WYCHWOODS HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE WYCHWOODS LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Number Two, 1986

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Introduction

The first journal of the Wychwoods Local History Society, published in May 1985, was well received and we are now planning to publish annually. This, the second issue, follows the pattern of the first in recording the results of further detailed research together with shorter items of local interest.

We hope in this way gradually to build up an overall account of our area through the centuries. Members have carried out two field walks which have yielded material from the Neolithic period onwards. Further walks are planned and the results will be published in due course. At the other end of the time scale The Wychwoods Album, published by the society in November last year, gives a comprehensive view of life in Shipton and Milton from 1856 to the 1930s by means of photographs and well-researched captions; and the history workshop under the direction of Kate Tiller has been bringing together studies on various aspects of the two villages in the nineteenth century.

Between these two extremes there is much work to be done but the Society flourishes, our meetings are well-attended, and the research and recording will continue.

Wychwoods History Number 1 has been reprinted after its early sell-out and is now available again, price £2.50 plus 40p to cover postage and packing, from the editor, Sue Richards, Foxholes House, Foscot, Oxford OX7 6RW.

Jack Howard-Drake
Chairman

We are very grateful to the Marc Fitch Fund for a generous grant towards the cost of publishing this edition of the Journal.

William Master
Vicar of Shipton under Wychwood

JACK HOWARD-DRAKE

In July 1590, William Master, vicar of Shipton under Wychwood, recorded in the parish register that he had buried his dearly beloved wife, Elizabeth. Less than a year later, on Shrove Monday 1591, William Master was himself buried at the age of 72 (1).

Master's will (2), written shortly after his wife's death, shows him to have been a man of substance with distinguished friends and relatives, some of whom were senior members of Oxford colleges. Someone, it seemed, about whom more might be found without much difficulty.

In the event, the search for William Master, (the name is variously spelt Master(s), Maister(s), Mayster(s) etc.), is a story of mistaken identity and wrong references. This essay is an attempt to put the record straight and to say something about the man who was responsible for the spiritual welfare of the parish of Shipton for nearly thirty years at the end of the sixteenth century.

The confusion starts with the standard references to members of Oxford and Cambridge Universities (3). They identify the William Master who became vicar of Shipton in 1564 as a man of that name who was a prominent churchman at the time, being, among other things, Public Orator in the University of Cambridge and Vicar-General and Official Principal of the Diocese of Norwich. His activities are well documented but there is no evidence that he ever held the Shipton living (4); and there are so many discrepancies between what is known about him and what it has been possible to find out about the vicar of Shipton, that it is clear they were two different people. In particular, it is known that the Cambridge man died on 2 February 1590 and was buried in Norwich Cathedral.

A clue to the true identity of the Shipton William Master is in the first bequest in his will. He left a book to 'My goode sister-in-Lawe M(aste)r Doctor Master his widowe Dwelling at Cirencester'.

One of Queen Elizabeth's physicians was Dr Richard Master to whom in 1565 she granted the site and lands of the former Abbey of Cirencester (5). He died in 1588 and it is clear from his will (6) that his widow

was the sister-in-law referred to in William Master's will of 1590.

The relationship between Richard and William is further confirmed by a striking similarity in certain provisions of their wills. Richard left his estate, first to his wife Elizabeth, then to his seven sons - George the eldest, John, Thomas, Robert, Henry, Edward and Walter. William left books to seven nephews (or 'cousins' as some of them are called) (7), with the same names and order of seniority. This correlation is too close to be mere coincidence and clearly establishes that William and Richard were brothers. As such they were members of an important Kentish family which is well documented and about which there are several pedigrees and articles. All of these are incomplete and most of them contain errors. The key document is the will of their father, Robert Master, yeoman of Willesborough, Kent, which appears to have escaped notice (8). It shows Robert to have been a man of considerable standing whose many bequests included those to his sons Edward, Robert, Richard, Thomas and William. The first three were substantial beneficiaries of land and other property. Thomas's children, but not Thomas himself, received sums of money. William was to get just £100, to be paid within two years of his father's death. The possible significance of the special treatment accorded to William appears later.

