
Users of the Victoria County History can easily take for granted the steady progress of the great national historical project, which each year adds yet more red volumes to those lining the library shelves. The programme delivers to both local readers and professional historians accurate information, written with clarity, and all within a template of themes that allows comparisons to be made between communities. While this red book on part of west Oxfordshire is a further reassurance of continuity, its foreword reveals troubling changes. The volume was mostly funded by the Oxfordshire County Council, with significant assistance from the VCH Oxfordshire Trust, but since 2011 the County Council has provided limited support, and much now depends on the ‘Trust. At the back of this volume twenty ‘sponsors’ and more than 300 ‘other donors’ are listed, and it is made clear that the funding of future volumes depends on the combined contributions of charitable trusts and educational institutions, local history societies, and numerous generous individuals. Oxfordshire is fortunate to have been allowed a transitional period to adjust to the new realities, and also to be supported by a very effective trust. This VCH is in a better position than those in other counties as it benefits from the support of the university, Oxford’s colleges, and many committed donors. Even with these advantages the coming years will be challenging and uncomfortable.

Perhaps this new climate has encouraged the VCH to adopt a more friendly face to the less expert reader. Gone are the days when ‘moiety’ and ‘contingent remainder’ could be used without explanation. Now there is a glossary with entries on such words as ‘chapel’ and ‘demesne.’ The relationship between the VCH and the monarchy has also changed. On the page preceding the series title page, before the time-honoured form of words referring rather obliquely to Queen Victoria’s support, there is now an unambiguous dedication to the present queen. Readers from all sections of society will be pleased to find the elegance and clarity of design which was established when Boydell became publishers. This volume is lavishly illustrated, not just with seventy-four maps, plans, photographs and drawings, but also with fifteen colour plates. One hopes that the inhabitants of Broadwell and Langford will be attracted to buy this handsome volume. It shows (pp. 12–13) that in the parishes covered here, 63 per cent of the adult population in 2001 were employed in ‘high level managerial or professional jobs’, which suggests that a sales campaign stands a chance of success. To be more specific about the character of recent arrivals, fashion designer Sir Hardy Amies lived at Langford at the end of the last century, and the model Kate Moss has moved into Little Faringdon. The modern sophisticated élite are of course attracted by the beauty and tranquillity of the countryside, and by the clusters of honey-coloured vernacular buildings, which are all within reach of Oxford, London and Heathrow, though the rural idyll is disturbed by some intrusions from the modern world, such as the Filkins bypass, and the influx of tourists to the Cotswold Wildlife Park and its nearby caravan site.

What unites the large parishes of Broadwell and Langford? The very helpful introductory chapter traces their origin as a large royal estate, which was held by earls at the time of the Norman Conquest. Langford church is likely to have been the original mother church, a minster serving a large and populous pre-Conquest parish. In the succeeding centuries centrifugal

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forces led to the emergence of manorial holdings and six separate townships and chapelfries, including places well known to outsiders: Filkins, Kelmscott and Radcot. Thanks to the VCH editors who are responsible for the parish and township histories, Virginia Bainbridge and Mark Page, we can trace the formation of these smaller administrative and social units, a number of which were served by chapels founded in the Middle Ages. In modern times the process continued as some of the chapels became parish churches, soon after the Conquest in the case of Broughton Poggs, but not until the mid-nineteenth century for Holwell. Some of the communities gained a school between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries; there was a scatter of nonconformist chapels; and public houses performed important social functions, for example as foci for friendly societies. In the last century, with the influx of wealthy, mobile inhabitants who made little use of local facilities, the smaller villages lost their schools, dissenting chapels and pubs. As the Anglican parishes were merged into a group ministry the unit of church organisation by 1984 bore an uncanny resemblance to the minster parish before 1066. The major landowners retained great influence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but so did benevolent intellectuals – William Morris and his wife in the case of Kelmscott, now represented by the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Sir Stafford Cripps at Filkins. They both sought, with some success, to protect the ‘character’ of the villages. The story of a unit of landholding breaking down into townships and chapelfries, which pursued parallel paths of development, gives the volume its unity, as does the revelation that a balance of resources was obtained by links across the former great estate, leading to the extensive woodland in the north and the meadows in the south supplying the needs of villages that lacked firewood or hay.

The VCH reports all this dispassionately, and is anxious to show that in many ways this was like any other part of rural England with its communities of rather poor peasants in the Middle Ages and the class of yeomen with large holdings flourishing from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The place that stands out as different, partly because of discoveries in recent years, is Radcot, the location of a strategic river crossing. In the twelfth century it was guarded by a formidable stone castle. A planned village lay to the north of the castle, the inhabitants of which benefited from a wharf which served river-borne trade in agricultural produce. Outsiders will be surprised that boats could proceed so far upriver, but they were helped by navigational improvements going back to the twelfth century.

Does this volume suggest ways for the VCH to plan for the future in a bleaker economic environment? The first point that must be made is that it shows the VCH at its best, in terms of the quality of the contents, and the attractiveness of its presentation. Anyone reading it will have their belief in the concept reinforced. Change is however essential if the VCH for Oxfordshire, let alone for other counties lagging far behind, can reach completion. The successor volumes will need to cover more ground in less space, and the key to achieving this may be the relatively brief introductory essay covering all of the parishes, which is a high point of this volume. If this was lengthened, and covered a wider range of subjects, much space could be saved in the sometimes repetitive accounts of the parishes and townships.

CHRISTOPHER DYER, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester


The genesis of this ground-breaking volume was a project on the tree-ring dating of cruck-framed buildings funded by the Leverhulme Trust which started in the late 1980s. Since then there have been advances in dendrochronology and a paradigm shift in the understanding of medieval peasant houses which has changed the focus from plan-forms and carpentry styles to the

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the house as a setting for domestic life. The book that has eventually emerged from the dating project provides evidence for houses in a set of Midland counties – mainly Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Leicestershire and Warwickshire – but also seeks, in accordance with the new approaches, to provide a ‘new and detailed’ view of the Midland peasant house which uses both physical and documentary evidence to show how space was used in the period up to c.1530.

One might ask whether the focus on crucks (curved timbers that transfer the weight of a roof directly to the ground) allows conclusions to be drawn concerning medieval houses more generally. This project, and the search for cruck frames that culminated in an on-line database, may have discouraged the collection of equivalent material on box-framed houses. Although many medieval houses in the Midland region were cruck built, the authors admit that they found the reality of structures somewhat more varied and complex, with late thirteenth-century box-framed chamber-blocks and even earlier aisled structures coming to light. And medieval houses are turning up all the time: the present reviewer recently encountered an Oxfordshire box-framed building which was described in the statutory list as ‘probably early 18th century’ but had smoke-blackened thatch on its roof clearly dating from the Middle Ages.

Out of the potential 414 surviving cruck houses in the study area, 111 buildings were surveyed in depth, and a further 21 were included largely from documentary sources. Chapter 2 sets out the rationale for selecting and dating the chosen houses. A convincing case is made for the validity of the sampling and the results obtained. The authors might also have justified their choice of cruck- rather than box-framed buildings in the light of the fact that, once built, a cruck building is less easily altered in size: it can be extended but eventually if more space is needed, it has to demolished or rebuilt. The cruck survivors (whether or not they are representative) are, therefore, very important for the evidence of primary building phases.

Chapter 3 discusses the main spaces in the surveyed houses, noting that the earliest houses are generally the larger ones – reflecting their greater adaptability and hence survivability. The regional prevalence of two-bay halls in Oxfordshire as against single bays in the north of the region is, however, more likely to be a reflection of prosperity than differential survival. Block plans drawn to the same scale are given for many of the simpler houses. There were some interesting findings, such as a two-bay hall with a smoke-louvre in each bay, which implies former separate living/cooking areas in the hall, perhaps curtained off from each other when necessary. While this may be unique, houses studied elsewhere have provided evidence for diverse peasant lifestyles and hence challenge the traditional model of how medieval hall house was arranged and used.

The next two chapters trace the development of the houses as structural artefacts, through clear section drawings. Pre-1350 houses (all in Oxfordshire) were lower and wider than the later ones. In most of the houses carpentry was technically sophisticated – ‘proper’ carpenters were employed. Arch-bracing of the central hall truss seems to have almost died out after the mid fifteenth century, which suggests that cruck building thereafter was limited to lower-status buildings. For the earliest houses, sawing was minimised by choosing, as far as possible, the correct size of trunk for each member. A detailed study of Mill Farm, Mapledurham, showed how 111 trees were used in 1335 to build this three-bay cottage. A number of unusual joints were found – one can almost watch the individual carpenters involved solving structural problems created by irregular cruck blades.

Looking at the documents, Christopher Dyer defines ‘peasant’ as a small-scale landholder mainly engaged in agricultural production and concludes that the term ‘peasant house’ is meaningful and useful. The average cost of a peasant house was around £4, generally paid for by the peasant farmer himself from crop surpluses and savings. But peasant farmsteads also had barns and other agricultural buildings, so the total investment in structures could be considerable. Dyer also uses population statistics and building attrition rates to show that there was a major relocation of households after the Black Death (1348–9), so house building continued despite the overall drop in population. Amalgamation of landholdings entailed redundant houses, which were deliberately left to collapse. The remaining houses had to be
rebuilt because they were too small to house the increased households needed to manage the larger holdings. This was dramatically illustrated in Steventon (Oxfordshire, formerly Berkshire) where five houses were built in the period just after 1350.

Although Christopher Currie discussed Oxfordshire buildings in Oxoniensia, vol. 57 (1992), this book includes much more material, including details of previously unpublished houses in the Vale of the White Horse, an account of an important group of cottages at Mapledurham, and new insights into Steventon following the discovery of hitherto unknown manorial documents going back to 1382. These allowed almost all of the 110 copyhold properties shown on the 1842 tithe map to be identified and for the tenure of sixteen medieval houses to be traced back to the earliest possible references. For eight of these, the original builder was identified – most were peasant farmers with a yardland or less.

In the concluding chapter, the key finding is that most of the houses recorded for the project were medieval houses built by people who fall into the definition of peasant given above. Cruck houses predominated until the fifteenth century, when box frames became popular, but the cruck continued to be built, with new forms being evolved to allow greater size. In some of the early Oxfordshire examples, however, a two-storey box-framed chamber range was built alongside an open cruck hall. The study has also shed light on the related issues of survival and survivability. One factor in survival seems to have been the need in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for small (or easily subdivided) cottages to house the growing number of agricultural labourers. Survivability is more difficult to pin down, and the evidence of this study suggests some differential factors, particularly expectations of housing standards reflected in size and adaptability. The earliest houses were of three bays, with two-bay halls and an inner room, but without integral service rooms – these were introduced after 1440, when first floors appeared over the inner rooms.

Chapter 8 comprises thirteen individual building reports including those on The Cottage (now Tirrold House) Aston Clinton (1286), Mill Farm, Mapledurham (1335), and in Steventon, Tudor House (1299 and 1336) and 71 The Causeway (1467). These, and all the other reports, are also contained in pdf format on an accompanying CD.

This is an important book, which sets out the evidence for a range of surviving houses, drawing out what is common or rare in the Midland region, and placing the findings in a wider context. The authors have also raised a number of issues that need now to be tested in other regions as the study of the medieval peasant house moves towards a national synthesis.

