

Reviews

It must be understood that all statements and opinions in reviews are those of the respective authors, not of the Society or of the Editor.

George Lambrick, *The Rollright Stones: Megaliths, Monuments, and Settlement in the Prehistoric Landscape*. Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1988 (English Heritage Archaeological Report 6). Pp. 145, 72 figs. Price £16.00

Until recently the prehistory of the Cotswolds had not received the attention that it deserved. Interim reports on the Crickley Hill excavation largely seem to have lapsed, and the non-publication of Ascott-under-Wychwood is a disgrace to Oxfordshire archaeology. Without the full reporting of these substantial projects, there has been little basis for discussion, even of the most impressive monuments. Now the tide has turned. Excavation at Hazleton chambered cairn has set new standards for the region, and the research of Timothy Darvill and Richard Hingley has produced exciting results. George Lambrick's book is a further step in this process.

The sub-title is important, for this is not simply a study of the Rollright Stones themselves. Lambrick produces a balanced account of their place in a wider archaeological landscape, whose history is traced from the Mesolithic to the Anglo-Saxon period. Apart from the stone circle itself, a whole series of archaeological monuments have been sampled by excavation, combined with fieldwalking and geophysical survey. The results are drawn together in a balanced presentation and studied in the light of a long history of antiquarian observations of these monuments. The result is that this small area can be treated as a microcosm of Cotswold prehistory and provides the basis for a valuable and far-reaching discussion.

The result is a remarkably interesting study, although it is one that demands close concentration, concerned as it is with a mass of fragmentary detail. The sections on the earlier monuments are perhaps the most successful. I would single out three particular features of this book. First, Lambrick's work includes a remarkably clear-headed account of the megalithic tomb known as the Whispering Knights and a perceptive account of its chronology and wider affinities. His account of *how* such monuments might have been built is especially convincing. Secondly, his account of the Rollright Stones could hardly be bettered. It deploys every possible type of information and brings them together to remarkably good effect. The study of lichens on the stones is a particularly useful innovation. His discussion of the monument and its wider affinities is a model of good sense in a field which has plenty of eccentrics.

A last feature of this study raises a more general issue. This monograph depends to an unusually large extent on non-destructive methods of analysis, especially large-scale geophysical survey. Excavation was undertaken on the smallest possible scale. This is to be commended, provided that the work is done with a very clear perception of the questions needing to be answered. This certainly happened here, although I would like to have seen limited excavation inside the circle itself, if only because it contains a pattern of geophysical anomalies which defy interpretation at the moment. More disturbing is the fact that the central monument of this complex still remains undated.

Given the conspicuous success of small-scale work at this particular site, we must ask whether similar exercises should not be undertaken around other equally famous monuments – Avebury is an obvious example. It is not clear whether this project represents the beginning of a wider policy by English Heritage, but it should do so. Nor can I work out the criteria by which suitable candidates are to be identified. Let us hope that this well-written and well produced monograph influences policy in other parts of the country.

RICHARD BRADLEY

D.G. Wilson, *The Thames: Record of a Working Waterway*. Batsford, pp. 128, 1987. Price £10.95

This book offers an attractive introduction to the history of the Thames by a man who, being a lock-keeper, knows the river intimately. It does not contain any great discoveries, but it offers a chronological history of the river from prehistoric times to the present, written in a lively and interesting way and illustrated with reproductions of 100 old photographs, water-colours, prints and maps. It is a book which can be warmly recommended to all who cruise on the river or frequent its banks.

So far as the course of the river is concerned, Mr. Wilson does not attempt the comprehensive coverage offered by Fred Thacker's *Thames Highway* (2 vols., 1914–20). He is at his best in the neighbourhood of Hedsor, Cookham and Bray, about which he has much interesting information. (Students of the Alfredian *burhs* should note what he has to say about the island of Sashes.) He is also very informative about the origin and development of Thames barges, a subject on which Thacker was silent. Archaeologists will doubtless be able to supplement his information, but in the various chapters of this book there are discussions of the successive types of Thames barges which will be new to most readers.

There is also much interesting material on recent times, particularly an account of the disaster at Kingston in January 1928 when 20 fully-laden barges broke their moorings and were swept onto Kingston bridge and Teddington weir. Thanks to modern machinery several of the barges were recovered before they could do too much damage, but in earlier centuries accidents such as this could have led to the destruction of bridges (with consequential damming of the floodwaters) and the collapse of weirs. It is a feature of Thames history that much of the evidence for its being navigable in the middle ages is derived from complaints that it was so no longer. If a general criticism is to be made of Mr. Wilson's book, it must be that he underplays the never-ending struggle involved in the attempt to make the river behave in the way desired by man. He has only a passing reference to the Thames barrier and the danger of flooding in London, and though he has an interesting account of the passage of barges upstream from London to Lechlade in 1826, he does not explain how it was that only forty years later the new Thames Conservancy found the river unnavigable above Oxford. But if this book has more to say about the removal of obstacles than their creation, it is nonetheless interesting and a pleasure to read.

R.H.C. DAVIS

Michael Archer, Sarah Crewe and Peter Cormack, *English Heritage in Stained Glass: Oxford*, Oxford: Trans Atlantic Investments Ltd., 1988. Pp. 80; 34 figs. Price £12.95 hardback, £6.95 paperback.

The British section of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* has had an unfortunate history. As a result of financial constraints several projects have been abandoned unaccomplished or have gestated overlong. Although the late Peter Newton's survey of stained glass in the County of Oxford was published in 1979, a companion volume for the City has yet to appear. His brief notes in the *Buildings of England* volume for Oxfordshire give a hint of what might be. In the meantime here is an attractive introduction to both the medieval and the post-medieval stained glass of Oxford, in which the authors are considerably assisted by the excellent colour illustrations. Its limitations stem mainly from its intended function as a guide for the intelligent tourist.

The discussion of the medieval glass contains useful, crisp stylistic characterizations. It is misleading, though, to imply that the mid 13th-century panels in St. Michael at the Northgate are less sophisticated than the Henry de Mamesfield glazing at Merton. Despite their simpler formal vocabulary they are in a refined style reminiscent of metropolitan illumination in the tradition of *La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* (Cambridge U.L. MS. Ee.3.59). The innovatory nature of the 1340s glass in the Latin Chapel at Christ Church (cf. the present volume pp. 100–2, 252) is rightly stressed, although Fig. 6 unfortunately does not illustrate this adequately. The iconography is more summarily treated, although the Gazetteer lists the subject matter, and on p. 73 there is a helpful note on the original programme of the New College glass. It must be recorded, lest the error be perpetuated, that Fig. 4 does not show 'St. Augustine of Canterbury preaching to a group of monks and laymen', but St. Augustine of Hippo addressing a group of scholars, one of whom wears a *pileus*, and Austin canons, an appropriate subject for the Augustinian priory of St. Frideswide. The identification is clinched by the inscription across the background: 'Ante omnia diligatur deus'. This is the *incipit* of St. Augustine's *Regula ad servos Dei*. The exclusion of heraldic glass and items not normally seen by the public means that there is no discussion of the interesting 15th-century remnants in St. Peter in the East or the scheme of heraldic glazing still more or less *in situ* in Balliol College Old Library. However, mention is made of the figures of Doctors of the Church (unusually accompanied by Evangelists' Symbols), Archbishops and Kings, originally in the library at All Souls, but now to be found in the chapel.

Although its medieval glass is of high quality, Oxford's particular glory is its post-Reformation windows. This book does justice to the range and interest of this material, which lies beyond the scope of the *CVMA*. Michael Archer gives a sympathetic account of the artists of the 17th and 18th centuries, revealing names less familiar than van Linge and Peckett. One of these, Richard Greenbury, was responsible in 1632 for a programme of saints in Magdalen chapel which deserves further investigation. A notable feature of the Laudian revival was an interest in the Greek Orthodox church, and this is reflected in the presence of the Greek Fathers and several obscure Eastern martyrs. Another remarkable monument which is featured in this book is the work of William Price the Younger at New College, of between 1735 and 1740, which can claim to be a worthy forerunner of the Gothic Revival. Oxford's central position in the course of that revival means that most of the major stained glass designers of the 19th century are represented here. Even so, had it been possible to cast the net wider further significant items could have been brought in: Henry Holiday's window in Radcliffe Infirmary Chapel, the Clayton and Bell glass in SS. Philip and James (now redundant), and a window in St. Cross designed by G.E. Street.

The Gazetteer has one curious omission, St. Michael at the Northgate, which is readily accessible and centrally situated. The 13th-century glass is featured in the body of the text, but only the table on p. 61 hints at the presence of the mid 15th-century lily Crucifixion or the early 20th-century windows, the latter not even noted by Pevsner and Sherwood. The Index of Artists is rendered useless by the absence of any page numbers. However, these are minor quibbles which do not deny the value of the book as a signpost both to the visitor and the researcher.

NICHOLAS ROGERS

Norma Aubertin-Potter and Alyx Bennett, *Oxford Coffee Houses 1651-1800*, with illustrations by Russell Ayto. Hampden Press, Kidlington, 1987. Pp. 48; 6 plates. £3.50.

Despite all that has been written on Oxford inns and wine taverns, the important subject of coffee houses has not previously been treated at length. Now this attractively-produced booklet provides an informative introduction and gazetteer to the coffee houses of Oxford.

John Evelyn first saw coffee being drunk by a Greek at Oxford in 1637; the first coffee house in England was opened in the Angel Inn in 1651. From a small number of houses operating in the last decades of the 17th century, a peak of some fourteen establishments was reached in about 1740, gradually falling back over the rest of the century. Their popularity was met with attempts at control by Town, Gown and Government, and perhaps a degree of emulation by the emergent college common-rooms. Grandest of all the coffee houses was Baggs's, later Seal's, in the splendid baroque pile removed to make way for the Indian Institute at the end of Broad Street. The nearby Short's in New College Lane had a library and maypole (shown on Loggan's view of Oxford). Coffee houses were a focus for a variety of functions, from the reading of books and newspapers to meetings of clubs, shows and florist's feasts.

For the great age of coffee Oxford is well served by published diaries, from Wood to Hearne and Woodforde. There is a remarkable synopsis of the local newspaper, *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (not fully acknowledged in the Bibliography), and both property and probate records abound. These sources have been well-used to identify some 52 coffee houses and their proprietors, though only some 15 have been exactly located and mapped. This is not so surprising, as although there is a wealth of published topographical material, a post-medieval street directory of Oxford has yet to be compiled. Curiously, Salter's *Survey of Oxford* is not referred to here, and would have provided the location of Franklin's in Cornmarket NE (9). But even with the listings given there and others printed in his *Surveys and Tokens* (to which frequent reference is made) the topography of the post-medieval town is difficult. Many of the populous areas developed from the 16th century were not Salter's concern, and college leases (especially the printed ones of Christ Church and Magdalen) do not necessarily give the names of sub-tenants.

The distribution is clear enough even without detailed addresses, as nearly half the coffee houses were on the High Street and most were concentrated around the edges of the University zone (only three were to be found in the Cornmarket). It would have been helpful if the various premises had been more clearly distinguished in the text and especially in the appendices (which themselves form a useful index to the work), as it is not always easy to distinguish owners of separate establishments from successive proprietors of continuing ones.

Wills and inventories are used to illuminate the descent of ownership and the furnishing of interiors. The tokens issued by Short depicting a coffee-pot might have been illustrated, and the archaeology of coffee could surely have been pursued in the thousands of post-medieval potsherds excavated in the last fifty years. The charming line illustrations are suggestive, but hardly informative in this respect.

Despite these few shortcomings, this is a fundamental assembly of data on an important topic, with a lively and instructive text, attractively presented, that can be read with pleasure.

JULIAN MUNBY

Oxford City Apprentices, 1697-1800, edited by Malcolm Graham. Oxford Historical Society, New Series 31, 1987. Pp. xxix, 338. Price (non-members) £28.00, + £1 p.&p.

This volume provides a welcome and rare sighting of that diminishing species, an edition of a City rather than a University record published by the Oxford Historical Society. Few have been spotted since the late, great days of H.E. Salter, and it is reassuring to know that they are not extinct. The apprenticeship enrolments here published record, it hardly needs saying, the binding of apprentices to masters, usually for a term of seven years. Apprenticeship formed an integral part of a tight-knit, closely regulated, and hierarchical economic system, and the publication of records that help us better understand that system is to be greeted warmly.

The Oxford city archives contain a series of registers recording the enrolment of apprentices and freemen from the early 16th century until well into the 19th. The 16th- and 17th-century registers, in particular, are unrivalled in what they reveal of the City's economic life in that period, the later registers acting as an invaluable supplement to an increasingly diverse range of source material. One is immediately struck by the extent to which Oxford's vigour and influence was reduced in the 18th century in comparison to the preceding period: Alan Crossley was able to show, in *V.C.H. Oxon.* iv, Oxford's remarkable pull in drawing apprentices in numbers from remote parts of the kingdom, notably in the 16th century. Malcolm Graham now reveals long-distance migration to the City to have been in decline by the 18th century, with Oxford at the centre of a much more localized network of contacts. Apprenticeship as a whole seems not to have declined as sharply in Oxford as in many towns, and there was, indeed, an increase in the later 18th century, due, as Dr. Graham points out, to the corporation's concern to defend its trading monopoly in the face of competition from the University. It might be more accurate to talk of the corporation's stake in a duopoly, given the presence of large numbers of 'privileged persons', matriculated tradesmen licensed and regulated by the University and operating under the protection of its formidable privileges. Dr. Graham rightly emphasises the extent to which apprenticeship figures for Oxford are distorted by the virtual absence of carriers, printers, stationers, and other such privileged persons. He mentions also that brewing and malting, two of Oxford's largest employers, are almost entirely unrepresented in the registers. No explanation is offered, but one is perhaps to be found in the prevalence of unskilled wage labour, combined with University control. Of the recorded trades, leatherworking was the most important, taking 22 per cent of apprentices, mostly cordwainers. The clothing industry took c.16 per cent food and drink c.15 per cent. There seems to have been a marked trend towards sophistication, with gunsmiths, cabinet-makers, grocers, mercers, wine-merchants, gingerbread-makers all represented. No less than 14 per cent of young men were

apprenticed into the building trade, emphasizing the continuing importance of that industry to Oxford. As was noted in 1721, 'Oxford daily increased in fine clothes and fine buildings, never were bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, and periwig-makers better encouraged there.'

Dr. Graham has studied the occupation or rank of apprentices' fathers, usually recorded in the enrolments. Interestingly, only half were themselves tradesmen, indicating, it is suggested, 'the general drift from the countryside to the town'. Dr. Graham also points to the activity of apprenticing charities in placing boys, and the similar role of rural overseers of the poor. In the case of the latter it would be interesting to compare the number of boys placed with Oxford masters with that of boys sent to Witney; one has a purely impressionistic feeling that the Witney blanket industry drew very heavily on a reservoir of rural man- (or boy-)power. That City and University tradesmen were not implacably divided is evidenced by the number of fathers in privileged trades who apprenticed their sons to freemen.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of 18th-century enrolments is the recording of premiums paid to the master, showing a steady, sometimes sharp, rise from £12 early in the century to £43 towards the end. The growing importance of distributive trades is presumably reflected in the ability of masters in those trades to charge higher premiums, typically over £100, and, in the case of a chemist in 1800, £200.

This volume is, therefore, much more than a list of masters and apprentices, although those on the look-out for famous names will not be disappointed: here are the great builder dynasties of Peisley and Townsend, the bookseller Fletchers, the imminent banker Parsons, all to be found by means of the excellent indexes of names, places, and occupations. There has, unfortunately, been a failure to index the introduction, thereby obscuring many important names and subjects. The amount of repetition in the original enrolments has necessitated heavy pruning, accomplished with such skill that the reader will be unable to detect from the condensed, easily assimilable entries the enormous editorial endeavours of Dr. Graham and his collaborators. They deserve our unstinted gratitude. An edition of the earlier enrolments is in preparation and will provide a most welcome companion volume.

CHRISTOPHER DAY

James Bond and Luke Over, *Ordnance Survey Historical Guides: Oxfordshire and Berkshire*. George Philip/Ordnance Survey, 1988. Pp. 160, illus. Price £9.95.

This is one of the first four county guides to be published in a new series based on the 19th-century one inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps. It is a well-produced hardback at a very reasonable price.

The opening part offers general reviews of each of the pre-1974 counties, dealing with geology and the landscape and the development of human activity within it from prehistoric times to the present. Characteristic sites are mentioned for each period. The brief tour of Oxfordshire takes in the Rollright Stones, Roman Alchester, the 13th-century new town of Thame, and the emparking of Nuneham Courtenay, amongst other places, before ending in the destructive 20th-century world of gravel extraction and motorway building. The short Berkshire essay also brings the story right up to date with the Windsor safari park and the growth of 'Silicon Valley'.

The main body of the book features forty-five maps reproduced from the early 19th-century work of the Ordnance Survey, with a brief written commentary on each.

Integrated with these two elements are many photographs, old and new. Particularly effective are the pairs of photographs enabling comparisons of the same location at different dates, for example, in the towns of Banbury (c.1880) and Faringdon (1904), the village of East Hendred (1917), and at Cleeve Lock near Goring (1890). Parts of some maps are also shown as large-scale detail maps. In the case of, for example, Marsh Baldon the origin of the map, here the first edition of the 25-inch to the mile series, is made clear, but the origin of others such as those for Chipping Norton and Reading is not specified. Also included are five maps drawn from the modern Landranger 1:50,000 series focusing on areas which have experienced marked development since the 19th century: those around Kidlington, Didcot, Reading, Maidenhead/Windsor and Bracknell. The book ends with short bibliographies and lists of useful addresses for each county, and a Gazetteer enabling the Landranger map for each place to be identified.

The principal reservation about the book is the sense of confusion of purpose. The emphasis of the series is on 'how towns, villages and landscapes have changed over the last 100-150 years', on 'highlight[ing] the differences, and sometimes surprising similarities, in the passage of time'. The maps and photographs do indeed give a vivid impression of this process. More uncertain is the contribution of the text. Some of its content does refer to important landscape changes since the early 19th century, but there is a tendency to pursue a general 'places of interest' angle. Comments on map 24, for example, which include references to Uffington's church dated c.1150, a Roman villa excavated at Woolstone, three Bronze-Age barrows near Letcombe Regis, and the fact that Baulking was first mentioned in AD 948, suggest that the primary aim has been forgotten. The very broad chronological approach, reasonably adopted for the opening accounts of each county, less reasonably persists in the map commentaries. These commentaries are inevitably brief and highly selective, given the space available consequent upon the decision to cover two counties in a single volume.

The book can be recommended for its high level of general interest. It is clearly written and visually very attractive. The well selected early photographs make a particular contribution to the main aim of heightening awareness of change in the landscape in the last century or so.

JOHN BROOKS

Church and Chapel in Oxfordshire, 1851, edited by Kate Tiller, Oxfordshire Record Society 55, 1987. Pp. 126. Price £9.

The Religious Census of 1851 was immediately controversial. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, was a particularly outspoken opponent of it, on the grounds that reliable returns could not be guaranteed (not least because it was a voluntary inquisition), and that distorted results could be used to the detriment of the Anglican Church. The national results as revealed and analysed in the Report (published in 1854) seemed to vindicate the latter fear. The Report not only estimated that on Sunday 30 March nearly half the number of potential worshippers at all places of worship had been absent, but also seemed to demonstrate the considerable relative strength of Protestant Dissent *vis-à-vis* the Church of England. Wilberforce responded by arguing that the returns for Oxfordshire put the level of Anglican attendances lower than inquiries of his own had set it; and that the Dissenting returns had been inflated. Certainly at a time of intense religious rivalry the Census was seen as a national trial of strength by both Anglicans and Nonconformists. But, although at various points the

figures provided are too uneven to admit of precise statistical correlation (partly because the questions were ill-posed), and there are real problems of interpretation, sufficient checks had operated to prevent major wilful aberrances, as Horace Mann, the author of the Report, argued at the time. In Oxfordshire, despite resistance to the Census on the part of clergy who followed Wilberforce's lead, only eight Anglican churches failed entirely to send in a return, and the Nonconformist returns seem in fact to have been scrupulous and not prone to exaggeration.

Generalizations about the appeal and effectiveness of the churches in the mid 19th century are notoriously difficult, as the variety of the Census returns reveals, and it is only through detailed comparative studies of local areas that explanatory hypotheses can be essayed. Kate Tiller's edition of the Oxfordshire returns in this sense provides a direct parallel to R.W. Ambler's edition of the Lincolnshire returns on which in many respects she builds. Both provide data for more extensive local investigations. The major organizational difference is that Tiller arranges places not under Registration Districts (or parishes), but in alphabetical order for ease of reference. This works well, and she provides cross-references where there are separate returns for hamlets within a parish. But the material would be much more immediately easy to use if she had provided a map on which all places listed were marked, with parish boundaries indicated (ideally with simple grid references given in the text). In her analysis she opts to talk of 'places' rather than parishes, but does not state clearly the criteria for defining the boundaries of a particular place. Her introduction analyses most, although not all, of the questions addressed by Ambler, but she does not take the opportunity to suggest comparisons which might have been fruitful between the data for Oxfordshire and Lincolnshire, two equally agricultural counties, which yet were contrasted in geographical and social organization.

Her introduction draws out and refines the general picture for Oxfordshire. Oxfordshire was third only to Herefordshire and Rutland in the degree of Anglican dominance of religious accommodation in 1851. 67.2 per cent of sittings were Anglican, 32.8 per cent Dissenting, a proportion which was reflected in the relative overall figures for attendance, by the two-thirds of the population who went to a service at all (and indeed for whom there was accommodation). But in any given area there was no simple correlation between Anglican monopoly and high church attendance. In fact (as in Lincolnshire and elsewhere) denominational competition seems often to have stimulated higher overall attendance. Tiller plots the geographical distribution of the different Dissenting denominations, and points to continuities in the pattern of Old Dissent from the 17th and 18th centuries (with concentrations in the N., W. and S.E. of the county), and the rather more widespread distribution of the newer Wesleyan Methodists. Roman Catholic centres, only eight in number, were dependent on local Roman Catholic families. She argues that the exclusively Anglican places (as opposed to places with a mixture of denominations) tended to be smaller, to have a lower average population density, and to have a larger average farm size.

In discussing those areas where Dissent penetrated, Tiller employs the concept of 'open' community, while warning that it should be refined with reference to a range of criteria; for example, the pattern of landownership establishes little unless the way in which that power was used in individual cases is examined. Local evidence could be used to give focus to problems of categorization. The use of the concept for Oxfordshire could further be illuminated by reference to material such as one Poor Law inspector's observation that over the ten years before 1849 (a period of rapidly increasing population) in 86 open parishes in Oxfordshire there had been a net increase of 1352 new cottages, while in 34 closed parishes only 7 (cited in F. Emery, *The Oxfordshire*

Landscape (1974), 172). This sort of detail could then be set against parish size and church and chapel provision in particular areas. Tiller draws attention to the importance of the ratio between parish acreages and population in general terms, but the provision of acreages as well as population levels for each individual parish's entry in the text might have increased the utility of the data for analysis. The problem of calculation of population densities of course remains: average population densities do not necessarily give a clear picture of the pattern of settlement in a given area (e.g. in a parish with one large town). The Census itself naturally does not indicate precisely who was attending services. One can glean very limited and impressionistic evidence of the social level of the leadership of Nonconformist chapels, where lay people made the returns and gave their occupations. Without supplementary local evidence (including diocesan visitation records), it would be rash to generalize about the classes and ages of people who attended church or chapel in areas where the population was heterogeneous. Flora Thompson's *Lark Rise to Candleford*, which Tiller usefully discusses, and which gives a vivid picture of rural Oxfordshire life from the 1880s, can obviously not be used as *direct* evidence for the mid-century.

The Census returns provide information as to the pace of church and chapel building since 1800, and it is clear that in Oxfordshire the most intensive period of Nonconformist chapel building occurred in the twenty-five years before 1851. But this was also a period of concern about Anglican provision, in conditions of increasing population and of Nonconformist growth. In Finstock in 1840 (the same year as a Wesleyan Methodist chapel was erected) a chapel-of-ease was built by the vicar of Charlbury (at a cost of £650) for the population of 600 who were two and a half miles from the parish church. This church alternated morning and afternoon services every Sunday with the chapel of Ramsden, built in the same year by the vicar of Shipton-under-Wychwood. Other parochial clergy devoted their private resources to building subsidiary chapels; the rector of Witney (an important centre of Nonconformity) largely financed the chapel at Crawley (in 1847), while in 1849 parliamentary grants and public subscription built another chapel in the same parish (at Woodgreen, Hailey). In Clifton and Hempton, two hamlets in Deddington parish (where Nonconformity was strong, and where the vicar at the time was intermittently sequestered for debt, drink and neglect of duties), the 1851 returns reported that services were being performed in barns, while new chapels were being built. Both barns were rented by the energetic Evangelical Rev. William Wilson of Over Worton who also financed the building of the chapel of St. John at Hempton, which his son designed. The cost and bureaucracy involved in establishing a new Anglican church were considerable, and some parishes at this stage simply used the occasion of the Census to point out the inadequate provision. The vicar of Broadwell observed that three-quarters of his population lived one-and-a-half miles off at Filkins (population 600), where there was no church (but returns for Primitive Methodists and Baptists). A church was in fact built there in 1855-7. He also commented that if there were funds for a resident incumbent at Kelmscott, a chapel within his parish, the congregation there might be doubled. The rector of Tackley more straightforwardly remarked that his church was not conveniently situated for the infirm and the idle.

The Census was of course in many ways a crude index of religious feeling, as Tiller suggests. In the first place, the distinctions between Church and Dissent were often not so clear-cut as the bare returns of the Census implied. For many people Church and chapel served different functions, and they would attend both. This was made explicit in some of the Lincolnshire returns, and in some cases services in church and chapel were deliberately dovetailed (*Lincolnshire Returns of the Census of Religious Worship 1851*, ed. R.W.

Ambler, *Lincoln Record Soc.* 72, xxiv), a practice not apparently recorded in Oxfordshire. Nor was attendance at formal Sunday services the only point of contact with religion. Informal religious meetings – in cottages or in the open air – and mid-week meetings, might be excluded from the formal returns: in 1854 in Stonesfield, a village apparently free from Dissent in 1851 (although a trade directory of 1852 lists two Methodist chapels there), a group of Ranters travelled by dung-cart to a common on the edge of the village and held a Bible meeting. The vicar of Burford, in a long return which discussed his role as overseer of a sizeable rural parish, made a crucial distinction between his ministry in church to regular church attenders and his ministry outside to the wider population of Anglicans, who were for various reasons less frequent attenders at formal service: 'In this neighbourhood, where the population is so scattered, and the roads so bad, the weekly duty of visitation is far more laborious than the Sunday duty'. He made this point because he felt that the Census overlooked this dimension of Church life. In fact, through noting such asides, and by using the Census judiciously alongside other evidence, such as local directories, Nonconformist chapel records (to give ratios of members to attenders, for example), Anglican parochial and diocesan material (on questions such as attitudes to the number of and conduct of services, and to pastoral methods), biographical and journalistic material, and indeed alongside the parallel Census on educational provision, a much more rounded picture can be gained. Diana McClatchey's *Oxfordshire Clergy 1777-1869* (1960), which in fact does not refer to the Census returns, discusses related evidence. Kate Tiller's clear edition of the Census and introduction to the text provide a good stimulus to future studies.

JANE GARNETT