Elizabeth French, widow of Deddington, was working at the age of 79, but with the assistance of her 43-year-old bachelor son, while the widow Sarah Heritage was carrying daily from Chacombe at the age of 76. Patience Tustain of Malthouse Lane, Shutford, also a widow, combined carrying with a bakery business. Sarah Packer, wife of a blind musician, operated a daily service from Tingewick into Buckingham in the 1860s. Several women carriers appear in almost every directory list, at least four at Leicester in 1835 and at Nottingham in 1855, five at Stamford in 1861, three at Northampton in 1854, at least three at York in 1851, and 26 amongst the 57 carriers who visited Leominster in 1913.

¹⁶ *Banbury Guardian*, 24 Dec 1873.