DAVID CLARK, Oxford


Christopher Dyer of Birmingham and Leicester universities has made a profound contribution to the understanding of medieval England's economy and society. It has operated at three related levels. At ground level, so to speak, he has sympathetically studied the lives of various ordinary people to understand the extent to which they could pursue economic and social ambitions, and make creative changes within the pre-industrial economy. Using this work, and that of scholars such as R.H. Britnell and B.M.S. Campbell, he has presented fresh views of the changing relationships of lords and peasants, together with commercial forces, and has fashioned a so-called 'New Middle Ages'. He has also sought to understand the place of the Middle Ages, as reconceived, in the long run of history, arguing that the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries should be seen, alongside the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as part of a lengthy transitional period between feudalism and capitalism. This was the era, for example, when the orientation of basic rural production changed: many peasants turned into farmers at this time.
(in other words they changed from being cultivators working lands primarily for their families, with limited involvement in the market, into cultivators with larger landholdings who were extensively involved in the market), though the term 'farmer' strictly refers to someone who rents land, often a lord's demesne land (ultimately from Latin *firma*, meaning 'fixed payment'). Dyer's view of medieval England has been synthesized in two important books: *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain, 850–1520* (2002) and *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (2005), based on his 2001 Ford Lectures at Oxford University.

The starting-point for Dyer's new monograph was an account book kept by the Gloucestershire merchant John Heritage from 1501 to 1520, which was recently discovered in the Westminster Abbey archives. In contrast with manorial accounts, few mercantile accounts survive from medieval England. The information in Heritage's accounts has enabled Dyer to delineate the area in which Heritage was active, to reconstruct his business activities, and to analyse the nature and course of his business. 'Heritage's country' comprised an area around Moreton-in-Marsh, within a radius of 8 miles (13 km), including the towns of Chipping Norton, Stow-on-the-Wold, Chipping Campden, and Shipston-on-Stour. Though much of it was in Gloucestershire, sizable areas belonged to Worcestershire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire (the Chipping Norton area). Heritage also had other connections with Oxfordshire: his sister Alice (the older) married the Witney merchant Thomas Temple, and he visited Banbury and Burford. To understand Heritage's activities, Dyer has also reconstructed the economic and social characteristics of 'Heritage's country', effectively providing a portrait of a region. By examining Heritage's business, and the economic conditions within which it functioned, Dyer has sought to determine the mode of society that Heritage exemplifies. It is a multi-level approach similar to Dyer's other work.

Born c.1470, John Heritage grew up in the Warwickshire parish of Burton Dassett, where his father was a substantial yeoman farmer who grew corn and kept large numbers of cattle and sheep. After succeeding his father in his early twenties, Heritage leased additional land at Burton and forced out small tenants so he could use their land for sheep grazing. Soon afterwards he and his wife moved to his wife's home town of Moreton, from where Heritage traded in wool and also grazed up to 2,000 sheep on nearby pastures. One achievement of Dyer's book is that it provides the first detailed study of a wool brogger – a wool trader whose business was primarily in his locality rather than in the glamorous world of international trade, which has hitherto been the primary interest of medieval economic historians mainly for want of records about inland trade.

Broggers were familiar and characteristic figures of the late-medieval economy. Following the substantial fall in population in the fourteenth century, and its failure to recover, corn production was reduced and large areas of arable were converted to pasture for sheep grazing. The shift is well known to historians, but it has previously been seen as mainly the work of gentry lords. In earlier writings and lectures, Dyer has highlighted the emergence from the late fourteenth century of 'farmers' (strictly defined), men often lower than gentry who leased lords' demesne lands usually for grazing. His latest view of society, through the world of John Heritage, has illuminated the role of even smaller producers. In the late thirteenth century, relatively few peasant holdings were larger than a yardland (notionally 30 acres), but Dyer estimates that by the early sixteenth century some two-fifths of holdings in 'Heritage's country' were two or three yardlands or larger. Because of the continuing depressed population level and lack of demand for corn, it was necessary to use much of this land for grazing. Heritage had relatively little involvement with gentry, and only modest involvement with demesne farmers; he dealt mainly with numerous smaller tenants who typically kept flocks of sixty to ninety sheep (though these were much larger than peasant flocks in the thirteenth century). As a trader, Heritage worked on his own, and conducted his business through contracts. Dyer concludes, in a strangely hesitant comment, that 'to describe this entrepreneur as a capitalist would not be inappropriate' (p. 99).
A short review can only highlight some of the new information and insights in this rich work. The detailed account of a brogger's business (especially in chapter 4) will be of wide relevance, while the comprehensive reconstruction of the region's economy provides an exemplar for comparison with other regions. Dyer also discusses the variety of ways by which open-field agricultural systems were adapted to increase permanent pasture. Only one important aspect of the subject seems unclear. Though Heritage grazed large flocks of sheep, and had a high annual turnover from trading, he was not particularly successful compared with some other wool merchants. For example, his wealth seems to have been insufficient to permit extensive investment in property. As Dyer points out, this must have been partly due to the strength of competition for wool. Heritage did not monopolize the wool trade around Moreton, and it is likely that some other traders were more important. Though Dyer presents a comprehensive account of 'Heritage's country', the focus on Heritage himself as an example of a wool trader has obscured other traders. It would be interesting to know roughly how many broggers might have been active alongside Heritage, and the identities of the outstanding figures. Overall, Dyer's new work does not modify his fundamental arguments about the late-medieval English economy and society, but it greatly enhances our appreciation of the more dynamic elements typical of the period. It must be hoped that OUP will reissue the book in paperback at an affordable price.

R.B. PEBERDY, Oxford


As Alan Crossley's calendar and analysis of apprenticeship enrolments during the Tudor period clearly demonstrates, Oxford's dreaming spires acted as a magnet for boys who sought a training in crafts and trades as well as those planning to study at the colleges. From the mid sixteenth century onwards, the city of Oxford grew rapidly in size and prosperity, benefiting not only from nationwide population growth and economic recovery, but also from the rising demand for university education and the increased consumption that accompanied the expansion of its colleges. A total of 2,015 apprentices were enrolled during the ninety-year period, of whom more than 75 per cent entered the clothing, distributive, victualling and leather trades which constituted the core of the city's economy. Only three apprentices were female.

The two sixteenth-century enrolment books presented in the volume provide summaries of the apprenticeship indentures drawn up between Oxford masters and their apprentices during a period of rapid social, economic and political development. The 'quantity, continuity and completeness of the data, Crossley points out, are exceptional for towns and cities of the period and facilitate both detailed analysis and the exploration of change over time. Each entry lists date of enrolment, apprentice's name, the father's name, address and occupation, the master's name and occupation, and the starting date and proposed length of service. The remuneration and end-of-term arrangements are also recorded and reveal considerable variations. Some entries summarise a master's obligations and, less frequently, those of the apprentice. The latter include the usual prohibitions upon frequenting alehouses and taverns and engaging in fornication. The duration of apprenticeships ranged from 7 to 20 years, with 51 per cent of apprenticeships lasting 7 years and 44 per cent lasting 8–10 years. A surprisingly high number of boys – nearly a third of those apprenticed – were fatherless and, despite mid century attempts to restrict occupational mobility through the regulation of apprenticeship, over 50 per cent were the sons of yeomen, husbandmen and rural labourers.

The calendars are greatly enhanced by Crossley's scholarly introduction which positions Oxford apprentices within their urban and historical context, analyses their geographical origins and occupational dispersal, and examines their impact upon the economic, political and social
life of the city. Its tables and maps reveal that Oxford's apprentices were drawn from an unusually wide area, and that scarcely more than a quarter were recruited from the city and its immediate environs. Towns and villages within a 10-mile (16-km) radius of Oxford provided 43 per cent of the city's apprentices, and those within a 10–20 mile (16–32 km) radius contributed 15 per cent. Over 800 apprentices (40 per cent) travelled more than 20 miles (32 km) to Oxford and 253 (13 per cent) journeyed over 100 miles (160 km). The city's migration field was significantly larger than that of places of comparable size such as Worcester and Gloucester and showed a distinct bias to the north-west, particularly in long-distance recruitment. Crossley argues convincingly that the migratory pull exerted by Oxford on north-western counties was due mainly to the city's position within a corridor of migration from counties in the highland zone experiencing population pressure to London and its affluent south-eastern hinterland, rather than to its reputation and trading contacts. He suggests that by the sixteenth century betterment migration to Oxford had largely replaced subsistence migration, even for boys travelling long distances to the city. He highlights the range of individual and institutional contacts established with Midland and north-western towns and villages that encouraged migration over multiple generations. The Queen's College, for example, enjoyed a long-standing association with towns and schools in Cumberland and Westmorland.

As Crossley writes, the enrolments capture a single and significant moment in hundreds of individual lives. While numerous apprentices failed to complete their period of service and very few claimed citizenship, an Oxford apprenticeship transformed the lives of a minority and set boys from the north and Midlands as well as rural Oxfordshire on the fast-track to economic independence and the *cursus honorum* of city government.

*Oxford City Apprentices* is a valuable addition to the publications of the OHS and provides a remarkable resource for those studying the economic development of England's oldest university town, its relationship with market towns and villages in its migration field, and early modern migration. It will be welcomed by local, urban and population historians as well as by those undertaking genealogical research.

CHRISTINE JACKSON, Kellogg College, Oxford


*Manifold Greatness* records and commemorates (rather than catalogues) two exhibitions held in 2011 to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the 'King James Bible' or 'Authorized Version.' The primary exhibition, in Oxford at the Bodleian Library, focused on Oxford's involvement in the KJB. The new Bible was formally proposed by an Oxford scholar, Dr John Rainolds (president of Corpus Christi College), when he attended the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 as a representative of English puritans. Many scholars recruited for the project were based or at least educated at Oxford. Oxford's contribution ranks among the university's most durable and influential achievements.

The commemorative book – like the KJB itself, the work of numerous scholars – tells the story of the KJB's creation within broad contexts, and charts its influence. Each chapter presents and summarizes a distinct topic. The first outlines the history of biblical translation into English during the eight centuries before the KJB, while the second explains how puritan discontent caused James I to convene the Hampton Court Conference. The third chapter sketches the lives of selected translators, including two pre-eminent figures: Dr Rainolds and Sir Henry Savile, the warden of Merton College. The preparation of the KJB was undertaken by six 'companies' or committees, two each based at Oxford, Cambridge and Westminster. The Oxford companies prepared, respectively, new versions of Isaiah to Malachi, and of the Gospels, Acts and...
Revelation. The Old Testament company met at Corpus, the New Testament team at Merton. The fourth chapter shows how the translators began with the 1568 ‘Bishops’ Bible’ (the English version deemed official in 1571), and drew on extensive scholarly resources and formidable understanding to create a revised text that fused accuracy of translation with high literary quality. The fifth chapter demonstrates how the peculiar nature of the KJB’s prose is due to the attempt by the translators to represent qualities of the original Hebrew and Greek texts. It includes an interesting analysis of the KJB’s rhythms. Two chapters trace the KJB’s influence on English and American culture, culminating with the story of how astronauts on ‘Apollo 8’ read from Genesis in the KJB (the work of the First Westminster Company) as they circled the Moon in 1968. The final chapter presents a selection of Bibles held by the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, DC, the venue of the second exhibition. The chapters are well written and informative, though on p. 44 an author strangely relates that Pope Pius V spent ‘twelve years on the throne’ pursuing ‘an openly Protestant agenda’. An outstanding feature of the book is the illustrations, which collectively conjure up Jacobean Oxford. They include key documents connected with the KJB, buildings and rooms that were familiar to the translators, portraits of divines, and a stunning image of Savile with (in Julian Reid’s words, p. 71) ‘all the air and swagger of Raleigh and Drake’.

Yet one part of the KJB story as retold in Manifold Greatness seems questionable. As in the Bodleian exhibition, the book associates the origins of the KJB with puritan agitation. In 1603 puritans intercepted King James as he travelled from Scotland and presented him with the ‘Millenary Petition’, a schedule of changes supposedly endorsed by a thousand ministers which they requested James to make in the Church of England. James responded by holding the Hampton Court Conference, at which he rejected proposed changes except for Dr Rainolds’ proposal for a new Bible translation. The story thus implies that puritan grievances were the motivation for the KJB. But a new translation was not requested by the Millenary Petition, and generally speaking puritans had not campaigned for one. Although some puritans disliked the Bishops’ Bible, an acceptable alternative English translation had long been available, namely the ‘Geneva Bible’ which included extensive Calvinistic notes. (The work of English Protestant exiles, it had been published in Geneva in 1560.) Dr Rainolds was undoubtedly a puritan, but his proposal seems to represent not general puritan discontent but his own discontent as a scholar with the Bishops’ Bible, and perhaps a wider dissatisfaction among Oxford scholars. Rainolds appears to have used the conference opportunistically for his own purpose (just as James opportunistically, and ironically, exploited the proposal to seek to oust the Geneva Bible). The origins of the KJB therefore appear to be different from those of the Hampton Court Conference. If they were, then the sixteenth-century ‘revolution in learning’, described on pp. 50–8, should perhaps be viewed not simply as a factor that facilitated the KJB but as a cause – a development that had revealed the shortcomings of existing translations.

R.B. PEBERDY, Oxford


These two volumes presenting seventeenth-century sources for Oxfordshire are the latest in the impressive list of publications edited by Jeremy Gibson. He is particularly well known to family and local historians for the ‘Gibson Guides’, which offer advice and information on the survival and location of documentary sources. The new publications reproduce lists of county residents compiled for different purposes in the later seventeenth century.
The ‘free and voluntary present’ to Charles II was a parliamentary initiative soon after the Restoration to raise revenue for the king. Voluntary contributions were collected in the form of promises or cash between October 1661 and January 1662, and it appears that many substantial householders paid up. The names of parish constables at the end of many of the parish lists of taxpayers indicate their involvement, prompting comparison with the unpublished constables' returns for the 1662 hearth tax. A few parish lists, including those for Watlington, Bloxham and Chalgrove, add occupations to taxpayers' names. The lists include wealthy landowners and the ‘middling sort’, but the amounts paid, like those in contemporary lay subsidy assessments, bear no relationship to a taxpayer's actual worth. The urban élite were conspicuously less generous than the landed gentry. Nor are numbers of voluntary taxpayers a guide to the populations of towns and villages. A persuasive collector at Watlington signed up 104 contributors, more than the totals at either Henley or Witney.

So what use can be made of such a listing? Essentially it tells us that certain people were present in their parishes between October 1661 and January 1662. For the family historian, or the local historian interested in families in a community, this could be significant although absence from the list does not prove absence from the parish. In his brief introduction Jeremy Gibson admits that he has not attempted to analyse the list, and one might wish that readers had been given some pointers to ways in which it could be used. He does, however, refer to his own article on 'Taxpayers in Restoration Banbury', in Cake & Cockhorse, 9:6 (1984), which provides an answer. This useful article draws on the 1661 listing for Banbury alongside the 1662 and 1665 hearth tax lists and a 1663 subsidy, and is also illuminated by the author's expert knowledge of the town's society and topography. The juxtaposition of several different sources can yield more than one in isolation, and studies of other Oxfordshire towns and villages along these lines might be assisted by the publication of what is on its own a rather limited document.

The main item in the second volume under review is an Oxfordshire county poll book in the Bodleian Library's Risley MSS, assumed to date from 1690 but plausibly suggested by the editor to have been updated as a canvassing list c.1695. Jeremy Gibson has rearranged the list into parishes with a list of voters for each one showing the two votes that each man cast in 1690. He annotates the list with details for each voter gathered from parish registers, probate records and published sources. For many he has been able to add occupation or status. This publication therefore provides us with a directory by parish of 1,487 40s. freeholders in Oxfordshire in the mid 1690s. A helpful introduction discusses the document and suggests topics on which it might throw some light, including political allegiances in different parts of the county and the influence of local landowners.

Published in the same volume as the poll book is a short account of the association oath rolls of 1695–6, two manuscripts in The National Archives containing the names of almost 15,000 people in Oxfordshire who took an oath of loyalty to William III and signed or made their mark. Virtually unusable until now due to missing place-names and a haphazard order, the oath rolls have been tamed by Jeremy Gibson who lists here for each parish the original membranes on which local residents' names can be found. Future researchers will doubtless be grateful.

ADRIENNE ROSEN, Kellogg College, Oxford


Marshall’s study of ‘church life’ in the dioceses (rather than sees) of Hereford and Oxford between 1660 and 1760 appears to be based on his doctoral thesis of 1979, though it is not listed in the bibliography. If so, his research was part of a broader movement by historians from
the 1970s onwards to re-evaluate the Church of England in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were two central questions. First, how effectively was the church restored after the Restoration of the monarchy in May 1660? Secondly, how effective was the eighteenth-century church? With regard to the latter concern, the church had been accused since the nineteenth century – by both High Church Anglicans and nonconformists – of indolence and corruption, the latter resulting from subordination to considerable party-political control.

Marshall provides a valuable account of post-Restoration developments in Oxfordshire. During the 1640s–50s parliament had abolished episcopacy and the related church structure in England and Wales, and had authorised the creation of a presbyterian structure. Marshall demonstrates that in 1660 there was a powerful desire among clergy to re-establish the previous structure in the Oxford diocese, in which Robert Skinner, bishop of Oxford since 1641, was prominent. He had remained in the diocese and was one of the few surviving pre-Interregnum bishops. He held his first regular post-Restoration ordination service, in Merton College chapel, on 2 August 1660. Marshall concludes that church life in Oxford and two other dioceses was ‘more or less back to normal’ by mid or late 1663 (p. 23). In the Oxford diocese this included the appointment of new senior church officers and a new cathedral chapter, the institution of many parish clergy, and significantly the restoration of church courts. The re-establishment of episcopacy and of doctrinal unity (through imposition of the revised prayer book of 1662) met little resistance: only fourteen clergy in the diocese were ejected in 1660, and only nine at St Bartholomew’s Day in 1662 (when the revised prayer book became valid).

But if the church’s structures and moral authority were reinstated into society with surprising ease, given the social disruption and radical religious ideas of the 1640s–50s, the situation was soon undermined by national developments. The 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, whereby James II suspended penal laws against Catholics and dissenters, and the 1689 Toleration Act, allowing dissenters to attend their own meeting houses, were presumed by many people to mean that church attendance had become voluntary. (Critics of the Act alleged that liberty of conscience meant in practice liberty to attend the alehouse.) Business in the church courts declined during the 1690s, especially prosecutions for non-attendance at church, and by the mid eighteenth century it had almost ceased. These developments marked a profound alteration in the relationship between church and society: the church changed from a would-be inclusive body into a voluntary society.

Marshall proceeds to examine various aspects of the Oxfordshire church in order to assess its condition in the new circumstances. In general his findings concur with the favourable picture presented by other writings. Rates of non-residence and pluralism by clergy were relatively low, with 67 per cent of recorded parish clergy in 1738 living in or near their parishes and another 15 per cent providing curates. The educational standard of clergy was high, with the great majority being graduates. Clergy were conscientious in providing the required number of Sunday services and sermons, and in giving instruction in the catechism to children and servants. Both parishioners and patrons maintained the fabric and fittings of parish churches. Many bishops were also good leaders, most notably Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford 1737–58, who undertook regular visitations of his diocese, demanded high standards of the clergy, and encouraged monthly communion. Both parish and more senior clergy came from a variety of social backgrounds. If one views the church as a self-contained institution, it could be claimed that the sixteenth-century Protestant ideal of creating a harmonious, well-educated, preaching ministry finally came close to fulfilment.

The strength of Marshall’s book is its systematic presentation of the church’s structure and operations. For example, he provides clear and detailed accounts of how courts and diocesan officers interacted with parishes, and of how candidates for ordination had to prove their suitability. But there are also limitations. One weakness is the extensive reliance on official documents produced by the church itself (such as visitation returns), which seem likely to exaggerate the church’s effectiveness. Secondly, there is little examination of the church in its social context. For example, no attempt is made to sketch the kinds of local societies found
within the Oxford diocese and how these changed within the period concerned, and there is little evidence about the church's effectiveness within individual communities (for example in countering dissent). The only significant evidence cited concerns attendance at communion, and that turns out to have been very low. Though the eighteenth-century church was probably a more effective institution than was once thought, its local religious and social effectiveness in Oxfordshire awaits further study.

R.B. PEBERDY, Oxford


The Banbury Historical Society has published a second volume of extracts, edited by Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson, from the diaries of William Cotton Risley of Deddington, clergyman and landowner. The first volume, covering 1835–48, appeared in 2007 (reviewed in *Oxoniensia*, 73 (2008), pp. 204–5). The diaries summarised in this volume extend from 1849 until 1869, the year of Risley’s death. The format and organisation of the book, including the introduction, list of dramatis personae and copious indices, follow the patterns set in the first volume which have been widely commended.

William Cotton Risley (born 1798) was fifty in 1849, and two years had passed since he had resigned the vicarage of Deddington. He continued to live at Deddington House, and to exercise a profound influence in the locality as a landowner and justice of the peace, never doubting his right to exercise authority over his neighbours. He derived income from land in Deddington, in neighbouring Adderbury and in the town of Banbury, as well as from an estate in Monmouthshire. There may be a natural disaffinity between any vicar or rector and an ex-incumbent resident in a parish. Risley was acutely embarrassed by his successor, James Brogden, who was indebted and prone to drunkenness, and was for long periods an absentee before he died of apoplexy in 1864. Risley regularly took services in the chapel-of-ease of St James in the hamlet of Clifton, within Deddington parish, from its consecration in 1851, but distanced himself from the parish church. Deddington was essentially an open village, and Risley was often concerned to discipline its disorderly inhabitants and to maintain a front against dissent.

Geoffrey Smedley-Stevenson’s introduction provides a setting for the diaries, explaining the intricacies of ecclesiastical affairs, and the careers of Risley’s sons, but much of the diaries’ value comes from the unpredictable insights they provide into a host of historical topics. We learn in this volume of what appears to have been Deddington’s first harvest festival services on 9 September 1858, and of the presence in the area in the same month of a German band whose members were involved in an affray with four local butchers. There are details of May Day and Club Day celebrations in 1860, and many incidents throw light on emigration. When the Risleys took a holiday at Brighton in the unlikely month of November 1858 they found that Cartwrights from Aynho and Boultons from Great Tew were also staying at the Sussex resort. In September 1859 enquiries were being made to landowners about prospecting for ironstone at Adderbury. Risley maintained his links with New College and with Oxford University generally. He attended the meeting of the British Association in Oxford in June 1860, but apparently missed the momentous debate between Bishop Samuel Wilberforce and Thomas Henry Huxley. Risley’s energy took him to events at churches and schools across a wide area, and this volume will be...
a valuable source for historians of Oxfordshire and for those concerned with all manner of other historical questions.

A recent publication of the Berkshire Record Society also makes available the writings of a landowner. Robert Lee (né Philipps, 1706–55) practised as a lawyer, was a trusted agent for his kinsman the earl of Sterline, and in 1736 had just inherited the Binfield estate, 8 miles (13 km) east-south-east of Reading, from his aged great uncle. The volume includes diaries for the years 1736–44 (with some gaps), some 136 letters written between 1736 and 1740 which were kept in the diaries, eight pages of justice notes, and sixteen pages of associated notes and jottings. Harry Leonard's introduction is thorough, and the documents are supported by sixty pages identifying dramatis personae, a family tree and fifty pages of indices. There is no bibliography, but a more irritating fault is the lack of running headlines showing the years to which entries refer. The editor admits in the introduction that Lee was no Pepys or Evelyn, and these diaries lack the zeal for life displayed in those of William Cotton Risley. Some entries are tediously repetitive, but there is evidence here about many historical topics, such as building, travelling by road, clothing, diet, hunting and Shrove Tuesday customs, as well as about Lee's role as a magistrate. Lee also illuminates the social life of the gentry in the London of George II. He patronised many coffee houses, and on 1 December 1742 he saw The Country Wife at Covent Garden in the presence of the prince and princess of Wales.

BARRIE TRINDER, Olney, Bucks.


Few scholars probably realise how important and widespread friendly societies were in the past. As this splendid volume illustrates, friendly societies were found in almost every parish in Oxfordshire in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They tell us so much about the aspirations and concerns of their members, and they are a remarkable testimony to the need for the social insurance that motivated their foundation. They were also a key social presence in each village, with their processions, banners, bands and other forms of associational life. They instilled and reflected a strong sense of belonging, and their village-based organisation augmented what was undoubtedly a strong local sense of place and parochial loyalty. They also constituted a response to the new poor law, as a spirited defence of alternative forms of welfare and cooperation.

The book has been excellently compiled and edited by Shaun Morley, who deserves the highest praise for his achievement. No other county now has such a compendium of friendly society information, and it is a model of excellent editing. A fine introduction outlines the history of friendly societies and their regional features. The first such society appeared in Oxfordshire in 1750, in Witney. The varying statuses of the societies – whether registered or unregistered, whether independent or a branch of a larger national society, the gender of its membership, and other such details – are considered in the context of the county. Oxfordshire is compared well with other counties to assess how its patterns of friendly society provision relate to the wider picture. Numerous sources have been marshalled to provide this information. Patterns of growth are shown graphically, with an upturn apparent from c.1804, and steady augmentation in numbers thereafter, accelerating from c.1830 to reach the fastest growth in the 1840s–60s. The numbers of branches of the main four affiliated orders are also shown: they increased notably from c.1860 to 1914. The peak in the overall number of societies was in the 1860s when there were 218 independent societies or branches in Oxfordshire. A total of 755 friendly societies have been identified in the county up to 1918, and despite such a large number, it seems that there were others which have not yet been uncovered.
There were only three wholly female societies until the early 1880s, in Banbury, Whitchurch and Shipton-under-Wychwood, after which more became established. Only 22 of the 755 societies permitted female members, and even in those the membership was not usually equal as a wife often needed her husband's permission to join and could not vote on club issues. The movement was thus overwhelmingly male in composition, more so than I had hitherto appreciated. Agricultural labourers were commonly the largest element in the membership. The introduction draws out many other matters, such as the societies' rules, feasts, parades and music, policies on alcohol, clubroom facilities, and incidents of a criminal nature.

The bulk of the book comprises parish-level entries about each society: its status and type, where it was based, when it was established and dissolved, its rules, details about its membership, its feast day, and other miscellaneous observations. The volume thus provides much information that is open to further analysis, for example by using mapping facilities. That analysis could include venues, membership by classification of settlement, and so on. Such analysis could relate these details and related figures to occupations (as recorded in the national censuses), to landownership characteristics of parishes, detailing their 'open' or 'closed' nature, to the information in the 1851 census of religious worship, or to data about trade union membership. Appendices include fascinating information about crimes and disputes linked to the societies, a glossary of terms, musical bands, surviving artefacts and other material. There are in addition vivid illustrations of friendly societies in procession on their club days, and of medals, tokens and membership cards.

If Oxfordshire was once considered a backwater in terms of friendly society development, this view is clearly no longer sustainable. One is left with an overwhelming sense of how important societies were in the county, which suggests the possibility of making a wider reassessment of how rural labourers organised themselves. If this volume could be supplemented by similar volumes for other counties, then we would experience a rich period of re-analysis of the place of friendly societies in English history.

K.D.M. SNELL, Centre for English Local History, University of Leicester


*Oxfordshire Colony* is a carefully researched survey of a little-known experiment in social rehabilitation initiated by a London-based organisation, the National Union for Christian Social Service (later abbreviated to Christian Service Union or CSU). It was based at Turners Court Farm, a 500-acre holding in Oxfordshire near Wallingford, purchased by the CSU in 1911. Its initial aim was to provide agricultural training for unemployed men, to equip them for emigration to the dominions, especially Australia and Canada. However, in the years after the First World War, changing priorities led to its concentrating on training economically and socially deprived young men and boys who were classed as 'difficult' or who had committed petty crime. Most were referred by local authorities or under the poor law, and by the late 1930s it was work with vulnerable teenagers rather than adult males that had become the focus of the colony's training programme.

In the first chapter Christopher Sladen examines the Victorian background to the farm colony ideal, both in Britain, where the Salvation Army had been a pioneer, and elsewhere in Europe, notably in Germany. Chapter 2 considers the role of the CSU in funding the Turners Court enterprise and the history of an earlier agricultural colony established by the CSU in Surrey. From the beginning financial problems beset both schemes. The Wallingford site was selected because it was relatively near to both London and Reading, which were potential markets for the expected horticultural and farming products from the colony.
The third chapter discusses colony life between 1912 and 1933, including the attempts to promote emigration. Early in 1913, 48 of the 107 resident colonists had been 'put up' for emigration, although it is unclear how many actually emigrated. But then came the disruption of the First World War. After 1918 emigration was briefly resumed but by the mid 1920s agricultural depression terminated the scheme. Henceforth trainees would have to seek employment in Britain itself. Details are given of the daily life of the colonists, including the Spartan living conditions and the staffing levels.

During the 1920s and 1930s the number of inmates increased, to reach a peak of around 300 in the mid 1930s. But by then the colony's activities were coming under closer official scrutiny, with questions being asked about the management style and the severe discipline sometimes meted out. The farm training, too, was seen as less relevant at a time when land work was in general decline. Vocational courses which were also now offered in trades ranging from engineering to painting and decorating, and catering, were deemed more useful. Detailed information is also given on the wider leisure activities that were available.

Chapter 4 considers the difficulties faced by the colony between 1935 and 1954, and the problems experienced in dealing with the 'homeless, deprived and maladjusted' boys who were now in its care. There were also the disruptions caused by the Second World War. While the war proved profitable for the farming enterprise, it also led to a sad deterioration in the Turners Court buildings and infrastructure. In 1947 the colony's title was changed to Wallingford Farm Training School.

In the final three chapters the author discusses attempts to renovate the property, which initially met with some success thanks to the energetic leadership of a new warden (from 1955), Lt.-Col. Menday. But the system of residential care and training in large institutions was coming under critical scrutiny, as official policy favoured a more domestic setting for the rehabilitation of troubled youngsters. After Menday's resignation in 1967, the Wallingford School struggled to survive, with the number of boys referred to it in sharp decline. It was finally closed in 1991, and the site was sold two years later.

The book is an interesting case study of the application of Victorian philanthropic policies in the early twentieth century, and their failure to meet the needs of the post-1945 world. The CSU's perennial struggle for funding ended in 1963, when it was wound up; Turners Court continued as an independent charity. The author describes the fluctuating fortunes of the Turners Court venture against the wider background of national events and changing government policy, with the colony becoming increasingly dependent on local-authority funding to continue its work. More information on the farming methods applied, the crops grown, and where and how they were marketed, would have been welcome. Overall, however, this is a useful account of a small social experiment which survived for eighty years and of its varying fortunes during those decades.

PAMELA HORN†, Abingdon


This collection of thirteen Chichele lectures and extended essays completes a trilogy on the history of All Souls College. (The previous volumes were reviewed in Oxoniensia, 64 (1999), pp. 308–10 and 73 (2008), pp. 206–8.) The editors invite readers to judge the impact made by prize fellows of the college on world affairs. The first two contributions explain the competition used for election to prize fellowships and the character of the 'golden age' when prize fellows were deemed influential, 1875–1925; the rest are largely about groups (for example, the Round
The college gained its reputation for influence through public service during the period when Sir William Anson was the warden (1881–1914). He was able to take advantage of increases in the college's income from property, particularly around London, and from the introduction of open competition by examination after the abolition of preferential access to fellowships accorded to the founder's kin; at the same time he retained the tradition of excluding undergraduates. All Souls was a society of fellows – deemed 'the nicest club in Europe'. The effect of Anson's reforms was to create an 'academic society' consisting of prize fellows elected by competition and ex-prize fellows chosen by seniority who dined together, particularly at the weekend. The presence of ex-prize fellows (so-called 'fifty-pound fellows', named after the value of their fellowships) changed the tone in the management of college business. The book uses the vocabulary of 'Mallardry' and 'Mallardian', words coined in 1932 by C.W. Brodribb for use in a privately printed book, *Mallardry: A Study in Political Ornithology*. Brodribb thought the king's subjects were under the illusion that they governed themselves when they were in fact led by a peculiar group of 'Mallards' (fellows of All Souls, named after the college's emblem, which was first recorded in the early seventeenth century).

Many contributors have chosen to write about individual fellows principally from the Anson generation. Stephen Cretney finds virtue in the judicial decisions of Sir John Simon which merit recognition in spite of his weaknesses as foreign secretary and of his image as a 'man of Munich'. J. Mordaunt Crook explains the character of G.M. Young's omniscience, which made *Victorian England: Portrait of an Age* (1937) 'the greatest long essay ever written' but inhibited him from writing an important major work. Jim Davidson investigates the career of Sir Keith Hancock as an official historian. Michael Howard demonstrates the significance of Lord Milner's so-called 'Kindergarten' (his associates in southern Africa, 1902–5, who had been educated at Oxford) for the Round Table. John Clarke describes the context of the publication of *Oxford Pamphlets* in 1914–15, which were edited by H.W.C. Davis and aimed at 'artisans and elementary schoolmasters' who sought to understand the origins of the Great War. Wm Roger Louis reproduces his article on Leo Amery after the Second World War. The late Sarvepalli Gopal explores the links between the college and India. Comments on the *Round Table* (the journal of the Round Table organisation) and on India give pride of place to the ideas of Lionel Curtis.

But the most important message of the book comes from Simon Green, one of the editors, who writes convincingly about the manner in which the college controversially became associated with the policy of appeasement towards Hitler's Germany pursued by the government of Neville Chamberlain. He reviews the evidence of discussions in 'Salter's Soviet' – seminars run in 1937–9 by Sir Arthur Salter, the Gladstone professor of political theory and institutions, and a fellow – and shows that the idea of the college as the centre of appeasement was a post-war invention by those who had identified 'the Establishment' and by A.L. Rowse's 're-writing' of history. An unpublished lecture of 1990 by the late D.J. Wenden is deemed a more accurate account, and 'the motley collection' of ministers assembled in Winston Churchill's 1940 coalition government emphasizes the point that 'everyone was an appeaser somewhere' – a phrase from David Dilks. Simon Green's other contribution on the political thought of R.H. Brand is a *tour de force* which explains why the college had no 'public service grantees' comparable to the Anson generation after 1945.

The principal paper outside the Anson framework is that of Wm Roger Louis on the Suez crisis of 1956, based on the careers of three fellows, Roger Makins, Patrick Reilly and Lord Hailsham. There are connections with the attitudes of the earlier appeasers, especially Hailsham's resentment after being misled and deceived by the prime minister Anthony Eden. The warden at the time, John Sparrow, summed up the mood of the college as 'a hot bed of cold feet'.

The adventurers in the title are less evident than the statesmen and the scholars. No space
is devoted to T.E. Lawrence; and the novels of John Buchan (an unsuccessful candidate for a prize fellowship), which capture the travel opportunities open to the inter-war generation, are only mentioned in passing. The quality of scholarship in all contributions is 'fellowship standard'. They set high expectations for a forthcoming study by Simon Green on 'the exceptional college'.

J.M. LEE, University of Bristol

Other Publications Received:


