BANBURY

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Banbury was founded in the 12th century as a small episcopal borough which acquired corporate status only in the 16th century. Throughout its pre-industrial history it has been a market town and local administrative centre for a rich agricultural area in North Oxfordshire and part of the adjoining counties. It was thus neither a large town nor an ancient royal one, but it is an interesting example of a borough of early Norman foundation. There was, however, earlier settlement on the site, and its pre-urban history helps to explain the origin and success of the town.

Banbury stands at a gateway from the Thames Basin to the Midland Plain. It is on the River Cherwell, twenty-two miles north of its junction with the Thames at Oxford. North of the town easy routes through Fenny Compton or Warmington, six and seven miles away, cross the limestone ridge that extends from Lincolnshire to the Cotswolds. This same ridge formed a route or corridor of great antiquity from south-western to eastern England, and a pre-historic origin has been suggested for Banbury Lane, the road that follows the line of this 'Jurassic Way' from Northampton to Banbury, continuing to Great Rollright.[1] Banbury is thus at a junction of routes as well as in a position central to southern England as a whole. Some features of the town's history can be related directly to this, such as its use as a meeting-place for armies in 1471 and 1483[2] and some part of its role in the Civil War between 1642 and 1646, when it was a royalist base commanding the South-West Midlands. But in general the town's position at the meeting of routes from north to south and from east to west seems to have been of limited importance in its origin and economic development. Nevertheless, at every period its communications with other parts of the country have been of marked value to the town; in the Middle Ages the road routes to east and west seem to have been the most important, by the 19th century the canal and roads to north and south.

Geologically the area around Banbury can be regarded as an extension of the Midland Plain. Apart from a narrow strip of alluvial soil beside the River Cherwell it consists almost wholly of Lias Clay; Banbury itself is built on Middle Lias. The historical centre of the town lies west of the Cherwell on land which slopes gently from the river up to the Oxford-Coventry road, a distance of about half a mile. A mile beyond, the higher ground rises 250 feet above the Cherwell to Crouch Hill. This name is of Celtic origin, and gives the only hint of any contact in this area between the earliest English settlers and the inhabitants of a remoter past.[3] Although the neighbourhood of Banbury provides traces of habitation in prehistoric and Roman times there is no evidence of continuous settlement before the Anglo-Saxon period.[4]

The first English settlers of North Oxfordshire seem to have reached the area during the 5th century, probably by way of the Wash. How soon after this the site of Banbury was settled is uncertain; there are no references to it in surviving records before the 11th century. The name means the *burh*, or stockaded enclosure, of a man named Banna or Bana,[5] who lived, to judge from the form of his name, in the early part of the Anglo-Saxon period. Half a mile away on the other side of the Cherwell there is a relic of pagan times in the name of Grimsbury: containing a pseudonym of the god Woden, it must date from before the area's conversion to Christianity.[6] This conversion probably followed soon after Birinus's mission to Wessex in 634 and the foundation of his see at Dorchester-on-Thames, thirty miles to the south. It may well be that from an early stage in the conversion Banbury itself acted as an ecclesiastical centre. The medieval parish of Banbury was a large one, containing five rural hamlets besides the town, and extending across the Cherwell to include Grimsbury. Such bounds are unlikely to have been drawn later than the tenth century, when the Cherwell in all probability came to form a county boundary dividing Oxfordshire from Northamptonshire. In these pre-parochial times the parish may have been the heart of a much larger area that looked to Banbury for its minster church. But in extending across the Cherwell Banbury's parish bounds in the Middle Ages were disregarding not only the county boundary, but also the boundary of an important episcopal estate in North Oxfordshire. At some remote date the bishops of Dorchester acquired large scattered possessions in Oxford-shire which were organized most probably in Edgar's reign (959-975) in the three hundreds of Banbury, Dorchester, and Thame. Banbury hundred consisted of a block of land around Banbury itself, extending some seven miles to the northernmost tip of the county, and of two detached areas to the south and west. When the see was moved from Dorchester to Lincoln in 1072 its estates were likewise transferred, and accordingly when Domesday Book was compiled in 1086 Banbury was entered among the lands of the Bishop of Lincoln.[7]

In Domesday Book Banbury appears as one of two manorial centres for the bishop's hundred in North Oxfordshire. The other was Cropredy, four miles to the north. The lands of each were assessed at fifty hides, and the other information given—the number of villeins, the number of ploughlands, and so on—clearly relates to the estate as a whole, not just to the two places named. Accordingly Domesday Book records nothing about Banbury itself in 1086 except that it was an administrative centre for a large and scattered estate. The extent and exact site of the settlement there can only be guessed. That there was a church seems certain: a note that cannot be later than the

The following special abbreviations have been used:

Beesley: A. Beesley, *History of Banbury* (n.d. and 1848; the preface is dated 1841). A thorough work, particularly valuable for its transcripts, etc., of records, as some of those from the Corporation archives are no longer available.

Herbert: G. Herbert, *Shoemaker's Window*, ed. C. S. Cheney (1948 and 1949).

O.H.S.:   Oxford Historical Society.

O.R.S.:   Oxfordshire Record Society.

Potts: W. Potts, *History of Banbury* (1958).

R.O.:   Record Office.

Rental, c.1225:   The Queen's College, Oxford, MS.366, ff. 19v-20v.

Rental, 1441:   Bodl. MS. dep. b.7; another copy, imperfect, forms B.M. Lansd. Roll 32

For further details of many of the aspects of Banbury's history discussed in the present article see the forthcoming account of the town in *V.C.H. Oxon.*

[1] W. F. Grimes in *Aspects of Archaeology: essays presented to O.G.S. Crawford*, 149, 171
[2] Hist. MSS. Com. *12th Rep. App. IV, Rutland I*, 4; *Stonor Letters and Papers* (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. xxx), ii, 162-3
[3] P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii, 413
[4] V.C.H. Oxon. i, 331
[5] P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii, 412
[6] Ibid. 413
[7] V.C.H. Oxon. vii, 2; Dom. Bk. i, 155a, b. Documentary evidence for the name Banbury Hundred dates from the 13th century.

early 12th century refers to a priest at Banbury,[8] and, as already shown, there may well have been an early minster there. This building was presumably on the site of the medieval parish church, on the Oxford-Coventry road. Besides church and village there must have been a manor-house and farm buildings—the successor to Banna's *burh*—which would serve the bishop as an estate headquarters and as an occasional residence. These may have been near the church, or alternatively it may have been their site that was chosen for the castle that was built at Banbury in the 12th century.

The New Borough

Only one feature of Banbury's development in the 12th century is directly recorded: the building of the castle by Alexander, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1123 to 1148.[9] This castle was to form a new administrative centre for the whole of his hundred in North Oxfordshire, and in 1279 even his estates in the south of the county were said to belong to the 'barony of Banbury'.[10] But besides the castle it is highly probable that Alexander, known as the 'Magnificent', founded a new town for traders and craftsmen, laying out a market place and many house-plots, some of which he set aside as the endowment for a new prebend of Banbury in Lincoln Cathedral. A number of reasons may have led to the choice of Banbury for this development. It was a manorial centre, and may already have been the site of a market; it lay on direct routes both from Lincoln by the Fosse Way or through Northampton and from Dorchester and Thame through Oxford; it offered a good site for the castle, commanding the river crossing and defended both by the river and by the marshy land beside it, and a good site for the town as well, on land that was sheltered and nearly level, yet which sloped up from the river sufficiently to drain it and place it out of danger of flooding. If it was in fact Bishop Alexander who founded the town of Banbury it was not his only enterprise of this sort. Elsewhere on his estates he founded a borough at Biggleswade, and at Sleaford he was responsible for a joint foundation of borough and castle.[11]

One object of a founder of a seignorial borough was financial profit. Choosing a site where a market already existed, or where one could be developed, he would lay out plots for houses and offer them, usually for money rents alone, to tenants who would be attracted by the special privileges attaching to burgage tenure. His returns would come both from the rents and from the market tolls and other perquisites which would increase as the town grew in size and activity. That Banbury was such a planned town is shown by a document of 1279 which preserves a relic of the time long before when the house-plots were first laid out in the fields. Listing the holdings of what it calls the 'old feoffment' at Banbury, it describes them in terms of *acre*, a word usually applied to strips of agricultural land. In all it lists 192 *acre*, from each of which was due, after the model of Breteuil in Normandy, a uniform annual rent of 12d.[12] The problem is to decide the date when these plots were laid out. The earliest reference to Banbury as a borough (*burgus*) is in 1167, but a deed of 1163-6, concerning a house and plot that had been granted 'in free burgage' by Bishop Alexander, shows that the borough existed in his time.[13] Of the market too there is a contemporary record, for in 1138-9 the Bishop granted Godstow Abbey £5 a year from the market tolls.[14] That such a sum as this could be produced shows that the market was already very busy, and suggests that it had existed long before the borough was founded, perhaps in or beside the churchyard. But if the borough's foundation did not call the market into existence there is evidence pointing to its having been given a new site. In 1170 and 1172, when the see of Lincoln was vacant and its revenues were entered on the royal Pipe Rolls, an allowance of 30s. was made 'in default of rent from Banbury from the demesne land where the market place of the same town is'; that is, agricultural lands formerly worth 30s. a year had been taken over as a site for the market.[15] This new market place lay just south of the castle on flat ground, on the direct route from the crossing of the Cherwell to the Oxford-Coventry road and the church. The first house-plots of the new town lay mostly on the rising ground to the west of the market place, up to the farther side of the Oxford-Coventry road, leaving the market open on the south and towards the river.[16] The allowance for the lands of the market place was so large that it almost certainly applied to the whole area of the new borough; if so its creation had by 1200 converted lands worth 30s. a year into a new town of 192 plots, each paying a shilling a year in rent besides other indirect payments, a clear illustration of the profits to be made by the seignorial founder of a new town.[17]

But not all the rents from the new town were paid into the bishop's coffers. The list of 1279 shows that eighteen and a half of the holdings then belonged to the prebend of Banbury. There is no evidence how or when the prebend was endowed with this property. It is possible that it was assigned a number of house-plots when the town was first laid out, for the prebend like those of Thame and Cropredy is known to have been formed before 1146.[18] At Banbury much of the prebendal property lay in Parson's Lane, leading from the Market Place to the Oxford-Coventry road, north of the church.[19] Whether or not Bishop Alexander, or one of his predecessors, was the founder of the prebend, there can be more certainty about his claim to be the rebuilder of the church. It was demolished in 1790, but the earliest parts of it then surviving are said to have dated from the first half of the 12th century.[20]

[8] Bodl. MS. Bodl. 718, f.179, printed by M. Bateson, *E.H.R.* ix, 326
[9] *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Varii*, ed. J. Sparke, 73; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera* (R.S.), vii, 33; *Annales Monastici* (R.S.), iv, 18
[10] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii, 724, 820
[11] V.C.H. Beds. ii, 212; M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, 118, 466
[12] P.R.O., S.C.5/6/17. The exact total is 192 acres 0⅜ roods. An *acra* was, of course, any piece of agricultural land cultivated as a strip; it was not necessarily a statute acre in size.
[13] *Pipe R.* 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 58; *Oseney Cart.* (O.H.S.), vi, 147
[14] *Eng. Reg. of Godstow* (Early English Text Soc.), i, 212-3
[15] *Pipe R.* 1170 (P.R.S. xv), 152-3; ibid. 1172 (P.R.S. xviii), 96
[16] The evidence for this suggestion is admittedly slight: (i) development after 1186 seems to have been on the lower land south of the Market Place; (ii) the word *acre* is more likely to have been used of arable than of meadow strips, and the lands nearest the river were probably used as meadows, like those still unbuilt on in the later Middle Ages.
[17] The rents from the 'old feoffment' of the 1279 list total £8 1s. 5d. (probably correctly £8 2s. 2d.). This corresponds closely to the £8 1s. 8½d. due from all *burgagia* listed in Rental, c.1225 (excepting only those granted by Hugh of Wells), so it seems that the 'old feoffment' included all burgage holdings created before the death of Hugh of Avalon in 1200.
[18] *Registrum Antiquissimum* (Linc. Rec. Soc. xxvii), i, 199
[19] This is suggested (i) by the name of Parson's Lane, first so called in 1410 (Hants R.O. 43 M.48/38); (ii) by its omission from Rental, 1441; (iii) by the location in this area of buildings known as the tithe barn and the prebendal house in the early 19th century (Potts, 60, 61)
[20] Beesley, 149-54

How long it took the bishop to find tenants for all the house-plots of his new town is not known. If they were laid out while the castle was being built some of the labourers and craftsmen brought to the site may well have been attracted by the opportunity of making a permanent home there. The Pipe Roll of 1168, entering the 30s. allowance of rent, described on later rolls as for the demesne land 'where the market place is', describes it here as an allowance 'for the land of the old borough'.[21] The phrase is difficult to understand, but it could mean that additional land had already been assigned to the town since its foundation, so that it was possible to speak of its old and new quarters. A rental of about 1225 gives clearer evidence of subsequent growth.[22] It includes twelve and a half burgage holdings, two workshops (*selde*) and twenty-one and a half stalls (*scamella*) that had been granted out by Hugh of Avalon, who was Bishop of Lincoln from 1186 to 1200. It also lists eight holdings that had been created since 1213 by Hugh of Wells, who was still bishop in 1225, and these last may have represented far more than eight dwellings, as the annual rent due from them totalled 34s. 8d.; perhaps the largest of these holdings were let to developers who would divide the plots and build houses for sub-letting. The site of the stalls can be identified with the block of buildings lying between the later High Street and Butchers' Row;[23] perhaps they already extended so far east as to jut out into the Market Place. The other properties granted by Hugh of Avalon were probably in the same part of the town,[24] and at least one of those granted by Hugh of Wells was at the east end of High Street.[25] These enfeoffments of the late 12th and early 13th centuries may represent the building up of the south-west corner and southern side of the Market Place. But the rental of 1225 shows that growth had occurred not only by expansion, but also by subdividing existing properties. Of the 192 building plots of the 'old feoffment' it does not mention the thirty held in free alms, but it shows that the remaining 162 had by now become at least 230 separate holdings. About a quarter still paid a *12d.* annual rent and were presumably the original plots unchanged, but most of the others paid a fraction of this amount— even as little as *2d.*—and must have been mere fragments of the original holdings. In a very few cases the rent paid was more than *12d.*, but usually only *12½d.* or *13d.*, and these must have been holdings that had been extended either by amalgamation with parts of neighbouring plots or, more probably, by encroachment on waste land. Clearly the new town was proving successful and was having no difficulty in attracting settlers. A deed of the early 13th century shows that there was a keen demand for properties in Banbury; it records payment of £3 6s. 8d. as the purchase price for a tenement owing the standard *12d.* rent.[26] By 1225 the borough brought the bishop £10 8s. 8½d. a year in rent, as well as unrecorded sums from tolls, courts, and other sources.[27]

Reckoning five inhabitants to each holding, the town's population by 1225 must have been about 1,300. After 1225 the process of subdividing plots apparently ceased, and the only further growth of the medieval town was the creation of the suburb of Newland, probably in the mid-13th century and certainly by 1285.[28] Newland was evidently a single planned extension of the town, containing about fifty tenements let at a uniform rent of 6d.[29] These properties may have been smaller than elsewhere in the town; the rent was low, and there are references to them as cottages.[30] In the early 19th century traditional customs in this area still suggested a sense of separate identity.[31] The suburb was laid out in the fields and meadows to the south of the Market Place; it may represent the first expansion of the town outside the bounds fixed at its foundation, earlier growth having consisted of building up vacant areas within the original bounds. But with the creation of Newland the town reached the limit of its medieval size, occupying about eighty acres. There is no evidence of further growth, and the town's 1,600 inhabitants after Newland was fully settled may well have been its maximum population before the late 16th century. Not until the 19th century was there any considerable expansion of the town beyond the limits now reached.

The Topography of the Medieval Town

As the town did not expand after the late 13th century a rental of 1441, which lists street by street the properties in Banbury owned by the Bishop of Lincoln, can be used as evidence of its early layout; several of the streets it names are in fact mentioned casually in earlier records. The rental lists houses on two main axes: from east to west, from the River Cherwell up to and around the Market Place, along the later High Street, Sheep Street, and a little way along West Street, where houses gave way to garden plots; and from north to south, along North Bar Street, Horse Fair, and St. John's Street (known as the High Street until the early 16th century). The rental also lists tenements south of the Market Place in the later Broad Lane and Scalding Lane, and on Church Lane.[32] It does not include Parson's Lane, but this is mentioned in earlier documents, and it was probably omitted because the houses there belonged to the prebend, not the bishop. Nor does it mention Calthorpe Lane; this formed the hamlet of Calthorpe, which adjoined the borough but lay outside its bounds and, like the other more distant hamlets of the parish, remained a separate agricultural community. The Market Place was the centre of the town's trading activity; there stood the High Cross or Market Cross, a single-shafted cross probably of the 13th or 14th century, where in Elizabeth I's reign the town crier made his announcements. But trade was already spreading beyond the bounds of the Market Place. The Cattle Market first mentioned in 1319 may then, as later, have been held in the north end of Broad Lane. By 1441 the east end of the later High Street was known as the Sheep Market, and was also the site of a covered market cross, known by 1549 as the Bread Cross because bakers had their stalls there.[33]

[21] *Pipe R.* 1168 (P.R.S.xii), 78
[22] Rental, c.1225. For the rental's date see *V.C.H. Oxon.* vii, 13n.
[23] As shown by Rental, 1441
[24] They are entered in the same part of Rental, c.1225, which is probably arranged topographically.
[25] It is specifically identified in Rental, 1441
[26] B.M.Add.Ch.47784
[27] Rental, c.1225
[28] P.N. Oxon. (E.P.N.S.), ii, 412
[29] Rental, 1441, lists 52 holdings in Newland; 23 each paid 6d. annual rent and 8 others are said to have done so formerly.
[30] P.R.O., E 210/6872; E 329/197
[31] Beesley, 274; Herbert, 103
[32] Rental, 1441
[33] P. D. A. Harvey in *Oxoniensia,* xxxi, 88-92, 95-9; Hants R.O. 43 M.48/33; Beesley, 273; Rental, 1441

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In Henry VIII's reign John Leland wrote of Banbury 'Yet is there nothere eny certayne token or lykelyhod, that ever the towne was dichid or waullyd'.[34] In fact a town ditch is mentioned in 1219 and later, but it must have been a boundary rather than a fortification, and it may not even have surrounded the town.[35] There were four entrances to the town by gates, the North Bar, South Bar, East Bar, and West Bar; at different periods all but the North Bar were known by other names as well. The North and South Bars are first recorded in 1268, and all four had probably been set up at the limits of the town by the early 13th century;[36] Newland almost certainly lay beyond, not within, the East Bar. These gates, then of stone, were still standing in Leland's time, but the last was removed in 1817;[37] as the town was unwalled they were presumably built for collecting toll rather than for defence. There was no gate on the road across the Cherwell, and here perhaps the bridge served as a collecting point. There was a 13th-century stone bridge, which replaced either an earlier bridge or a ford; it had seven arches, three over the main stream of the Cherwell and four over the mill-stream, with a level causeway between.[38] Before the end of the Middle Ages, and possibly long before, a hermit lived at the east end of the bridge;[39] like bridge hermits elsewhere he was presumably responsible for its upkeep.

The castle stood just outside the bounds of the borough. It was on the one hand the centre of the bishop's authority from which he administered his barony, his hundred, and a part of his diocese.[40] From the 13th century at latest it contained an ecclesiastical prison and lay criminals were imprisoned there as well.[41] But it also served the bishops as a residence where even kings might be entertained: Henry III, for example, was several times there and in 1277 Edward I on his third visit to the town stayed for a week.[42] Clearly its buildings were of some size and magnificence, but all trace has vanished and very little information about them survives. The castle had as its centre a keep on a motte; it had two wards, and was defended by two encircling walls, each with a moat. Like the keep, the inner wall may have dated from Bishop Alexander's time, and possibly the chapel also, but the other buildings of the inner bailey, recorded on a 17th-century plan, must have been added later, as also the gatehouse and barbican and, perhaps, the fishpond.[43]

Also just outside the borough bounds in the hamlet of Calthorpe was Easington Grange or Farm, from which the bishop's demesne lands in the parts of the parish nearest the town were managed.[44] Within the town the two owners of the parish's tithes maintained collecting centres which, with their barns and livestock, probably differed little from other groups of farm buildings. These were the Abbot of Eynsham, whose manor-house in Newland is mentioned in 1321, and the prebendary of Banbury, whose manor-house (mansio) in the town, mentioned in 1346-7, may well have been adjoining the later tithe barn east of the churchyard.[45] Other manorial buildings closely linked with the town were the mills. The 'big watermill' of the Bishop of Lincoln was almost certainly the post-medieval Banbury Mill, which stood between the castle and the bridge on a mill-stream diverted from the Cherwell. It was probably in existence by 1219, and possibly even before the town itself was founded; like the castle it lay outside the borough bounds.[46] Within the borough another watermill of the bishop, the Cuttle Mill, stood on the Cuttle Brook which flowed across the north side of the Market Place.[47] A windmill is recorded in the 14th-century and contemporary field names suggest that this may have been on the site of the windmill which dominated the hill south of the town in the 17th century.[48]

By the end of the 15th century Banbury parish church, the largest in the county, was evidently a magnificent building; to an 18th-century antiquary it appeared 'rather like a cathedral than a common parochial church'. About 200 feet long, it is said to have included work of all medieval periods from its 12th-century nave to its 15th-century chancel and tower.[49] The Vicarage adjoined the churchyard from at least 1441, and John Leland speaks of houses for chantry priests in the churchyard. These would be the chaplains of a chantry which was founded in 1413 and re-founded in 1448 as the Guild of St. Mary, a well endowed institution.[50] A small chapel dedicated to the Trinity was built about 1321, probably in the eastern half of the later High Street.[51] There were also two hospitals just outside the town. St. Leonard's, for lepers, was founded by 1265 and may have stood east of the bridge in Northamptonshire.[52] St. John Baptist's Hospital stood on the east side of the Oxford road, just outside the South Bar, and both its site and its dedication make it likely that it was built for hospitality for travellers; it was in existence by 1225,[53] and is one indication of the growing volume of traffic on this road. From 1501 a part of its funds and premises were used for a Grammar School of some distinction, whose master initiated an advanced method of teaching Latin which had wide influence throughout the country.[54]

The Economy of the Medieval Town

Banbury's growth in the 12th and 13th centuries was undoubtedly encouraged by the presence of the bishop's

[34] Leland, Itin., ed. Toulmin Smith, ii, 39
[35] Reg. Antiquissimum iii, 267; Hants R.O. 43 M.48/167
[36] P.N. Oxon. ii, 412
[37] Leland, Itin. ii, 39; Beesley, 207-8
[38] It is first mentioned in 1294 (Abbrev. Plac. (Rec. Com.), 233) and some 13th-century stonework survives; Bodl. Gough Maps 26, f.40 (reproduced in Beesley, 98, 150).
[39] Beesley, 161
[40] e.g. Rot. Hund. ii, 705
[41] Annales Monastici (R.S.), iii, 76; Rot. Hund. ii, 32
[42] Close R. 1227-31, 182; ibid. 1234-7, 206; Cal. Pat. 1272-81, 103, 136, 194; Cal. Inq. Misc. i, 591
[43] Potts, 18; map of 1685 penes Lord Saye and Sele, Broughton Castle (reproduced in Beesley, 65-6); Leland, Itin. ii, 38-9; P.R.O., L.R. 2/196, f. 183v; Beesley, 420, 425, 432; Close R. 1253-4, 18; Pipe R. 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 58
[44] P.R.O., C 146/1184; Rot. Hund. ii, 706
[45] P.R.O., E 210/9013; E 372/194, m.43. Eynsham was granted the tithes of the bishop's demesne lands at Banbury by Bishop Robert Bloet before 1109; it also had land in Banbury: Eynsham Cart. (O.H.S.), i, 36, 305-7
[46] Cal. Close, 1405-9, 349; Reg. Antiquissimum, iii, 266-7
[47] Rental, 1441
[48] P.R.O., E 372/150, m.36d; Queen's Coll. MS.366, f. 59v
[49] F. Grose, Antiquities, iv, 170; Beesley, 149-54
[50] Cal. Pat. 1413-16, 145; ibid. 1446-52, 152-3
[51] An indulgence granted to all those who contributed to its fabric or light probably marks its foundation (Lincs Arch. Off. Reg. 5, f. 280v).
[52] Cal. Pat. 1258-66, 409; Beesley, 78-9
[53] R. M. Clay, Medieval Hospitals, 250; Rental, c. 1225
[54] V.C.H. Oxon. i, 461-2

establishment at the castle, but it was also based firmly on its position as a trading centre. Besides its weekly market it had important fairs. In 1154 the Bishop of Lincoln inaugurated an annual fair in Whit Week, and to publicize it the monks of Eynsham agreed that in that year the Pentecostal processions from three neighbouring rural deaneries should be made to Banbury instead of to Eynsham.[55] From 1329 there were two eight-day fairs, at Ascension and Whitsun, which between them probably formed a single busy fortnight of trading and other activities, the annual climax of the town's commercial and social life.[56] Like other local markets in medieval England Banbury attracted trade from a distance; the monks of Merevale in North Warwickshire, for instance, were given licence in 1238 to buy oxhides there, and surnames of the town's inhabitants in the 13th and 14th centuries point to contacts especially with eastern England and the South-West Midlands.[57] Banbury's ale soon acquired a reputation; in 1265 the Countess of Leicester sent for an ale-wife from Banbury to brew at her castle at Odiham in Hampshire, and in the early 14th century ale (*beverie*) was named as the town's distinctive product.[58] Cloth too was produced in the town or neighbourhood: in 1225 four inhabitants were named Tector, Tectrix, or Tinctor, and about twenty years later there is a record of two merchants of Banbury selling cloth at Boston Fair.[59] But there is no evidence of more than small-scale production, and the town's prosperity rested on its position as a local market for agricultural produce. The cattle market at Banbury is mentioned in 1319, and rather later the abduction of thirty-three horses from the town points to a horse market.[60] The stalls which Bishop Hugh of Avalon had established in the south-west of the Market Place were being used as butchers' stalls by the 15th century, and probably this had always been their function.[61]

Of Banbury's death-roll in successive plagues from 1348 to 1369 there is no direct evidence, but it is likely that the town suffered severely. A poll-tax return of 1377-80 lists only 523 inhabitants over fourteen.[62] The return however omits children, paupers, and the religious, to say nothing of others who evaded assessment, and the total population may have been much higher. Even so it must have dropped sharply from the 1,600 postulated for the late 13th century, and it was probably another two hundred years before this figure was again reached. It can only be guessed how the town's life and economy were affected by the depopulation of both the town and the country around, but at the very least the volume of business must have been reduced. The rental of 1441 shows that this reduction was more than temporary as ten of the twenty-six stalls and six of the nine workshops listed were said to be unoccupied. Only ten of the 307 house-plots in the rental were vacant, but there may have been fewer people living in each house than before, and since many tenants held two or more adjacent plots it may be that many dwellings were dilapidated or put to other use.[63]

There is no evidence of any immediate change in the nature of the town's business following the reduction in population. A poll-tax return early in Richard II's reign gives the callings of the principal inhabitants: eleven merchants, eleven tawyers, eight tailors, six bakers, six butchers, six dyers, six victuallers, five skinners and three smiths.[64] The number of tawyers and skinners provides the first evidence of a leather trade at Banbury, but it need not have been an innovation; the raw material had always been readily available there, while the water of the Cherwell was considered particularly suited to tanning.[65] Some changes in Banbury's trade can, however, be seen in the late 14th and 15th centuries. Banbury cheeses are first recorded in 1430; these must have been the thin creamy cheeses for which the town was noted throughout the next three hundred years.[66] More significantly, the town seems to have developed new or increased contact with Wales and the Marches, and also, like many other local markets at this time, with the merchants of London.[67] This latter connexion must have been furthered by the expansion of Banbury's trade in wool, the most notable change in the town's economy in the 15th century. There are references to wool from Banbury from the 13th century onwards,[68] but now there are signs that the town had acquired a new importance as a wool-collecting centre. This development reflects the rise of small-scale producers in the wool-trade, and consequently of middle men, and the conversion of large areas of arable in the South Midlands to sheep pastures. The Saunders family, prominent in the mid-15th century, were the first large-scale Banbury traders whose wealth clearly came from wool; significantly they were related by marriage to the Spencers, the great sheep-farming family of South Warwickshire.[69] From Banbury wool was sent to Southampton, presumably for shipment to Italy, as well as to London and Calais.[70] There are also some indications that the town's small cloth industry was expanding. There are references to weavers living in Banbury and by 1441 there was a special place for the sale of cloth, named the Drapery. At the same time the bishop was deriving a revenue from tolls on cloth (*firma draperia*).[71]

Until 1547 Banbury remained a possession of the see of Lincoln and within the town the authority of the bishops was predominant. Some of the great benefits arising from the connexion with these great potentates have been already indicated, and so far as is known neither in the prosperous 13th century nor in the 15th century, when several townsmen rose to positions of wealth and local influence, was any demand made for self-government. Certainly no charter was granted to the borough in the Middle Ages, though the rights and 'customs'[72] connected with burgage tenure were recognized and enforced in the borough court. It was also acknowledged as a borough in royal official

[55] *Eynsham Cart.* (O.H.S.), i, 39-40, 425
[56] *Rot. Parl.* (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. li), 174; *Cal. Chart. R. 1327-41*, 136 (for 'Henry, Bishop of Winchester' read 'Henry, Bishop of Lincoln').
[57] *Cal. Pat. 1232-47*, 208. The lists of inhabitants used for an analysis of place-names occurring as surnames are in Rental, c.1225; P.R.O. S.C.5/6/17; E 179/161/9, 10, 46; E 179/238/139
[58] *Manners & Household Expenses*, ed. H. T. Turner (Roxburghe Club), 8; Bodl. MS. Douce 98, f. 195, printed by C. Bonnier, *E.H.R.* xvi, 501-2
[59] Rental, c. 1225
[60] Hants R.O. 43 M.48/33; *Cal. Pat. 1350-4*, 278
[61] Hants R.O. 43 M.48/14
[62] P.R.O. E 179/238/139
[63] Rental, 1441
[64] P.R.O., E 179/161/46
[65] *Wood's History of the City of Oxford* (O.H.S. xv), i, 395
[66] *Cal. Close, 1429-36*, 74; *V.C.H. Oxon.* ii, 276-7
[67] e.g. *Cal. Pat. 1422-9*, 248; *Facsimile of the First Volume of the Grocers' Company*, ed. J. A. Kingdon, ii, 181, 201, 317
[68] e.g. *Rot. Hund.* ii, 33
[69] *Cal. Fine R. 1452-61*, 48; P.R.O., C 1/29/369; *Some Oxon. Wills* (O.R.S.), 47-8
[70] P.R.O., C 1/214/51; B.M. Harl. MS.433, f. 218v; *Brokage Book of Southampton* (S'ton Rec. Ser.), 33, 175, 291; *Assize of Bread Book 1477-1517* (S'ton Rec. Ser.), 14
[71] P.R.O., C 1/214/51; *Cal. Close, 1476-85*, 75; Rental, 1441; Lincs. Archive Office B.P. Accts. 8, mm. 19v-21v
[72] *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii, 521-2

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records; like other boroughs it was represented by twelve men at inquiries and before the justices of assize.[73] Within the town the borough court or 'portmoot' was held by the bishop's bailiff.[74] No records of the court survive before the end of the Middle Ages when it was meeting eighteen times a year, though at irregular intervals, in the hall of pleas (aula placitorum); this was a room above some workshops, probably on the Market Place and not far from the castle.[75] The bishop's officers also held the Piepowder court for fairs, held the View of Frankpledge once a year, and had the power to hang criminals on the bishop's gallows. Hundred courts and halmoot courts for the bishop's rural manors were held in the castle outside the borough, but the concourse of people assembling there was of obvious profit to the town.

From the Reformation to the early Nineteenth Century

In the last days of episcopal rule Banbury must have been a fine flourishing town. Its inhabitants thought it a 'greate towne replynysched with people and a great markett towne'. Leland thought so too and admired its aspect. 'The fayrest strete of the towne lyethe by west and easte downe to the river of Charwelle. And at the west parte of this streat is a large area invironed with meatlye good buildinge, havynge a goodly crosse withe many degrees (steps) about it . . . There renithe a prile of freshe watar throwghe this area. There is another fayre strete from southe to northe'.[76]

In the mid-16th century Banbury broke with its medieval past in two ways: through municipal reorganization and through the religious Reformation. Municipal reorganization followed the withdrawal of the Bishop of Lincoln's secular authority in 1547; the borough passed to the Crown in 1551, and in 1554 a royal charter of incorporation was granted.[77] This made Banbury a self-governing borough under its bailiff, assisted by twelve aldermen and twelve capital burgesses, and it was now represented in Parliament by its own Member. Later, in 1608, another charter raised it to the status of a mayoral town.[78] These changes probably made little difference to the appearance of the town. The bounds of the borough were the same as in 1441; a town hall, gaol, and gallows were set up, but the castle remained unchanged, though now in the hands of the Crown's lessee.[79] The religious Reformation may have made more visible change. St. Leonard's Hospital had already disappeared,[80] but St. John's Hospital was dissolved in 1549; its buildings still stood, however, and its school may have continued in premises beside the churchyard.[81] The Guild of St. Mary too was dissolved in 1548, and Trinity Chapel was sold by the Crown the following year.[82] Finally in 1600 the forces of religious reform and municipal self-government combined to demolish the High Cross and the Bread Cross; despite strong opposition this was done by the Corporation's ruling puritanical clique on the grounds that local Roman Catholics were making them objects of veneration.[83]

Banbury's economy too underwent changes. It remained famous for its cheese and possibly its ale, but acquired a new and more than local reputation for its cakes. These were well-known enough in Elizabeth's reign to be mentioned in a medical treatise published in 1586.[84] None of these, however, was basic to its economy. A more important development may have been the shoemaking industry. By the late 16th century this craft was clearly being practised in the town on a scale to meet more than local needs, but how long this had been the case is not known. By 1558 a leather fair was being held in Banbury, and a Leather Hall is mentioned in records of the first half of the 17th century.[85] But the industry did not flourish for long. About 1640 the number of shoemakers declined; this exactly coincides with their increase at Northampton, which probably captured from Banbury the market for a nascent large-scale industry.[86] Of more lasting importance was the rise of the cloth trade; in 1600 the town's principal merchants were described as 'mercer' or 'woollendraper', but a century earlier as 'woolman'. By the second half of the 16th century and probably earlier it seems that little weaving was being done in the town itself and that the craft had become a cottage or part-time industry in the surrounding countryside, Banbury's role being that of a collecting and marketing centre; this was certainly the case in the 18th century. The town's merchants may have organized the industry on a capitalist basis, but the little evidence available points rather to production by wholly independent workers.[87]

Of the numerous other crafts which must have been practised in Banbury little is known. There is more evidence about the market. The sale of wool continued to be an important item in the town's trade; in 1608 the royal charter granted a weekly wool market, and two years later the Corporation built a special 'house for the wool market', probably in the Market Place.[88] Other products appear in the names given to different parts of the Market Place and its surroundings: Beast Market, Flax Chipping, Swine Market, Cornmarket Street.[89] These divisions of the Market Place may have been fostered by new buildings that encroached on it; the 12th-century row of butchers' stalls was extended, splitting the original Market Place into several broad streets and open places. The style of some of these houses belongs to the early 17th century, and there is no reason to suppose that there were earlier buildings on their sites. The market's activities had also spread into other parts of the town: one street had been known as the Sheep Market since at least 1441, and the central part of the main north-south road was called the Horse Market by 1525.[90] Increasing evidence of Banbury's trading activity in the 16th and early 17th centuries may reflect increasing population. In 1545 it was said that there were 1,400 communicants in the parish, but if this was so it is difficult to accept the statement in 1628

[73] e.g. P.R.O., S.C. 5/6/17; J.I. 1/701
[74] P.R.O., C 1/697/41
[75] Lincs. Arch. Off. Dean & Chap. A/4/4/10 (printed in Potts, 251-3) and B.P. Accts. 8, mm. 19v-21v; Rental, 1441
[76] Chantry Certifs. (O.R.S.), 44; Leland, Itin. ii, 39
[77] Cal. Pat. Edw. VI, i, 184; ibid. iv, 117; ibid. 1553-4, 246-8
[78] Beesley, 257
[79] Ibid. 223-6, 235, 256, 519; Cal. Pat. 1566-9, 153-4
[80] It is last mentioned in 1399: Cal. Pat. 1396-9, 480
[81] Ibid. Edw. VI, ii, 189-90; Beesley, 78, 196, 249; Potts, 68
[82] Chantry Certifs. (O.R.S.), 44-5, 55-6; Cal. Pat. Edw. VI, ii, 190
[83] P. D. A. Harvey in Oxoniensia, xxxi, 94-5, 99, 101-6
[84] Beesley, 454; V.C.H. Oxon. ii, 276-7
[85] Beesley, 227, 251n, 265
[86] Thirty wills of Banbury shoemakers survive from the period 1551-1640, only six from 1641-1730 (Index to Banbury Wills (O.R.S.), passim); V.C.H. Northants, ii, 318-9.
[87] Hist. MSS. Com. 3rd Rep., 6, and Beesley, 257, concerning the setting up of the wool market, point to this.
[88] Beesley, 257, 265
[89] Ibid. 273; Cal. Pat. Edw. VI, ii, 192; P.R.O., L.R.2/189, f. 138; ibid. 2/196, f. 183
[90] P. D. A. Harvey, op. cit. 95-7; Hants R.O. 43 M.48/97, 98

that there were only 300 houses in the town, implying a total population of about 1,500.[91] Certainly, however, the town had not expanded physically beyond the limits that it had reached by the late 13th century.

A period of comparative prosperity was ended by the disastrous fire of 1628 and the Civil War. Through these two events the town's appearance probably changed more than during any corresponding period since its foundation. According to one account, the fire destroyed over a hundred dwellings and their outhouses, or about a third of the whole town; according to another, seven hundred bays of houses. Where these were is not certain, but the vicar, living beside the church, 'only felt the wind of the stroake as it were, and not the smart of it'.[92] However, the Civil War probably caused more destruction than the fire, as well as more disruption in the town's life. Large fires were reported in May, 1643 and July, 1644.[93] The castle was occupied by royalists for three and a half years, and was twice besieged when parliamentary forces held the rest of the town: from July to October 1644 and from January to May 1646. Buildings in Banbury were damaged during both sieges, and great destruction is known to have occurred in the months following the first siege, when the garrison demolished houses around the castle to build new defensive bulwarks and trenches.[94] The town's government had broken down by the autumn of 1645, with the flight of the mayor and most of the aldermen and burgesses.[95] The country around suffered severely too from the garrison's forays for money and provisions. Nevertheless, despite all difficulties, Banbury's weekly market was still being held at least occasionally.[96] Damage to the town during the war may not have been due simply to military operations. The inhabitants were notoriously puritan and parliamentarian in their sympathies, and the royalist garrison showed little respect for either their persons or their property.[97] In 1647 a local writer described the town as 'now having scarce the one halfe standing to gaze on the ruines of the other', and of forty-three tenements listed in a survey of Crown property there six years later ten were described as plots still vacant or only partly rebuilt after being burnt in the war.[98] In 1648 Parliament ordered the destruction of the castle, and this was carried out so thoroughly that in 1685 the site was effectively occupied only by gardens and closes, two small buildings formerly within the castle and a row of thirteen new houses.[99]

The fire of 1628 and the Civil War between them probably caused the substantial rebuilding of most houses in Banbury. Although there is no reason to suspect any changes in the building plots or the alignment of the streets[1] this possibility cannot be ruled out. Timber-framing combined with stone was a common form of construction for the better houses now built; some of the stone and timber came from the castle as Parliament had ordered the materials from its site to be used to repair the town.[2] It may be significant that among the first houses to be rebuilt was the Unicorn Inn, with its large courtyard for horsemen and horse-drawn vehicles; the date 1648 is inscribed on the archway of its gate. Innkeepers, in fact, had probably done better during the war than other tradesmen, and eight new inns are first recorded between 1642 and 1651.[3] More appear in the second half of the century, suggesting that Banbury shared in the country's general expansion of trade in this period, and that its central position was proving of definite value. John Ogilby's road map of 1675 shows it as an important stage on the main roads from the Midland towns of Coventry, Northampton and Daventry to Gloucester and Bristol, as well as on the road to London.

Another sign of recovery and expansion after the war was what might be described as a suburban development of Banbury. This occurred in the hamlets of Neithrop, a quarter of a mile north-west of the town, and Calthorpe, which was physically a part of Banbury. Hitherto these had kept their original roles of agricultural settlements, and had been inhabited mostly by husbandmen: by villein tenants of the bishops of Lincoln in the 13th and 14th centuries, by copyholders and leaseholders and their employees in the 15th and 16th. Certainly the distinction between the inhabitants of borough and hamlets was not rigid at any recorded period; even in the early 13th century three of the four free tenants and sixteen of the forty villeins in Calthorpe and Neithrop also held tenements within the borough,[4] and in the 16th century members of the town's trading families were among those who took over agricultural holdings in the lands outside Banbury.[5] But from the mid-17th century an increasing number of non-agricultural workers came to live in Calthorpe and Neithrop: from 1581 to 1640, 83 per cent of those inhabitants whose wills are preserved were agriculturists, but from 1641 to 1700 only 42 per cent.[6] Certainly the economic distinction between the town and the hamlets was declining until by 1800 Calthorpe was in all but administration a part of Banbury, and Neithrop a suburb which was increasingly settled by the poorer part of the population.

The 18th century brought changes in the town's economy. One was the decline in cheese-making, which was probably centred on the hamlets and villages east of the town.[7] In the middle of the century Richard Pococke spoke of the town's 'great trade in cheese' and Horace Walpole was the recipient of a present of cheese from Banbury, but by 1841 the cheese that had been distinctive of Banbury since the 15th century had practically passed from local memory.[8] More important were two changes in the local cloth industry. The first was the establishment in Banbury itself, about 1700, of a workshop for weaving girths and horsecloths; it continued in production far into the 19th century, and although it probably never employed more than fifty workers it was on a larger scale than other

[91] Chantry Certifs. (O.R.S.), 44; Beesley, 278-9
[92] Beesley, 277-9; House of Lords Pps., 8 June 1626-31, Mar. 1628, f. 45
[93] Berks R.O., Lenthall MSS., D/EL 1, no. 05/15 (from description in National Register of Archives Rep. 0185); Beesley, 345, 364
[94] Beesley, 397, 400
[95] Ibid. 411, 423
[96] Ibid. 404
[97] e.g. Cal. Committee for Money, i, 52; ii, 376
[98] J. Sprigge, Anglia Rediviva, 251; P.R.O., E 317/Oxon. 8
[99] Map of 1685 (see n. 43 above)
[1] As suggested by Potts, 117-8
[2] House of Lords Journals, x, 326
[3] Beesley, 504; C. F. C. Beeson in Cake & Cockhorse, i, 122-5
[4] Rental, c.1225, and ff. 22-22v of the same MS.
[5] e.g. the Halhead family, woollendrapers (Bodl. MS. dd. Risley A. VII. 1/1, 2)
[6] Index to Banbury Wills (O.R.S.), passim
[7] This is suggested by probate inventories from Banbury and district, 16th-18th centuries; it is in these hamlets that most references to cheesemaking equipment occur (e.g. Bodl. MSS. Oxon. Wills 32/4/21; 39/2/22, 23).
[8] R. Pococke, Travels through England (Camd. Soc., N. s. xliv), ii, 240; H. Walpole's Corresp. with G. Montague, ed. W. S. Lewis and R. S. Brown, ii, 266; Beesley,567-8

establishments in the district.[9] The second change was that plush or shag became the characteristic cloth woven by the cottage clothworkers of the Banbury region. When or why plush weaving was introduced here is not known; it was well established by 1756 when Richard Pococke spoke of it as a local industry.[10] It had connexions with the industry in Coventry, and may have been helped by the Coventry-Oxford canal, which was opened as far as Banbury in 1778. In the early 19th century the finished cloth was dyed in Banbury, and this may have been the practice earlier.[11]

Banbury's puritan tradition did not end with the Civil War and Commonwealth; in 1667 it was reported to the Secretary of State that there was 'too little interruption of that old serpent, the presbyter, and his amphibious spawn' in the town and neighbourhood.[12] But the rabid puritanism of Elizabeth's reign was transformed after a stormy period of Quaker opposition to authority into a respectable non-conformity. It was not until the early 19th century that there was a return to the religious and political radicalism for which the town had been famous. There were then strong communities of a number of Nonconformist sects which provided many of the town's business leaders, who used their influence in favour of municipal reform. Ever since the withdrawal of the Bishop of Lincoln's secular authority in 1547 one or other of the neighbouring landed families had exercised strong influence over the town. In the 16th century it had been the Copes of Hanwell; in the early 17th the Fiennes family of Broughton; in the 18th it was the far more conservative Norths of Wroxton. The Norths' influence in Banbury and their benevolent patronage of the Corporation show clearly that the town was insignificant in power and wealth when compared with members of the landed aristocracy. This was symptomatic; Banbury's prosperity as a market town depended wholly on that of the surrounding countryside, and it was in the country, not the town, that the region's wealth lay.

John Byng, visiting Banbury in 1785, thought it a 'dirty, ill-built town'.[13] Even so, in the late 18th century and early 19th century Banbury seems to have been prosperous. There was a good deal of activity in public building: the three surviving stone gates were taken down because they hindered traffic; the medieval church was demolished because it was held to be in a dangerous state, and was replaced by a fine new one built on the same site; a new town hall was also built in the Market Place on the same site as its 17th-century predecessor; the National School superseded the earlier Blue Coat School.[14] There was also an increase in the number of private dwellings to meet the growth of population. Increases of three per cent between 1801 and 1811 and of seventeen per cent between 1811 and 1821 may have continued an earlier trend,[15] for which there is some evidence in the late 18th century. Early in the next century new houses were built near the North and South Bars, along West Street, and at the north end of Broad Street. But there was little room left for further expansion within the bounds of the borough, and it was the hamlets that provided the nuclei for the large new suburbs of Victorian Banbury.

A full picture of the town, of its inhabitants and their activities, in the 1820s is provided by the writings of George Herbert (1814-1902), a Banbury shoemaker who wrote a description, street by street, of the town as it was in his boyhood. Despite the plush factories in Factory Street and North Bar Street the picture he gives is essentially that of a town of self-employed artisans and tradesmen; their customers were drawn from the surrounding countryside which looked to Banbury as its centre. To cater for particularly rural needs the town contained a wide variety of specialized craftsmen; among them were millwrights, pumpmakers, a leather-breeches maker, chairmakers, straw-bonnet makers and cork-cutters. The weekly market was still the focus of the town's economic activity, as well as the fairs or great markets, now held eleven times a year.[16] The canal provided bulk transport to Oxford and, through Coventry, to other parts of England. Several coaches ran to London and Birmingham every day, and to Kidderminster, Leicester, and Northampton three times a week. There were carriers' services to Birmingham, Coventry, London, Newport Pagnell, Northampton, Oxford, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick and Witney, as well as to many places within twenty miles of Banbury.[17] On the outskirts of the town were gardens, orchards, and nurseries, and the open countryside just beyond was intimately linked with the town's life; Herbert as a boy used to go bird's-nesting in the fields and gravel pits west of the town and rat-catching in the barns of the local farmers.[18] Like Thomas Hardy's Casterbridge, Banbury in 1825 was still 'the complement of the rural life around; not its urban opposite'.

[9] Beesley, 567; R. P. Beckinsale in *Oxoniensia*, xxviii, 56, 64
[10] R. Pococke, op. cit. 280
[11] R. P. Beckinsale, op. cit. 58-9; Potts, 179; Herbert, 5
[12] *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1667, 169
[13] *Torrington Diaries*, ed. C. B. Andrews, 232
[14] Beesley, 207-8, 532-8, 553-6; Herbert, 53; Potts, 143-4, 181-2
[15] Beesley, 563
[16] The fair-days are listed in successive editions of *Rusher's Banbury List*, first published in 1795.
[17] Ibid. 1825
[18] Herbert, 46, 47, 51, 71

In compiling the maps and plans reference has been made to documentary sources, to archaeological and other printed articles, to 18th and 19th century prints, and to the following map sources:—*New and Correct English Atlas* by John Cary, 1793; Bodl. MS. dd. Risley D.III. 9 (2 sheets) c. 1800; Bodl. MS. dd. Risley D.III. 8/2, dated 1805; Bodl. MS. dd. Risley D.III. 8/1, dated 1810; Bodl. MS. dd. Risley D.III. 13/1, dated 1810; Bodl. MS. dd. Risley D.III. 13/2, dated 1811; Warwick County Record Office, CR 410/103, dated 1819; Plan of the Borough of Banbury, 1825, J. Davis; Oxfordshire County Record Office, Stockton and Fortescue Papers, box 52, bdle W(1), Plan of Calthorpe Estate, 1833; Map in possession of Vicar of Banbury, c. 1838; Bodl. MS. Oxon, Tithe Maps 30 (2 sheets) dated 1852; Ordnance Survey Plans, 25 inches to 1 mile scale, First Editions 1881-82; Ordnance Survey ¼ inch to 1 mile scale series; Ordnance Survey Roman Britain series, 16 miles to 1 inch.