

Oxford Taverns and the Cellars of All Souls in the 17th and 18th Centuries¹

By JEREMY HASLAM

INTRODUCTION

THE cellars of All Souls College contain over a thousand 18th- and 19th-century wine bottles with glass seals, all except a few bearing either the College name (All Souls Coll : C.R.) or its initials (A.S.C.R.).² Over twenty different types of bottles are represented, each with a different seal, and a range in date of manufacture from 1760 to 1840. As far as the writer is aware, so great a collection of sealed bottles of this period, sealed with the device of a single institution, is unique. No comparable accumulations of bottles of other Oxford Colleges which had them sealed with their own names or initials³ have survived the passage of time; and the few specimens of these which have escaped destruction are dispersed throughout museum and private collections in England and America. Indeed, it is quite possible (perhaps merely through an accident of preservation) that the number of different seal-types of the All Souls bottles exceeds those of all other Oxford Colleges put together.

This collection of bottles provides therefore a unique opportunity to examine in detail the evolution in form of wine bottles manufactured during the second half of the 18th century and the early part of the 19th. Moreover, an examination of the accounts of the College of the 17th and 18th centuries helps not only to throw light upon the origin, date and use of the bottles themselves, but also to clarify a number of issues raised by other writers—notably E. T. Leeds and H. E. Salter⁴—concerning the connection between the use of the 17th- and 18th-century Oxford Taverns (which supplied wine by retail to the colleges throughout this period), and the dates of institution of the various

¹ I owe my thanks to Dr. P. Salway, who in his double capacity as Domestic Bursar of All Souls and as editor of *Oxoniensis* not only made it possible for me to study the sealed bottles in the College cellars, but also gave me much valuable help while this article was being written. I must also thank David Hinton for reading through the MS. while in draft, and making some valuable comments.

² CR = Common Room.

³ Sheelah Ruggles-Brise in *Sealed Bottles* (1949), 35, lists the Oxford Colleges which possessed bottles as: All Souls, Brasenose, Christ Church, Exeter, Jesus, St. John's, Lincoln, Magdalen and Trinity. Corpus Christi is also represented by one bottle in the Ashmolean (AM. 1921-1090) sealed C.C.C.R.; another was sold recently at Sotheby's.

⁴ References below.

JEREMY HASLAM

College cellars and the subsequent (and perhaps consequent) demise of the wine taverns.

What follows is therefore divided into two parts : firstly, an examination of the archives of All Souls, which have provided abundant material relating not only to the use of the taverns by the College in the 17th and early 18th centuries, but also to the date of institution and internal economy of the College wine cellars in the second half of the 18th century ; and secondly, an examination of the development in form of the wine bottle during the century after 1750.⁵

SECTION 1 : THE TAVERNS IN THE COLLEGE ARCHIVES

Certain portions of the All Souls College archives⁶ have provided a considerable amount of material from which may be gained a detailed picture of the practice of the College, before the institution of their own cellars in the mid-18th century, of fetching wines from the various Oxford taverns for use on special occasions, for the entertainment of guests in the Common Room, and for the provision of wine to the Fellows on various festivals and feast days.⁷ The detailed information which they give which relates to the institution of the wine cellars and to their internal economy in the mid-18th century is considered in Sections 2 and 3.

Those portions of the archives which give information about the practice of buying wine from the taverns are, firstly, the Computus and Expense Rolls,⁸ and, secondly, the New Titling Books or ' Lib. Nov. Tit. ' ⁹ The former are the final statements, by the Bursars¹⁰ of the particular year, of all the college expenses for the year from All Saints Day (1 November) ' ad idem Festum ' the following year ; they provide neat and often very detailed statements of everything paid for by the College. The New Titling Books, of which the Expense

⁵ The second part will be published in the next issue of *Oxoniensia*.

⁶ Most of the archives catalogued by C. Trice Martin in the *Catalogue of The Archives in the Muniment Room of All Souls College* (1877), have now been deposited in the Bodleian. Copies of this catalogue, interleaved with additions to the printed text and annotated with the Library Shelf marks, are now kept both in the Bodleian and in the Library of All Souls.

⁷ See William Blackstone, *Dissertation on The Accounts of All Souls College*, Roxburghe Club (1898) (written in 1752), 6, where he states that the cost of wine is ' defrayed at the expense of the college ' only at ' Extraordinaries, such as public Dinners, Servants Gawdies, &c ', and at ' Extraneis, or entertainment of strangers . . . particularly if they happen to be tenants or former members of the Society '. This elucidates many of the entries quoted below.

⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. All Souls College, c. 275-320.

⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 364 ; c. 246-326.

¹⁰ In the 17th and 18th centuries (and earlier) there were two official Bursars, one of Laws and the other of Arts, who were elected annually in December and who held office for one year only. See also Geoffrey Faber, *Notes on the History of All Souls Bursarships and the College Agency* (privately printed, 1950), 15 f.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

Rolls are a formal summary, give a daily account of all monies spent by the Bursars, arranged in sections.¹¹ There are, however, only six of the New Titling Books surviving from the 17th century, and six for the period 1700-29.¹² Up to this last date therefore, the main sources of information concerning the College expenses are the Expense Rolls, which from 1650 onwards form a very nearly complete series. Between them both, however, the Expense Rolls and the New Titling Books give a detailed picture not only of the amounts paid for wine at different times to different taverns, but also of the names of most of the various tavern-keepers in Oxford who held licenses to sell wine by retail throughout the period 1650-1750.¹³

The inclusion of these names in the accounts of almost every year provides detailed confirmation of material gathered both by E. T. Leeds (and summarized in his paper on Oxford Tavern bottles)¹⁴ and by H. E. Salter,¹⁵ which relates to the dates of tenure of the keepers of the four or five taverns in Oxford during the period in question. These references, moreover, give much supplementary information, which in some cases modifies and adds to what is already known about the tavern keepers, and which is therefore relevant to the dating of those sealed bottles bearing their initials. As well as this, they show (if further demonstration is needed) that until about 1750 it was the common practice in Oxford for the tavern-keepers, who alone were licensed to sell wine by retail, to send wine out to their customers in glass bottles, which, as the many examples in E. T. Leeds' paper demonstrate, were often sealed with the initials of the individual tavern-keeper (often with his wife's also) together with the motif of the particular tavern, and sometimes with the date.

The items listed below are College expenses which are charged on the Expense Rolls, and are therefore bills for wine brought over from the taverns to the College to be consumed by the Fellows and guests on those occasions when wine was provided at College expense. It is probable, in addition, that certain items recorded in the summaries of the College's Bank accounts preserved in the New Titling Books from 1731 onwards—and not included in the Expense Rolls—represent the payments for amounts due to the Three Tuns tavern for wine consumed on the tavern premises by the Fellows of All Souls, whose bills were

¹¹ The Shorter O.E.D. gives as one meaning of the verb 'to title': 'To write the headings to or in (a manuscript book or account): late ME'.

¹² 1687, 89, 91, 95-6, 99; 1700, 13, 16, 24, 27, 29. See C. Trice Martin's Catalogue, op. cit., 415.

¹³ I take 1650 as the earliest year since it is approximately this date which marks the beginning of the widespread use of glass bottles as receptacles for wine. No seals bearing initials of earlier tavern-keepers are therefore likely to be found.

¹⁴ E. T. Leeds, '17th and 18th Century Wine Bottles of Oxford Taverns', *Oxonienia*, vi (1941), 44-55.

¹⁵ H. E. Salter, 'Oxford City Properties', *O.H.S.*, LXXXIII (1926), ('Wine Licences', appendix III), 347-52.

JEREMY HASLAM

paid on their behalf by the Bursars. These give a particularly good idea of the extent of the use of this tavern during the first half of the 18th century, and will be discussed later.

ITEMS FROM THE EXPENSE ROLLS

	£	s.	d.
1651-52 : To Mr Woods for Wine	6	19	0
Thomas Wood was the licensee at the Salutation, 1647-63 (Leeds, No. 1). ¹⁶ From 1651 to 1663 this tavern was located at 104 High Street.			
To Mr Bodicot for wine	6	2	9
Humphrey Bodicot (variously spelt Bodicot or Boddicott) sold wine under license at the Three Tuns Tavern from 1639 until his death in 1660 (Leeds, No. 23).			
1652-53 : To Mr Woods for wine u.p. ¹⁷	5	18	0
1653-54 : To Mr Bodicot for wine	1	13	0
To Mr Woods for wine u.p. whereof £2 6. by former Bursars	5	17	0
To Mr Bodicot for a quart of sack		2	0
1654-55 : To Mr Woods for wine, by the last Bursars		58	0
To Mr Woods u.p.	4	9	0
More for wine		5	6
1655-56 : To Mrs Boddicott for wine by the last Bursars		2	6
To Mrs Boddicott for wine u.p.		16	6

Humphrey Bodicot is mentioned here for the last time in 1654. From 1655 onwards, the Expense Rolls give the wine bills as being paid to his wife Judith. Humphrey Bodicot did not die, however, until 1660,¹⁸ and so it appears that Judith Bodicot took over the running of the tavern five years before his death. She had, however, had a wine license, as Judith Potter, before becoming Humphrey's second wife, and so it is possible that Humphrey's licence expired in 1655 or early 1656, his wife thereafter selling wine in her own name. E. T. Leeds, however, states¹⁹ that the renewal of his licence in 1649 for ten years 'would thus carry Bodicot to the end of 1658. After that time he sold wine in virtue of the licence of Judith . . . who had a licence from the City, 1 July 1623'.

¹⁶ This and similar references, below, refer to the bottle or seal numbers in E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.*, under which he summarizes the known biographical information about each tavern-keeper. The dates of tenure of the tavern-keepers of the Oxford taverns between 1650 and 1750 are set out in the Appendix.

¹⁷ The letters 'u.p.' stand for 'ut patet per billam', and are variously given in the Expense Rolls as u.p., ut pat., or similar. Not one of these bills has survived.

¹⁸ E. T. Leeds, 'Oxford Tradesmen's Tokens', in H. E. Salter, 'Surveys and Tokens', *O.H.S.*, LXXV (1920), 387.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

However, it is interesting to note that whatever happened to Humphrey Bodicot's licence after 1654, business was carried on strictly in the name of the licensee of the tavern, even though the husband was still living.

1656-57 :	To Mrs Boddicott for wine by the last Bursars	-	:	56	:	11
	To Mrs Boddicott for wine u.p.	-	:	28	:	6
1657-58 :	To Mrs Bodicot on a bill by the last Bursars	4	:	11	:	6
	To Mr Woods for wine u.p.	-	:	15	:	-
1658-59 :	To Mrs Bodicot for wine u.p.	1	:	3	:	10
	To Mrs Bodicot for wine u.p.		:	5	:	6
1659-60 :	Expense Roll missing.		:		:	
1660-61 :	For a Quart of sack for Blower from the Crown		:	2	:	0
	For a Quart of Sack from the Crown for Mr Burton		:	1	:	6

These, and other similar items below, represent separate payments by the Bursars for wine from the tavern concerned for individual visitors.

	For wine to Mrs Bodicot u.p.	6	:	16	:	0
	To Woods the vintner for wine u.p.		:	29	:	0
	To Woods for wine		:	20	:	6
1661-62 :	For 6 bottles of claret to Mr Morell	-	:	6	:	0

William Morrell (variously spelt Morrell, Morell or Murrell) was licensee of the Crown Tavern from 1660 to 1679 (Leeds, No. 9). This is also the first mention of bottles in these accounts.

	For a qrt of wine from ye Crowne	-	:	-	:	20
	For wine from ye Crowne for Mr Pargitter	-	:	2	:	4
	To Mr Morrell for wine u.p.		:	4	:	10
	To Mrs Bodicot for wine	8	:	2	:	4
1662-63 :	For wine for ye Accomptants	-	:	-	:	20
	To Mr Woods. for wine u.p.		:	40	:	6
	To Mrs Bodicott on a bill left to pay in ye yeare 1661 u.p.	7	:	5	:	6
	To Mrs Bodicott for wine for ye last yeare u.p.	8	:	10	:	11
1663-64 :	To Mr Murrell [Morrell] for wine	5	:	4	:	6
	To Mr Murrell u.p.	6	:	0	:	0
	To Mrs Bodicot for wine till Michaelmas u.p.	-	:	24	:	8
1664-65 :	To Mr Murrell for wine		:	7	:	6
	To Mrs Bodicot for wine	4	:	13	:	0
	To Mr Murrell for wine u.p.		:	23	:	8
	To Mrs Bodicot for wine	5	:	1	:	0
1665-66 :	To Mr Murrell for wine	-	:	29	:	0
	To Mr Punt for wine		:	9	:	6

JEREMY HASLAM

Richard Pont (variously spelt Pont or Punt) was, with his wife Elizabeth, the sub-licensee at the Three Tuns from 26 March 1666 to 1671 (Leeds, No. 24 and note). It is of particular interest to note that a bottle belonging to him, sealed with the initials REP (Leeds, No. 25) was discovered in All Souls (with two other sealed bottles from Oxford taverns) while digging the foundations for the new buildings in 1896, and is now preserved in the Codrington Library (PL. VI). There could be no more definite proof than this to show that the taverns supplied wine to the College in their own sealed bottles.

To Mrs Bodicot for wine - : 25 : 0

This is the last time Mrs. Bodicot is mentioned. The inclusion of her name in the accounts of this year is puzzling, for she is recorded as being deceased by 11 August 1665.²⁰ It is possible, therefore, that this item refers to payment to her 'carried over' by the Bursars of 1664-65.

To ye Mermaid & Crowne for wine on Whitsunday - : 12 : 6

Whitsunday was one of the feast days on which wine was supplied at the College expense. A separate payment for this (see also similar items below) would seem to confirm that the wine was fetched from the taverns, in bottles, especially for the occasion.

For two quarts of claret from ye Mermaid - : 2 : 0
For wine on Michaelmas Day - : 11 : 0
For 3 bottles of Sider for Major Huntingdon - : - : 12

There are numerous items, from 1660 onwards, for payment for 'Sider'. This is the first of a number in which it is mentioned specifically as being in bottles. It was, like wine, possibly brought over from the taverns, although in none of the items is the name of a tavern mentioned.

	To Mr Punt for wine	5 : 0 : 6
1666-67 :	To Mr Punt for wine	6 : 11 : 0
	To Mr Morrell for wine	4 : 2 : 2
	To Mr Morrell for wine u.p.	- : 59 : 0
	To Mr Punt for wine	9 : 18 : 8
1667-68 :	To Mr Morrell for wine u.p.	- : 22 : 0
	To Mr Pont for wine u.p.	14 : 8 : 4
1668-69 :	To Mr Hall, for wine on Whitsunday	- : 22 : 9

Anthony Hall, Sen., was Licensee at the Mermaid Tavern 1660-75. He was elected Mayor in 1673 (Leeds, No. 2).²¹

	To Punt for wine	15 : 8 : 10
1669-70 :	To Mr Punt for wine to St. Thomas Day	4 : 14 : 9
	To Mr Punt for wine u.p.	9 : 8 : 9

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ See also *ibid.*, 406.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

1670-71 :	To Mr Murrell for wine	- : 24 : 11
	To Mr Punt for wine from Michaelmas to ye 29th December [1670]	5 : 13 : 11
	To Mr Punt for wine served in from ye 31st December 1670 to ye 29th of Sept 1671	8 : 10 : 0

The phrase 'served in' provides added confirmation of the hypothesis that the wine was actually taken over to the College in bottles from the tavern. It was for this purpose that the taverners provided themselves with bottles bearing their own initials, so that they could be returned to their rightful owners. The necessity of this is made clear by the fact that in several years the college is recorded as having bought wine from each of the four taverns in the single year. At this time, the tavern bottles themselves would have been used as serving bottles in the Hall and Common Rooms of the College.

1671-72 :	For wine not paid by the last Bursars u.p.	9 : 9
	For wine to Mr Morrell not pd by the last Bursars u.p.	7 : 0 : 0
	For wine from the Mermaid u.p.	- : 13 : 0
	To Morrell for wine u.p.	- : 13 : 0
	To Morrell for wine u.p.	- : 39 : 0
	To Mrs Pont for wine u.p.	9 : 3 : 10

Mrs. Elizabeth Pont, who with Richard Pont sold wine at the Three Tuns from 1666, was widowed in 1671. She stayed at the Three Tuns until 1687 (Leeds, No. 28).

1672-73 :	To George Tomson for wine u.p.	7 : 12 : 0
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George Tomson (variously spelt Thompson or Thomson) is not a tavern-keeper, but is described in a receipt included in the New Titling Book of 1700 as 'Butler of ye said college'. The entry above suggests that in this capacity he himself fetched the wine from the tavern (in all probability this item refers to wine from the Three Tuns), and was himself accountable for every bottle he took to the college, charging the Bursars for the amount at the end of the year.

1673-92 :

Various bills 'for wine', of between £8 and £22, are paid yearly to George Thompson, as well as two to the Manciple of the college, who in these years no doubt performed the Butler's duty of fetching the wine from the tavern.

1692-93 :	For wine u.p.	2 : 12 : 0
	For wine u.p.	3 : 4 : 0
	For wine u.p.	18 : 0 : 0
	For wine u.p.	- : 6 : 0
1693-94 :	To Taylor for wine unpaid by the last Bursar	17 : 17 : 0

JEREMY HASLAM

William and Anne Taylor were the successors at the Three Tuns of George and Joan Brown (not mentioned in these accounts), who themselves took over the tavern probably on Elizabeth Pont's death in 1687 (Leeds, Nos. 28 and 29). E. T. Leeds is apparently uncertain as to whether Taylor took over the tavern on the death of George Brown (who was buried on 1 February 1693), giving Taylor's dates as (?) 1693-95 (Leeds, No. 30). The entry above, recording payment made to Taylor for a large amount of wine delivered before the college audit of 1 November 1693 (i.e. before the Bursars of 1693-94 took over the accounts) strongly suggests that he did in fact take over the tavern early in 1693, no doubt very soon after George Brown's death, even though Joan Brown survived her husband for eight years (she died on 24 November 1701).²²

To Walker for wine 9 : 19 : 0

Richard Walker was licensee at the Kings Head tavern from 1687 to 1704 (Leeds, No. 35). At this time the Kings Head was at Nos. 24 and 25 Cornmarket Street, only later (about 1696) moving to No. 12 High Street. A bottle sealed R W, with a King's Head and the date 1693, was discovered in the College in 1896 (Leeds, No. 35. See also PL. VI)

1694-95 : To Walker for wine 3 : 6 : 0

The New Titling Book of this year contains the entry :

To Mr Walker for wine from Michaelmas
[1694] to Jan 19, 95 u.p. 4 : 13 : 0
To Taylor for wine 12 : 8 : 6

The New Titling Book of this year contains another entry :

Taylor all pd to Jan 14 1695 pd Mrs Taylor's
Bill to Sept 29 [1695] 12 : 8 : 6

William Taylor was buried on 17 May 1695 (Leeds, No. 30) and his wife Anne Taylor carried on at the Three Tuns.

1695-96 : To Mrs Taylor for wine 55 : 5 : 0

In the New Titling Book of this year is also the item :

²² This argument applies also to the dates of tenure of George Brown, which E. T. Leeds gives as 1689-(?)1693 (Leeds, No. 29). With regard to the first date, Leeds advances no reason for not supposing that George Brown took over the tavern on, or very soon after, widow Pont's death (her will was proved on 4 January 1688)—especially since he had received in her will all the 'implements belonging to the trade in my cellars'. The evidence suggests therefore that he was in occupation of the Three Tuns between January 1688 and January 1693. Furthermore, an entry in the Bursar's Book of University College for 1689 (Muniment Room, Univ. Coll., uncatalogued) reads :

July ye 13th 1689—Recd then of Mr. Tho. Bennett [Bursar] the sum of six pounds one shilling and sixpence in full for wine served in to Un: Coll: the year of his Bursarship ending at Lady-day last by me [Signed] George Brown.

This must indicate that he was supplying wine to the College at least from 25 March (Ladyday) 1688, giving additional confirmation of the dates suggested above.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

Dec. 4, 1695 :	Mr Walker for wine since Michaelmas	6	:	2	:	6
1696-97 :	To Mrs Taylor for wine	46	:	18	:	0
1697-98 :	For wine to entertain Sagittary	-	:	6	:	8
	For wine to Mrs Anne Taylor u.p.	51	:	11	:	6
	To ye Crown Tavern for wine left unpd by ye Bursars 1696	3	:	14	:	6

Unpaid possibly because Anne Morrell, licensee at the Crown, died sometime in 1696, before her bill could be paid. Her executrix and successor, Anne Turton, would have settled her accounts with the College (Leeds, No. 19).

	To ye Mermaid Tavern u.p.	1	:	15	:	0
	To Mr Walker at ye Kings Head tavern u.p.	4	:	7	:	0
1698-99 :	For wine u.p.	60	:	14	:	6

In the New Titling Book for this year is the entry :

 Paid to Mr Tomlinson £60. 14. 6. for wine
 from July 22 1698 to Aug 7 1699.

Culpepper Tomlinson married Ann, the widow of William Taylor, and took over the running of the Three Tuns. E. T. Leeds gives the dates of his occupancy of the tavern as 1695-1712 ; the entries above show, however, that Mrs. Taylor remained a widow from the time of her husband's death in May 1695 until she married 'her drawer' (no doubt to his great advantage) probably late in 1698.²³ Oxford Tavern Bottles bearing seals with the initials C A T (four of which are recorded by Leeds—see Nos. 31 and 32) will therefore not be earlier than 1699.

1699-	For wine to ye Kings Head	-	:	2	:	0
1700 :	For wine turned over by the last Bursars (i.e. unpaid)	42	:	10	:	6
	To Tomlinson for wine u.p.	22	:	16	:	0
1700-01 :	For wine left by ye last Bursars	15	:	17	:	0
	For wine att ye Crowne		:	12	:	6
	To Tomlinson for ye same u.p.	20	:	8	:	11
1701-02 :	For wine left by the last Bursars	18	:	16	:	6
	For the same		:	4	:	6
	For the same	28	:	6	:	6
1702-03 :	For wine	34	:	6	:	6
	For ye same	9	:	8	:	6

²³ The time and the date is confirmed by two entries in the Bursar's Book of University College for 1698-99 (as above, uncatalogued) which read :

October the 27: 98 Received then of Mr. Naylor Bursar of Un: Coll: for the use of Mrs Taylor Vintner, the summe of five pounds and eleven shillings in full for her serving the Bursar with wine for the two first Quarters of this year, I say recd by me [Signed] Culpr Tomlinson.

June 1st 1699. Received then of J. Naylor the sum of seven pounds two shillings and eight pence in full for the wine that was served in to Un. Coll. upon the Bursars account for the last halfe year of his Bursarship ending at our Lady [-day] last past I say recd by me [Signed] Culpr Tomlinson.

JEREMY HASLAM

1703-04 :	For wine from the Kings Head	-	:	15	:	0
	Wine from the Kings Head	-	:	6	:	0
	For the same	-	:	5	:	0
	To Freeman of the Kings Head for wine	-	:	15	:	0

John Freeman, nephew of his immediate predecessor Richard Walker, took over the King's Head tavern with his wife Margaret after his uncle's death in November 1704 (Leeds, Nos. 35 and 40). Leeds states (No. 40) that his name 'first appears individually' in 1713; this reference confirms, therefore, that 'he certainly succeeded to the tavern on the death of his uncle'. The mention of payment specifically to Freeman in accounts drawn up on 1 November 1704, strongly suggests that he took over the running of the tavern a little while before Walker's death on or shortly before 10 November of that year. The three preceding items perhaps suggest payment to Walker himself.

	Wine bill from the Tunns	57	:	0	:	0
1704-05 :	To Mr Tomlinson for wine from ye Tunns	49	:	3	:	9
	To Mr Freeman	4	:	18	:	0
	For wine from ye Mermaid u.p.	2	:	6	:	6
	For wine from ye Crown Tavern u.p.	5	:	8	:	6
	Wine from ye Mermaid u.p.	2	:	1	:	8
1705-06 :	To ye Crown Tavern for wine in ye last Bursar's time u.p.	-	:	12	:	0
	For wine from ye Mermaid	-	:	4	:	0
	To Tomlinson for wine	40	:	2	:	5
1706-07 :	To Tomlinson	37	:	17	:	0
	To ye Crown tavern	-	:	28	:	0
1707-08 :	To ye Mermaid Tavern	-	:	2	:	0
	Pd to Tomlinson	33	:	19	:	2
1708-09 :	Wine bill to ye Kings Head for ye years 1705, 1708, 1709	2	:	16	:	4
	To Mr Tomlinson for wine u.p.	29	:	14	:	2
1709-10 :	For wine on ye Coronation Day	-	:	8	:	0
	For wine on Whitsunday	-	:	8	:	0
	For wine on ye 29th May	-	:	6	:	0
	For wine when Mr Lloyd was here	-	:	4	:	0
	For wine to ye Kings Head u.p.	4	:	3	:	6
	To Tomlinson for wine u.p.	40	:	7	:	4
	For wine for ye Crown Tavern in ye years 1706, 7, 8	3	:	14	:	6
1710-11 :	To Tomlinson for wines u.p.	50	:	18	:	0
	For wine by the last Bursars u.p.	-	:	4	:	0
	For Punch for the entertainment of Mr Williams	-	:	17	:	6
	For wine from ye Kings Head u.p.	-	:	4	:	3
	For wine from ye Crown u.p.	4	:	2	:	0
1711-12 :	To Mrs Tomlinson for a horse	19	:	0	:	0

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

Culpepper Tomlinson was buried on 12 January 1712, and Anne Tomlinson, widowed for the second time, once again succeeded her late husband at the Three Tuns, running it until her death in 1719 (Leeds, No. 31). Perhaps, therefore, this item records the sale of her late husband's horse to the College, who at that time had their own stables.

	For wine from the Crown	20	:	16	:	6
	For wine from the Tunns	20	:	4	:	11
1712-13 :	For Punch for Sir Vincent Charnock and company	1	:	6	:	2
	For Wine from the Crown Tavern	5	:	9	:	4
	For wine from the Tunns	24	:	5	:	8
1713-14 :	Wine from ye Tunns	33	:	9	:	0
	Wine from ye Crown	2	:	18	:	0
1714-15 :	To ye Tunns for wine u.p.	26	:	19	:	0
	To ye Crown Tavern for ditto u.p.	4	:	7	:	6
1715-16 :	For wine from ye Tunns	51	:	16	:	4
1716-17 :	To Mrs Tomlinson for wine u.p.	25	:	17	:	5
	To Mr Freeman for wine when Coll. Codrington was in Oxford	4	:	17	:	0

The New Titling Book for this year includes a receipt from Mrs. Tomlinson :

	Received £35 (sic) 17 5 in full of a bill delivered in for wine to Michaelmas last recd by me : Ann Tomlinson [Signed]					
1717-18 :	For a pint of sack and roll for Mr Terry	-	:	1	:	7
	For a bottle of wine fetch'd from ye Crown Tavern u.p.	-	:	2	:	0
	For 3 bottles of wine from ye Crown Tavern u.p.	-	:	6	:	0

The phrase ' fetch'd from the Crown Tavern ' confirms once again the habit of carrying wine in bottles from the tavern to the College for a particular occasion (see also under 1760-61).

	Paid the tavern bill u.p.	40	:	17	:	1
1718-19 :	To the executors of Mrs Tomlinson for wine	26	:	18	:	4

Mrs. Ann Tomlinson died on 3 May 1719 (Leeds, No. 33).

	To Bradgate for wine	2	:	4	:	2
--	----------------------	---	---	---	---	---

There is a considerable amount of evidence to show that one Richard Bradgate was the successor of Mrs. Tomlinson at the Three Tuns. His name, though, is mentioned neither by E. T. Leeds in his article on Tavern Bottles²⁴ nor by H. E. Salter in his note on wine licenses,²⁵ although the latter gives a list of wine licenses in ' complete sequence from 1575 to 1750 '. (It is possible in this

²⁴ *Oxoniensia*, vi (1941), 44-55.

²⁵ H. E. Salter, *op. cit.*

JEREMY HASLAM

connection that Bradgate held a licence from the university rather than the city.) He is, however, mentioned in Hearne's diary²⁶ for 9 January 1729, part of the entry for which reads: 'Yesterday morning ... died suddenly Mr. Bradgate, keeper of the Three Tuns Tavern in High St., Oxford, a man of about 37 years of age, who hath had the tavern about 10 years.' This reference shows that he must have taken over the tavern some time in 1719, soon after widow Tomlinson's death. A new addition is thus made to the names of those known to have been licensees or sub-licensees of Oxford Taverns in the 18th century, although no seal or bottle bearing his initials has yet been found.

1719-20 :	To Bradgate for wine u.p.	24 :	9 :	8
1720-21 :	To Bradgate for wine	19 :	14 :	4
1721-22 :	To Bradgate for wine	33 :	3 :	0
1722-23 :	To Bradgate for wine	34 :	3 :	0
1723-24 :	To Bradgate	25 :	0 :	0
1724-25 :	To Mr Bradgate u.p.	22 :	6 :	0

The only record of his Christian name is given on a receipt, in the New Titling Book of this year, for £22 6s. *od.*, dated 12 November 1725, and signed 'Richd Bradgate'.

1725-26 :	To Bradgate u.p.	23 :	4 :	0
1726-27 :	To Bradgate u.p.	21 :	5 :	0
1727-28 :	To Bradgate for wine u.p.	19 :	15 :	0

1728-47 :

The Expense Rolls for these years record payments made merely 'for wine', the amounts varying between £13 and £29 annually.

In the New Titling Book for the year 1729-30 is the entry :

Paid Mrs Bradgate for wine	18 :	6 :	6
----------------------------	------	-----	---

Richard Bradgate died on 8 January 1729 (see above).²⁷ Hearne's diary goes on to say: 'He was by trade an apothecary, but leaving off that business, he took the said Tavern, having married one Mrs. Elizabeth Matthews, who is now about 30 years of age ...'. She 'is a fine, stately, beautifull, large young Woman, but very proud & empty of sense, as her husband also was, and a great Company Keeper'. Entries in the New Titling Books show that she took over the running of the tavern for the next twenty years.

The New Titling Books record other payments made for wine for College use :

1734-35 :	Nov. 6th, Paid Mrs Bradgate's Bill	19 :	15 :	11
1735-36 :	Nov. 16th, 1736, Pd Mrs Bradgate u.p.	19 :	12 :	6
1736-37 :	Nov. 14, 1737, Pd Mrs Bradgate for wine	24 :	13 :	0
1737-38 :	Pd Mrs Bradgate for wine	23 :	7 :	4½

²⁶ 'Hearne's Collections', x (1728-31), *O.H.S.*, LXVII (1915).

²⁷ His will was proved 15 January 1729.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

The New Titling Book for 1741-42 preserves a receipt from Mrs. Bradgate :

'Recd of the Revd Mr Shipman Bursar the
sum of twenty five pounds and nine
shillings in full for wine &c for the use of
All Souls College

Joseph Evans
for my mistress Eliz. Bradgate.

Evidence will be given in the next section to show that various Fellows of the College had private accounts with Mrs. Bradgate. This receipt shows, however, that the tavern was still, in 1742, supplying wine specifically for College use.

Other payments for wine from the New Titling Books are as follows :

1744-45 : Pd Mrs Bradgate	28 : 9 : 0
1745-46 : Pd Mrs Bradgate u.p.	20 : 5 : 0

This last item is in the handwriting of William Blackstone, Bursar of All Souls, 1746-47. As the next section will show, he was probably responsible for the institution of the College wine cellars shortly after this date.

1746-47 : No Entry	
1747-48 : Nov. 2 [1747] Pd for 18 Bottles of wine for ye Clerks Choristers and servants	1 : 7 : 0
Oct. 21 [1748] Pd Mr Richard Bradgate's Bill	26 : 10 : 0

Since Richard Bradgate, husband of Elizabeth, died in 1729, this item could only refer to one of his children. The entry in Hearne's diary, quoted above, ends with the statement that 'she [Elizabeth] hath had a child every year since she married Bradgate [i.e. 9 children], and there are four of them now living'. *Jackson's Oxford Journal*²⁸ of 1754 mentions 'Rich. Bradgate, attorney'; in 1755, 'Rich. Bradgate, Clerk to the Trustees'; in 1764, 'Rich. Bradgate, attorney, died; coroner and solicitor for Oxford city'.²⁹ It is not certain whether Elizabeth Bradgate had died: she is last recorded as being paid for a private account on 12 July 1748.

1748-49 : Pd Richd Bradgate	24 : 12 : 6
1749-50 : Jan 22 [1750] Mr Richd Bradgate's Bill	5 : 11 : 6

This is the last time that Bradgate, or any tavern keeper or tavern, is mentioned in the All Souls accounts. By this time the College's own wine cellar had become established (as will be shown in the next section), and there was therefore no further need for wine to be supplied to the College by retail from an

²⁸ These entries are taken from Eileen C. Davies, *Jackson's Oxford Journal, Synopsis and Index 1753-1783*, Bodleian Library, 1967.

²⁹ E. C. Davies (*ibid.*) indexes Richard Bradgate under 'Innkeepers', but none of the entries listed by her refer to him in this capacity.

JEREMY HASLAM

external source. The Bursars' accounts still show payments made 'for wine' as yearly items of expenditure; internal evidence shows, however, that these represent payments to the College Wine Account or 'Wine Box', rather than to an external retailer, for the wine which the College still provided for its guests and for Fellows at 'Extraordinaries' and 'Extraneis'. The first laying down of a stock of wine for College use at the end of 1749, demonstrated below, almost exactly coincides with the cessation of payments made for wine brought from the tavern to the College.

Out of the eighteen vintners or their assignees given by E. T. Leeds as being in occupation of Oxford taverns from 1660 to 1740, the items above mention by name all except six, in every case providing added documentary confirmation of their dates. A bottle sealed with the initials of George and Joan Brown (who occupied the Three Tuns from 1688 to 1693) which was found in excavations in the College in 1896 (PL. VI) shows that they too supplied wine to the College during this period. Thus every tavern-keeper in occupation of the Three Tuns in the century after 1650 can be shown to have supplied wine to All Souls, and the amounts paid to this tavern throughout this period show that it was the College's chief supplier from 1655 (and the sole supplier from 1719) until the last tavern bill was paid in 1750.

These items also point to the conclusion that it was the general practice, at least in the 17th and early 18th centuries, for the vintners to send wine out to the Colleges in their own sealed bottles, a practice which was certainly not peculiar to All Souls. The wide dispersal all over Oxford of bottles and seals bearing names of taverns, noted by E. T. Leeds,³⁰ would seem to indicate that this practice was universal, and so it remains to be determined whether the Account books of other Colleges can provide similar documentary evidence.

There is a further aspect of the use of the taverns by the College, which is shown by other entries in the New Titling Books up to 1750. The items previously quoted have been for payments for wine solely for College use, 'fetched' or 'served in' from the taverns and consumed both in Common Room and in Hall on special occasions. There are frequent records in the College accounts, however, of payments of large sums of money to Mrs. Bradgate by the Bursars, which are not included in the Bursars' 'Expense Accounts' either in the New Titling Books or the Expense Rolls. These bills are paid to her through their 'Banking Shop', 'Messrs. Child and Backwell at Temple Bar',³¹ whose accounts appear in the New Titling Books from 1731 onwards. It seems to have been

³⁰ E. T. Leeds, *op. cit.*, 54.

³¹ This bank, now taken over by Glyn, Mills & Co. (who occupy the same premises at 1 Fleet Street) was one of the leading banks in the 17th and 18th centuries. See F. G. Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers*, 2nd edn. (1890), 30-7.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

the custom for the tavern bills of each Fellow—i.e. his debts for wine consumed on the tavern premises before the institution of the College cellars—to have been paid by the Bursars through 'Child the Banking Shop', the amounts being deducted from those emoluments due to him for his Fellowship. This conclusion is borne out by the preservation in the Borrowing Books³² of a number of notes addressed to the Bursar by various Fellows, requesting him to charge to their accounts the quite sizeable bills which they had run up at the tavern. Five of these have survived, one from 1731 and four from the years 1745 to 1747, and read as follows :

Jan 16, 1731

Be pleas'd to pay to Mrs. Bradgate or order ten pounds ten shillings and place it to ye acct. of Yrs J. Taylor

Jan 20 1730/1 : Recd this bill by Eliz. Bradgate [Signed]

Sept 25 1745

Pray pay to Mrs. Eliz. Bradgate ye sum of eleven pds seven shillings and ten pence and place to ye account of Ben Buckler.

[Signed on the back : Eliz. Bradgate]

Nov 12 1746

To the Revd Mr Sandford Bursar of All Souls

Dear Sir : I shall be obliged to you if you will pay Mrs. Bradgate ye sum of seven pounds ten shillings and sixpence out of ye money due to me for my Fellowship.

I am Sir yr obliged humble servant J. Nourse

On the back a note :

1746 Nov 14 : Recd by the hands of the Revd Mr Sandford the full contents and all Demands.

p. Jos. Evans for my mistress Eliz. Bradgate.

Feb 14th, 1747

Please to pay Mrs. Eliz. Bradgate the sum of ten guineas when it becomes due and place to ye account of

Your humble servant Tho. Bisse.

June 22 1747

To the Bursar of All Souls College Oxford. Sr Please to pay to Mrs. Eliz. Bradgate or Order the sum of twenty pounds for which I promise to be accountable.

I am your humble servant Thos. Bathurst (vice-custos)

[Signed on the back : Eliz. Bradgate.]

Various other sums paid to Mrs. Bradgate each year, and representing (as indicated above) payments made to her by the Bursars on behalf of particular Fellows, have been preserved by their inclusion in Child's accounts in the New Titling Books. This information not only gives interesting documentary

³² The Borrowing Books were kept at the back of the New Titling Books, and contain the records of the debts of each of the Fellows of the College.

JEREMY HASLAM

evidence of the use of the taverns by members of the College at this period, but is also of considerable interest in establishing the date of institution of the College cellars. The total amounts paid to Mrs. Bradgate are therefore as follows :

	£	s.	d.	No. of bills
1731-32	214	7	0	5
1732-33	Child's account missing			
1733-34	143	15	8	5
1734-35	362	0	0	9
1735-36	260	13	0	7
1736-37	363	14	0	13
1737-38	193	0	0	6
1738-39	201	0	0	10
1739-40	134	3	6	4
1740-41	204	13	6	7
1741-42	102	10	0	3
1742-43	281	15	0	10
1743-44	114	0	0	4
1744-45	167	12	0	7
1745-46	157	17	0	5
1746-47	20	0	0	1
1747-48	40	0	0	2
1748-49	20	0	0	1 bill, to Richard Bradgate

It appears therefore that up to the end of 1746, quite large sums were still being paid to Mrs. Bradgate. From about the beginning of 1747, however, payments to her appear to have suffered a radical attenuation. As will be demonstrated in the next section, this falling off in patronage of the tavern by members of the College coincides exactly with the first wholesale purchases by the College of wine from an outside Wine-merchant, the subsequent development of their cellars thus bringing about the transference of the centre of social life from the Three Tuns to the College Common Room. For the wine taverns, according to H. E. Salter,³³ had at one time been 'the Common Rooms of the University, where the Masters, Batchelors and Undergraduates, each in a special room,³⁴ drank their wine in the evenings'. These immense bills paid to Mrs. Bradgate provide therefore striking documentary evidence for the use of the taverns as 'Wine Restaurants', as well as of the fact that, up to the middle of the 18th century, the taverns must have figured quite considerably in the social life of the University in their function of providing venues for a large

³³ H. E. Salter, *op. cit.*, 348.

³⁴ A revealing picture of the inside of a 17th-century tavern is given in a unique document concerning the King's Head Tavern in Leadenhall Street, London (in K. Rogers, 'The King's Head Tavern, Leadenhall St.', *London Topographical Record*, xiv (1928), 36-48). In 1627 this tavern is shown, in an inventory or 'schedule' of each separate room, to have consisted of a large number of small rooms with doors, each furnished with settles and tables.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

number of University clubs and societies in existence at that time. These bills provide, furthermore, adequate justification for the satirical comment on the Fellows of All Souls by the *Terrae Filius* in 1733 :³⁵ ' I would next willingly pay a visit to their College, if I could find it out ; it used to stand on the right hand above Queens', but if we may judge from the resort of its members, we should judge it to be translated over the way, and that the Three Tuns Tavern was All Souls College ; did not the effigies of the good Archbishop over the door convince us to the contrary'.

SECTION 2 : THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CELLARS

From various account books of the 18th century in the archives of All Souls, it is possible to trace the course of development of the College wine cellars from the first wholesale purchase of wine. Almost every item used in the cellars seems to have been recorded in remarkable detail, although they appear scattered through a number of different sections in several of the account books.³⁶ The Wine Cash Books³⁷ provide detailed records of the internal economy of the wine cellars from 1750 onwards ; together with the New Titling Books, which record payments for various items for the cellars from 1747, these can be made to give a very complete picture of the institution and development of what must have been one of the earliest and largest of private cellars. By establishing the date of their institution in this way, it will clearly be possible to determine the earliest date at which the sealed bottles could have been used by the College.

Although the evidence of the previous section shows that the Three Tuns tavern enjoyed considerable patronage from the Fellows of All Souls until about 1747, there are two entries before this date which record the payment by the Bursars of bills to a Mr. Gwyn Goldstone, who in the front of the Wine Books of 1750 is described as a ' Wine Merchant in Howard Street near ye Strand London '. In Child's account he is recorded as having been paid £12 7s. 0d. on 15 February 1732, and £50 on 10 August 1737, which are the first records of the wholesale purchase of wine by the College. Since, however, no other payments were made to him until 1747, it cannot be said that the College was establishing its own cellar at this time. The account books give no indication as to whether the wine was for College consumption, or for the use of a particular Fellow.

The next payments for wine are recorded in 1747. From the beginning

³⁵ Quoted in C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the 18th Century* (1874), 150-1.

³⁶ William Blackstone (op. cit., 4), observes that ' The method of keeping our accounts is a very particular and exact one ; and is, of consequence, rather more minute and tedious in some instances than could be wished '. (But so much more fruitful for the researcher !)

³⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. All Souls College, c. 330-334.

JEREMY HASLAM

of this year there are, however, not only records of frequent payments being made to Gwyn Goldstone through Child's Bank, but also records in the Borrowing Books of the debiting of various sums, in payment for wine, to the accounts of some of the Fellows. It appears from the dates of these transactions that the various quantities of wine bought at different times from Goldstone were divided up into portions which were shared between a small number of Fellows, who were of course accountable to the Bursars (who bought the wine) for the value of the share received. The first of these transactions was made on 2 February 1747; six Fellows are recorded, in the Borrowing Book of that year, as being debited with a total of £35 'for wine'.³⁸ There is no record, though, of Gwyn Goldstone being paid this amount. On 9 April, however, he was paid £38 3s. 6d. through Child's Bank for wine which is divided up between six Fellows, one only of whom had had a share on 2 February.³⁹ Again on 18 April 1747, Goldstone is paid £8 10s. 0d. although in June of this year Messrs. Bisse and Bathurst paid £20 between them to the Three Tuns, showing that up to this time they at least were still using the tavern. On 22 December Goldstone was paid £20 6s. 0d. for wine which on 23 December was divided up equally between four Fellows;⁴⁰ and on 29 December he was paid £24 10s. 0d. by the Bursars of 1747-48 who 'allowed for a mistake in his account sent to the last Bursars'. In the year 1747 therefore, the total amount spent on wine was £126 13s. 6d., a sum approximately equal to those amounts paid in previous years to the Three Tuns tavern (see above).

In 1748 and 1749 there seem to be no records in Child's account of payments being made to Gwyn Goldstone. However, more transactions involving the division of lots of wine between groups of Fellows are recorded under their names in the Borrowing Books of these years, indicating that wine (as well as cyder) was being supplied to the College. In March 1748 a portion of wine was divided up between Messrs. Tyndal (£1 16s. 0d.), Blackstone (£3 5s. 6d.) and Noel (£5 19s. 0d.); part of this transaction is also recorded on the back of a small slip of paper, without a date, stuck into the front of the Borrowing Book of 1747-48. Written by William Blackstone (Bursar with Bingham in 1747) it reads:

³⁸ Musgrove (vice custos) £10, and Messrs. Sanford, Bingham (Bursar), White, Foley and Rainsforth, £5 each.

³⁹ Tyndal, £3 8s. 0d.; Shipman, £5 1s. 6d., 'for wine, G.B.' (entered by George Bingham, Bursar); Bingham, £12 15s. 0d.; Graves, £3 8s. 0d.; Coopey, £5 1s. 6d.; Lockwood, £5 1s. 6d. This totals £34 15s. 6d., which with an unaccounted portion worth £3 8s. 0d., the same as two of the others, equals the sum of £38 3s. 6d. paid to Goldstone. Later entries in the account books show that this was the approximate price of 1 Pipe of Port. As will be shown below (p. 73), it is significant that G. Bingham, Bursar in 1747 with Blackstone, took the lion's share of this Pipe, as well as a portion of the last.

⁴⁰ Taylor, Ernle, Musgrave and Brereton.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

Mem. in Goldstone per Bingham

	£	s.	d.
Tyndal 24 bott :	1	16	0
Blackstone 44 bott :	3	5	6
	5	1	6

On the obverse is the record, also in Blackstone's hand, of the cost of the division of a Hogshead of wine :

	£	s.	d.
Bennett's Wine } Prime Cost	20	12	0
Hhd } Carriage		19	0
		7	0
Total	21	18	0
Foley $\frac{1}{2}$ [this Bill]	10	19	0
Coopey $\frac{1}{4}$ [,,]	5	9	6
Tyndal 36 Bott £3. 3. 6. }	5	9	6
Blackstone 26 ,, £2. 6. 0. }			
	21	18	0

The appropriate amounts are charged to each of the Fellow's name in the Borrowing Book of 1747-48, the entries showing that this transaction also took place in March 1748.

This is the first mention of the division of lots of wine in bottles, and these bills are in fact the first references in the accounts to any bottles other than the tavern bottles mentioned in the last section. The inclusion of an item for corks in this bill, and the division of wine by the number of bottles, would seem to suggest that the hogshead of wine was bottled on the College premises. It is also difficult to see how the previously quoted divisions of quantities of wine into measurable portions could have been accomplished without the use of bottles. A further transaction, however, recorded on the same slip of paper, shows that by July 1748, bottling was an established procedure. This records :

27^s 6^d pd to Tom Haskyns for corking 2 Hogsheads of Cyder.

[signed] Thos. Haskyns.

This amount of cyder is divided up and charged on 23 July (in the same hand as this note) to six Fellows.⁴¹

Whether the bottles used for these operations were sealed or unsealed is of course impossible to tell. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that since

⁴¹ Ernle, Buckler, Coopey, Blackstone, Shuckburgh and Adams. The total cost, £11 4s. 3½d., is a similar sum to that paid for cider the previous year.

JEREMY HASLAM

the cellars had not yet been developed sufficiently to warrant the acquisition of sealed bottles by the College (economical no doubt in large numbers only), unsealed bottles would possibly have been either borrowed from the taverns, or else, as is more likely, purchased from a glassware dealer in Oxford. It seems unlikely though that the 500 bottles which would be necessary to contain only one pipe of port would have been obtained, for College use, from the taverns, even though there are no records of the purchase of bottles until 1750.⁴² That the bottles used for these operations would have been unsealed is suggested not only by the fact that no sealed Oxford tavern bottle has been discovered which can be dated later than 1715,⁴³ and not only by the fact that there are no bottles sealed with the college name which can be dated as early as 1747 or 1748, but also by the fact that a number of unsealed bottles of this decade have been found in excavations in the College itself. Furthermore, these divisions of Pipes or Hogsheads of wine or cyder seem to have been purely private arrangements between a group of Fellows and the Bursar, who bought the wine on their behalf and for their use alone. For the Three Tuns was still being paid, up to 22 January 1750, for wine consumed by the College and its guests in Hall. There is as yet no evidence, before the end of 1749, to suggest that the College was building up a stock of wine to take the place of the wine bought by retail from the tavern.

After the division of the two hogsheads of cyder on 23 July 1748 there are no records in either the Borrowing Books or the New Titling Books to indicate that further quantities of wine were brought or split up, until December 1749. On 26 December of this year Gwyn Goldstone was paid £50 for wine. Possibly part of this was split up between Messrs. Tyndal, Ernle, Ottley, Coopey, Tracy and Blackstone, the amount totalling £29 7s. od., and (possibly) another part on 5 January 1750 to Messrs. Jacob, Cooper and Adams, the amounts totalling £4 14s. od. This is the last record of a large measure of wine being divided more or less equally between a group of Fellows.

Before this, however, there are items in the accounts which suggest that the College seems first to have taken the (somewhat belated) step of establishing its own wine cellar in the Summer of 1749. Before 1749 the amounts entered in the 'Wine' section of the New Titling Books (i.e. College expenditure for wine) had been merely a yearly sum paid for wine brought from the Three Tuns tavern. From 17 October of this year, however, numerous items suddenly appear in this section which record payment made not only for single bottles of wine supplied to visitors and guests, but also for amounts spent on those other

⁴² The earliest item recording the purchase of bottles in December 1750 (see below) could well refer to bottles acquired before this date. Any account books in which these transactions might have been recorded have been lost, and with them any records of the purchase of bottles.

⁴³ From the Three Tuns (Leeds, No. 34).

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

occasions for which wine was still provided at College expense, and which up till this time had been supplied by the tavern.

			£	s.	d.
1749 :	Oct. 17	For 2 tenants a pint of wine	0	0	9
	26	The Revd. Mr. Woodward 3 pints wine	0	2	3
Nov.	3	Mr. Graves 1 bottle Port		1	6
	4	For Tenants 3 pts.		2	3
		5 doz. 5 bott Port wine for All Souls Day	4	17	6
Dec.	7	3 bottles Tenant & Venison		4	9
	21	2 bottles Tenant		3	2
			5	13	8
Spent from Michmas :			£	s.	d.
1749 :	Dec 25	For 9 bottles of wine	5	13	8
1750 :	Jan 14	For 3 doz. of wine		14	3
	Jan 22	Mr Richd Bradgate's Bill	2	17	0
	Feb. 1	For 2 bottles Mr Slade in ye Hall	5	11	6
	18	For 3 bottles Mr Sheeler in ye Hall		3	2
		4 bottles 1 pint of Rum &c for Will Ahston in ye Common Room		4	6
				10	6
Apr	23	For 4 bott. wine Mr Leigh in ye Hall		6	0
April	28	1 pint to Mr Weston a tenant in ye Bursary		0	9
Oct	5	15 gall of wine—Bursary	4	10	0
NB.	24	galls to be charged next year			
			20	11	4
			£	s.	d.
1750 :	Oct. 8	Mr Phillips Hall and Com. Room 8 bott		12	0
	10	do. 3 bott		4	6
		For wine for All Souls' Day			
		9 galls Lisbon 1 Gall Rhenish	4	13	6
		1 Gall Palm Sack bott & hamper			
		3 Qts of Tent			
		24 galls Port for College Stock	7	6	0
		Mr St. Lo in ye Hall 3 bott		4	6
Nov	5	For 17 galls 1 bott on All Souls Day	5	3	6
Dec	19	For 21 galls of Port for College Stock	6	6	0
			24	8	0
Less this sum received for wine			1	18	4
			22	9	8

JEREMY HASLAM

			£	s.	d.
1751 :	Jan	16	Pd ye Wine Account for 27 bottles		
			wine	2	0 : 6
			do for 4 bottles Rum		10 : 0
			College Stock spent, u.p. by Bursars		
			Man's Acct	12	2 : 3
			Deduct for Lisbon sold ye College	1	9 : 3
July	15		Paid ye Wine acct for 4 gallons	1	3 : 4
			Paid Mrs. Briggs for wine in ye Hall		
			& Common Room for Messrs		
			St. Lo & Bingham &c on 31 May		
			last	1	1 : 0
Sept	29		Pd ye Wine Acct for ye remainder of		
			wine spent this year 4 botts.		6 : 0
				18	12 : 4

It thus appears that by October 1749 the College had acquired facilities to dispense wine—in bottles—from its own cellars. The first record of Port being bottled for College use appears in the first Wine Account Book (starting 26 December 1750) and reads : 'Jan 15th 1751. Now in drinking . . . in cellar No. 8, Port bottled at Michaelmas 1749—62 doz. 05 bott.', and it is perhaps this date which marks the actual 'institution' of the College cellars.⁴⁴ A stock of College wine could now supply those internal requirements which had hitherto been met, as the occasion demanded, by wine brought over from the Three Tuns, and from other Oxford taverns before 1718. It seems reasonable to conclude therefore that it is this date—Michaelmas 1749—which marks the occasion of the first use by the College of bottles sealed with its own name. For there is no reason to suppose that the purely private arrangements between a group of a few Fellows and the Bursars in dividing up large lots of wine would have necessitated the acquisition by the latter of bottles especially sealed, at greater expense, with the College name or initials.

From the very first, the wine cellars seem to have been organized on the basis of the establishment of a separate account in the College economy. It was initiated, and run, as an autonomous and deliberately viable undertaking, the accounts of which were kept (it seems by one or other of the Bursars or their deputies) in a separate book (The Wine Account Book or, later, the Cellar Book),⁴⁵ and was referred to as the Wine Account or 'Wine Box'. It supplied the College with bottles of wine for 'Extraordinaries' and 'Extraneis', for

⁴⁴ As is also suggested by the heading 'spent from Michmas' at the start of the second page of accounts, above, on 25 December 1749.

⁴⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. D.D. All Souls College, c. 330-334. The Wine Account Books were kept up from 1750 to 1790.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

which wine had been supplied before 1749 by the taverns, and the costs of this were, as before, charged as College expenses. It was the responsibility of the Wine Box to order wine from Gwyn Goldstone in London, buy bottles (see below), and pay for the corking and bottling of the wine, creating thereby a stock of bottled Port from which the College replenished its own stock, and from which individual Fellows bought wine by the bottle or by the gallon (or in some cases by the Pipe).⁴⁶

The accounts not only make it clear that the first purchase of a large portion of wine, and its division in February 1747 amongst a group of Fellows, coincides with the radical drop in payments made for wine consumed at the tavern, but also show that the institution of the College wine stock at Michaelmas 1749 almost exactly coincides with the cessation of payments made to the tavern for wine brought to the College. The 'Wine Box' therefore both took over the function of the tavern in supplying wine to the College (the College thereby substituting a wholesale for a retail source), and superseded the practice of the distribution of portions of large quantities of wine amongst groups of Fellows, as had been the custom since 1747.

The meticulous accounts of the 'Wine Box', kept in the Wine Accounts Books, not only record in detail the amount of wine 'delivered up' from the cellars, but also contain detailed (though far from clear) records of the bottling, binning and consumption of wine as it was brought to the College from London. The Wine Cash Books, in the back of the Account Books, record both the monies received in payment for wine supplied to Fellows by the Butler, and expenses incurred by the cellars for the purchase of wine and bottles (as well as for work done in the cellars and for sundry other items), and from these emerges a detailed picture of the internal economy of the cellars from 1750 onwards. The first Wine Account and Cash Book from Michaelmas 1749 to December 1750 is unfortunately missing, as is shown by the first entry in the latter: 'Dec. 28, 1750—Brought over from ye old Book £243. 12s. 6d. [received]'. By the end of 1750 the cellar was already well established. On 28 December of that year the 'Wine Box' had 299 dozen and 5 bottles of Port, as well as 482 pints, remaining in stock, and was already owing Gwyn Goldstone the sum of £474 13s. 11d.⁴⁷ For the year December 1749–December 1750 the College as a whole consumed 250 dozen, 3 bottles 1 pint, and 289 dozen and 11 bottles between December 1750 and December 1751.

The first Wine Account Book (1750–60) opens with various careful memoranda, all in the precise hand of William Blackstone, written out for the

⁴⁶ A note giving a list of 'Cellars under ye Library' is stuck into the front of the first Wine Account Book, starting on 28 December 1750. Out of 21 cellars, 8 were for College Stock, and the rest for private use.

⁴⁷ Equivalent, at £36 per Pipe, to about 15 Pipes of Port delivered to the College.

JEREMY HASLAM

benefit of future Bursars. These not only give a good idea of the thoroughness with which the whole system was organized, but also provide an interesting picture of one aspect of the social life of the College in the 18th century. At the start is a note recording :

	£	s.	d.
Merchant	36	4	0
Corks, 4½ gross		18	6
Carriage		8	6
Servant		10	0
	39[sic]01	:	00

Two Pipes of wine will about fill each Cellar. It is therefore proper about ye beginning of every March and September to write to ye Merchant to send down, when he judges ye weather favourable, as many Pipes as will fill ye Cellars then empty, or soon like to be so.

The establishment of the cellars must have been a considerable feat of organization, and did not quite work out as had been planned. After the first five pages of accounts (all of which are in Blackstone's hand) there is a note, dated 23 March 1750 (i.e. 1751) to the effect that :

It is not the purpose of this discussion to record the details of the day to day runnings of the cellars, the changes in the prices of the various wines, or the names of the London suppliers. One point may be brought out, however, which relates to the use of the bottles themselves. In the mid-18th century, there seemed to have been no desire to lay down Port to mature for any length of time. For Blackstone directs, in the Cellar Book of 1750, that

Since the College consumed between 250 and 300 dozen bottles each year (see above), this meant that there should have been no Port more than eighteen

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

months old in the cellars. If left longer than this it was liable to become 'decay'd and unsound'.⁴⁸ The bottles were thus in constant use, and as the accounts show, frequently broken.

SECTION 3 : ORIGIN OF THE SEALED BOTTLES

Many of the entries in the Wine Cash Books, which record the amounts paid for the various items used in the cellars, are of great interest in establishing the origin and date of the sealed bottles. It has long been assumed that the various College bottles were originally the possession of the tavern keepers—an assumption which bears the implication that they sent their own wine in these bottles to the Colleges as had been their practice, it has been shown above, since the mid-17th century. Thus Sheelah Ruggles-Brise states⁴⁹ that 'It is believed that these bottles were the property of the taverners or wine-merchants, and not of the colleges, as the buttery accounts of the latter have been searched as far back as 1700 and no charges for bottles have been found'.

This is in itself a quite improbable hypothesis. Quite apart from the fact that the buttery accounts are not the place to look for charges for anything bought by the Colleges,⁵⁰ it is difficult to see why either the taverns or the wine-merchants should have had their own bottles stamped with a particular College's seal when they would no doubt have wanted to reuse the bottles to supply other customers⁵¹—and especially since the taverners' ownership of their bottles had hitherto been indicated with seals bearing their own initials. Moreover, H. E. Salter concludes (from evidence in the City Lease books relating to the non-payment of wine licences) that 'the wine taverns had died by 1751'.⁵² None of the bottles sealed with College names, except for one represented by a seal of Exeter College dated 1744,⁵³ can be dated before the 1750's. The possibility, therefore, that the taverns were supplying bottles to Colleges after the mid-18th century becomes somewhat difficult to entertain.

⁴⁸ On 24 December 1754, one cellar, filled in 1752, contained 29 dozen bottles of 'Returned Wine, to be disposed of at any price', which on 10 January was 'brought into ye Common Room so bad that it was given away'.

⁴⁹ Sheelah Ruggles-Brise, *op. cit.*, 35.

⁵⁰ W. Blackstone, *op. cit.*, 4-5, states that 'The Manciple keeps the Buttery-Book; in which opposite to the names of every Member of the College his Battels are minutely entered'. In it 'are also weekly kept the Accounts of the several College Servants, who furnish provisions and Necessaries, & the sums due to them for those several articles [which] are allowed upon their respective names'. Doubtless the Buttery Books of other Colleges served similar functions.

⁵¹ The assumption of Sheelah Ruggles-Brise was perhaps that wine for the use of a particular College was laid down by the tavern-keeper on his own premises to meet specific orders from the Colleges—in bottles sealed, for identification, with the particular College's initials. However, the cellars of All Souls in particular were vastly more spacious (not to say conveniently situated) than the taverns' cellars could possibly have been.

⁵² H. E. Salter, *op. cit.*, 348.

⁵³ *AM.* 1969, 192.

JEREMY HASLAM

The accounts of All Souls provide abundant evidence, however, to show that this College's bottles were in fact College property, bought by the College for its own internal use. A large number of entries from 1750 onwards in the Wine Cash Books relate specifically both to the buying of bottles and to payment for their carriage, and the origin of at least the earlier bottles is given in a memorandum in the front of the first Wine Account Book of 1750, which reads:

Direct to Mrs. Batchelor Glass Maker at Stourbridge, Worcestershire.⁵⁴ As well as being conclusive proof that the College acquired its own bottles, this is also I believe the first reference so far discovered not only to the place of manufacture, but also to the name of the maker, of any known British sealed bottle. The earliest of the All Souls bottles (see below) are therefore the only sealed bottles whose provenance can be established by documentary, rather than by archaeological, evidence (apart from those early 19th-century bottles moulded with the various forms of the name of the firm of Ricketts of Bristol).

The entries in the Wine Cash Books, and after 1771 in the New Titling Books, relating to the buying of bottles are as follows:

			£	s.	d.
1750	28 Dec.	To Batchelor for Bottles	35	: 2	: 1
1751	May 16	Paid carriage of Bottles	6	: 4	: 4
	Oct. 28	Paid Mrs. Batchelor for Bottles	56	: 17	: 0
1760	June 4	Paid for ye Carriage of 171 Dozen of Bottles as pr. recpt.	6	: 0	: 0
	Dec 8	Pd Mrs Batchelor by Bill on Child to Thomas Brettell as pr recpt.	30	: 0	: 0
1761	July 27	Paid Edwd Compson for ye Carriage of 60 Doz. of Quart Bottles & 14 Decanters as pr recpt.	1	: 12	: 6
1763	June 14	Paid for Bottles	8	: 13	: 0
1768	Dec 17	Strange for Bottles	23	: 17	: 6
1770	April 18	Strange for 101 Doz. & 6 quart Bottles delivd 26 July 1769	14	: 7	: 7
1772	Oct 6	Strange for Bottles	22	: 0	: 6
1776	July	Strange for Bottles	22	: 9	: 6
1788	May 16	Paid Heatley for Bottles	22	: 4	: 6
1789	May 30	Turner for Bottles	43	: 4	: 0
1794	Oct 10	Carriage of Bottles	2	: 7	: 5
	Oct 18	Pd for Black Bottles	19	: 12	: 9
1800	July 28	Pd Mrs. Turner for Bottles	26	: 4	: 10½
	Oct 8	Pd Mrs. Turner for Bottles	25	: 13	: 0
		Pd Portorage of new Bottles	0	: 5	: 0
1806	March 13	Bottles	25	: 4	: 0

⁵⁴ See D. R. Guttery, *From Broad-glass to Cut Crystal* (1956), for a history of the Stourbridge Glass Industry. The Batchelor family took over the Dennis Glasshouse at Stourbridge in 1691, when one Thomas Batchelor started making bottles there (pp. 36-7). D. E. Guttery gives no genealogy of the family, and only scattered references to its members. However, the 'Mrs. Batchelor' of these accounts is, it seems, later than any member of the family recorded by him.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

It appears from the above items that within just over two years of the institution of the cellar the College had acquired a sufficient quantity of bottles to last it for the next nine years, until the next recorded delivery in 1760. There is another entry for the purchase of bottles by the College in 1751, recorded in the New Titling Book and the Expense Roll for that year, which records :

	£	s.	d.
June 1750 13 Dozen bottles for the Bursary :	1	6	0

This would not, however, be a separate purchase from Stourbridge, but rather the acquisition by the Bursary of bottles from the 'Wine Box' for the purpose of supplying wine for 'Extraordinaries' and 'Extraneis', the costs of which were still 'defrayed at the expense of the College'. Assuming that these 13 dozen bottles were supplied to the Bursary at cost price, the College was buying bottles from Stourbridge at 2s. per dozen; the total of £91 19s. 1d. paid to Mrs. Batchelor by 1751 would represent, therefore, about 920 Dozen bottles. A note in the front of the second Wine Cash Book (1760-70) records :

NB. There are 587 Dozen of Bottles belonging to ye College, which are a sufficient stock for ye use of the same.

which shows that the number of bottles in the cellars had decreased by about 36 dozen per year.⁵⁵ Although this decrease could be accounted for by the breakage of bottles in the cellars, another note tells its own tale :

June 16, 1761. It was then agreed by ye Society that no Wine shall be carried out of All Souls College in ye College Bottles upon any Account whatsoever, & that none but Members of ye Same shall be allowed to purchase ye wine at any time.

The items above indicate that Mrs. Batchelor was supplying bottles to All Souls certainly until 1761, and possibly until 1763. (There seems to be no record of payment for the bottles for which carriage was paid on 27 July 1761.) Since the first item for payment for bottles, on 28 December 1750, has, it seems, been carried over from a previous Wine Account book which is now lost, it may well refer to bottles bought by the College on or just before the institution of its cellars at Michaelmas 1749—and indeed could include payment for bottles used since the beginning of 1747, when wine was first bought wholesale and divided up in the College.

By 1768, however, Mrs. Batchelor at Stourbridge had been superseded by a Mr. Strange, a china and glassware dealer in Oxford.⁵⁶ It is probable,

⁵⁵ The Wine Account Books show, however, that 'pint' bottles (or 'half' bottles) were in use from 1749 onwards. The total amount paid for bottles no doubt included the cost of these also; since they would have been cheaper than the 'quart' bottles, the total number bought could have been as much as 11 or 12 hundred dozen. Losses from the cellars may therefore have been as high as 50 or 60 dozen bottles a year: an average of about 2 a day.

⁵⁶ William Strange, junior, is mentioned several times in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*. See the index in E. C. Davies, *op. cit.*

JEREMY HASLAM

though of course not certain, that Strange himself ordered them from Stourbridge, the nearest glass-manufacturing town, as may have been the case with Messrs. Heatley and Turner—who were possibly glassware dealers as well.⁵⁷ After 1806 there are no more records of the purchase of bottles, for in April 1771 the accounts of the wine cellars were transferred to the New Titling Books, which do not appear to have survived after 1810.

There is another aspect of the use of the bottles which is brought out by entries in the Wine Account Books relation to the bottling and binning of wine as it was brought to the College in Pipes. These entries, which record the numbers of bottles put into the various cellars at different times, show a gradual decrease in cubic capacity of the bottles used in the cellars during the period up to 1790, when records cease. The first such entry, in May 1752, records '2 Pipes put into No. 12 cellar (Port) : 97 doz. 00 bott.' Succeeding entries, though far from clear, are sufficiently numerous to show that a single Pipe filled on the average between 48 and 49 dozen of the bottles bought up to 1751 and used until 1760. New sets of bottles were obtained in 1760, 1961 and 1963. An entry in 1764 shows that 2 Pipes filled 50 dozen, and 50 doz. 4 bottles, each, indicating a slight average decrease of the capacity of the newer bottles. The old bottles were still being used, for entries suggest that single Pipes filled 48 dozens as well as 50 dozens of bottles each. In 1770, the amounts put into three cellars are recorded as being : 50 doz. 11 bottles, 51 Doz. 2 bottles; 50 doz. 10 bottles; 51 doz. 4 bottles. By 1780, a single Pipe filled over 52 dozen of the newer bottles, although the oldest bottles were still being used up to about 1785; and by 1790 a Pipe filled 53 dozen.

Although it is impossible to apply any statistical analysis to these and other similar figures in the accounts, it is nevertheless possible to see a gradual decrease in the sizes of the bottles used by the College up to the beginning of the 19th century, a conclusion which is borne out by an examination of the bottles themselves (see part 2 of this paper).

From the beginning of the wine accounts, the hand of William Blackstone can be recognized on virtually every page. Most of the College histories mention the apparently long-standing tradition that it was he who 'founded' the College cellar. D. A. Lockmiller in his life of Blackstone⁵⁸ says that 'Backstone is credited with having founded the All Souls cellar, the first in any Oxford College. This made it unnecessary for the members of the Society to

⁵⁷ Although there is no mention of these in E. C. Davies, *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ D. A. Lockmiller, *Sir William Blackstone* (1938), 26 (note).

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

resort to the tavern'. And J. Wells states⁵⁹ that 'Blackstone seems to have been the first to introduce the system still prevailing in Oxford by which the fellows lay down wine for the use of themselves and their successors; previously they had to go to the tavern across the street and drink bad wine'. These statements are borne out, at least in part, by an examination of the accounts described above. Blackstone was elected a Bursar for the years 1747 and 1751 (effective from the middle or end of December of the previous year),⁶⁰ and it is perhaps significant that the beginning of the year of his first Bursarship saw the introduction (in February 1747) of the practice of buying wine wholesale from London. The accounts show, however, that it was his fellow Bursar, George Bingham, who divided up the wine and entered the debits in the Borrowing Book. He also took the lion's share of these divisions, while Blackstone himself apparently received no wine until 1748. The only evidence that Blackstone had anything to do with the wine accounts before 1749 was his writing out the statement of 'Bennett's Wine' (in March 1748), of which he took the smallest share. The Wine Account Book from Michaelmas 1749 until December 1750 has unfortunately been lost, but from this latter date, which is also the exact date of the beginning of his second period of Bursarship, his hand appears in almost every page of the accounts for the next ten years. However, the fact that he did have a hand in the wine accounts before this date makes it quite possible that it was he who not only had the idea of laying down wine in bottles which were sealed with the College name, but also took steps to organize the system on a sound practical and viable basis. It seems clear that the change to a new Wine Account Book (and no doubt the discarding of the old one) on his assumption of office in December 1750 is evidence not only of his complete control of the wine cellars not long after they were formed, but also of his thoroughly orderly and systematic methods.⁶¹ In March 1751 he re-organized the system, the accounts of which had become 'very much confused and mistaken, through ye inaccuracy of Servants', and he audited the Wine Cash Book and checked the Wine Account Book (as well as making frequent entries himself) for every year until 1755 (and occasionally until 1760).

It is thus indeed possible that he 'founded' the cellar in 1747, the year of his first Bursarship, and highly probable that it was he who first had the idea of laying down a stock of wine for internal use in 1749, soon before his second Bursarship in 1751—although it seems, from the evidence of the bottle-seal from Exeter College dated 1744, that he was not the first to do so. Indeed, the

⁵⁹ J. Wells, *Oxford and its Colleges*, 6th edn. (1904), 154.

⁶⁰ Hence the statement of Geoffrey Faber (op. cit., 24) that Blackstone 'was Bursar of Law in 1746 and again in 1750'.

⁶¹ Prof. E. F. Jacob (in *V.C.H., Oxon.*, III, 181) speaks of 'his orderly mind and inspired common sense'.

JEREMY HASLAM

very complexity of the accounts of the wine cellars, and the thoroughness with which they were kept, show that the cellars were organized from their inception by one to whom accounting and administrative matters came easily, and very probably, therefore, by the person who 'in one capacity or another, or to use his own words "as an Accomptant, an Assistant or an Auditor", . . . was much concerned with the Bursorial Business of the College during his residence in Oxford'.⁶²

THE COLLEGE CELLARS AND THE WINE TAVERNS

The foregoing analysis has shown that until the beginning of 1747, the Three Tuns tavern was not only being patronized by the Fellows of All Souls and used by them as a 'Wine Restaurant', but was also regularly supplying wine by retail for College use. However, in February of this year the Fellows obtained their supply through the College, buying shares of Pipes of wine delivered wholesale to the College from London. The College was still, however, obtaining wine from the tavern for its public entertainments until the institution of its own cellars on or immediately before Michaelmas 1749, soon after which payments to the tavern came to an end. But, as has been shown above, the tradition that All Souls was the first to take this step appears to be contradicted by the bottle-seal of Exeter College dated 1744. There are, furthermore, no College bottles extant which are dateable before 1760, and no dated seals other than that of Exeter College earlier than 1764 (All Souls); and the tradition which holds All Souls to have been the first to have had a cellar would not have grown up had not the idea been something of a novelty. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that the cellars of Exeter College were the first to be instituted, possibly in 1744,⁶³ those of All Souls being formed soon after.⁶⁴

This tentative conclusion bears upon the likely date of the demise of the wine taverns in Oxford. H. E. Salter states⁶⁵ that 'After 1731 the prosperity of the retail wine trade dwindled; in 1738, when it would have been natural to renew the licences by the payment of a fine, this step was not taken; and though the three wine licences were in force in 1748 and paid £10 apiece to the city, yet in 1751 nothing was received from this source, although the licences did not lapse until 1752. It seems, therefore, that the wine taverns had died by

⁶² W. R. Anson, in the preface to W. Blackstone, op. cit.

⁶³ This is of course merely a hypothesis, and can only be tested by an examination of the contemporary accounts of all the Colleges.

⁶⁴ It is suggested by D. Hinton (*Oxoniensia*, xxxii (1967), 11) that the College wine cellars were founded soon after the beginning of the 18th century. In the light of the evidence given above, I think this opinion can no longer be entertained.

⁶⁵ H. E. Salter, op. cit., 348.

OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

1751, and no subsequent licences were issued. There can be little doubt that this change was caused by the growth of Common Rooms in Colleges'. If the cellar of Exeter College was the first to have been started in 1744, there is little reason to hold the Colleges responsible for the supposed dwindling of the wine trade in 1731—which could have been caused, for instance, by a preference for the Coffee Houses as centres of social activity. The evidence above shows that the Three Tuns was being patronized by the Fellows of All Souls until 1747, which argues against a diminution in trade sufficiently large, before this time, for the taverner to consider it not worthwhile to renew his wine licence. However, the statement by Salter that 'The Three Tuns was pre-eminently a University tavern'⁶⁶ shows that its fortunes cannot be taken as indicative of those of others in Oxford, which may well have found their trade dwindling after 1730 for reasons unconnected with the development of the College cellars.⁶⁷

By the 1760's it is quite likely that other Colleges were following the examples of Exeter and All Souls. Probably a large number (and possibly all by the end of the century) had developed stocks of wine which were laid down in their own bottles (the majority of which would have been unsealed). The prohibition in 1760 on the taking of bottles out of All Souls, and the large loss of bottles from their cellars between 1750 and 1760, strongly suggest that there had been a steady exodus of filled bottles from the College in the 1750's. In view of this, it seems quite legitimate to surmise that it was the circulation around Oxford of these bottles—as well, possibly, as those of Exeter College—which stimulated other Colleges to acquire their own sealed bottles, not only as a means of identification, but also perhaps as a rather esoteric status symbol. However, the question whether the taverns 'died' because the Colleges were providing themselves with their own wine, or whether the Colleges were

⁶⁶ H. E. Salter, 'Surveys and Tokens', *O.H.S.*, LXXV (1920), 383.

⁶⁷ The fate of the Three Tuns after 1750 is uncertain. That it was still functioning as a tavern into the 1760's (possibly until Richard Bradgate's death in 1764) is suggested by a note in the *Register Book for Fines of Leases, &c* (1636-1810) of University College (Muniment Room, uncatalogued) which records: '1757 May 3rd Miss Freeman renewed her lease of Stanton Hall (the medieval name of the tavern building) for a fine of £50 besides sealings 14 years expired'. She was presumably the daughter of the Mrs. Freeman who had held the lease of the building in 1729, and who was the widow of John Freeman, vintner at the King's Head tavern until his death in 1724 (Leeds, No. 40). The actual leases with University College are signed by 'Anne Tomlinson widow' in 1715 (and by 'Margt Freeman' on the former's death in 1719), by 'Margaret Freeman of Oxford widow' in 1729, by 'Anne Freeman of Oxford Spinster' in 1743, and by the same in 1757. (Her mother was still holding a wine licence in 1748—Salter, *op. cit.*, 350). The lease of 1743 also mentions that 'Elizabeth Bradgate widow' had the tenancy of Staunton Hall. The fines for this lease were £61 in 1729, £70 in 1743 and £50 in 1757, showing its relative value at these dates, but a fine was not, it seems, paid to renew the lease in 1771, after 14 years had elapsed. The lease could either have been held for 40 years—its theoretical period of validity (H. E. Salter, 'Oxford City Properties', *O.H.S.*, LXXXIII (1926), p. VII)—or else, as seems more likely, the building taken back into College use until its demolition in 1841 or 1842 (see *V.C.H., Oxon.*, III, 80 and 81).

JEREMY HASLAM

forced to look to other sources in the 1760s for their wine supply because the taverns had ceased to exist, must still remain open.

TO BE CONCLUDED

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OXFORD TAVERNS AND THE CELLARS OF ALL SOULS

APPENDIX

The following table gives the names and dates of occupation of the tavern-keepers of the several taverns in Oxford during the period 1650-1750. The bulk of the material is taken from E. T. Leeds' paper,⁶⁸ where necessary corrected and added to by the evidence in the present paper; other sources are acknowledged in the footnotes.

THE CROWN Anne TURTON 1659-60 ⁶⁹ <hr/> William and Anne MORRELL 1660-79 <hr/> Mrs. Anne MORRELL 1679-96 <hr/> Joan TURTON 1696-1706 <hr/> Alexander and Kathleen RICHMOND 1706 ⁷⁰ -May 1731 ⁷¹ <hr/> Mr. DAWSON ⁷² May 1731-after 1748 <hr/> ?	THE THREE TUNS Humphrey BODICOTT 1639-60 <hr/> Mrs. Judith BODICOTT 1660-66 <hr/> Richard and Elizabeth PONT 1666-71 <hr/> Mrs. Elizabeth PONT 1671-December 1687 <hr/> George and Joan BROWN January 1688- January 1693 <hr/> William and Ann TAYLOR January 1693- May 1695 <hr/> Mrs. Ann TAYLOR May 1695-98 <hr/> Culpepper and Ann TOMLINSON 1698-January 1712 <hr/> Mrs. Ann TOMLINSON January 1712- May 1719 <hr/> Richard and Elizabeth BRADGATE May 1719- January 1729 <hr/> Mrs. Elizabeth BRADGATE January 1729-48 <hr/> Richard BRADGATE Jr. 1748-?64	THE SALUTATION Thomas Wood 1647-63 (1647-51 : 3 Corn- market Street ; 1651- 63 : 104 High Street) <hr/> THE KING'S HEAD <hr/> Richard WALKER 1687-November 1704 (1687-96 : 24 and 25 Cornmarket Street ; 1696-1704 : 12 High Street) <hr/> John and Margaret FREEMAN ⁷³ November 1704- December 1724 <hr/> Mrs. Margaret FREEMAN December 1724-?48 <hr/> Miss Ann FREEMAN ?1748-?74	THE MERMAID <hr/> Anthony HALL Sen. 1660-May 1675 <hr/> Anthony HALL Jr. May 1675-91 <hr/> Daniel and Anne PRINCE 1691-96 <hr/> Richard and Elizabeth LYNES ⁷⁵ 1696-1709 (tavern demolished)
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⁶⁸ *Oxoniensia*, vi (1941), 44-55.

⁶⁹ H. E. Salter, 'Oxford City Properties', *O.H.S.*, LXXXIII, 350.

⁷⁰ E. T. Leeds, 'Glass Bottles of the Crown Tavern, Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xiv (1949), 87-9.

⁷¹ H. E. Salter, *op. cit.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Hypothetical only : suggested by her continuing to hold the lease of the Three Tuns in 1743 and from 1757 onwards, formerly held by Margaret her mother.

⁷⁵ D. A. Hinton, 'A Glass Bottle Seal from Oxford', *Oxoniensia*, xxxii (1967), 10-12.



PLATE VI

17th-CENTURY SEALED WINE BOTTLES FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS IN ALL SOULS IN 1896

- (a) Half-bottle, sealed REP (Three Tuns ; Leeds, No. 25).
- (b) Bottle, sealed GIB (Three Tuns ; Leeds, No. 29).
- (c) Half-bottle, sealed RW, 1693 (King's Head ; Leeds, No. 35).
- (d) Bottle, sealed with unidentified armorial seal, *c.* 1710.