Was Master a Marian Exile?

Apart from the fact that William Master was a brother of Richard Master, it has not been possible to discover anything about his life before his arrival in Shipton in 1564 - for example, his education, his marriage or the date and place of his ordination. There is, however, one possibility. Was he, for part of the time, one of the many Protestant clergy and others who left England to seek refuge on the continent when the Catholic Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553? Or H.C.Porter in Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge (9) lists the Cambridge William Masters among them. So does Dr V.H.H.Green in Religion at Oxford and Cambridge (10). Neither quotes a primary source and they appear to be following the reference to William Masters in Christina Garrett's The Marian Exiles (11).

Miss Garrett gives the biographies of 472 English refugees and her entry for William Maister or Masters, whom she found in the Frankfort tax list for January 1557, identifies him with the Cambridge man and credits him with the Shipton living. The assumption that it was the Cambridge William Masters who was a refugee does not, however, stand up to close examination. 1557 was the year in which he took his M.A. at

Cambridge and apart from Garrett, Porter and Green, no other authority suggests he was ever an exile.

An account of his involvement in the affairs of the Norwich diocese is in Dr Hassell Smith's County and Court (12). This makes clear that Masters had marked Catholic sympathies, was educated in Rome and was married into a recusant family. Hardly someone who would need to flee the country after Mary's accession and surely not someone who, according to Miss Garrett, signed the strictly Protestant 'new discipline' drawn up by some of those at Frankfort.

The confusion between the two William Masters may have been carried over by later writers from a mistake in the index to Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation (13) which was published in 1847. One of the letters in that collection is dated Frankfort 17 September 1557 and is addressed to Henry Bullinger, a leading Swiss reformer and Protestant theologian. It is signed by, among others, a William Master, who is identified as 'Dr William Masters', and thus as the Cambridge man who was a Doctor of Law. But no reliance can be placed on the index. There is, for example, another letter in the same collection which clearly refers to Richard Master but which is also indexed as Dr William Masters (14).

These index entries are further examples of mistaken identity; and Dr Hassell Smith has confirmed that in his research for County and Court (12) he found nothing to suggest that the Cambridge Masters was ever a Marian exile. He agrees that the new evidence seems to show that it was the Shipton William Master whom Miss Garrett discovered in the Frankfort tax list of 1557.

There is one discrepancy - the William Masters in Frankfort is said by Miss Garrett to have had a wife and two children. William Master of Shipton died childless; but Miss Garrett's sources do not support her statement that he had children with him in Frankfort (15). Even if he had, it is not unreasonable to assume that they predeceased him since he was seventy-two when he died. The reference to his children need not, therefore, rule out the possibility that he was the Shipton man; and there is circumstantial evidence to support this view.

William Master was appointed to Shipton by John Foxe, the martyrologist, who was briefly in Frankfort in 1554 and 1555. After a dispute among the exiles, some of them left Frankfort for Basle but Foxe did not leave with them because, it is said, 'he was reluctant to part with Nowell and his other friends' (16). Alexander Nowell was a prominent Elizabethan churchman and we know from a letter which William Master wrote to Foxe from Shipton in 1568 (17) that he and Nowell were also friends. Master says that two years previously, Nowell had given

him a copy of his first book against Dorman, a Catholic apologist, and had just sent him his latest book, under his own hand and elegantly bound. Perhaps this was a friendship which began when they were together in Frankfort.

More in the realm of speculation is the possible implication of the provision in Robert Master's will for £100 to be paid to William within two years of his father's death. The will was written on 15 July 1560. If William had not returned from exile by then - Elizabeth had been on the throne for only some twenty months - could it be that his father thought the best way to make provision for him was to put £100 in the hands of his executor until his son was safely back in England?

This argument is a little difficult to reconcile with the fact that John Foxe returned to England as early as 1559 and after receiving the prebend of Shipton in 1563, he petitioned the Queen saying he had appointed William Master as vicar and asking that both of them should be excused payment of first fruits as neither had a farthing to pay with (18). While it would explain Master's poverty if he, too, had been in exile and, like his friend and patron, had found difficulty in establishing himself on his return, it might be supposed that a legacy of £100 and the support of a wealthy family would have enabled him to avoid undue hardship. He may, however, have arrived back in England too late to benefit under his father's will - Robert Master died in 1561 and his will was proved in February 1562.

One other researcher has had no doubts that William Master of Shipton was a Marian exile, unfortunately without giving his sources. Alfred Master, in an article in the Kent Family History Journal for December 1975 (19), says.... 'Dr Richard was converted to Protestantism ....by Bullinger in 1551, and his brother William, also in Holy Orders, probably at about the same time....During the Catholic reign of Queen Mary, William fled the country and resided with other English Protestant exiles at Frankfort-am-Main, where, in 1557, he too was in correspondence with Bullinger. During the Marian persecution, Dr Richard however seems to have escaped notice. With the restoration of Protestantism under Elizabeth, William returned to England and became the married but childless Vicar of Shipton under Wychwood...'.

Master and his Parish

What sort of man was the William Master who came to Shipton in 1564? His institution is recorded in Archbishop Parker's Register (20) and in the Bishop of Oxford's Register (21). In both he is described simply as

clericus with no educational qualifications. In a series of articles by G. Spencer Pearce about Oxfordshire clergy and the Elizabethan settlement of religion he is said to have the degree of Master of Arts but this appears to be a mistake. Pearce gives two references but neither of these sources, in fact, mentions a degree (22).

Until the early seventeenth century, clergy holding Master of Arts degrees or higher were known as 'master' (magister) and were distinguished from other clergy who were known as 'sir' (dominus); but the use of these expressions was not strictly followed and the references to William Master in the Archdeaconry of Oxford Visitation Call Books only confuse the issue (23). In some years he is described as 'magister' and in others as 'dominus'.

Although no details of his education have been found, it is obvious from his will and other papers that Master was an educated man able to write well in both English and Latin - and, as will be shown, he had a substantial library. It is also clear that, whether or not he was an exile in Frankfort, he was firmly Protestant in his religious beliefs. The preamble to his will demonstrates his anti-papist views - 'In the name of the father and of the sonne and of the holie ghoste Amen... (he thanks God for)...his endless mercys and amongst them for his holie gospell restoared and Antichriste the pope revealed and confounded...'. There are also several indications that not only was he a Protestant but that he was sympathetic to the cause of the more extreme Protestant reformers and to those usually referred to as Puritans.

First, his library. This is dealt with more fully later and it will be seen that it included books by the radical continental theologians, Calvin, Magdeburg, Zwingli, Sabellicus, Luther, Erasmus, Beza and Gualter.

Secondly, Master appears in the Puritan's survey of 1586 of 'the state of the Ministerie in Oxfordshire' (24), where he is shown as resident in his parish and preaching 'usually everie Sabaoth', thus conforming to the Puritan ideal.

Thirdly, there is a phrase in his will which reflects a particular aspect of Puritan doctrine, namely opposition to the belief in immediate resurrection. He wanted his body to be buried 'in the middest of the churcheyarde of Shipton... and there to rest, yf god will untill the last Daie at which tyme I beleve that it shalbe joyned againe with my soule and inherit together both bodie and soule everlastinge...'.

Fourthly, the Protestant reformers objected to the requirement to wear the surplice - the vestiarian controversy. There is a reference to this in a letter from Richard Master to Archbishop Parker dated from Greenwich 8 June 1566 (25), in which he begs respite for 'the bearer, my

Brother, much perplexed and troubled in his conscience about conformity in Apparel and cannot as yet be reduced to use the same'. There is nothing in the letter to identify the writer as William Master but none of Richard's other brothers appears to have been in orders so the letter almost certainly refers to William and is further evidence of his leaning towards the radical wing of the Protestant church.

Finally, Christina Garrett wrote that she had discovered a letter of Masters written to Sir Christopher Heydon in 1574 about 'the putting down of prophesy men'. Prophesying was a system of regular discussion groups among ministers which was unpopular with the government who took steps to suppress it. If the letter was written by the Shipton William Master - and this has not been established - it would be a further indication of his religious views (26).

This educated Protestant parson appears to have been on good terms with his parish - and to have been happily married. He wanted to be buried '...fast by the bodie of my most loving wife amongst the moste of my neighbours...', and there are several references to his dearly beloved parish and parishioners. He calls his trustees 'my...Feoffees and Friends' and leaves them catechisms 'not for the coste of the thinge but for a token of my good will and hartie affection towards them...'. He gives to 'twentie of the moste poore of the parishe', on the day of his burial, 'theire Dynner at the vicarage after myne olde manner', showing that he carried out the duty of hospitality expected of a good parish priest. He exhorts them not to engage in idolatrous prayers for the dead and modestly asks only that they should pray to God 'hartelye to finde them a better vycar than I was'.

Master's interest in his parish is illustrated by the fact that during his time the Shipton parish registers contain a good deal of comment on the people who lived there, including many details of their occupations. He has a sharp eye for a pregnant bride though often noting her condition in the decent obscurity of Latin. He records what is known about the fathers of illegitimate children but is not obviously censorious. Indeed compassion can show through, as in his description of Thomas Sawnson, who died 'about the age of 44 years, an underwoodward a most lustye and comelye honest and wise yet a poore man'.

The fact that Master took an active part in the daily life of Shipton is indicated by his appearance as a witness in three wills, two of which he is said to have written. Another will shows John Cox owing thirty shillings to the poor of the parish by Master's 'appointment' (interestingly, though confusingly, he calls him M(aste)r Doctor Mayster); and a fifth shows Lawrence Mayer owing Master seventeen pence (27). There is also an indenture dated 20 October 1586, covering the

sale of the Crown Inn in Shipton and the appointment of trustees of the Crown Inn Charity, which is witnessed by Master and which is endorsed in what may be his own hand (28).

Master's Charity

Master's concern for the poor of his parish is well-illustrated by that part of his will in which he left 'to my most Dearlie beloved parishe of Shipton for ever twentie good newe mylch kyne for ye releife of so many poore households of and within the same parishe of Shypton'. Each of the twenty was to have a cow for four or five years (its life expectancy) for a rent of only three shillings and fourpence a year, presumably a subsidised rate. Those to receive the cows were 'to be suche as be honest thriftie and charged with children; or otherwise and not to be neyther of the idle nor of the Richer sorte'. They were, nevertheless, required to enter into a bond to find a replacement cow every four or five years or forty shillings to buy one.

Master visualised his charity being so administered that '...the whole number of the twentie kyen and certeyntie of the benefitt growing yearly of them may Remayne for ever to my Derely beloved parishioners and thadvauncement of Learning'. For the benefit of the parishioners, ten of the rents for the cows were to be paid to the churchwardens for the relief of the poorest of the parish. For the advancement of learning, the other ten were to go to the Warden of Merton College and the Provost of Queen's College in Oxford for the benefit of one or two poor scholars.

For all his good intentions, Master's charity caused both the parish and the colleges a good deal of trouble for many years. It seems that its administration was simplified by the fact that the churchwardens received £53 6s 8d in lieu of the twenty cows; but there were at least two enquiries and one court case about what had happened to the money (29). As late as 1895, the Charity Commission was making its own investigation and in June 1895 wrote to the then vicar suggesting, somewhat optimistically, 'that careful enquiries should be made with the view to ascertaining, if possible, whether any trace of the sum of £53 6s 8d can be found' (30). History does not record the outcome.

The Oxford Connection

There is no obvious reason why Master should have chosen Merton and

Queen's Colleges as beneficiaries under his will, but the bequest indicates a connection with the University, further evidence for which lies in the names of the nephews and others to whom Master left books and whom he appointed executors and overseers of his will - Thomas Master, Fellow of Merton; Robert Master, Fellow of All Souls; Henry Master, Fellow of Trinity and later Master of St Alban Hall; Doctor James, Dean of Christ Church; Doctor Reynolds, Fellow and later President of Corpus Christi; and Doctor Robinson, Provost of Queen's.

With these connections, his firm views on religion, his extensive library, his commitment to his parish duties and possibly with a background as a Marian exile, it might be expected that William Master would have been involved in the spirited religious controversy of his day in a university only some twenty miles distant; but in his early years in Shipton he seems to have felt isolated. In his letter to Foxe of 1568 (17) we find him hoping that Foxe and others of his friends will write to him because he feels lonely and cut off from the outside world.

In later years, however, he seems to have been in some sort of regular contact with Oxford. We know from his will that he had a house in St Ebbe's (see below). His nephews had established themselves in the University. He appointed Doctors James, Reynolds and Robinson, whom he describes as his reverend friends, to be overseers of his will and asks them to counsel his executors and his successor as vicar. His nephews Thomas and Robert Master had promised to be his executors and the parish register shows that one of his nephews officiated at his funeral.

Another example of confusion between the two William Masters is to be found in the Oxford context. In July 1559, Queen Elizabeth named a permanent commission to enforce the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and appointed six temporary commissions to carry out visits to all parts of the country. A William Masters was a member of the commission which visited Oxford. W.P.Haugaard, in Elizabeth and the English Reformation, identifies him as the Cambridge man, probably correctly, but credits him with the Shipton and Burford livings (31).

The Burford Affair

Although the extent of Master's day to day contact with Oxford in his early days in Shipton is not clear, there is evidence that he was much involved for a few years with affairs in Burford where he was appointed vicar in 1572 while still holding the Shipton appointment. Robert Temple had been presented to the Burford living by Sir Edward Unton, who claimed the advowson in right of his wife, the widow of John Dudley,

Earl of Warwick, but this claim was not accepted and the patronage was held to lie with the Queen. Temple was ejected and the Queen appointed William Master (32).

Master's case is set out in a petition to Lord Burghley, calendared as ?1575 (33). The petition starts with a form of words which suggests that Master enjoyed the patronage of Burghley. (As part of the general confusion, so did the Cambridge William Masters) (4). He says that he is in 'many waies bounden to your notable goodness...your honour procured for him by bill assigned etc the Vicaredge of Burforde, as of right belonging to the Queens patronage'.

Master continues that Unton's claim rests on the grant to the Earl of Warwick of a number of demesnes and manors, including Shipton and Burford, with various appurtenances including mills and advowsons; but he challenges this claim on the grounds that Unton holds no mills in Burford where there are two or three very good ones; nor does he hold any patronage in Shipton where there are two benefices, the parsonage and the vicarage.

Unton seems to have argued that, having made the initial presentation, he had some rights to the tithes, but Master points out that 'Intrusion maketh none inheritance'. He complains that Unton is every year keeping to himself 'the better half of the Fruites of that benefice'. He therefore asks Burghley to appoint a lawyer to investigate Unton's title, suggesting the Attorney or the Recorder of London, but not the Solicitor who, he understands, 'is Sir Edwardes veray Friende'.

He hopes the case can be settled quickly since it has already cost him twenty crowns and Unton has said that he is prepared to drag the matter out even if it costs him £500. Unton is also prepared to meet all his appointee's legal expenses even if they amount to £1000.

Finally Master asks Burghley to speak a good word for him to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London as the case is also in their courts.

Since the question of patronage was decided in Master's favour by the end of 1572, there seems no reason why he should have petitioned Burghley about it in the presumed year in the Calendar of 1575, which looks like an error. On the other hand, