

The City of Oxford and the Restoration of 1660

By MARGARET TOYNBEE

ON 9 May 1660 Samuel Pepys recorded in his *Diary* the arrival of a messenger to Lord Sandwich who 'brought us certain news that the King was proclaimed yesterday with great pomp, and brought down one of the Proclamations, with great joy to us all; for which God be praised'. On the 10th the Mayor of Oxford, John Lambe, announced that he had received a Proclamation from both Houses of Parliament and that King Charles would be proclaimed in the city with due solemnity that day. Among the orders issued was one to the effect that 'the greate Mace bee forthwith altered that the States Armes bee defaced & the Kinges Armes as soone as may bee placed in the roome thereof The whole chardge hereof to bee payd out of the Citty Treasure'.¹ We shall return to this subject later.

Four days afterwards the City Council agreed that a 'Remonstrance bee drawne vpp in the name of the Mayor Bayliffs & Cominalty of this Citty expressing their abhorrence of the Murther comitted vpon the late King and expressing their Duty & Loyalty to his Ma^{tie} That now is in such manner as m^r Recorder shall thinke fitt And that the Remonstrance shalbee sent vpp by m^r Roger Griffin & m^r John Painton the younger & m^r John Galloway to my Lord of ffaulkland & Esq^r Huxley with desires to p^rsent the same to his Ma^{tie} if they shall find it Conuenient And the same gen^l. that goe to waite on my Lord of ffaulkland & Esq^r Huxley are desired to informe themselves when the Coronac^on is like to bee in order to m^r Mayor & the other Cittyzens attending att the Courte to make clayme of the Auncient priuiledg of attending the king in his Buttery on the Coronac^on day & to send aduize thereof to m^r Mayor as soone as may bee & that the chardge of m^r Paynton m^r Griffin & m^r Galloway in this Journey shalbee borne by this Citty'.² The 'Buttery' claim will be reverted to in due course.

¹ Council Book C, 1629-1663, A.5. 7, f. 272: M. G. Hobson and H. E. Salter, *Oxford Council Act, 1626-1665*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. xcvi (1933), p. 257. By courtesy of Mr. Harry Plowman, Town Clerk, Mr. Taylor (see note at end) and I have been allowed to consult the City Archives. We are grateful to him for permission to print some unpublished documents, and also to Mr. C. J. H. Walker for invaluable help in locating them. In all cases where verbatim extracts from the original documents are given, and in some others, references to these are supplied as well as to the printed analyses. Thanks are also due to the City Council for a generous donation towards the cost of printing this article and for permission to reproduce the Restoration mace and cup.

² *Ibid.*, f. 273: Hobson and Salter, p. 259.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

Eighteen months previously (26 October 1658), at the instance of the then Mayor, Humfrey Whistler, the Oxford city fathers had unanimously agreed to present a similar address of congratulation to Richard Cromwell, following the example of 'diverse Cittyes and Corporacons of this Nation'. In anticipation of consent, a letter 'expressing their Duty and affecon' to the new Lord Protector had been drafted, and was now read, approved, and ordered to be sealed.³

So unblushing a *volte face* was, of course, common enough in Evelyn's *Annus Mirabilis*, and that the two addresses should have been the work of the same hand, while inviting cynicism from Charles II and ourselves, need call for no surprise. Both documents were composed by the Deputy-Recorder, Richard Croke.⁴ The Recorder, Bartholomew Hall, had been elected to the office in 1649, shortly after his appointment as Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster and Counsel to the Commonwealth. He apparently neglected his local duties, to the not unnatural dissatisfaction of the Oxford City Council. On 24 May 1660 it was decided to write to him pointing out that 'in regard of his absence from the Citty it is and hath bin some chardge extraordinary' and requesting that 'vnlesse his residence were like to bee in or neere this Citty he would bee pleased to send a Resignation of his office.'⁵ On 7 June Hall sent in his resignation, which was accepted on the 12th, Croke at once being elected as his successor.⁶

For unlike Hall, Croke stood extremely well with the city, and he continued to enjoy its favour, serving as Recorder until his death in 1683. The elder surviving son of Unton Croke, of Marston, serjeant-at-law, he was born about 1623 and in 1635 entered, young, the Inner Temple, of which he became a Bencher in 1662,⁷ himself attaining the rank of serjeant in 1675. In December 1653 he was given a bailiff's place and chosen Deputy-Recorder of Oxford.⁸ Sprung of a family deeply committed to the Parliamentary cause, he was M.P. for the city of Oxford in 1654, 1656, and 1659 (on the last occasion with his father, or, less probably, his brother, Major Unton Croke). He also represented Oxford in the Cavalier Parliament (1661-79) and was knighted in March 1680-1. The encomium on his monument in the chancel of Marston

³ *Ibid.*, f. 255v: Hobson and Salter, p. 236. This address has not been preserved among the State Papers Domestic.

⁴ Reference is made merely to 'mr Recorder', but from what follows it is clear that Croke is intended.

⁵ Council Book C, f. 274: Hobson and Salter, p. 260.

⁶ Hobson and Salter, p. 262.

⁷ *Students admitted to the Inner Temple* (1877), p. 286. A full account of Croke will be found in Sir Alexander Croke, *The Genealogical History of the Croke Family*, vol. II (1823), pp. 514-23. See also W. R. Williams, *The Parliamentary History of the County of Oxford* (1899), pp. 119-20.

⁸ Hobson and Salter, p. 201.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

church describes him as 'Utrique Carolo Dilectissimus'.⁹ On this Wood caustically comments: 'Charles I knew him not', adding, among other uncomplimentary remarks, that 'he alwaies ran with the times',¹⁰ a stricture abundantly merited by Croke's adaptability in the matter of composing 'loyal' addresses.

The Mayor in May 1660, as stated, was John Lambe, elected in the previous September.¹¹ In October 1658 he had been a member of the deputation (which included Richard Croke) chosen to wait upon Richard Cromwell and present the city's address.¹² This doubtful distinction had fallen to him in his capacity of a gentleman assistant, a position which he had just attained.¹³ Lambe had previously held various offices in the Corporation, including that of bailiff. On 24 May 1660 he voluntarily took the Oath of Allegiance,¹⁴ but this did not save him from removal from his assistantship under the Corporation Act of December 1661,¹⁵ by which 31 persons were dismissed at Oxford. However, he returned to office as bailiff in 1667,¹⁶ and was re-elected Mayor in 1668.¹⁷ He died in 1681. Wood records of him: 'John Lambe, one of the 13, sometimes Mayor, died in his journey from London to Oxford. A presbyterian, an enemy to Academians. He was a taylor first; afterwards, a maulster.'¹⁸

The 'Remonstrance', as has been seen, was to be entrusted to Lord Falkland and Mr. Huxley. On 5 April these two men had been elected (out of five candidates) to represent Oxford in the Convention Parliament,¹⁹ which met on the 25th of the same month. Henry Cary, 4th Viscount Falkland (1634-63) was the second son of the celebrated 2nd Viscount, Lucius Cary, who fell at the First Battle of Newbury. He had represented Oxfordshire in Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1659, and he became Lord Lieutenant of the county in 1660. Of Royalist sympathies, he was one of the Commissioners appointed by both Houses of Parliament to meet and welcome Charles II. James Huxley, mentioned by Wood as being a Presbyterian and inhabiting a substantial house next to Pembroke College,²⁰ was the third son of George

⁹ A transcript of the inscription is printed in *Parochial Collections*, ed. F. N. Davis, Oxfordshire Record Society, vol. II (1920), p. 204.

¹⁰ *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. Andrew Clark, vol. I (1891), p. 196, n. 2.

¹¹ Hobson and Salter, p. 247.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

¹⁶ Hobson, *Oxford Council Acts 1665-1701*, Oxford Historical Society, New Series, vol. II (1939), p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Life and Times*, vol. II (1892), p. 550.

¹⁹ Hobson and Salter, p. 255.

²⁰ *Life and Times*, vol. I, p. 311, n. 2.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

Huxley, of Edmonton. He was admitted to Gray's Inn in 1633.²¹ He became a freeman of Oxford on 14 March 1660.²² The estate of Dornford in the parish of Wootton, Oxfordshire, was acquired by him and passed on his death (his Will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1673) to the husband of his daughter Jane, Sir Nicholas Pelham, of Lewes.²³

We now turn to the three deputies. The first of these, Roger Griffin, a draper, described in his inventory as 'gentleman' and as 'commissioner' in the Poll Tax return of 1667, was the son of an Oxford baker of the same name, who had been a bailiff. The younger Roger himself became a bailiff in 1651.²⁴ He was one of those charged with the disposing of the wine, bread, and cakes at the Proclamation of Charles II.²⁵ In 1662 he was elected Mayor,²⁶ and afterwards served as alderman and J.P.²⁷ Wood records his death in 1677 at the age of 57 or 58.²⁸ As Wood makes no disparaging remarks, it is probable that Griffin proved a consistent Church and State man, friendly to the University.

The same cannot be said of the second deputy, John Painton, junior, who, on the occasion of Charles II's visit to Oxford in March 1680-1, was stigmatized by Wood as 'Royallyst this day and when the times serve a Cromwellian'.²⁹ Painton's father, the elder John, was a bailiff and for many years chief serjeant-at-mace to the Mayor of Oxford, his grandfather, according to Wood, being 'sometimes embroiderer to King James'.³⁰ The younger John was a lawyer who in 1649 received permission to practise in the city court.³¹ In 1652 he was allowed to act as his father's deputy as macebearer and granted a bailiff's place.³² Like Croke and Lambe, he had waited on Richard Cromwell, but, as deputy-macebearer, he had proclaimed Charles II,³³ and, as we shall see, played an important part in making good the Butlery claim in 1661. In 1662 he became Town Clerk,³⁴ a post which he was holding at the time of his death in 1681, aged 53.³⁵ To Wood he was notable for having instituted in 1669 a feast at the Guildhall for his fellow

²¹ J. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn* (1889), p. 202.

²² Hobson and Salter, p. 254.

²³ *Parochial Collections*, p. 356.

²⁴ Hobson and Salter, p. 186.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 303 and 329.

²⁸ *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 378.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 525.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

³¹ Hobson and Salter, p. 167.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁵ Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. II, p. 549.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

'natives of Oxon',³⁶ and for being obliged in 1679 to purchase a new coat of arms. This latter action was forced upon him by Dugdale at the instigation of Wood himself, who reported Painton's wrongful assumption of the coat of the Peytons of Kent.³⁷

John Galloway is a more shadowy figure than either Griffin or Painton. A draper by trade,³⁸ he was elected a common councillor in 1657³⁹ and carried out the same duties as Griffin at the Proclamation of Charles II. In 1662 he was given a chamberlain's place at the request of Lord Falkland,⁴⁰ with whose family he may have had some tie since in 1671 he was deputed to carry a letter to Lady Falkland.⁴¹ For many years he was appointed one of the fairmasters. He served as bailiff for the last time in 1686,⁴² after which his name disappears from the Council records. It is probable that he then left Oxford as his Will was not proved there nor does the entry of his burial occur in the registers of All Saints, his parish church.

Richard Croke's facile pen made short work of the 'Remonstrance' for it was tendered to the consideration of the Council on 15 May, the day after the resolution for its composition had been passed. The house 'retorned theire hearty thanks to m^r Recorder for his paynes therein and desired nemine contradiscente that the same might bee fairely ingroed & sealed with the seale of this Citty'. It is described as 'an humble gratulacōn and Peticōn to the Kings most excellent Ma^{tie} expressing theire greate joy in his Maties being brought by the greate and righteous god to the lineall and lawefull inheritance of his Crownes and Kingdomes, theire utter abhorrence of the barbarous and inhumane parricide comitted vpon o^r late Sovereign Lord of the tender of theire Duty and allegiance to his Ma^{tie}'.⁴³

Croke, however, had proved rather too speedy. It would appear that when Griffin, Painton, and Galloway arrived in London⁴⁴ and submitted the address to their consultants, these advised some changes before the address was presented to the King. For at a Council meeting held on 1 June 'M^r Mayor acquainted the house that he had received the Gratulacōn or Peticōn formerly drawne vpp to be p'sented to his Ma^{tie} retorned to him with some

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 440.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

³⁹ Hobson and Salter, p. 225.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴¹ Hobson, p. 46.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁴³ Council Book C, f. 273; Hobson and Salter, pp. 259-60.

⁴⁴ 'pd M^r Roger Griffin M^r John Painton & M^r John Gallaway for their expenses in a journey to London & Westm^r att the desire of the Councell Chamber of this Citty [£] 22.10.00', Audit 1592-1682, P. 5, 2, f. 309, Keykeepers' Payments 1660: Hobson and Salter, p. 443.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

addicōn & amendm^t w^{ch} being now openly read It is agreed that the same shalbee fairely ingrosed and sealed with the seale of this Citty'.⁴⁵

There had, indeed, been one serious omission in Croke's original draft which contained no mention of the city fee-farm. The Fee-Farm Rents Act, ordering that all fee-farms of corporations were to be bought in, was passed on 11 March 1649-50.⁴⁶ On 3 June 1650 the City Council authorized John Painton, the macebearer, to compound personally with the Trustees appointed by Parliament to deal with the matter at Worcester House.⁴⁷ On the 11th the result of his negotiation, 'at Nyne yeares purchase', was reported and thankfully accepted: it was further agreed to borrow £400 towards implementing the transaction.⁴⁸ Now it was decided to insert in the revised 'Remonstrance' to Charles II 'that sume of money for w^{ch} the ffee farme was purchased . . . but not the yearly Rent payd for the same'.

At this Council meeting it was also determined that a much more imposing delegation than that of Griffin, Painton, and Galloway should attend His Majesty to deliver the address. This was to consist of the Mayor himself with his attendants, two aldermen (Humphrey Whistler and William Wright), the senior and junior bailiffs and their serjeants, three other bailiffs (John Townsend, Henry Mallory, and Richard Pratt), one chamberlain (William Potter), and two common councillors (Francis Drake and William Boddyly). All expenses of the journey to London were to be borne by the city.

The revised 'Remonstrance' is preserved among the State Papers Domestic in the Public Record Office.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, the seal is missing from the parchment. The full text runs as follows:

'To the Kings most Excellent Ma:^{ty} Charles the second by the Grace of
God of England Scotland ffrence & Ireland King Defender of the
ffayth &c.

The most humble Gratulacōn and peticōn of yo^r Ma:^{ties} most Loyall and ffaith-
full Subiects The Mayo^r Bayliffes and Cominalty of your Ma:^{ties} Citty of Oxford
Most Gracious Sovereaigne

Wee yo^r Ma:^{ties} most obedient subiects of yo^r Ma:^{ties} Citty of Oxōn having beene
always ffaithfull and Loyall to yo^r Royall ffather of most Glorious memory whilst
hee Raigned over us cannot now refrayne from exp'ssing the infinite Joy which our
hearts have conceived in that the greate and Righteous God both of heaven and Earth
hath brought yo^r Ma:^{ty} the Lineall Lawfull and vndoubted Inherito^r of yo^r Crownes
& Kingdomes into the iust possession of the same And that allsoe you have beene
pleased to exp'sse yo^r Princely goodnes towards us and all yo^r people by yo^r late
Gracious Declaration: And for the humble manifestacōn of o^r sincere Loyalties to

⁴⁵ Council Book C, f. 274v: Hobson and Salter, p. 261.

⁴⁶ *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi, p. 380.

⁴⁷ Council Book C, f. 184: Hobson and Salter, p. 169.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 185v and p. 170.

⁴⁹ Charles II, vol. iii, f. 29.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

your Ma:^{ty} Wee p'sume hereby to declare That as from the Bottome of o^r hearts wee alwayes have abhorred and ever shall abhorre that barbarous and inhumane parricide comitted vpon o^r late Soveraigne Lord as a Cryme not to bee named amongst Christians without the greatest detestacōn that can bee Soe alsoe wee shall bee alwayes most ready according to our bounden Dutyes and allegiance to sacrifice o^r Lives and flörtunes and all that is deare vnto us in the p'servacōn and Defence of yo^r Ma:^{ties} Royall person Crowne & Dignity:

And whereas during yo^r Ma:^{ties} absence from us Wee Did for the some of ffoure hundred poundes sterling and vpwards paid by us purchase the auncient ffee farme rent Due from this Citty from those who tooke vpon them to sell the same (least that strangers should have intermedled therewith:) Wee doe yett notwithstanding in further token of o^r Loyalties hereby declare that wee shall most willingly and cheerefully for ever hereafter pay the said yearely ffee farme Rent vnto yo^r Ma:^{ty} yo^r heyres and Successors:

And Wee most humbly beseech yo^r Gracious Maiesty to accept of the same as a pledge of that ffaith and Loyalty which wee most humbly acknowledge to bee iustly due vnto you by the Lawes of God and Man and wherein wee hereby oblige our selves to continue with all Cheerfullnesse vnto the last period of our Lives being all of us resolved to live and Dye yo^r Ma:^{ties} most ffaithfull obedient and Loyall Subiects and dayly to pray for yo^r Ma:^{ties} long life and happy Raigne over vs:

In Testimony whereof Wee have allsoe solemnely taken our Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy to your Sacred Maiesty and have herevnto with one assent and consent at Oxford affixed the Coñon Seale of the said Citty the second Day of June in the twelfth yeare of yo^r Maiestyes Raigne '.

It may be noted that, in spite of the 'loyall' protestations contained in this unctuous effusion, in April 1662 proceedings were being taken against the City of Oxford for non-payment of the King's fee-farm rent.⁵⁰

On 7 June Wood set down: 'the city of Oxford congratulated the king; "News", 1660, p. 373'.⁵¹ On the 12th the Mayor reported to the Council 'That according to an Act of the last Councell himselfe & the other gent. therevnto as appoynted had bin to p'sent themselves and instrum' agreed vpon for that purpose to his Ma:^{tie} That they had founde the Ho:^{ble} the Lord of ffaulkland very ready to assist & further them in the p'senteing the same And that alsoe his Lopp had giuen A very noble Entertainm' to m^r Mayor & his Company att Westm' That his Ma:^{tie} was very graciously pleased to accept of the Instrum' p'sented to him & to expresse that he would haue A p'ticular care to p'tect his Citty of Oxford'.⁵²

Two tangible memorials of Oxford and the Restoration are to be found amongst the Corporation regalia: the mace of 1660 and the cup of 1665-6. It will be recalled that on 10 May 1660 directions had been issued for the alteration of the great mace. On 6 June 1649 the House of Commons promulgated

⁵⁰ Hobson and Salter, pp. 291-2.

⁵¹ *Life and Times*, vol. 1, p. 318.

⁵² Council Book C, f. 274v; Hobson and Salter, p. 261.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

an order about maces.⁵³ Somewhat belatedly, on 17 April 1651, the Oxford Council agreed that 'whereas there is an Act of Parliam^t for the alteracōn of all Maces in Generall within this Comon Wealth for the taking of the late Kinges Armes thereof and the setting of the Armes of the Comonwealth thereon this house in Obedience therevnto doe desire that M^r Berry & M^r Bayliffe Wright will see the same done & that the silver Mace now remayninge in the chest in the Audit house bee taken forth and made the best of & the moneyes that shall bee made thereof shall bee imployed in the chardge of making vp the great mace & what chardges more shall bee Necessary to bee Expended therevpon shall bee paid out of the Treasure of this Citty'.⁵⁴ But the whirligig of time brought in his revenges. On 15 May 1660 it was agreed that 'A new greate Mace bee pvided at the chardg of this Citty and the care of pvideinge thereof bee referred to m^r Wilkins m^r Slatter m^r Porter & m^r Alexander Wright who are before they make agreement for such a new Mace to acquainte m^r Mayor & his Brethren with the chardge thereof'.⁵⁵

Amongst the Keykeepers' payments for 1660 occur the four following items relating to the mace:

'pd to M ^r John Slatter in p ^t towards y ^e Exchaunge of y ^e great Mace	[£] 50 00 00
pd to M ^r Slatter wch was by him expended towards the change of the great Mace	10 00 00
pd M ^r Slatter for the Exchange of the great Mace being due to him over and aboue the Summe of Eightie pounds	04 10 03
pd M ^r John Slatter in pte of a greater Summe due to him for moneyes expended by him towards the Exchange of the great Mace	20 00 00'. ⁵⁶

Next year the Oxford mace filled an honourable role. Amongst the city archives there is preserved a letter addressed to the Mayor and Corporation by four of the Serjeants-at-Arms dated from Whitehall 5 March 1660[-1]. This states that the King having appointed 23 April for his Coronation 'and haueing giuen a Comaund to all his Serjeants at Armes to attend on him at that Solemnity There being at psent a want of Maces w^{ch} cannott by that tyme bee supplied wee doe make yt o^r earnest request that you wilbee pleased to lend vs yo^r Corporacōn Mace ffor that Service And doe ingage o^r Selves . . . to see yt safely retorned vnto you'.⁵⁷

The mace itself (PLATE VI) is a characteristic, though unusually large, example of the type made shortly after the Restoration; its length is no less than 5 feet 4 inches and it is correspondingly heavy (287 ounces). It is gilt

⁵³ *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi, p. 226.

⁵⁴ Council Book C, f. 198: Hobson and Salter, p. 182.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 273 and p. 260. Samuel Wilkins, David Porter, and Alexander Wright were all goldsmiths. It is to be presumed that John Slatter was one also.

⁵⁶ Audit 1592-1682, ff. 308v and 309, Keykeepers' Payments 1660: Hobson and Salter, p. 443.

⁵⁷ Sundry Documents, Autographs, etc., F.5.2, f. 99.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

all over and has doubtlessly been regilt more than once. The bowl, in shape not unlike that of the 'Coronation' cup (PLATE VII), is surmounted by a form of royal crown, and its junction with the staff is strengthened with four scrolled brackets. Below these is a large knob of the same design as the knob midway along the shaft towards the big knob near the foot that serves as some counter-balance to the head.

The crown corresponds in general to the royal crown of Charles II as painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller in the King's portrait in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, but it is taller proportionately and its cresting has twice as many crosses and fleurs-de-lys; beading represents the pearls of the original as rectangles and ovals in relief do the jewels. Within the crown's framework, forming as it were a lid to the bowl, is a circular plate chased in low relief with the royal arms beneath the letters C.II.R (abbreviated from *Carolus Secundus Rex*), within an embossed border of roses alternating with thistles, of cable-moulding and a wreath of bay laurel. The decoration of the outer surface of the bowl repeats, again in embossed work, some of these motifs. It is divided by caryatids into four compartments, each of which contains the letters C and R flanking a royal crown, with the leafy stalks of a rose and a thistle below; encircled by these in the centre of each compartment is one of the four royal badges—respectively a Tudor rose, a thistle, a harp, and a fleur-de-lys.

The four brackets were cast as S-scrolls with subsidiary scrolls, all delicately graduated in thickness, and female busts. The two upper knobs are identical in design; each is an oblate sphere, constricted at the centre by a wreath of bay-laurel, and spirally gadrooned above and below. The staff itself is flat-chased with foliage. The lowest knob is shaped like a vase; the upper part is concave and embossed with gadroons alternating with guilloche ornament below a collar of dependent acanthus leaves; the lower part is convex and embossed with a frieze of acanthus leaves. The foot of the staff expands into a small finial on which is engraved, between two narrow bands of stamped crosses, the inscription in Roman capitals:

THIS MACE WAS MADE IN THE MAYORALTY OF IOHN
LAMBE ESQ. ANNO REGNI CAROLI 2 DUODECIMO.

Although there are no hall marks or maker's marks visible, the inscription agrees well enough with the documents cited above that the mace was in fact made in the year 1660, that is during the course of the twelfth year of the reign of Charles II who was held to have succeeded his father on 30 January 1648-9.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

The Restoration cup is intimately connected with the historic claim of the Mayor and citizens of Oxford to exercise their 'Auncient priviledg of attending the king in his Buttery on the Coronacōn day'.

It is of interest to recall that on 3 March 1885 the late Mr. Falconer Madan read a paper to the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society, which had been written by Major-General Gibbes Rigaud shortly before his death, on the ceremonies performed by the Mayors of Oxford at the Coronations of Sovereigns.⁵⁸ The then Mayor, who was invited but proved unable to attend the meeting, sent the mace and chain for exhibition.

In the earliest charter to the borough of Oxford of which the words have been preserved, namely that of Henry II, occurs this privilege for the citizens: 'Et quod ad festum meum mihi serviant cum illis [the citizens of London] de Butteillaria mea.'⁵⁹ As the King expressly states that he is confirming the liberties, customs, and laws granted by his grandfather, it is possible that this honour goes back to the reign of Henry I. There are records of the claim to it being made and substantiated on several occasions during the 14th and 15th centuries. The most interesting is the vivid, detailed account composed by Thomas Tanfeld, the then Town Clerk, of the procedure at the Coronation of Edward IV in 1461.⁶⁰ In the claim put forward at the Coronation of Henry V in 1413 there is mention of the right 'deporter vn hanaþ dargent couevez dargent a la Table nostre Seigneur le Roy et dauoir mesme la hanaþ oue les foez et proffitz a mesure la seruice apurtenauntz',⁶¹ but the customary fee for the Mayor of Oxford at the Coronation feast was the three mazers or maple-wood cups just received by the King from the lord of the manor of Bilsington: three 'ashen cupps' are mentioned by Tanfeld. When we come to the 16th century there is evidence that the claim was successfully advanced at the Coronation of Edward VI (1546-7).⁶² It was also certainly pressed at the Coronation of Elizabeth I (1558-9) when the Mayor of the day noted that he had 'made sute unto my lorde of Arundell for the office in the buttery'.⁶³ The account of the Queen's banquet⁶⁴ does not mention the Mayor of Oxford's service, but, as we shall see when we reach the Coronation of Charles II, such silence need not mean that it was not rendered.

⁵⁸ *Proceedings*, New Series, vol. iv (1880-5), pp. 301-13. This paper, which was separately printed, is valuable, but much documentary material has become available since its appearance.

⁵⁹ Octavius Ogle, *Royal Letters addressed to Oxford* (1892), p. 4.

⁶⁰ H. E. Salter, *Munimenta Civitatis Oxonie*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. LXXI (1917), pp. 221-3. For earlier claims see pp. 177, 263, and 284.

⁶¹ See Vellum Book I, F.5.8, f. 455 and note 81 below. Printed by Ogle, p. 3, n. 3.

⁶² See page 84 below.

⁶³ Council Book A, 1528-92, A.5.5, f. 366: printed by W. H. Turner, *Records of the City of Oxford 1509-1583* (1880), p. 275.

⁶⁴ J. Nicholls, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (1823), p. 61.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

The first half of the 17th century saw no Coronation banquets: in 1603 and again in 1625-6 they were prevented by the Plague. In anticipation of James I's feast, however, the Oxford Council, on 4 May 1603, appointed delegates to serve in the 'buttrye'.⁶⁵ When it became known that Charles I's Coronation was likely to take place at Candlemas (2 February) 1625-6, the Council, on 5 January, made elaborate arrangements for the Butlery claim to be preferred with the strictest formality.⁶⁶ On 23 January the delegation was named.⁶⁷ Evidently some apprehension must have been felt lest the lapse of time might have invalidated the claim, since it was asserted that 'this is a worke tending to the hono^r of the Citty and redeemeing of that w^{ch} hath lien longe asleepe and bene almost lost'. These fears proved groundless, for on 24 April we learn of the 'Claime of this Cittie being allowed the last Terme for the Maio^r attendance on the king at hys Coronacōn feast'.⁶⁸ It was then still believed that the postponed banquet might be held early in May, and the Mayor and two others were authorized to 'take paines to ride vp to London, And if any certentie of the kings feaste and solempnitie can be had in any reasonable tyme', it was agreed that a delegation should attend 'for the reputacon of the Cittie'.

As has been seen, with the approaching return of Charles II in May 1660 the Oxford City Council lost no time in considering the revival of the claim to a privilege which had not been exercised for over a hundred years. Eleven months, however, elapsed between the Restoration and the Coronation of King Charles. The interval saw the election, in September 1660,⁶⁹ of a new Mayor, Sampson White, of whom some account must now be given. Not only is he the hero of this particular story, but, as a figure of considerable importance in 17th-century Oxford, the salient facts about his life deserve to be set out.

Born at Coggs in 1607, Sampson was the youngest son of John White, a yeoman of that place, who died in 1623.⁷⁰ Wood describes John White as a 'plebeian' and says that 'the name hath lived several generations' there:⁷¹ in another context this becomes 'where his name hath continued time out of mind'.⁷² Wood derives the family from a 'steward or baylive of Einsham abbey'. Sampson moved to Oxford and became a mercer. In 1636 he was

⁶⁵ Council Book B, 1591-1628, A.5.6, f. 85; Salter, *Oxford Council Acts 1583-1626*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. LXXXVII (1928), pp. 151-2.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 294 and p. 338.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 294v-295 and pp. 338-9.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 295 and p. 339.

⁶⁹ Hobson and Salter, p. 266.

⁷⁰ For the inscriptions on the tomb of John White and his wife formerly to be seen in Coggs churchyard consult *Parochial Collections*, p. 100.

⁷¹ *Life and Times*, vol. III (1894), p. 111.

⁷² Bodleian Library, Wood MS. F.29 A, f. 324b.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

elected a common councillor and in 1641 a bailiff, serving as junior bailiff in 1642.⁷³ During the Civil War he proved conspicuously loyal to the royal cause: 'flagrante Rebellione Subditus fidelissimus', in the words of his epitaph in St. Mary's church.⁷⁴ After the fall of Oxford, White was among the victims of the Parliamentary 'purge':⁷⁵ 'turn'd out of the councill house for his loyalty', Wood writes approvingly.⁷⁶ From 1651 to 1655 his house in High Street gave asylum to the Royalist (Sir) Leoline Jenkins and his pupils, from which it acquired the nickname of the Little Welsh Hall.⁷⁷ Between October 1647 and May 1660, when he was restored in view of the King's imminent return, White's name disappears completely from the Council records. Such refreshing consistency, shining like a good deed in the naughty world of John Lambes and Richard Crokes, was now to receive its fitting reward.

As early as 25 February 1660-1 the Council was considering the despatch of an agent to London in order to prosecute the city's Butlery claim.⁷⁸ Thereafter the proceedings can be followed step by step, and not in the Council Book alone. Tucked away at one end of a manuscript volume in the Archives, unpromisingly labelled 'Suits with the University &c 1634-1680', are supplementary entries of surpassing interest for Oxford's part in the Coronation banquet of Charles II.⁷⁹

First there comes a memorandum that the Mayor desires a search to be made in the records preserved at the Tower of London for the Oxford claim as presented at the Coronation of Henry V and a copy supplied. This is followed by a copy from the Tower records of the favourable decision reached at the Coronation of Edward VI. After these is entered a copy (attested to be accurate by the Town Clerk, Matthew Martin) of a letter to the Mayor from William Ryley, Lancaster Herald and Keeper of the Tower records,⁸⁰ dated from 'heralds office' 2 March 1660[-1]. In this letter Ryley informed the Mayor: 'I receiued yo^r letter last weeke wherein you desire yo^r clayme of Henry 5th may be found or some attestacon of it. S^r I never saw those claymes

⁷³ Hobson and Salter, pp. 71, 103, and 108.

⁷⁴ This phrase is copied from the inscription on the Restoration cup: see below.

⁷⁵ See *Commons' Journals*, vol. v, pp. 318-19.

⁷⁶ *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 111.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162 and Wood, *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, vol. II, p. 231.

⁷⁸ Hobson and Salter, p. 276.

⁷⁹ E.4.3. Substantial excerpts dealing with White's activities in the proceedings were printed by Rashleigh Holt-White in his *Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne*, vol. I (1901), pp. 10-11. (For the relationship between Sampson and Gilbert see later.) Holt-White, however, gives no reference beyond 'the city book', the entries were forgotten, and were overlooked even by Miss Hobson. Fortunately, a search made for them by Mr. Walker, at my request, proved successful.

⁸⁰ Ryley entered the Tower as clerk of records c. 1620, and was appointed Lancaster Herald in 1641. He sided against the King and was made Keeper of the records and successively Norroy and Clarenceux King-at-Arms by Parliament, but was reduced to the rank of Lancaster Herald in 1660. He served as Deputy-Keeper to Prynne.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

though I haue beene in the office 35 yeares but I haue a fayre Transcript of them from an authentique hand⁸¹ And for farther prooffe I haue sent you a Coppie or abstract of yo^r clayme for that service at the Coronacōn of Edward the Sixth And you may haue it authenticatted altogether by mee & others from the Record it selfe.' Ryley goes on to tell White that a Proclamation will be sent to him within the next ten days announcing the sitting of the Court of Claims in the Painted Chamber at Westminster on 26 March⁸² and that it will be time enough to see about the Butlery claim the week before. He concludes by promising to assist 'in all I can possible'.

On 19 March the Oxford Council made its preliminary arrangements 'in regard the day of his Ma^{ty} royall Coronacōn [23 April] draweth nigh'.⁸³ By then notice had been given of the sitting on the 26th of the Commissioners appointed to review all Coronation claims. It was agreed that the Mayor, accompanied by John Painton, junior, should go up, equipped with the necessary evidence (charters, etc.), and two or three sealed blank parchments on which to enter the Butlery claim. A letter was to be written to the High Steward of the City, the old Earl of Berkshire, to solicit his help in the matter. All expenses of the journey, including fees, were to be paid by the City. It was further settled that, if the claim were allowed, the customary six citizens to attend and assist the Mayor in his Coronation service should be Alderman Francis Harris, Alderman William Wright, Leonard Bowman (assistant), the two bailiffs (William Walker and William Potter), and the Town Clerk (Matthew Martin). All these were desired 'for to accomodate themselves with Clothes & other accomodations as may be suitable to the dignity of the place & employ^{nt} they goe vpon according as by his Ma^{ty} late Proclamation is required'. The Mayor was to have two men in liveries to attend him and the other six citizens one man each, all expenses of the journey to be defrayed by the city.

It is indicative of the interest aroused on this occasion that 'severall members of this House are willing for the Honour of this Service of the Citty to put themselves vpon the service in their own persons & to Cloth themselves at their owne Charges & thereby also to pvent the Charge of the Citty for Liveryes'. The offer of these burgesses, also six in number, John Bowell (bailiff), Richard Hawkins, Matthew Tredwell, Nicholas Oram, William New, and John Spurre (chamberlains), was 'kindly accepted' by the Council and

⁸¹ This must be the attested copy made by Augustine Vincent, Windsor Herald (died 1626) which was entered in Vellum Book I, f. 455: see note 61 above.

⁸² This Proclamation was issued on 8 March 'Declaring His Majesties pleasure touching His Royal Coronation, and the Solemnity thereof'. It names the members of the Commission for Coronation Claims.

⁸³ Council Book C, f. 286v: Hobson and Salter, p. 277.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

they were requested to make their preparations. It was further agreed that ' Mr John Painton the macebearer & one of the Bayliffs Sergeants shalbe only provided with Cloths at the Chardge of the Citty '.

In the volume of suits, following Lancaster Herald's letter, there is to be found an invaluable full narrative of the Butlery claim proceedings of 1661. This, obviously the work of an eyewitness, can with considerable confidence be ascribed to Matthew Martin, Town Clerk from 1657 to 1662, and may profitably be compared with Tanfeld's account, drawn up exactly two hundred years earlier. The entry is a fair copy in the hand of the clerk responsible for writing up the contemporary Council acts. It is surprising that a record so fascinating for its picturesque details, has never before been printed *in extenso*.

' Bee it remembered That his most Excellent Ma^{tye} King Charles the Second haveing by his Proclamacōn bearing date the 8th day of March in the 13th yeare of his Raigne declared his resolucōn to celebrate the solempnity of his royall Coronacōn on the 23^d of Aprill then next following & haveing appointed (as by the said Proclamacōn appears) Certeyne Lords Com^{rs} for the recieveing the peticōns & Claimes of such as were to doe service on the said day as by the said Proclamacōn also appeareth Herevpon Sampson White, Esq^r, Mayo^r of the said City, by advice of his Brethren & the whole Councell Chamber, took his iourney to London to p'sent from this Citty a peticōn & Claime to the said Com^{rs} That the Mayo^r of Oxford & six of the Cittizens might be admitted to serve the Kings Ma^{tye} in his Buttellary on the day of his royall Coronacōn together with & in such manner as the Lord Mayo^r and the Cittizens of London doe Which peticon & Clayme now followeth in these words and was sealed with the Citty seale

A les Tresnoble et Treshonourable Edward Seignior Hyde Barron de Hendon Seignior Chancellour de Anglitter, Tho: Count de Southampton seignior hault Treasurer de Anglitter, George Duke de Albemarle Master del Chivals noster seignior le Roy, Henry Marquess de Dorchester, Mountague Count de Lyndsey seignior hault Chamberlayne de Anglitter, Jeames Marquess de Ormond seneschall de Hostell le Roy, Edward Count de Manchester Seignior Chamberlayne del Hostell le Roy, Auberry Count de Oxon, John seignior Roberts Barron de Truro, Sir Robert ffoster Chivaler seignior Cheife Justice del Court de Banche le Roy, et Sir Orlando Bridgman Chivaler & Barronett seignior Cheife Justice del Court del Common Pleas Commissioners a receiver oyer et Terminer les peticōns et Claymes pur & concernant Services destre fait sur le iour et temps del Coronacon le Roy

Le humble peticon & Clayme del Maior et Burgesses del Citty de Oxon

In tous humble manner monster

Que divers Roys de Anglitter progenitors et predecessors al noster Sovereigne seignior le Roy ont per leur Severall Charters de souch le grand seale de Anglitter grantus et confirmus a vostre suppliants de Attender & Server al feast de Coronacon en le office del Botelary le Roy, Ovesque les Cittizens de Londres Quel Service illz humblement clamant et priont allowance de ces ovesque tous fees et profits due pur le mesme

Which peticōn being p'sented by Mr Mayo^r & the Councell on behalf of the Citty

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

being heard the Clayme was allowed by the Lords Com^{rs} & entered in the Roll of Claymes w^{ch} order & allowance followeth

die Martis 2^{do} die Aprilis Anno regn' Caroli Scdi 13^o

In Curia Clameor'

Clameum Maioris & Burgeñs Civitañ Oxōñ p eundem Maior in ppr pson in hanc Curia' exhibit de attender & Server al feast del Coronacon en le office de Bootelary le Roy ovesque les Cittizens de Londres p eandm Cur' allocat' & adiudicat' fuit simul cum feod eidm offic' spectan' & ptinen & p eosdm Maior & Burgenses in Clameo suo p'dco vindicat'

Exa[m]i[n]at3 p Tho: Agar dep^t C: C:

We must now interrupt the narrative in order to record that on 11 April the Mayor reported to the City Council the expenses incurred in making the claim.⁸⁴ These amounted to £26 7s. 4d. plus £6 13s. 4d. paid as his fee to the High Steward.⁸⁵ It was also made known that one of the volunteers, Nicholas Oram, had backed out from attending the Coronation, whereupon it was 'agreed that David Woodfield⁸⁶ shall have 50^s—to buy him a Cloak & to attend M^r Mayor & the Cittizens in that iourney And that both the Bailiffs Sergeants shall have 50^s apeece to buy each of them a cloak to attend M^r Mayor & the Cittizens in the said Journey at the Charge of the Citty That M^r Painton shall have 3^{li} to buy him a cloak'.

The narrative continues:

Wherevpon the said Mayo^r together wth 6 Cittizens appointed by the Councell Chamber of the said Citty to witt Ald: ffrancis Harris Ald: William Wright M^r Leonard Bowman one of the 8 Assistants William Walker & William Potter Gent' Bayliffs & Mathew Martinne Gent' Townclarke And 5 others of the Councell Chamber to witte, M^r John Bowell M^r Richard Hawkins M^r Mathew Tredwell M^r New & M^r Spurre who offered to habit themselves att their owne charge & to attend the form' 6 together with the Macebearer & Sergeants rode vp to Westm' for to doe the service aforesaid on the said Coronacon day w^{ch} said Mayo^r & Cittizens for their more free entrance into Westm' Hall on the said day pcured a speciall order from the Earle of Lyndsey Lord high Chamberlyn of England for that purpose w^{ch} order also followeth in these words

Whereas the Mayo^r of Oxfords Clayme is allowed this is to appoint the said Mayo^r to attend according to his office dated this 21th of Aprill 1661

These psons are to attend wth the Mayo^r of Oxford Lindsey

ffran: Harris	}	Ald'
Wm Wright		
Leonard Bowman		
Wm Walker		
Wm Potter		
Mathew Martinne &		
John Painton		

Lindsey

⁸⁴ Council Book C, f. 287v: Hobson and Salter, p. 279.

⁸⁵ See also Audit 1592-1682, f. 313, Keykeepers' Payments 1661: Hobson and Salter, p. 445.

⁸⁶ David Woodfield was second serjeant-at-mace to the Mayor.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

And the said Cittizens making their applicacōn the evening before the Coronacōn day to James Duke of Ormond Steward of his Ma^{ties} household humbly praying his Graces order for their admission into the said office of Butlership, His Grace was pleased imediatly to send for S^r Harry Wood & S^r George Barker K^{nts} Clarke Comptroll^{rs} of the Green Cloth⁸⁷ & appointed them to put the Mayo^r & Cittizens of Oxford into possessiō of the Kings Buttларыes according to their allowed Clayme w^{ch} said K^{nts} appointing to meet M^r Mayo^r & the Cittizens the next morneing in Westm' Hall did then goe wth them in pson into the Kings Butteryes & into the Beare & Wine Cellars & acquainted M^r Gardiner Yeoman of the Wine Cellar⁸⁸ M^r Ernly Gent' of the Buttery⁸⁹ & other the Officers of both the Cellars & Butteryes that the Mayo^r & Cittizens of Oxford were to serve his Ma^{tye} as his Butlers in his Buttларыes for that day appointing & comāding them to observe & obey the said Mayo^r & Cittizens as the Kings Butlers & to give them the best assistance & direccōn w^{ch} said Gent' Officers of the Buttларыes & Cellars did receive the said Mayo^r & Cittizens wth very much respect gave them an account of the Beare & the Wine & the Comand & possession of both the Cellars & Butteryes & told them that the hono^r of this employm^t for that day was theirs the said Mayo^r & Cittizens but in the duty & service of it they would yeld them their best assistance w^{ch} they did accordingly

It is to be further noted that when the Tables were Covered & preparacōn made for his Ma^{ties} returne from his Coronacōn att Westm' Abbey to the ffeast in Westm' Hall M^r Mayo^r accompanied wth M^r Ernly Gent of the Buttery went vp in his Scarlett Gowne from the Buttery att the lower end of West' Hall to the Cubbard erected for the Butler neer to the Kings table carrying two Golden Bowles covered in his hands wth w^{ch} his Ma^{tye} was to be served And was vshered thither by a Gent' appointed for that purpose at w^{ch} Cubbard M^r Mayo^r of Oxōn alone waited in his Scarlett Gowne executeing the office of Butler while his Ma^{tye} was at dinner only when his Ma^{tye} had near dyned the Lord Mayo^r of London p'sented his Ma^{tye} with a Bowle of Wine & claimed the bowle & had the same allowed by his Ma^{tye}.

And it is to be noted that the ffriday morneing M^r Mayo^r & the Cittizens attending on his Ma^{tye} to kisse his Royall hand his Ma^{tye} was graciously pleased to conferre the hono^r of K^{nthood} vpon M^r Mayo^r.⁹⁰

And it is also worthy to be remembered that M^r Mayo^r & the Cittizens of Oxford applying themselves to S^r Richard Browne Barronett Lord Mayo^r of the City of London entreating that for as much as the Mayo^r & Cittizens of Oxford were to serve his Ma^{tye} in his Buttларыe on the day of his royall Coronacōn together wth his Lo^{pp}e & the Cittizens of London That therefore his Lo^{pp}e would doe them the hono^r & favo^r as that the Mayo^r & Cittizens of Oxōn might accompany his Lo^{pp}e & the Cittizens of London to Westm' for that purpose. His Lo^{pp}e was pleased to expresse much willingnesse therevnto & did wth the Consent of the Aldermen of

⁸⁷ Sir Henry Wood (1597-1671) was clerk of the Spicery in the Royal Household. He remained faithful to the monarchy and was created a baronet abroad c. 1657. At the Restoration he was appointed elder clerk comptroller of the Green Cloth and in 1660-1 was promoted a clerk. Sir George Barker (died 1663) became a clerk comptroller at the same time as Wood was promoted.

⁸⁸ His status was not sufficiently high to warrant his being mentioned by name in *Angliae Notitia*, and I have not succeeded in identifying him.

⁸⁹ Robert Ernley's name appears in *Angliae Notitia*: 'In the Buttery a Gentleman, Robert Ernley'. His Will was proved in the P.C.C., as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in 1680 (46 Bath).

⁹⁰ The Friday after the Coronation was 26 April. Shaw's *Book of Knights* (vol. II, p. 234) gives 25 April for White's knighthood.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

London invite M^r Mayo^r & the Cittizens of Oxford to meet at his Lo^{pp}e house in the morneing (on the Coronacōn day) & to goe downe wth his Lo^{pp}e to Westm^r in his Barge w^{ch} after a very free Treatm^t given them by his Lo^{pp}e they did accordingly Besides w^{ch} it pleased his Lo^{pp}e also to invite M^r Mayo^r & the Cittizens of Oxford to dinner at his house on the day after the Coronacōn where they had a very noble & great feast & were entertayned by his Lo^{pp}e wth so much & so great respect that it deserves to have a lasting remembrance for w^{ch} purpose it is here entred'.⁹¹

John Ogilby in his account of the Coronation banquet of Charles II, entirely ignores the part played in it by Oxford, although he mentions that of London.⁹² The courtesy shown by the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Browne, to Sampson White, may have owed something to fellow-feeling. Although the two men had once been in opposite camps, for Browne had been a notable Parliamentary commander, appointed in 1644 major-general for the forces raised to subdue Oxford, in the siege of which he participated, they had both suffered under the usurping régime. As a Presbyterian, Browne changed sides, was expelled from the House of Commons and deprived of his civic offices in London in 1648, and was imprisoned for five years. In reward for his promotion of the return of Charles II, he was created a baronet in 1660, and he was elected Lord Mayor later in that year. For Browne and White, as for many others, the Restoration helped to efface the bitter memories of the fanatical 'forties.

As has been seen, the customary fee of the Mayor and citizens of Oxford was three maple-wood cups, and it was this fee which was allowed by the Court of Claims in 1661.⁹³ Sampson White, however, perhaps on the strength of his record of loyalty and his knighthood, was evidently determined to obtain from Charles II a more dignified memorial of his Coronation. A golden opportunity offered in the retirement of the Court to Oxford from the Plague in September 1665, which coincided with the opening of White's second term as Mayor and which lasted for several months. The following hitherto unpublished warrant entitled 'Plate for ye Mayor of Oxford' is preserved in the Public Record Office:

'Whereas the Mayor of ye Cyty of Oxford did according to his clayme and right allowed before the Right Hono^{ble} the Lord Com^s of Claymes attend as Buttler at his Ma^{ties} Coronation for which service there was allowed him as his right and fee the Cupp wherein his Ma^{tie} did then drinke These are therefore to signifie his Ma^{ties} pleasure that you p^rpare and deliver vnto s^r Sampson White kn^t Mayor of Oxford now beinge (And who was Mayor and did attend at his Ma^{ties} Coronacōn) a guilt silver Cupp with a Cover of the quantity of one hundred & tenn Ounces or there-

⁹¹ The expenses of the Coronation journey amounted to £38 6s. 2d.: see Audit 1592-1682, f. 313, Keykeepers' Payments 1661: Hobson and Salter (p. 445) misprint the amount as £88 6s. 2d.

⁹² *The Kings Coronation* (1685), pp. 17-18.

⁹³ *Collections relative to Claims at the Coronation of Several Kings of England* (1820), p. 74.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

abouts as a guift from his Ma:^{tie} to ye Cyty of Oxford to remaine to posterity as an Hono' vnto them for theyre service at that tyme with his Ma:^{ties} Armes engraven And &r. Dated Decemb' 22:th 1665 Oxon.

To S^r Guilbert Talbott Mast' & Treasurer of his Ma:^{ties} Jewellhouse'.⁹⁴

It will be noticed that the Royal gift to White is strangely described as having been allowed him by the Court of Claims 'as his right and fee'. As we have seen, however, the cup from which the King had drunk at the Coronation banquet was the perquisite of the Lord Mayor of London, who had 'claimed the bowle & had the same allowed by his Ma:^{tye}'.

Amongst the Keykeepers' payments for 1666 occurs the following entry:—

' Itm pd S^r Sampson White late Maior the summe of Seaven & twenty poundes in full of soe much disbursed by him for this Citie for fees & gratuities in the obteyning of his Ma:^{ties} Royal Bowle given to the body of this Citie for his & their service at his Royall Coronacōn, which Bowle is to bee p'served amongst the Treasures of the Citie as a perpetuall honour to this Citie from his Ma:^{tie} 27 00 00'.⁹⁵

Despite the above categorical statement, White was permitted to retain the cup as his own property, and it therefore seems that it was a moral obligation alone which prompted him to make restitution in his Will. In this document, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on 13 November 1684,⁹⁶ he declares: 'I give and bequeath vnto the Maior Bayliffes and Commonalty of the City of Oxford in the County of Oxford my greate silver and gilt boll with the Cover thereof which was given to mee by his gracious Ma:^{tie} that now is at his Ma:^{ts} royall Coronation the which I desire shall bee delivered to the Maior of the said City for the time being by my Executrix hereafter named within One moneth next after my decease to bee by him delivered at the end of his Mayoralty to the Citties vse as other the City Plate is vsually don and to bee alwayes kept with the other City plate in the possession of the Mayor of the said City for the time being.'

The large silver-gilt 'Coronation' cup with its regilt cover (PLATE VII) stands 22½ inches high and weighs 108 ounces, as is recorded by an inscription beneath the foot. It is the only example of this particular variation on a theme fairly common during the reign of Charles II. It consists of a tub-shaped bowl about 6 inches deep on a turned baluster stem which rises from a foot of about the same diameter as that of the bowl. The cover is similar in form to the foot, but rises into a short steeple which supports the later finial. The embossed decoration refers appropriately to the royal connexion. That of the bowl, with an engraved inscription above and a frieze of acanthus leaves

⁹⁴ L.C. 5/138, f. 325. I am grateful to the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for giving me permission to print this warrant, which is unpublished Crown Copyright material.

⁹⁵ Audit 1592-1682, f. 329, Keykeepers' Payments 1666: Hobson and Salter, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

⁹⁶ 156 Hare.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

round the surbase, is for the rest divided into four sections of floral ornament typical of the 'sixties, which are separated by the four royal badges, each crowned. The ornament of the foot echoes that of the cover, consisting of two large Tudor roses alternating with a royal crown flanked by the letters C and R. The pedestal is embossed with acanthus leaves and surmounted by a cast pineapple finial.

Further interest is given to the cup by the Latin inscription engraved in italic script in three columns, the first of three lines and the others each of two, on the outside just below the rim:

*Donum regale
Domini nostri Caroli secundi D.G.
Angliæ etc (sic) Regis Augustissimi*

*Coronationis festo in Botelaria servienti
Sampsoni White Militi Civitatis*

*Oxonford Maiori subdito
flagrante rebellione fidelissimo.*

The cup is fully hallmarked 1665-6 and bears the maker's mark, F L, a bird, below, in a shaped shield.

The year following White's bequest saw another Coronation, that of James II. On this occasion the Mayor and citizens cited the precedent of the previous reign as grounds for moving that they should be granted a gilt cup as the fee for their service. The Court of Claims, however, held that the judgement of 1661 had allowed only the three maple cups, and this was accordingly reaffirmed in 1685.⁹⁷ But, as Sandford notes in his *History of the Coronation of James II* (1687), 'it is to be remembered that His MAJESTY, of his particular Favour to the said City of Oxon, did bestow upon them a Gilt Bowl and Cover, with His MAJESTIES Arms Engraven thereon, to remain to Posterity (mentioned at the time of the Claim, but not allowed)'.⁹⁸ In the list drawn up on 11 May 1685 of plate to be delivered to persons who had done service at the Coronation, the fourth item runs: 'To the Mayor of Oxford, a Gilt Cup and Cover . . . as his Predecessor had before, of the Value of 110 Ounces. Which being a High Bowl, and Cover richly Chaced, was prepared . . . and delivered accordingly, as a Gift from His MAJESTY to the City of Oxford, to remain to Posterity, as an Honour for their Service at that time.'⁹⁹ Unfortunately,

⁹⁷ *Book of Claims*, pp. 74-5.

⁹⁸ P. 123.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

Sir William Walker, the Mayor of Oxford in 1685,¹⁰⁰ was not so scrupulous as White. He bequeathed his 'greate Silver guilte boule and cover' to his son John Walker,¹⁰¹ the city merely receiving a legacy of £20 and his scarlet cloak, an inadequate substitute benefaction.

Whether *ex gratia* cups were bestowed at the Coronations of William and Mary, Anne, George I, and George II, there appears to be no evidence to show: the Butlery claim in the form presented at the Coronation of Henry V was rejected on the last-named occasion (1727).¹⁰² A cup was, however, given to the Mayor of Oxford, John Austin, at the Coronation of George III in 1761. In 1821 this was traced to the possession of a Mr. Twopenny, of Knoyle House, Wiltshire.¹⁰³ At George IV's Coronation in that year (the last time a banquet was held) the Mayor, Herbert Parsons, received a silver-gilt cup or potole.¹⁰⁴ This he gave to the Corporation, but on the dissolution of the old Council in 1835 it was restored to him.¹⁰⁵ The cup remained in the hands of the Parsons family¹⁰⁶ for over a century: in 1946 it was offered to the city by Mr. Herbert Parsons, of Lochgilphead, Argyll, and gratefully accepted.¹⁰⁷ Together with the Restoration cup it constitutes an impressive memento of a service which persisted for some seven centuries.

It remains to say a few words about the later career of Sir Sampson White. In 1664 he became a J.P., and in January 1665 he was elected alderman: as we have seen, in the following September he was chosen Mayor for the second time.¹⁰⁸ He died, aged 78, on 28 September 1684 'at his house against University College; buried in St. Marie's church'.¹⁰⁹ The marble tablet erected to Sir Sampson by his widow, Mary, daughter of Richard Soper, of East Oakley, Hampshire, may be seen on the east wall of St. Mary's tower whither it has been moved from its original position on the north wall of the nave. This records his two periods as Mayor: 'I° sub reditu Regis, cui in Coronationis Festo ad Botelaria Serviebat.' His coat of arms is that of the

¹⁰⁰ Sandford calls him George Walker and believes that he was knighted after the Coronation instead of in February 1684-5. Rigaud follows Sandford.

¹⁰¹ His Will was proved in the P.C.C. 4 February 1694-5 (34 Irby).

¹⁰² See the note by Thomas Barnard in Vellum Book I, f. 455.

¹⁰³ *Collectanea* IV, Oxford Historical Society, vol. XLVII (1905), p. 247. 'Bill of Costs of Charles Ellis Agent in London to the Mayor of Oxford for the Coronation of George IV', edited by F. Ellis. The Editor expressed the hope that the publication of this document might lead to the rediscovery of other Coronation cups.

¹⁰⁴ R. Huish, *History of the Coronation of King George the Fourth* (1821), p. 299.

¹⁰⁵ Book of Benefactions, E.4.2, f. 58.

¹⁰⁶ The Parsons lived at Elsfeld Manor from 1855 to 1919.

¹⁰⁷ Council Minute Book 1945-6, pp. 692 and 783.

¹⁰⁸ Hobson and Salter, pp. 329, 333, and 341.

¹⁰⁹ Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 110. His house was no. 32, the site of which is now occupied by the Lodgings of the Warden of All Souls: see H. E. Salter, *Surveys and Tokens*, Oxford Historical Society, vol. LXXV (1920), p. 204.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

Whites of South Warnborough, Hampshire, from which family Wood at one time believed the Oxfordshire Whites to have been descended.¹¹⁰ Later he could not conceive how the coat could have been claimed by them,¹¹¹ but his respect for Sir Sampson¹¹² evidently restrained him from the hostile action taken in the case of John Painton.

Not the least of White's claims to remembrance is the fact that he was, through his fourth son, the Rev. Gilbert White (died 1727-8), great-grandfather of the celebrated naturalist of Selborne.¹¹³ The younger Gilbert White cherished the belief that his family 'had been in possession of an estate called Swan Hall, in the tything of Haley, parish of Witney, Oxon., as long ago as the reign of Queen Elizabeth'. Rashleigh Holt-White, in his *Life and Letters of Gilbert White of Selborne*,¹¹⁴ pointed out, apropos of this, that there is no mention of Swan Hall in the Will of John White, of Coggs, the father of Sir Sampson, who, he suggested, had purchased it for one of his sons. The notion that the ancestors of Gilbert White lived at Swan Hall has been perpetuated by Kelly's *Directory of Oxfordshire*, but it is erroneous.

The true story of the descent of Swan Hall and its connexion with the Whites, which has been pieced together from a number of sources, mostly unpublished, is as follows. Robert Yate (born c. 1569), the second son of James Yate, of Standlake,¹¹⁵ was established at Hailey as a customary tenant of the manor of Witney by 7 James I (1609).¹¹⁶ In the inventory of his possessions drawn up after his death and dated 13 March 1639[-40],¹¹⁷ there is mention of the 'cockloft at Swanoll'. Robert's heir was his nephew John Yate (born 1616), his eldest brother's eldest son.¹¹⁸ John Yate settled at Hailey. He married Mary, daughter of John More, of Payne's farm in the parish of Taynton,¹¹⁹ by whom he had an only child, Abigail. When John Yate died in 1658 his daughter was admitted as his heir to his Hailey lands.¹²⁰ Through the marriage (c. 1669) of Abigail Yate to John White, eldest son of Sir Sampson White, these passed into the possession of the White family.¹²¹

¹¹⁰ Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 111.

¹¹¹ Wood MS. F.29 A, 324b.

¹¹² This is all the more remarkable when it is remembered that during his first Mayoralty White was involved in the dispute with the University over the Mayor's oath and the 'penance' at St. Mary's on St. Scholastica's Day.

¹¹³ See note 79 above.

¹¹⁴ Vol. I, p. 8.

¹¹⁵ See *Visitation of Oxfordshire 1574*, Harleian Society, vol. V (1871), p. 159.

¹¹⁶ Public Record Office, Exchequer, LR 2/vol. 202, ff. 25-50. Mr. R. G. Chapman has kindly supplied this reference.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. Wills Oxon 75/3/28.

¹¹⁸ See *Visitation of Oxfordshire 1634*, Harleian Society, vol. V, pp. 257 and 258.

¹¹⁹ Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 111.

¹²⁰ Blenheim Palace Muniments, Witney Court Rolls, Book 1649-59, ff. 268 and 269.

¹²¹ John and Abigail White were admitted on 13 April 1670: *ibid.*, Book 1659-89, f. 297.

MARGARET TOYNBEE

John White, the naturalist's great-uncle, was born in 1636. He matriculated from University College in 1652, when he was described as 'gentleman',¹²² and was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1656.¹²³ He was admitted a freeman of the City of Oxford in 1660 and was elected a bailiff in 1661.¹²⁴ After 1668 his name ceases to figure in the Council records for on his marriage he left Oxford and took up residence at Hailey.¹²⁵ Thenceforward he was known as 'Squire' White and he became a J.P. John White did not share his father's loyalty. According to Wood, he 'shewing himself too malapert when the popish plot broke out, was left out of the commission [of the peace], 1679'.¹²⁶ He made a speech of welcome to the Duke of Monmouth when the latter visited Oxford in September 1680.¹²⁷

John and Abigail White had three children: Sampson (born 1670), Mary (born 1672), and John (born 1674),¹²⁸ all of whom received legacies under the Wills of their grandparents Sir Sampson and Lady White.¹²⁹ Abigail died while her children were young, and in 1691, when Sampson White the younger came of age, he was admitted to 'Swanhall' and the other Hailey lands as tenant in place of his father,¹³⁰ who did not die until 1701.¹³¹ When Sampson died, unmarried, in 1708,¹³² John succeeded, his sister inheriting his goods and chattels.¹³³ John died, also unmarried, in 1711-12,¹³⁴ administration of his goods being granted to his sister in 1713.¹³⁵ She had already, in April 1712, been admitted as John's heir to 'Swanhill Rudge', etc.¹³⁶ Gilbert White recorded that the estate of Swan Hall 'by a female line, went into the family of the Ashworths, who sold it'. In this he was perfectly correct. Mary

¹²² Wood, who confused him with another, older John White, of Oxford, is in error in saying that he was first of Magdalen: see *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 111, and also vol. I, p. 331.

¹²³ *Middle Temple Admissions Register*, vol. I (1949), p. 157.

¹²⁴ Hobson and Salter, pp. 255 and 288.

¹²⁵ His residence there is noted by Plot in the map which illustrates his *Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677), and by Wood, *Life and Times*, vol. III, p. 111.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 507. John made a speech to the Grand Duke of Tuscany on his visit to Oxford in 1669: *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 157.

¹²⁸ Witney Parish Registers, consulted by kind permission of the Rector, the Rev. A. W. Adeney.

¹²⁹ Proved 17 September 1688: P.C.C. 123 Exton.

¹³⁰ Witney Court Rolls, Book 1690-1703, f. 23. It may have been Sampson who built the present Swan Hill Farm, the residence today (1959) of Mr. Raymond Blake.

¹³¹ Witney Registers. Holt-White in the pedigree printed at the end of his second volume equates him with the John White 'from Witney' who was buried at Coggs with Sir Sampson's parents in August 1712 (*Parochial Collections*, p. 100). This is probably the John White who was Master of the Company of Blanket Weavers at Witney in 1711 (Alfred Plummer, *The Witney Blanket Industry* (1934), p. 19). Squire White's younger son, John, died earlier in 1712. Squire White's Will was proved in the P.C.C. in 1701 (177 Dyer). He left all his personal effects to his younger son.

¹³² Witney Registers.

¹³³ His Will was proved in 1709: MS. Wills Oxon 205, Series II, vol. 13, f. 365.

¹³⁴ Witney Registers.

¹³⁵ MS. Wills Oxon 107, Act Book B, f. 321v.

¹³⁶ Witney Court Rolls, Book 1710-17, f. 55.

THE CITY OF OXFORD AND THE RESTORATION OF 1660

White had married in the lifetime of her brothers Garvais Ashworth, of Leafield (died 1727).¹³⁷ In 1738 Mary Ashworth and her son John disposed of the Hailey lands to Sir George Fettiplace.¹³⁸

NOTE

The descriptions of the mace and cup have been written by Mr. Gerald Taylor of the Ashmolean Museum, to whom I am much indebted.

¹³⁷ MS. Wills Oxon 114/2/16.

¹³⁸ Witney Court Rolls, Book 1734-41, ff. 171-7.



C



B



A

Corporation of Oxford Mace 1660.
A. General view. B. The head. C. The foot.

PLATE VII



Corporation of Oxford 'Coronation' Cup 1665-6.

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Ph.: M. R. Dudley