REVIEWS


This is a substantial work – 428 pages of text, photographs, and excellent maps and plans. More importantly, it is a significant work, for it encapsulates results obtained since the mid nineteenth century from archaeological investigation of the Upper and Middle Thames gravels for the mid second millennium BC to the Roman conquest. More particularly, it brings together an enormous amount of data generated since the 1970s when systematic, professional archaeology began to be the norm.

Four characteristics of this book stand out. Firstly, it is authoritative, written from profound, perhaps even unique, personal knowledge of the material, deriving from much experience in the field and subsequent research, not least among the dreaded 'grey' literature of unpublished field reports. The support that the principal author, George Lambrick, has enjoyed from colleagues in and around Oxford Archaeology is also clearly important. Secondly, while much of the volume is based on excavated evidence, it is not a compendium of excavation reports. Rather it uses excavated evidence selectively, sometimes from properly published reports, sometimes from excavations awaiting publication. Important evidence from the Eton Rowing Course excavations, for example, is deployed without in any way suggesting this use is in lieu of a proper report (p. 232). Thirdly, a significant amount of the evidence paraded before us has not been excavated but comes from fieldwork, in particular from non-invasive sub-terrestrial techniques such as magnetometer and gradiometer surveying (e.g. Figs. 4.21, 9.14). And fourthly, the material, liberally informed with personal interpretation, is arranged not chronologically, typologically or geographically but thematically.

The themes are flagged by the main headings in the contents list. Chapter 2 sets the scene, dealing with 'The Natural Environment and the Geography of Settlement' (not, interestingly, of the study area). Its last two sections effectively provide résumés of 'The Palaeohydrology of the Thames and its Floodplain' and 'The Vegetation and Environment of the Thames Terraces and Floodplain'. Together these two sections signal in the first fifty pages what becomes apparent as the book develops: its treatment of environmental evidence, and more specifically the way in which it plays off that evidence against the human story and vice versa. This is one of its strengths, reflecting a research tradition which has grown from the early days of the erstwhile 'Oxford Archaeological Unit'.

A multitude of issues are both raised and discussed under the umbrella title 'Dividing up the Countryside', the next great theme in chapter 3. I will comment on one of them, fields, below. The same theme is further developed in chapter 7, 'Living off the Land: Farming, Water, Storage and Waste', and it might well have come here. Chapter 4 deals with 'Settlements and Settlement Patterns', with 'Hearth and Home: Buildings and Domestic Culture' following logically in chapter 5. 'Production and Exchange' is the subtitle of chapter 6 ('Making a Living'), as with chapter 5 a case where the subtitle is more appropriate than the main title. Chapter 6 goes into detail, some of it new, about a range of crafts extending from flint-knapping through bone- and antler-working to 'Art and Design in Later Prehistoric Society'. The chapter ends with 'Transport and Communications', a subsection in which Lambrick, unconvincingly to my mind, resurrects as later Prehistoric routes existing tracks 'traditionally recognised as ancient routeways' (p. 235). The Ridgeway around the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs inevitably raises its head without any...
new evidence being produced to suggest it is earlier than medieval, and one of the facts denying it a continuity from antiquity is dismissed without a reference (which, if I may be allowed to add in the interests of accuracy, should be Fowler, Landscape Plotted and Pieced, 2000, Figs. 2.1, 2.5).

The last great theme develops from chapter 8, ‘Attitudes to Life and Death’, and through chapter 9, ‘Communal Interrelationships: Sacred Places, Defence and Politics’. These chapters bring forward an interesting array of evidence, much of it new, particularly in respect of Iron-Age burial. Students of the macabre may find something to sate their taste in the subsections on ‘Disposal of Human Remains in Watery Places’ – a rare touch of poetry in the mountain of data – and ‘Dismemberment, Decapitation, Disapprobation, Sacrifice and Cannibalism’.

Of particular interest to this student is the volume’s material on agriculture, fields, and cultivation. It makes a major contribution in this area, pulling together examples of land divisions, fields, and other forms of land enclosure from the Middle and Upper Thames Valley which have hitherto been seen separately, glimpsed on a slide, or just heard of. Chapter 3 especially is of great interest and value (and I am sure other parts of the volume, such as chapter 6, will be of similar value to specialists in other areas). To illustrate the level of detail provided in what is primarily a synthetic and discursive volume one can consider Fig. 7.12, and particularly the two photographs on its left. The upper photograph shows cord rig below Grims Ditch, a type of cultivation hitherto associated almost exclusively with north Britain. In this writer’s view, however, this example provides another hint that it was once a widespread form of cultivation, the traces of which have been wiped out by land-uses in southern Britain over the last two millennia except where they have been fortuitously preserved under banks and the like. Below the cord rig were ardmarks, apparently of a familiar criss-cross pattern but, as the excellent photograph shows (bottom left), the grooves are sequential. No comment is made on this point, but it should have been possible to establish an order in which they were made, and indeed the direction in which they were etched.

This is indeed a truly outstanding volume, basic obviously to the Thames region but of import far beyond. If criticisms are to be made, they must be about the presentation. Visually the volume is excellent, but the prose is workmanlike rather than elegant, and sometimes clumsy. Lambrick also shows a marked tendency to cover all interpretative eventualities with the result that, cumulatively, an effect of indecisiveness prevails, despite major gains in knowledge about shifts in settlement patterns and the dating of landscapes in later prehistory.

My own acquaintance with these Thames gravels began on cold, chaotic afternoons at Cassington and Dorchester in the 1950s. How our perception of such landscapes has changed; and how privileged we have been to see them change from featureless fields with tantalizing cropmarks and destructive gravel-quarries to dynamic cultural landscapes which we can now understand from a firm basis in terms of environmental and human history.

Peter Fowler


This substantial volume sets out in detail the archaeological evidence for the first millennium AD across a large area, stretching from Cirencester and Lechlade in the west as far as Shepperton and Kingston upon Thames in the east. As the title indicates, the study sticks closely to the Thames Valley yet manages to encompass an enormous amount of archaeology. The evidence has accumulated throughout the twentieth century, but the rate of accumulation has of course increased with the accelerating pace of development across this part of southern England. Investigation of sites
and the sampling of material have been largely dictated by the course of development, but the authors are aware of the limitations this places upon interpretation. They have also built upon a long tradition of archaeological investigation and synthesis, mostly county based, which has provided a rich background against which to place the study. A historical survey of the period covered provides a useful setting for the detailed evidence presented later. It acknowledges the uncertainties of interpretation and room for disagreement among scholars.

The scene is set (chapter 2) with a survey of the Thames Valley environment and changes over the thousand years. It is interesting to note that the characteristic clay soils of the gravel terraces are a recent phenomenon, having developed over the last two thousand years. Detailed analysis of environmental material, such weed seeds and insect remains, has made possible a descriptive history of agricultural practice over a long period. The range of environmental evidence is wide and the result is a credible picture of likely conditions. The extent to which they influenced, and were affected by, human activity is readily apparent.

Against this background the study proceeds to discuss settlement patterns (chapter 3). Considerable space is given to Roman settlements, not surprisingly in view of the quantity and quality of evidence, and this makes it possible to contrast the fourth-century boom conditions of the upper valley area, much of it now Gloucestershire, with the decline and contraction evident at Staines and Southwark in the east. This leads naturally into a discussion of fifth-century changes with the appearance of early Anglo-Saxon settlement. A useful appendix maps and references all the known Anglo-Saxon cemetery sites (pp. 418–29) so that the discussion and data make an invaluable source for anyone seriously interested in this topic. The subsequent discussion of developments in the seventh to ninth centuries and the appearance of the better documented Anglo-Saxon estates of the tenth and eleventh centuries, together with good material on the growth of urban centres, leads on to consideration of the peoples of the Thames Valley (chapter 4). The synthesis is interesting for the way in which it reflects the sophistication of discussions and interpretation of material remains across the period. This is exemplified at its best in the discussion of grave goods (from p. 168).

The section on production, trade, and transport (chapter 6) is heavily biased towards agricultural output. Here the environmental evidence is extremely important and provides detailed insight. Production of non-agricultural material, apart from pottery, is more difficult to discuss, though more varied material is available towards the end of the period.

The passages that deal with ritual and religion (chapter 6) and with princely power and social structure (chapter 7) are extremely interesting, revealing how difficult it is to interpret material evidence when the intangible has to be explained. This is particularly the case with ritual and religion. The study has to deal with practices and beliefs through physical survivals and it is noticeable that a narrative of the introduction and spread of Christianity is hard to maintain. The subsequent discussion is heavily influenced by the work of Professor John Blair and becomes quite historical in character (not a criticism from this reviewer). The available material is clearly presented to form a useful picture of minsters, reformed monasteries of the tenth century, and the possible spread of local churches. The discussion of power and politics shows how the Thames Valley has often been part of a border zone and a highway. It reviews the physical evidence for social differentiation, such as the ‘princely burials’ at Cuddesdon, Asthall, and Taplow, but is noticeably less informative about the historical Anglo-Saxon period.

Overall the study is strong when dealing with aspects of society that are revealed well through physical remains, such as settlement structure, burial practices, personal ornament, diet, life expectancy, and movements of material culture. It is less successful when dealing with the less material aspects of people’s lives, simply because the evidence is more elusive and much more difficult to interpret. The contributors compensate for this with a clear understanding of current historical thinking. The book is well illustrated with carefully chosen plans, drawings, and photographs, and there are excellent ‘insets’ providing illustrated studies and reconstructions of particular topics, for example ‘Mid Saxon Eynsham’ (pp. 252–4) and ‘The Oxford Roman Pottery
Industry’ (pp. 308–11). It would be worth acquiring the book for its bibliography alone, but its construction, approach, and comprehensive coverage make it a really authoritative study, offering ideas that can be carried over into other parts of Britain.

Michael Costen


This is a little book with big ambitions, presumably published to coincide with the campaign of excavations in Dorchester undertaken jointly by Oxford Archaeology and Oxford University Institute of Archaeology, which began in 2007. The author states that her aim is to provide a synthesis of work to date at Dorchester, together with a re-evaluation of that work based on the examination of ‘the records of excavation’, rather than on the excavation reports themselves. Given the considerable amount of work that has taken place in and around Dorchester over the past two centuries, and the important place the town occupies in the archaeological and historical narrative of the Thames Valley and beyond, BAR BS, 491 is a remarkably slim volume as an expression of such weighty aims.

In fact, it does not do ‘what it says on the tin’. It is really an extended and somewhat erratic essay with a good, albeit incomplete, reference section. There are major omissions, both geographical and chronological. For example, the extensive programme of research south of the river, around and on the Wittenham Clumps, is excluded without explanation. And why is there no consideration of the vexed question of the location of the Thames crossing in Roman times? Also the coverage of the survey more or less stops at the end of the Dark Ages. The unsatisfactory explanation given for this truncation is that the subsequent period would be covered by Warwick Rodwell’s masterly architectural survey of Dorchester Abbey (published in 2009). The author has produced a partial story of Dorchester in the context of current academic theories, such as the Romanization of petty British leaders before the Roman conquest, but there are no real new insights here. The survey is at its strongest when re-assessing individual artefacts such as the Dorchester Romano-British altar, but even here the discussion is inconclusive.

The re-evaluation of previous excavations requires the detailed re-examination of the original evidence followed by a reasoned argument setting out the case for any new interpretation. Such critical analysis is missing from this book. The presence of a military fort under the Roman town appeared to have been demonstrated by Professor Sheppard Frere’s 1962 allotment excavations, but Morrison may be right in querying the nature of the timber buildings found then. It is quite possible that they were non-military, but the case needs to be closely argued using measurements, dating evidence, and analogy. Morrison’s argument, based largely on negative coin evidence, is unconvincing. In another attempt at re-interpretation the author rightly identifies the plan of the Roman town’s defences as an ongoing conundrum, although ‘embarrassment’ is a curiously emotive word to use in this context. Morrison claims that the north-west corner of the defences is not a right angle as some authorities have argued. She does not actually discuss the nature of the defences in any detail and has clearly not read Mick Aston’s important fieldwork of the early 1970s, which was published in CBA newsletters. She claims that evidence found in rescue work at Beech House in 1972 was incorrectly interpreted as the rear of the rampart. Again she may well be right, but she bases her claim on shaky anecdotal reminiscence and an estimate that 60% of Roman town defences in Britain were not rectangular. This is not ‘academic re-evaluation’ but guesswork.

Despite these flaws this is a chatty and readable account with the odd flash of humour. For instance, the immense damage to Dyke Hills caused by rabbits is described as ‘the most
intensive rabbit settlement since Watership Down’, and the author rightly highlights the continued uncontrolled erosion of the Dykes as a disgrace. The re-evaluation of Dorchester-on-Thames, however, will have to await another occasion.


Stephen Yeates’s second volume about the peoples of Gloucestershire and West Oxfordshire known in Iron-Age and Roman times as the Dobunni and in the Anglo-Saxon period as the Hwicce is a sequel to The Tribe of Witches, which was published in 2008 and reviewed enthusiastically by me in Oxoniensia, 73 (pp. 201–2). The title’s resonance derives, of course, from the ‘Dreamtime’ of the native peoples of Australia, but Yeates very properly looks for illumination to the sacred geography of the Greek world and to some extent of Italy and the nearer continent which share the same Indo-European cultural background.

For readers entirely rooted in English local history this may be a revelation, but for anyone familiar with Pausanias’ Description of Greece, or with Classical art and numismatics, this will seem to be labouring the point. Nevertheless illustrations of Graeco-Roman deities and accounts of the myths told about them in their homelands do allow us to ask questions about local examples such as the goddess with her cauldron (identified by Yeates as ‘Modron’ or ‘Mater’, though it must be pointed out that none of the representations of the deity is inscribed) and her consort Mercury (his native name also unknown). In one instance, from Aldsworth (Glos.), Mercury is depicted with Minerva: is this pair the same divine couple or not? It surely cannot be simply assumed that they are. Further the genius depicted on an altar from Ashcroft, Cirencester, may indeed be the genius of the city but we are certainly not entitled to call him Corinius without further evidence.

Rivers are frequently deified and in Oxfordshire he may be right to see river names as derived from deities – the Cherwell (meaning perhaps ‘dear friend’), the Bladon (probably associated with a word meaning ‘to bloom’), the Windrush (‘white rush’), the Glyme (‘bright’) and indeed the Thames. But the hard evidence is again almost entirely lacking and so we cannot really move beyond surmise. Likewise one cannot really extrapolate from a stone head of Jupiter from Glyme Farm, Chipping Norton, to a god, Jupiter Glimos, without rather too great an act of faith, or turn a stone head of a river god from Southwark into a sanctuary for the deity.

In this volume Yeates has concentrated his attention on the western part of his study area in Gloucestershire and indeed on Monmouthshire-Gwent (properly in the land of the neighbouring Silures tribe). This at least allows him to draw attention to possible evidence lurking in the work of Nennius (early ninth century), some of whose ‘wonders of Britain’ lie in this region and may indeed indicate sacred sites in the landscape, where there were hot or salt springs or sacred trees for example. As for the Grail legend, tempting as it is to connect later legends of this sacred vessel with the tub which seems to be associated with a Gloucestershire goddess, we should be circumspect in the face of the self-evident fact that the Arthurian romances were essentially the creation of high medieval French culture and of highly original writers such as Chrétien de Troyes.

However, we are still entitled to ask whether in the region as a whole the Hwicce and their overlords the Mercians, speakers of a Germanic language, recognized a long-established sacred geography or created their own. If there is anything here that the local historian needs to ponder it is a couple of pages (pp. 80–1 with Figs. 25 and 26) which would be all too easy to miss. This raises the possibility of a long-established Germanic element in the population in southern and eastern Britain, based on disparate evidence (including one or two hints from ancient writers such as Tacitus, onomastics, and DNA evidence). If this is right, as I think it may well prove to
be – and it will inevitably be much disputed especially by more conservative scholars – the area of Oxfordshire in antiquity would have been split not merely between tribes but ethnically and ethnographically as well. However, it would surely have been much better to pursue this bombshell of a topic before, not after, trying to find the lost gods of Britain or even of a defined region.

There are rather too many misprints, such as ‘Mars Ulator’ for ‘Mars Ultor’, ‘Bishop Milletus’ for ‘Bishop Mellitus’ on p. 70, ‘Bampton’ for ‘Brampton’ in Fig. 13, ‘Gadar’ for ‘Gadara’ in Fig. 80. And every single quotation is accompanied by five lines of permission, which is totally unnecessary as the publisher and editor should have ensured that permissions were consolidated at the back.

Although I am less enthusiastic about this volume than its predecessor, it does contain new material and new suggestions. It demonstrates the workings of an active mind whose speculative insights, like those of the late John Morris, are making us engage with matters that are not even considered by duller, more conventional scholars.

Martin Henig


The first striking feature of this book is its size. It is 1,054 pages long, 9 cm. thick, and weighs 3 kg. It is too bulky and heavy for its binding, which begins to sag as one reads. The work could well have been published in two volumes. The subject matter of Magdalen’s history can be summarized as three basic functions: promotion of religion, provision of education, and furtherance of learning. At Magdalen, as elsewhere, the emphasis has varied during the centuries.

Gerald Harriss in a lucid first chapter writes of Bishop William of Waynflete and of the college’s foundation in 1448–86. He points out how the college’s layout was determined by the pre-existing buildings of the hospital of St John. A recent resistivity survey in the cloister quadrangle has confirmed this. William Orchard designed Magdalen’s distinguished set of palatial buildings, and Waynflete ensured the college’s future by endowing it richly. A map of the college estates shows this graphically. Magdalen was a large college with forty graduate fellows and thirty ‘demies’, scholars with (originally) half the allowance of fellows. It was designed to increase the number of educated clergy, its fellows and demies being intended to proceed to cures of souls. Magdalen emerged in Reformation Oxford as a pro-Protestant college, and indeed in Elizabeth’s reign was a Puritan hothouse. The fellows’ task was to impart knowledge, not create it.

Professor Brockliss and his team develop the story of an expanding college, ever more influential in Oxford’s and England’s history. During the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries undergraduate numbers increased and students were accommodated in cocklofts, attics over the cloister. The most famous were John Hampden and Henry Prince of Wales, James I’s eldest son. Magdalen became a bastion of aristocratic membership. Its isolated site gave its members a strong sense of identity and relative independence. But the president’s office was too fat a plum to be ignored. Presidents were frequently dismissed and replaced by supporters of whichever king or government was in control. Charles I interfered in presidential elections, and later in 1648 John Oliver was replaced by John Wilkinson, an opponent of Laudianism. Magdalen briefly came to the fore in national history in 1687 when it refused to appoint Catholics to its offices. James II expelled twenty-five fellows and seventeen demies before packing the college with Catholic nominees. The college was afterwards seen as having taken a brave stand for liberty and Protestantism against the menace of absolutism and popery. As James II’s star waned so Magdalen’s reputation grew.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries research appears to have been a low priority. Dons were not expected to do much beyond studying theology and taking their turn in college offices.

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Gibbon summed them up thus: ‘From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their consciences.’ Magdalen certainly did not stimulate him to write his remarkable history. Three Magdalen fellows do however stand out: Charles Daubeney, who built a research laboratory next to the Botanic Garden; John Bloxam, who was a first-rate antiquarian scholar; and Martin Routh, who earned an international reputation as a student of patristic texts. Elected president in 1791, aged thirty-five, Routh served into his hundredth year. Although a dyed-in-the-wool conservative, he was genuinely interested in academic achievement. When asked for a maxim to sum up his many years of scholarship he famously replied: ‘Always verify your references.’

In the later nineteenth century Magdalen emerged from being an ‘Anglican seminary’ to be a finishing school for Christian gentlemen, animated by Christian virtue and athleticism – the vision of Herbert Warren (president 1885–1929). His Tennysonian dream was overcome by the death machine of World War I when 187 Magdalen men were killed out of a total of 930 serving. The college was traumatized. Gradually in the twentieth century a growing academic ethos, arising from what the book refers to as ‘the tutorial takeover’, undermined sporting success. Under the influence of T.D. Weldon, John Morris, and Bruce McFarlane the tutors took control. The college’s academic achievements rose, though Magdalen did not head the Norrington Table until 2010.

An important aspect of Magdalen is its library. It was first located over the west wing of the cloisters, fitted with lecterns and subsequently with shelved bookcases. Some 800 manuscripts were provided by the founder. Most were theological works, but valuable donations of medical and botanical volumes were added in the seventeenth century. The library was later extended into the summer common room (1892) and then into the hall of Magdalen College School (1932). Subject libraries also appeared in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in history, law and in the books gifted from K.B. McFarlane’s library, now kept in the Founder’s Tower. The history of the college chapel is also traced in fascinating detail. It was the key building in the early years, used for services, examinations, and disputations. Its contents changed in accordance with the Protestant revolution. It lost its sculptural images, the organ was removed and allegedly burnt, and a lectern was given by President Accepted Frewen in 1633 (still there). James Wyatt’s later classical interior (though not his plaster vault) was replaced by Lewis Cottingham’s in the nineteenth century. The choir has continued through vicissitudes, and the chapel has been a nesting place for composers: Daniel Purcell in the later seventeenth century, Sir John Stainer and John Varley Roberts in the nineteenth, and Bernard Rose and Bill Ives in the twentieth century.

Among the most interesting aspects of the book are tables tracing the social and educational complexes of college members, and also academic achievements and financial health. Magdalen was probably the most richly endowed of Oxford’s colleges until superseded by Christ Church in 1546. Its wealth was of course in land. In the late nineteenth century the college moved from the old system of beneficial leases to a commercial rack-rent system which required direct management and investment in estates. During and after the First World War it sold less valuable land and bought larger holdings, and in the mid twentieth century diversified its investments. But during the 1960s–70s the college’s financial situation deteriorated, resulting in a crisis. Severe cuts were made in expenditure and even the fellows’ standard of living was pared down. Investments were drastically reorganized. It had once been possible (so it was said) to walk from Oxford to Wainfleet (Lincs.) on Magdalen land. By 2000 little agricultural land was left. Fellowships were frequently financed by rich American donors, and the college looked to new developments such as its science park for future financial success.

The book is commendably balanced in its approach to college members, giving equal emphasis to fellows, undergraduates, and college servants. Drunken fornicators and gamblers were certainly found among the fellowship. George Capenhurst, for instance (demy 1547, fellow 1551–86), was accused of being a drunken fornicator and an eater of stolen hens. The usual punishment was deprivation of commons for a week. Before modern times undergraduates are seen at their studies, at poaching the king’s deer in Shotover, and fleeing the plague to Brackley. Women were not allowed as servants unless they were old and unprepossessing. Visitors (bishops of Winchester)
worried about their presence in college. College servants are seen as being comparatively well-paid, with pensions and food found. They could sell ‘remains’ (left-over food), so they were tempted to prepare more than was necessary. They were organized in a strictly hierarchical system. The butler was the senior servant but the head cook, head porter, and JCR steward were omnipotent in their own domains. They were long serving (sometimes up to eighty years) and there were even dynasties of servants with sons succeeding fathers. The chief reason for dismissal was drunkenness, but cases are surprisingly few given the bad example set by their social superiors. (In one period of retrenchment the senior common room reduced its wine store to 30,000 bottles.) The overwhelming preponderance of male servants was replaced in the twentieth century by part-time women.

The book is frank about the shortcomings of the college’s relationship with its associated schools. Waynflete founded a school at his home town of Wainfleet in 1469 in a handsome brick building. It was allowed to die in the twentieth century. Brackley School, founded 1548, was taken over by Northamptonshire County Council and became a coeducational comprehensive school. Magdalen College School, for many years a close neighbour, almost closed on several occasions. Magdalen never regarded it as a ‘feeder school’ in the way New College viewed Winchester.

While the book is strong on people, its coverage of buildings and artefacts is less satisfactory. One looks in vain for a detailed account of the buildings. The ancient roofs I have recorded from time to time are scarcely mentioned. There is much that is medieval in the grammar hall, but this is not mentioned. Enough evidence survives above the west wing of the cloister to reconstruct the roof of the old library. The shadow of the original hall roof is also visible. Turning to artefacts, there is no description of Waynflete’s footwear nor any explanation for why he left them to the college (though there is a colour photograph). The fact that the carving at the west end of the hall is paralleled by English alabaster reredoses of the period is missed. Artists responsible for portraits are not mentioned. One of the most distinguished academicians, Peter Greenham, is not to be found in the index. Perhaps the most serious gap is the lack of any detailed account of the many architectural schemes that were considered by the fellowship but which remained, in Howard Colvin’s phrase, part of ‘unbuilt Oxford’. Perhaps it was reckoned that these had been sufficiently publicized by Roger White and Robin Darwall-Smith in Architectural Drawings of Magdalen College Oxford.

To sum up: this book is one of the most valuable college histories produced in the last hundred years. It does its editor and his team of historians very great credit.

John Steane


‘Good old BNC’ yields a dazzling ace from what looked like an unpromising hand, providing us with a stylish, but also weighty, celebration of its quincentenary. For in the hands of Joe Mordaunt Crook the college of hearties, uproarious bump suppers, rampaging drunks, and wrecked furniture emerges as also a college of intellectual and cultural distinction, and of course of architectural interest. The book is a tour de force, brought off not by sleight of hand but by diligent application of prosopographical method, marshalling hundreds of names, dozens of brief biographies of fellows, commoners, scholars, and undergraduates, to tell the story of the last five hundred years.

It is a story that the author tells with relish, with obvious affection for his college but also with detachment and objectivity, so that here is Brasenose, and indeed Oxford, warts and all. Brasenose is far from being the oldest Oxford college, but it can fairly claim to be the last of the medieval colleges, resistant to the new learning of the sixteenth century, reluctantly paying lip-service to the Henrician Reformation, easily embracing Marian Catholicism, and producing
more than its fair share of recusant casualties under Elizabeth. Inevitably royalist during the Civil War, and undergoing Cromwellian purges, the college settled into ineffectual Jacobitism in the early eighteenth century, and it was not until the late eighteenth century that Brasenose threw off its almost obscurantist torpor and blossomed as ‘almost a rival to Christ Church’ in size, income, and social standing – though some of the evidence for this, that Tatton Sykes of Sledmere went up to BNC, is a trifle suspect, since this was the Tatton who was ridiculed for never dropping his Yorkshire accent. For its first 250 to 300 years there is no denying that Brasenose was one of the more obscure, lesser, colleges, its reputation failing to acquire any reflected glory from the fact that Sir William Petty, one of the founders of political economy and the Royal Society, was a, largely absentee, fellow and vice-principal 1650–9.

While Mordaunt Crook faithfully records the names and dates of many Brasenose individuals, sources for their biographies are meagre for this whole period, and it is the architectural history that is of principal interest. Here are detailed accounts of the early, somewhat skimmed, building of the college in the 1520s and 1530s, and of the new chapel and library, 1656–66, built with materials salvaged from the demolition of the old St Mary’s College. Close to the new chapel was the college privy or ‘bogg house’, with a huge vault beneath it which had been emptied every sixteen years or so; but after the new chapel and cloisters were built it became more difficult and costly to empty this vault, and eventually it was taking all of thirty weeks to clear, creating much disturbance and stink. ‘Modern’ plumbing did not arrive until the mid nineteenth century, and even then dons and undergraduates had to trail outside their staircases to reach the bathroom block.

There is more architectural history to follow, with Thomas Graham Jackson’s late Victorian version of Elizabethan-Jacobean for a new quad fronting on the High, and the hugely less admired brutalism of Powell and Moya’s new building of 1963, unkindly but understandably known as ‘the bunker’. From the early nineteenth century, however, interest switches to the rich harvest of thumb-nail-sketch biographies, made possible by the survival of a good supply of undergraduate correspondence, diaries, and memoirs, as well as similar sources for many dons. The main thrust of the story that emerges is of rowing and rowdyism from the Regency period, joined by rugger and rowdyism from the middle of the nineteenth century, and a little later by cricket without memorable rowdyism. A couple of principals, Edward Cradock, 1853–86, and most strikingly William Teulon Stallybrass, fellow, vice-principal, and principal, 1918–48, skilfully and successfully cultivated contacts with schools which produced promising young sportsmen, with an especial eye for Etonian rowers, with the result that Brasenose had a more than satisfactory supply of blues. Add the oldest dining club in Oxford, the Phoenix (founded in the 1780s and quickly annexed by the wealthy sporting gentry and equipped with rituals, dress uniforms, fines, and expensive drinking and dining) – over the years a not inconsiderable rival to the Bullingdon – and the image of a fun-loving, hard drinking, sporting college was complete.

This book strives mightily to show that this was a caricature, or at least only part of the story, and indeed Brasenose did not consistently spurn learning and scholarship during its glory days of sporting success. True the senior common room did not have any figure of national or international stature between Petty in the 1650s and Walter Pater, hedonist, epicurean, philosopher, art critic, in the 1860s, but thereafter most fellows took scholarship and teaching seriously, and several of them – Ronald Syme, ancient historian, and Vernon Bogdanor, constitutional expert, are singled out – made a major impact on the world of learning in the second half of the twentieth century. The physicist Nicholas Kurti, FRS, had a different sort of impact, arranging for high table to be laid with hypodermic syringes for injecting mince pies with brandy. Then there is an impressive roll-call of Brasenose undergraduates who had distinguished careers, or became famous: Arthur Evans of Knossos, John Buchan of *Thirty-Nine Steps*, Charles Morgan, William Golding, Robert Runcie, Leslie Scarman, David Cameron (of Bullingdon rather than Phoenix), sportsmen such as Colin Cowdrey, Ian Peebles, and Alexander Obolensky, not forgetting Alastair Graham who formed an intense and often uproarious friendship with Evelyn Waugh (Hertford College) and

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became Sebastian in *Brideshead Revisited*. In command of this parade is Field-Marshal Earl Haig, at BNC in the 1880s.

The intermittent appearance of such stars does not in itself constitute a record of sustained excellence. It is buttressed by a sort of virtual Norrington Table retrospectively constructed, which shows that although until after 1945 most undergraduates were Pass men, not aspiring to Honours or not bothering to take degrees at all, Brasenose was outclassed only by Christ Church and Oriel in the number of Firsts it gained in the early nineteenth century, and regularly recorded about one quarter of all Firsts in the university in the third quarter of that century, only slipping downhill academically in the days of Stallybrass. Record low points were reached in the years after the Second World War. Oddly, at the same time Brasenose just about dropped out of sight on the river and the rugger field. Many would date recovery, albeit a very gradual one, from the admission of women in 1974. It is clear, however, that for many years there was a serious mismatch between the high quality of the fellowship and the obstinately poor performance of the undergraduates.

Obviously this is a book for loyal college men and for a select band of dedicated historians of universities. It is unfortunate that the price of including hundreds and hundreds of names of Brasenose men, most of which will mean nothing to anyone except an antiquarian, is to hobble Joe Mordaunt Crook’s naturally readable and racy style. One must hope that the numerous names of living alumni in the excellent index will lure sufficiently large numbers of readers to provide the author with the reward merited for his heroic labours in the college archives.

F.M.L. Thompson


The Sessions Book begun by Oxford’s new town clerk in 1614 is the first substantial record of sessions activity in the city and, for that matter, in the county. This full calendar of its entries by Robin Blades is therefore to be welcomed, and it is greatly enhanced by Alan Crossley’s thorough and authoritative introduction. To a large extent the business it records is the usual fare of a city bench at this time: felonies large and petty, problems with vagrants and drunkards, disputes about settlement between parishes. The record is also variable – much fuller for the early and mid 1620s than before and after. Nevertheless the orders reflect some of the changes in local administration evident in other sessions jurisdictions, such as the beginnings of meetings of magistrates out of sessions, in effect petty sessions, even before the 1631 Book of Orders, and the levying of rates on other parishes to support the large numbers of paupers who swamped St Peter-le-Bailey. The book is also comparable to others elsewhere in showing low conviction rates in capital trials (helped by ample use of benefit of clergy in this literate community), and only one suspicion of witchcraft (the suspect was acquitted).

The volume is of particular interest, however, in demonstrating the important role of university figures in city sessions activity. Although the university chancellor’s court took away much business usually handled in city sessions (e.g. marketing disputes), successive vice-chancellors and heads of house, especially John Prideaux, rector of Exeter, were active justices in the 1620s. Still more assiduous were two other busy university officers, Thomas James, first Bodley’s librarian, and John Hawley, principal of Gloucester Hall and overseer of the Bodleian building works. Several cases of abuse hurled at Dr James demonstrate his prominence on and off the bench. Some of the business also reflects the particular circumstances of this university town. Catholic recusancy, supported by at least one ‘Queen Mary seminary priest’ (p. 14), seems more prominent than in many other towns. Few can have had cases of dispute between booksellers and binders over the ‘works of Burton,’ presumably the first edition of his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (p. 69), or boatmen
carrying scholars as well as apprentices up to no good late at night (p. 37). Only in Oxford could a deaf-and-dumb girl abandon her baby on a window-sill in Christ Church (p. 129).

This volume needs to be compared with the Council Acts for the same period (OHS 87, 95) to get a rounded picture of Oxford at this time. The plague epidemic of 1625 scarcely figures in the sessions record, for example. But one gets here a similar impression of town and gown together trying to manage a city attracting immigrants and growing rapidly as the number of students rose towards its early seventeenth-century peak. A house in Cornmarket Street which in 1600 held a single family had seventeen families packed into it by 1633, some of them with fires in their rooms but no chimneys, all 'noisome and likely to be infectious' (p. 154). Issues of national debate, by contrast, feature scarcely at all. Someone who abused Charles Prince of Wales in 1624 at the time of the planned Spanish match was in the end discharged (pp. 106–7, 111); and an earlier case of alleged treasonable words turned out to be the result of an argument between two drunken tailors about whether the king of England was or was not also king of Wales (pp. 87–8).

Paul Slack


Once largely ignored by historians, or dismissed as ruralized and stagnant, England’s smaller provincial towns have recently attracted growing attention, and there are now surveys of small towns as an urban type (e.g. chapters in the three volumes of the Cambridge Urban History of Britain) and studies of individual communities. Such works have shed new light on the diversity of small towns, and on their economic resilience, prosperity, and cultural vitality, at least until the late nineteenth century. Simon Townley’s excellent volume on Henley-on-Thames provides further evidence for this more positive interpretation.

Established probably as a planned town by Henry II in the 1170s, near a royal manor house where trading activity may already have started to cluster, Henley developed quickly, benefiting from a new bridge over the Thames and from the rapid growth of trade with London. By the 1260s it had a guild merchant which served as the focus for economic and institutional development. Within a century there were important riverside granaries above and below the bridge. The town became a leading inland port, supplying food to the capital as well as acting as a trans-shipment point for goods sent upriver – a role confirmed by the late medieval decay of navigation to Oxford. If early traffic was dominated by London merchants, by the late fourteenth century Henley traders were active and important. Before the Black Death the town had had up to 1,500 inhabitants, with new residential streets being added piecemeal to house them, but London’s sharp decline in the late Middle Ages probably contributed to a reduced population, though as elsewhere many townspeople may have enjoyed a higher standard of living.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Henley’s dominant position in the upriver trade was challenged by the reopening of commercial navigation to Oxford and beyond. But despite this the town prospered, aided by the accelerating pace of London’s growth and its insatiable demand for foodstuffs, with Henley specializing in producing malt for metropolitan brewers. From around 1,000 inhabitants in the 1520s, the town may have had over 2,000 by the early eighteenth century. Bargemen and maltsters multiplied, and there was also a good trade in timber. Though the town had its own corporation from the 1560s, its economic and political life was heavily influenced after the Restoration of Charles II by wealthy improving landowners, often with London connections. The Georgian town flourished not only as a port but as a coaching, service, and social centre. Urban prosperity was celebrated by the large-scale remodelling of the townscape, with streets widened and improved, lighting introduced, and a growing number of houses reconstructed in
brick in classical style. Premier inns like the Bell were rebuilt, and new public buildings appeared including the Palladian-style town hall (1796) and theatre (1805). As for many small towns, the railway age posed a major threat to Henley. Bypassed by the Great Western (until 1857), the town saw the collapse of its river and coaching trade due to competition from the railways; the early Victorian population stagnated at just over 3,000.

But the town fought back. First held in 1829 the Henley regatta was increasingly fashionable by the 1840s and in the late nineteenth century became an important event in the national sporting calendar, patronized by royalty. The eventual arrival of the railway and growing media visibility turned Henley into a fashionable resort centre – its fancy hotels, restaurants and shops attracting members of the smart classes outside regatta time. Up to the Second World War the town was a rather traditional country town with about 6,600 people in 1931. The economic emphasis was on services and retailing with important links to nearby landed estates. But in the late twentieth century the town’s population jumped considerably – to nearly 11,000 in 2001 – largely stimulated by an increase of professionals and London commuters, though the regatta still generated a large amount of business for the town (over £2 million in 2005).

The book is well written and handsomely illustrated with good detailed analysis of medieval town houses, town plans, river locks, and those wonderful paintings of Henley and its vicinity during the 1690s by the Flemish painter Jan Siberechts. The account of social life is mainly from an elite perspective and there is surprisingly little about civic politics. Few townspeople receive very much attention, and so we are left unclear as to whether Henley’s success was due largely to exogenous factors – the powerful role of the London market and London merchants, the impact of local landowners – rather than the smart thinking of leading burghers. Comparisons are made with other small towns, but mainly in the footnotes, and there is no real attempt to explain and evaluate the success of Henley in the wider urban context (here a few pages appended to the Afterword would have been sufficient). However, this is a very attractive town history, and the Victoria County History is to be congratulated on its new publishing venture.

Peter Clark


Despite the availability of numerous books on Cotswold buildings and on the Arts and Crafts Movement, and even some on both, Catherine Gordon has taken these subjects further and deeper than other authors. The strong feature of her book is its attention to the roles of patrons, architects, and builders.

The introduction reflects on the romantic view of the Cotswolds as a place where houses expressed local building materials, and where traditional crafts, if not exactly thriving, had the potential for revival. It was a vision encouraged by William Morris at Kelmscott which attracted architects and designers to live and work in the Cotswolds from the 1890s to 1930s, such as C.R. Ashbee, Detmar Blow, Ernest Gimson and the Barnsleys (Ernest and Sidney). The book explains the ideals of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its architectural aims generally (chapters 1 and 2), before focusing on the Cotswolds in chapter 3. Here Gordon introduces the reader to the key individuals who contributed to the Movement’s work in Broadway, Chipping Campden, Sapperton, and the south Cotswolds. Chapter 4 is a brief examination of the elements of sites and materials that guided the architects, but which makes the important point that they did not seek to replicate the local vernacular but to learn from it and adapt it to build houses for modern requirements. This is then illustrated in chapter 5 through detailed accounts of the houses which architects built for themselves. The following chapter takes us logically to the houses they built for others – not the locals but those, mainly *nouveaux riches*, who wanted a place in the country.
and had the means to pay for it. Houses built or rebuilt by Guy Dawber are given prominence, and innovations such as the ‘butterfly’ plan are considered. The development of Minchinhampton Common follows, and the chapter ends with a study of Rodmarton Manor.

Chapter 7 enters the realm of cottage architecture, with examples of estate cottages by Ashbee, Gimson, Ernest Newton, and the Barnsleys. Of these perhaps only Ashbee at Chipping Campden addressed the need for low-cost housing in rural areas. But many architects contributed work, discussed in the following chapter, for the new gentry class on community buildings such as village halls. Gimson designed the village hall at Kelmscott which was subsequently completed by other hands.

Chapter 9 takes us into the controversial area of repair and reuse of older buildings through a number of case studies from the archives of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) between 1890 and 1939. Some conversions – better described as rebuildings – would probably not receive listed building consent today, but these studies show how a hundred years ago SPAB in its early days was arguing for conservative repair on the basis of its manifesto principles, and in some cases winning against radical intentions. The final chapter, ‘Late Flowering and Legacy’, deals with the inter-war period and the work of F.L. Griggs, Norman Jewson, John Campbell, and others.

All this is delivered in a highly readable style, illustrated with (black and white) drawings and photographs and supported by endnotes and a bibliography. If there are shortcomings, they mainly concern illustrations. While the inclusion of architects’ plans is admirable, there is only one map, which is basically an outline of Gloucestershire without topography, geology, or roads. There are no plans of towns and villages showing the locations of the buildings mentioned. (Plans of Chipping Campden and Broadway would have been useful, but readers can at least find ones in Alan Crawford’s excellent Arts and Crafts Walks in Broadway and Chipping Campden, published by the Guild of Handicraft Trust, 2002.)

There are other difficulties. Very few illustrations are dated, yet most are historical, showing a building or its plan at some time in the past. Captions are less than informative, making it hard for the reader to relate the images to discussions of dates and phases in the text. Moreover, none of the illustrations is explicitly referred to in the text. The complex alterations at Cotswold Farm, Duntisbourne Abbots, in the 1920s illustrates the point. Someone has pencilled additions on Sidney Barnsley’s elevations to show dormers and other features omitted by the architect. The dormers are shown in the photograph of the front elevation, but as this is undated, it is unhelpful in deciding whether these details were later alterations or simply omissions. This may be thought a quibble, but in fact is important for understanding the section of text which discusses the extent to which Barnsley was allowed to alter the roofs of the earlier house. A floor plan might also have helped.

There are also instances where illustrations are not used to best advantage, particularly where, as in the case of Beechanger, no original plans or drawings survive. Here early photographs and the building itself must be used, but Fig. 26, an (undated) photograph of part of a room entitled ‘the interior of Sidney Barnsley’s home in Sapperton’, seems from the text to be the living room. Nothing is said about the ceiling, in which the joists run in different directions in each of the two bays. Is this indicative of a former division into two rooms, or did the architect deliberately design the room in this way so that visitors interested in vernacular buildings would ask the question?

Apart from Kelmscott, Oxfordshire does not feature as one might expect in such a survey, although the author’s earlier Gazetteer of Arts and Crafts Architecture in the Cotswolds (Cheltenham Art Gallery and Museums, 1992) included houses in Alvescot, Asthall, Bloxham, Sibford Ferris (Home Close by Baillie Scott), and Swalcliffe. The section on the Movement’s later flowering could have mentioned the work of Russell Cox in Burford and of Morley Horder in Filkins. Odd, too, is the use of a view of Horley (Oxon.) from Sydney R. Jones’s Village Homes of England (1912) to show how his book exemplified the romantic view of the countryside, since the village is not
mentioned anywhere else in the book and is not even in the Cotswolds as Gordon defines them (Gloucestershire plus Kelmscott, Broadway, and Overbury).

But these are the comments of a critical reader, which could readily be addressed in a later edition. This book is a welcome addition to the literature on this most English of movements, and the inclusion of a number of floor plans will satisfy the architectural historians. Its local focus adds to its interest for readers of this journal.

David Clark


Both of these books belong to a genre of local-history publishing that has been promoted by the many companies associated at some time with Mr Alan Sutton. Malcolm Graham’s *A Century of Oxford* originally appeared in 1999, the date of its most recent photographs. Although there are no new photographs in this edition, the good general introduction (‘Britain: a Century of Change’ by Roger Hudson) has received a modest update, with online shopping replacing leaf blowers as a gauge of modernity. Graham was apparently not asked to update his helpful introduction to Oxford. Yurdan was allowed just a two-page introduction which is too brief to be really useful.

*A Century of Oxford* has seven straightforwardly chronological sections. By contrast *Oxford in the 1950s and ’60s* opts for topical sections: ‘Sights and Sounds’, ‘Pubs Old and New’, ‘Shops and Shopping’, ‘Events’, ‘Domestic Matters’, and ‘Vanishing Oxford’. Those headings lead to some awkwardness: many photographs in the ‘Domestic Matters’ chapter, for instance, could equally well have featured in ‘Shops and Shopping’. Indeed, ‘Domestic Matters’ has only one picture of a domestic interior, and unfortunately it shows the Homeless Families Unit at Slade Park. Regrettably there is no section on industry.

Both books are well produced (the slip-up in *A Century of Oxford* that created an arbitrary change of font size on pp. 10–11 is untypical). Photographic reproduction is of a uniformly high standard, something that cannot always be said of this genre. Graham makes extensive use of Oxfordshire County Council’s photographic archive, the creation of which was one of his many achievements as Head of Oxfordshire Studies. He has also used the photographic archive of Newsquest Oxfordshire, the regional newspaper publisher. Newsquest generously provided all of Yurdan’s photographs. Many photographs are re-published here for the first time.

One advantage of newspaper photographs is that they often come with details of the people, places, and incidents featured, which can be impossible to re-establish at a later date. Such details provide the basis for an author to point up a photograph’s significance, without which photographic books would be pointless — after all, one Co-op carpet department in 1961 looks much like any other and, to be frank, lacks intrinsic excitement. The authors have faced a real difficulty here: many photographs have a general but not a particular social, architectural, or historical significance. Thus the Oxford Co-op’s carpet display has something to say about shop layout in the 1960s, but it tells us nothing about Oxford (Yurdan, p. 93). This goes to the heart of such publishing ventures. If the interest can be said to be local, it tends to be at a micro level. A 1957 group of Teddy Boys, for example, will be of consequence to any survivors or their embarrassed offspring, but otherwise the photograph relates to national or even international fashions in clothes and hairstyles.

Subjects particular to Oxford, namely its two universities and its motor car industry, receive more coverage in Graham’s book than in Yurdan’s, but that does not amount to much. At one level
it is an understandable editorial decision: Oxford University, in particular, has been well served in this field. Nevertheless, Oxford without its universities and motor industry will always seem like Hamlet without the prince.

Both books contain much that delights and informs. A personal favourite is the 1962 inter-university punting competition (Oxford vs. Cambridge in this case) during which the Oxford representative of Harp Lager was ‘thrown into the slimy water’ (Yurdan, p. 16). Anyone with memories of Harp Lager will raise a faint cheer. Malcolm Graham’s occasional sardonic comments are well worth the price of his book. A great strength of published photographic collections is that they record urban commonplaces. At their best they are also primary sources, and they stimulate interest and debate. They draw attention to the value of modern photographic archives as historical sources. These exemplars are not rounded histories, nor do they claim to be. Thankfully, their respective authors are historians who ensure that historical content is not overwhelmed, as can easily happen, by banality or sensationalism.

Christopher Day

Other Publications Received


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