

NEW LIGHT ON THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TOKEN ISSUERS OF CHEPPING WYCOMBE

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THE authoritative work on Buckinghamshire seventeenth century tokens is Manton and Hollis' "Buckinghamshire Trade Tokens issued in the 17th Century" (1933) (*B.N.J.*, XVIII, XIX, XX). Manton and Hollis not only listed all the known tokens of the County but they interested themselves also in the issuers. They unearthed a considerable amount of fascinating detail concerning the tradesmen and women. For their sources, Manton and Hollis relied chiefly on parish registers and records. They did not, however, consult hearth tax records, quarter session records, borough archives such as the Charter Book of High Wycombe, wills and inventories and records of the free churches.

Consequently their information regarding many of the issuers tends to be sparse and in some cases non-existent. Using the above mentioned sources untapped by Manton and Hollis, the writer has been enabled to fill in some of the gaps and discover a great deal more about the men and women who issued these fascinating pieces—their family background, their social standing, their political and religious leanings. This article is an attempt to illustrate the background of the High Wycombe issuers in the light of recent researches.

Perhaps a note on seventeenth century tokens and their use would be helpful. At the commencement of the reign of James I, there was a shortage of small change for trading. The king attempted to overcome this by granting royal patents to his favourites to coin royal farthings. Unfortunately these did not benefit the users of the coins, only the patentees and the king, since they were extremely cheap to produce and the large profits incurred were split between the king and the patentee. These fraudulent patents were removed in 1643 and although a regal coinage was intended it was abandoned because of the civil war. Since traders and poor people were now in a difficult situation, the issue of private tokens was the next logical step. They were issued by municipalities, traders and inns. It is estimated that some 20,000 tokens were issued between the years 1648–72. Besides their obvious use they were also an excellent advertising medium. They were essentially a local coin as shown by this extract from Evelyn's Diary:

"Payable through the neighbourhood though seldom reaching farther than the next street or two."

Tokens of three values were issued: farthing, half penny and penny; the vast

majority being farthings and half pennies. They were chiefly made of copper or brass, hence the term "brass farthing". They were almost invariably made in London. The tokens bear no representation of the sovereign's head. They usually bear the name of the issuer, and his town, the arms or symbol of his trade, the year of issue, and often the initials of the issuer and his wife. For example, one token of a High Wycombe issuer reads:

JEREMIAH GRAY Swan
IN HEY WICKHAM. I.M.G.

Note the initials stand for Jeremiah Gray and his wife Martha.

223 tokens were issued by 191 tradesmen in Buckinghamshire. The distribution of the issuers indicates the relative importance of Buckinghamshire towns and villages as centres of trade. The list outlined below accords reasonably well with contemporary assessments of their relative commercial importance in the seventeenth century. It is interesting to note that over half the places of issue were small villages or even hamlets, each issuing a single token.

High Wycombe	22	Broughton	1
Aylesbury	16	Edlesborough	1
Stony Stratford	14	Haddenham	2
Chesham	13	Hambleden	1
Newport Pagnell	11	Horton	1
Buckingham	9	Little Horwood	1
Colnbrook	8	Hughenden	2
Winslow	8	Iver	1
Amersham	6	Lavendon	1
Marlow	7	Leckhamstead	1
Wendover	7	Little Brickhill	1
Beaconsfield	6	Mursley	1
Olney	6	Newton Longville	1
Brill	5	North Crawley	1
Eton	6	Northall	2
Chalfont St. Peter	3	Shenley	1
Fenny Stratford	3	Sherington	1
Great Horwood	3	Steeple Claydon	1
Ivinghoe	3	Stewkley	1
Wooburn	3	Swanbourne	1
Princes Risborough	2	Thornborough	1
Emberton	2	Waddesdon	1
Oakley	1	Warrington	1
Stowe	2	Woughton on the Green	1
Tingewick	2	West Wycombe	1
	<i>Issuers</i>		<i>Issues</i>
	191		223

Twenty-two traders in High Wycombe issued tokens. I have been able to trace the occupations of fourteen of them. It is significant that a third were innkeepers, whose trade was symbolised in the sign of the inn boldly presented on the obverse of the token:

Samuel Boudrey of the Kings Head
Thomas Butterfield of the Wheatsheaf

Jeremy Gray of the Swan
 John Juson of the Chequers
 Richard Lucas of the Red Lion
 Alexander Parnam of the Greyhound
 Robert Whitton of the Antelope

The occupations of the 22 issuers of High Wycombe tokens are set out below:

INNKEEPER	INN	SITE	
Samuel Boudrey	King's Head	12 Oxford Street	
Thomas Butterfield	Wheatsheaf	2 High Street	
Jeremy Gray	Swan	5 St. Paul's Row	
John Juson	Chequers	Corner of White Hart St. and Church Street	
Richard Lucas	Red Lion	9 High Street	
Alexander Parnam	Greyhound	22 Easton Street	
Robert Whitton	Antelope	High Street	
<i>Lace Buyer</i>			
Thomas Taylor	—known from the Quarter Sessions Records. Manton & Hollis thought erroneously that the device on the token represented a roll of tobacco.		
<i>Carpenter</i>			
John Rowell	—Carpenter's arms on token.		
<i>Draper</i>			
Thomas Dymarsh	—Reference to Thomas Dymarsh, draper, in the Wycombe Ledger Book.		
<i>Clothworker</i>			
William Fisher	—Clothworker's arms on token		
<i>Grocer</i>			
John Morris	—Chandlers arms on token		
<i>Tanner</i>			
Edward Winch	—Ref. in Ashford		
<i>Occupations not known</i>			
Thomas Atkins	Thomas Bates	Robert Frier	John Harding
Francis Ingleby	Richard Preist	Robert Watson	Thomas Wheatley

There can be no doubt that several of the traders who issued tokens were prominent business men of their day, and well known in High Wycombe. They held high office. At least 13 out of the 22 were elected burgesses. Eight became Aldermen, serving a total of 120 years in that office. Two innkeepers served the longest period, Robert Whitton of the Antelope thirty years 1661–1691, and Richard Lucas of the Red Lion twenty-six years 1649–1675. Four became mayor. Three of these were innkeepers: Richard Lucas, Alexander Parnam and Robert Whitton, and the other was a clothworker, William Fisher. Other posts held by issuers include town chamberlain, hospital chamberlain, bailiff, Justice of the Peace, Deputy Recorder and Chamberlain. (See Appendices 1 and 2).

The seven innkeepers of Wycombe who issued tokens are of particular interest. As we have seen, four of them were active in local politics, and Richard Lucas and Robert Whitton were particularly influential. It has been possible to locate the site of all of their inns. Five of the original buildings are still

standing—those of the Wheatsheaf, the Red Lion and the Antelope in the High Street, the Chequers at the corner of Church Street and White Hart Street, and the Greyhound in Easton Street. Only one, the Red Lion, is still functioning as an inn. The Swan in St. Paul's Row was recently demolished, and a modern King's Head stands on the site of the 17th century inn on the Oxford Road.

The token issuers represent not only a cross-section of traders but also of political and religious opinion during a period of considerable political and religious ferment. The publican Robert Whitton was a complete royalist and supporter of the Established Church, as was William Fisher, the clothworker. William Fisher and Frances Ingleby were churchwardens. Richard Lucas had a foot in both camps. His token issued in 1670, bearing the legend "Rather dead than disloyal", proclaims a royalist support, yet a few years later he stood for the anti-royalist dissenting party. Two definite dissenters were Thomas Harding and Thomas Taylor, members of a growing Baptist community in High Wycombe. John Harding and John Morris were also probably nonconformist.

Below are outlined some of the more interesting details of the lives of the Wycombe issuers. I am sure that further research will reveal yet more information.

- References: W = Geo. Williamson's edition of *Boyne's Trade Tokens*
M = Manton and Hollis' Buckinghamshire Trade Tokens issued in the 17th Century
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|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (A) = Ashmolean Museum | (D) = High Wycombe Museum |
| (B) = British Museum | (E) = The writer's collection |
| (C) = County Museum, Aylesbury | |

THOMAS ATKIN;

½d. 1668. T.E.A. M195 W155 (CDE) The issuer was not traced by Manton and Hollis. The parish registers record the burial of Ann, the wife of Thomas Atkins on 14th October 1676. The issuer may have married twice.

THOMAS BATES

½d. 1661. T.B. Prince of Wales' plume. M196 W156 (ACDE). The issuer died in 1670, but unfortunately his will is indecipherable. His widow was buried on 4th September 1676 (pr.) The Bates family were paper manufacturers from the 17th to the 19th centuries. They owned Marsh Mill in 1733 (M & H). Stephen Bates, probably a relative, was Mayor of High Wycombe in 1650.

SAMUEL BOUDREY

½d. S.I.B. King's bust. M197 W- (C). Samuel Boudrey married Joane Grimsdale on 10th July 1665. There is a reference in the Baptismal Register to the baptism of Samuel, son of Samuel and Mary Boudrey, on 4th June 1705. The new baby is probably the issuer's grandson. Samuel was innkeeper of the King's Head which was situated at 12 Oxford Street, High Wycombe. The King's Head belonged to Robert Boudrey, churchwarden, in 1671, and overseer in 1680, and rated in 1674 for "Boudrey's Mill" (Temple Mill/St. John's Mill). The 1875 Directory contains a reference to the "Kings Head, 9 Oxford Street (Boudrey's Yard)". A modern "King's Head" stands on the site of the 17th century inn.

THOMAS BUTTERFIELD

½d. no date. Wheatsheaf. M198 W157 (AC). ¼d. no date. T. B. Wheatsheaf. M199 W- (BC). Thomas Butterfield was innkeeper at the Wheatsheaf, 2 High Street. The Butterfield family possessed land in Wycombe, Penn and Wooburn. Thomas was rated separately for land in 1669. In a subsidy roll of 1673 he was assessed at 8/-; his Certificate of Residence shows him dwelling in Wycombe Forrens. The original building of the Wheatsheaf still stands, being now a tobacconist's shop. In its Buckinghamshire Inventory (1912), the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments described the house as follows:

“... of three storeys built late in the 16th, early in the 17th century of brick and timber. The hipped roof is covered with tiles. In front the upper storeys project, but only the third storey is of the original material, the others having been refaced. The original timbers of the floors and roof are visible.”

The building was still an inn in 1875. The Directory of that year refers to the Wheatsheaf at 2 High Street. Several old photographs show the sign of the Wheatsheaf. Old men of Wycombe recall the building, when it still functioned as an inn.

THOMAS DYMARSH

¼d. 1668. T.A.D. Sugar loaf. M202 W160 (B). Little has been discovered of Thomas Dymarsh. His name appears in the First Wycombe Ledger Book as a draper and newcomer to the borough on 20th October 1660. On that date he was admitted a townsman on payment of a £3 fine. He was elected a burgess on 28th January 1672.

ROBERT FRIER

¼d. R.F. Rose. M204 W162 (C). He married Elizabeth Turner, 29th November 1633. He held office as burgess (1655), town chamberlain (1657-59 and 1660), and Alderman (1657-1678). Frier was an opponent of Nicholas Bradshaw, a prominent royalist during the 1650's. On account of this he refused to serve in a humble capacity as bailiff under Bradshaw's regime and was fined. After Bradshaw's fall from power in 1656 (the visitation of Colonel Tobias Bridge) Frier gladly accepted office on the Council. Although never Mayor, he served as an alderman for a period of twenty-one years.

WILLIAM FISHER

¼d. 1652. W.A.F. Clothworker's arms. M203 W161 (BCD). William Fisher, a clothworker, married Anna Gray on 8th February 1635. He served in the offices of churchwarden (1640), bailiff (1645), alderman (1650-59), Mayor (1651-2) and Town Chamberlain (1656). He was a royalist and a churchman. He supported Nicholas Bradshaw, who, as Ashford writes in his *History of High Wycombe*, became leader of a party which stood for the independence of the borough, greater power for the Common Council and the right to use borough funds as he chose. Bradshaw secured Fisher's election as an alderman in 1650 and his election as mayor the following year. During Fisher's mayoralty 1651-52 six aldermen approved Bradshaw's accounts for his mayoralty 1649-50. The First Wycombe Ledger Book records:



PLATE V (a). The Red Lion in the High Street.



PLATE V (b). The site of the Swan in St. Paul's Row.



PLATE VI (a). The Greyhound in Easton Street.



PLATE VI (b). The Antelope in the High Street.



PLATE VII (a). The Chequers at the corner of White Hart St. and Church St.



PLATE VII (b). The Wheatsheaf in the High Street.



a. Obverse.



b. Reverse.

Richard Lucas of the Red Lion, 1653.



c. Obverse.



d. Reverse.

Richard Lucas of the Red Lion, 1670.



e. Obverse.



f. Reverse.

Robert Whitton of the Stag.

PLATE X. Chepping Wycombe Inn Tokens.

Scale approximately $\times 2\frac{1}{2}$ actual size.

"and we do find that he hath paid in money £40. 0. 0d. and that he had great quantity of his toll corn taken away from him to a far greater value than the remainder of his account came to, which he is content to remit."

Also during Fisher's mayoralty the Common Council enlarged the space round the market house, reserving it exclusively for the sale of corn. In April 1654 during Gibbon's mayoralty Bradshaw and Fisher were instrumental in redefining the position of the Corn Toll as follows. The right was asserted to make bye-laws. Two Town Chamberlains to be appointed to collect the entire toll £40 to be retained by the mayor for his expenses. Of the excess £20 was to be used for relief, especially for the financing of apprenticeship. The sum of £20 was not to be claimed by the poor as a right, but could be withheld by the council at will. It is significant that the first two town Chamberlains were Nicholas Bradshaw and William Fisher. In January 1656 Colonel Tobias Bridge was called to Wycombe as a result of a petition to the Lord Protector's Council by Bradshaw's opponent. Bradshaw was accused of misappropriation of public funds. Gibbons and Fisher were not directly implicated although their influence waned. William Fisher died in 1659.

JEREMIAH GRAY

¼d. 1652. I.M.G. Swan with coronet. M205 W163 (ABCDE). He was inn-keeper at the Swan, 5 St. Paul's Row. The parish registers of January 1646 record the marriage of Jeremy Gray and Widow Tomb. His wife was called Martha in his will. He died in 1664, his will being proved on 3rd February 1666. His eldest son was John Gray. He held offices of bailiff (1650) and burgess (1658). In an old Wycombe rate book Jeremy Gray is described as of the "Borough Arms". According to the First Wycombe Ledger Book, Jeremy Gray was tenant to the Borough for a tenement called the "Old Guildhall" at a yearly rent of £5. 0. 0d. In his will, the issuer is described as a maltster. Martha, his wife, died within two or three days of her husband. His will records:

"I give my estate amongst my children. I give £20 to Ralph Ayr and £20 to Richard Humphry and £20 to my wife which I promised her. But I owe money £20 to which woman (meaning his sister) the said Amy Robinson standing by and £20 besides, which makes £100."

There is no signature. An endorsed memorandum dated 13th February 1665 stated that a caveat entered on behalf of Roger Thomas, a creditor of the deceased, has been retracted and that John Gray, eldest son of the deceased, may administer the goods, giving security and executing an inventory. Until November 1966, when the premises were demolished, the Swan functioned as an inn.

JOHN HARDING

¼d. no date. I.M.H. M206 W164 (ACE). The issuer married Margeritt Blacknell on 14th October 1656 (p.r.) and died in 1668. He held office as bailiff (1651-52), Alderman (1660-68) and town chamberlain (1665-6). John Harding refused to be sworn an alderman on 30th May 1660, and was fined £5. 0. 0d. He was sworn later in the year. It is probable that he was a Dissenter, as was Thomas Harding.

THOMAS HARDING

¼d. 1668. T.E.H. M207 W115 (AC). The issuer was a grocer (will). He was a brother of Richard Harding, baker, who was a prominent Baptist. He was buried on 3rd November 1674, his will being proved on 5th December 1674. Thomas Harding was a Baptist. His brother Richard was a leader of the Wycombe Baptist community. His friend, Thomas Taylor, mentioned in his will, another issuer, was also a Baptist. His will proved on 5th December 1674 records:

“I give to William Whitall my sister’s son, five pounds. And five pounds to my brother Richard Harding’s children. And make my wife my sole executrix. And I define George Bolton and Thomas Taylor to be overseers to assist my wife.”

Thomas Harding was unable to sign or make his mark. Thomas Taylor, the overseer mentioned, and a Baptist friend of Thomas Harding, married Elizabeth Harding who was probably related to Thomas Harding. The name of Richard Harding, a brother of the issuer, appears in the *Episcopal Visitation Book of 1662* (fo. 23 p. 23) ‘Richard Harding, Presentatus 2/6 30th October 62. p.c.o. non comp. ex.’

FRANCIS INGBEY

¼d. 1666. F.I. M208 W166 (ABC). His parents, Joseph Ingeby and Frances Wheeler, were married 3rd August 1638. The wife’s christian name was transmitted to her son. The issuer’s wife was named Dorothy. He probably married after the token was issued. The baptisms of three children are recorded: Mary (1671), Christopher (1673) and John (1675). Christopher died 1676 and Mary the following year. He was churchwarden in 1675 and 1677. Francis Ingeby was entered in the parish rates lists of 1675, 1677 and 1685, for Skinners Mead. In the Quarter Session Records, an entry for the Michaelmas Session at Chepping Wycombe 8th October 1691:

“Juror in the case against William Rogers of Wolverton, husbandman. Francis Ingeby.”

JOHN JUSON

½d. I.M.I. Chequers, M209 W117 (ABCDE). John Juson was innkeeper at the Chequers. He married Mary Littell, widow, 3rd February 1665/6. The burial of one of his sons is recorded in the burial registers: John, son of John Juson, buried 18th March 1672. John Juson was rated for a piece of land in Little Penn’s Mead 1682–86. The Lady Quit Rents of 1617 refer to the Chequer Inn (paid 4 shillings). Shops still standing at the corner of White Hart Street and Church Street contain some of the original fabric of the Chequers. The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments records:

“a house at the corner of White Hart Street, formerly the Chequers Inn, now a shop, is of three storeys, apparently of mid-16th century date . . . The south side has original wood mullioned windows on the upper floors . . . The original timber framing and oak floors remain in the upper storeys.”

RICHARD LUCAS

¼d. 1653. R.D.L. Lion M211-2 W171 (ABCDE). ½d. 1670. R.D.L. Rather dead than disloyal. M213 W169 (ABCDE). Richard Lucas was innkeeper at the Red Lion, High Street. His father was probably Ferdinand Lucas, who was buried on 14th October 1639. He was buried 16 February 1675. Richard Lucas was a most influential man in High Wycombe during the immediate post-Restoration period. He was an alderman for sixteen years (1649-75), and thrice mayor (1660-1, 1667 and 1672). His brand of politics is difficult to define. His token legend of 1670 reads "Rather Dead than Disloyal". The fact that he was elected Mayor in the Restoration year at the time of the royalist triumph and parliamentary decline also indicates that he cannot be regarded as anti-royalist and anti-established church. At the same time he was most certainly in 1672 regarded as the candidate of Dissent during the disputes over the mayoralty and parliamentary candidature of that year. Ashford comments:

"The dissenting Alderman were not leading members, probably not members at all of the Independent and Baptist communities of the middle and meaner sort. They seemed to represent that sort of Presbyterian who being men of substance had looked down on sectaries both for economic and religious reasons and who never having lost all sympathy for the Established Church, managed to accept occasional communion as a political convenience."

1672 was a fateful and exciting year in High Wycombe politics. The death of Sir John Borlase entailed a contested bye-election for the first time since the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640. The nonconformists realising that if they could secure a mayor of their persuasion they would greatly influence the parliamentary election chose the Dissenting Henry Bigg as their mayoral candidate. The royalist Nicholas Bradshaw died immediately after his successful election, and Henry Bigg was chosen in his stead. He was forced to resign however, at a public meeting on December 6th of the same year because his opponents in a petition to the Privy Council claimed that he was ineligible as he had not received the sacrament. The following day the burgesses of Wycombe meeting in the Guildhall voted Richard Lucas as their new mayor. Of the five aldermen present, two, Robert Whitton, Nicholas Bradshaw's son-in-law, and Llewelyn opposed the election. Lucas had previously testified to the election of Henry Bigg and was undoubtedly supported by the dissenters. His opponents led by Whitton and Llewelyn at a rival meeting elected Thomas Gibbons mayor instead of Lucas. Thus on 9th December 1672 there were two mayors of High Wycombe simultaneously in office! Lucas had the legal backing of the mace, charters and ledger book and was supported by the majority of aldermen. The issue was resolved in the ensuing campaign of the parliamentary election. Lucas and his followers arranged that eighty-five burgesses be elected to ensure the electors to Parliament of their candidate, Sir John Borlase. The latter was duly returned by Lucas. Meanwhile Sir William Egerton was returned by the 'rival' mayor, Thomas Gibbons. Both parties petitioned the House of Commons. Sir John Borlase was declared the rightful member for Wycombe, and thus Lucas's hold on the mayoral chair was confirmed.

JOHN MORRIS

¼d. 1666. I.M. stick of candles M214 W172 (ABCDE). ¼d. 1666. I.M. stick of candles M215 W173. John Morris was a chandler, as his token shows. His first marriage was to Mary Robeson on 3rd October 1652. His second marriage was to Dorothy Elliot on 20th January 1662. John Morris died in 1695, his grant of administration to Dorothy Morris, widow amounting to £560. (17th August 1695). He held office as burgess (1672), bailiff (1684), alderman (1689–92), and town chamberlain (1692). John Morris was probably a Dissenter. At the Easter Session of Quarter Sessions at Aylesbury, 10th April 1684, he signed an oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. At the Midsummer Session July 1689 the name of John Morris of Chepping Wycombe, gentleman, appears amongst the names of persons who produced Sacrament certificates, took the oaths provided in the act of William and Mary C I and subscribed the declaration against transubstantiation. There are two instances of a John Morris of Chepping Wycombe trading as a mercer (or badger) without licence, 12th July 1688 and 5th October 1693.

ALEXANDER PARNAM

¼d. 1668. A.K.P. Greyhound. M217 W175–6 (C). Alexander Parnam was innkeeper at the Greyhound, 22 Easton Street. He married Katherine Noble, 19th May 1639 (p.r.) and died in 1679. He held the following offices; bailiff (1654), burgess (1664), alderman (1668–79), hospital chamberlain (1671–77) and mayor (1674). The estate of Alexander Parnam, the administration of which was granted to his widow, Katherine, on 5th February 1680, amounted to £96. 11. 8d. The seventeenth century building still stands in Easton Street as offices. The innyard can clearly be seen.

RICHARD PRIEST

¼d. 1662. R.E.P. Crown. M216 W174 (ACD). His wife's name was Elizabeth. The parish registers record the baptism of Jane, daughter of Richard and Elizabeth Priest, 24th April 1671. Richard Priest was not traced by Manton & Hollis.

JOHN ROWELL

¼d. 1667. I.M.R. Joiner's Arms. M218 W177 (ABCDE). John Rowell was a carpenter. Little is known of him. He was elected burgess 1673. John Rowell is an ancestor, probably not the father but almost certainly a relative of John Rowell, the Wycombe plumber, who gained considerable fame as an artist in stained glass in the first half of the 18th Century. John Rowell, the artist lived from 1689 to 1756. He was born in Hackney, but in the early 1700's the family moved back to High Wycombe where other relations and ancestors had lived for many years.

THOMAS TAYLOR

¼d. no date. T.E.T. Roll of lace (not tobacco as stated by M & H) M219 W–(C). The issuer was lace buyer, not a tobacconist as thought by Manton & Hollis. He married Elizabeth Harding 22nd March 1654. Elizabeth Harding was in all probability related to Thomas Harding, another issuer and a friend of Thomas Taylor. The burial of Thomas, son of Thomas Taylor, is recorded on

1st August 1671. He held the office of burgess 1657–1660. On 25th May 1660 he surrendered his position as burgess (at the Restoration) (1st W.L.B.). His father may have been the Thomas Taylor who was Mayor of High Wycombe in 1600 and alderman from 1599 to 1628. Thomas Taylor, like Thomas Harding, another issuer, was a prominent Baptist. Arnold Baines, in his book *Signatories of the Orthodox Confession of 1679*, writes:

“When in 1672 Charles II issued his Declaration of Indulgence, Monk and his elders decided not to apply for licences. Only one Baptist in Buckinghamshire was licensed—Thomas Taylor of High Wycombe.”

The Quarter Session records of July 1689 give details of this licensing as follows:

“Dissenters who scruple the baptizing of infants (. . .) and subscribed the declarations in the Act of William and Mary C. 18 Sec. 10 Thomas Taylor of Chipping Wycombe, lace buyer . . . several houses hereinafter mentioned (as) publick meeting houses for religious worship—The dwelling houses of . . . Thomas Taylor, lace buyer of Chepping Wycombe.”

Thomas Taylor was appointed by Thomas Harding, another issuer, and also a Baptist to be an overseer of his will to assist Harding's wife.

ROBERT WATSON

¼d. 1666. R.M.W. (Records of Buck 1937) (D). Robert Watson married Mary Joanes on 25th December 1661. He may have married a second time, for the baptism is recorded of Elizabeth, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Watson, 16th December 1671. Robert Watson's token was unknown to Manton & Hollis.

THOMAS WHEATLEY

¼d. no date. T.S.W. M220 W- (C). No reference to Thomas Wheatley has been found, except that he was elected burgess in 1691.

ROBERT WHITTON

¼d. no date. R.K.W. Antelope M221 W178 (ABCDE). Robert Whitton was innkeeper of the Antelope Inn, High Street. He married Katherine Bradshaw on 11th August 1656. She was the daughter of Nicholas Bradshaw, leader of the royalist party in Wycombe in the 1650's. His son Robert Whitton, who also became an alderman, died before his father (1704). Robert Whitton died in 1711, his will being proved on 30th April 1712. Robert Whitton was assessed at 8/- for £1. 0. 0d. in the lay subsidy of 1667. Robert Whitton was a member of the party in High Wycombe politics which stood for Church and Crown. His wife, Katherine, was the daughter of Nicholas Bradshaw who was a prominent royalist during the Commonwealth. Ashford comments:

“Nicholas Bradshaw became leader of a party which stood for the independence of the borough, greater power for the Common Council and the right to use borough funds as it chose.”

Nicholas Bradshaw was elected Mayor in 1672 against the opposition of Henry Bigg, a Dissenter, but he died just an hour after he had been elected. The same

night Bigg was elected Mayor without a new election. Two aldermen, Robert Whitton and Dr. Llewelyn, took no part in this. Although Bigg was compelled to resign at a public meeting at the Catherine Wheel on 6th December 1672, the burgesses of Wycombe assembled in the Guildhall and led by five aldermen, including Whitton and Llewelyn, started proceedings for the election of a new mayor. Without Bradshaw's own personality, Whitton and the church party were unable to influence the election and the candidate for dissent, Richard Lucas of the Red Lion, another issuer, was elected. Meanwhile three days later at a rival meeting, Thomas Gibbons, the son of Nicholas Bradshaw's old associate, was elected Mayor. Thomas Gibbons was supported by two aldermen, Whitton and Llewelyn, and one of two bailiffs. During the Mayor and anti-Mayor dispute of 1672 Whitton consistently supported Gibbons and Sir William Egerton as against Lucas and Sir John Borlase. The election of Borlase to the House of Commons confirmed Lucas' election as Mayor and Whitton's "royalist and church" party remained in the background of Wycombe local politics until 1685. Shortly after the accession of James II, the borough of High Wycombe received a new charter, which nominated a new common Council. The latter included a majority of newcomers of whom six were "eminent foreigners". Of the original members only the Recorder, Edward Baldwin, the mayor John Lane, and Robert Whitton remained. The royalist party had regained complete control. Such control lasted but a short time. In January 1689 Whitton and Lane with James' nominees were threatened with prosecution unless they surrendered their charter. The entry in the Wycombe Ledger Book for 13th January 1689 reads:

"Order that David Harding, Bellman of the Borough, demand of Robert Whitton, John Lane, John Bigg, the new charter and other things belonging to the borough, and to summon their accounts before the mayor and council."

A week later there is faithfully recorded the refusal of Robert Whitton and his colleagues to submit their accounts to the Council. They were served in the Court of Exchequer by a bill to bring them to account. The dissenting Lord Wharton was the "new force in Wycombe politics" (Ashford). He was strongly opposed at first by Whitton and Lane. As in 1672, there was an open conflict between the church and dissenting parties in 1689, over the parliamentary election of the Wycombe candidate. The newly elected mayor, Thomas Barnes, who supported Lord Wharton and his candidate, met with his supporters to elect 34 new burgesses to ensure the success of Wharton's candidate. Lane and Whitton supported by seven remaining aldermen challenged Barnes' right to elect new burgesses in secret. They called at his house to register their protest, and to demand to see the ledger book. Barnes replied:

"they should not see it, he had not got it, nor would he send for it, nor would he name any time when they should see it, and what he had done he would stand to."

Barnes' words were to no avail. Whitton's candidate, Thomas Archdale, was elected to Parliament being the only member for Wycombe between 1689 and

1722 who was not a candidate of Lord Wharton. Robert Whitton Senior faded from the political scene in 1691. The last reference to Robert Whitton Senior in the Ledger Book is of that year. Further references to Robert Whitton are undoubtedly to that of his son. In 1704, for example, John Lane and Robert Whitton helped to secure the election as burgess of thirteen Buckinghamshire squires and freeholders, who were all supporters of Wharton. The wheel had come full circle! Robert Whitton Junior died before his father. His will proved in 1704 records:

“To my wife Deborah Whitton, entitled after the decease of my father and mother to diverse messuages and tenements for life—my son Robert after her. Two messuages and tenements, one on the north side of the High Street and one on the south side, to George Whitton and Deborah Whitton, my only daughter. To my father (the issuer) and mother, sisters and such of them as shall be alive at the time of my death, a gold ring of ten shillings.”

The will of Robert Whitton, Gentleman, the issuer, was proved on 30th April 1712. It is a brief document, in which he bequeathed all his freehold possessions and his real estate to his wife Katharine Whitton. The will is signed. There is a reference to the Antelope Inn in Mr. Ogilbys Tables of his measured roads as follows:

“In 1692 High Wycombe contains near 200 houses with several good inns as the Antelope and Catherine Wheel.”

The “Antelope” in the High Street was probably the inn of which Robert Whitton was landlord. The building is now a jeweller’s shop. This inn is famous as being the forerunner of the Royal Military Academy. It is shown in a print of 1782, but is not mentioned in the 1875 Directory. Manton and Hollis claim that Whitton was probably the proprietor of the Antelope Inn at the corner of the High Street near the Shambles or of the White Hart. The Antelope Inn referred to and which still exists under this name was formerly known as the Royal Oak and did not bear the name “Antelope” during the seventeenth century.

EDWARD WINCH

¼d. 1666. E.P.W. Winch family arms. M222 W179 (ABCD). Edward Winch was a tanner. The only clue to his occupation is contained in an interesting list of Pauper apprentices which contains the following entry:

CHILD	AGE	TRADE	MASTER
1646 MAT ALLEY	12	Some honest vocation	Ed. WINCH Tanner.

His wife’s name was Penelope. The baptismal registers record the baptisms of John, son of Mr. Edward and Penelope Winch 26th December 1671, and Sarah Winch, 28th June 1675. John Winch was buried on 8th March 1672 and Sarah Winch on 28th June, 1575. The issuer’s father was an alderman, and mayor of High Wycombe in 1634. Edward Winch, Gentleman, is assessed at 16/- in the lay subsidy list of 1667 (E. 179 80/338). When Edward Winch retired from his aldermanic seat on 5th September 1671, having served in this office for fourteen years, he declared himself reduced to a mean and ordinary state “and unable to maintain the dignity of the office”.

APPENDIX NO. 1

OFFICES HELD BY WYCOMBE TOKEN ISSUERS

BURGESS	ELECTED
Thomas Dymarsh	1672
Robert Frier	1655
Jeremy Gray	1658
John Morris	1672
Alexander Parnam	1668
John Rowell	1673
Thomas Taylor	1657
Thomas Wheatley	1691
ALDERMAN	
Robert Frier	1657-78 19 years
William Fisher	1650-59 9 "
John Harding	1660-68 8 "
Richard Lucas	1649-75 26 "
John Morris	1689-92 3 "
Alexander Parnam	1668-79 11 "
Robert Whitton	1661-91 30 "
Edward Winch	1657-71 14 "
MAYOR	ELECTED
Richard Lucas	1660-1; 1667; 1672 (three times)
Alexander Parnam	1674
Robert Whitton	1663; 1670 (twice)
William Fisher	1651-2
TOWN CHAMBERLAIN	
Robert Frier	1657-59; 1660
William Fisher	1656
John Harding	1665-66
John Morris	1692
HOSPITAL CHAMBERLAIN	
Alexander Parnam	1671-77
BAILIFF	
William Fisher	1645
Jeremy Gray	1650
John Morris	1684
Alexander Parnam	1654
Robert Whitton	1660
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE	
Richard Lucas	1662
DEPUTY RECORDER	
Robert Whitton	1684
CHURCHWARDEN	
Francis Ingeby	1675; 1677.

APPENDIX NO. 2

WYCOMBE TOKEN ISSUERS HOLDING OFFICE

ISSUER	BURGESS BAILIFF	TOWN CHAMBERLAIN	HOSPITAL CHAMBERLAIN	J.P.	ALDER-MAN	MAYOR
Thomas Dymarsh	+					
Robert Frier	+		+		+	
William Fisher		+	+		+	+
Jeremy Gray	+	+				
John Harding		+			+	
Richard Lucas				+	+	+
John Morris	+	+			+	
Alexander Parnam	+	+		+		+
John Rowell	+					
Thomas Taylor	+					
Thomas Wheatley	+					
Robert Whitton		+			+	+
Edward Winch					+	

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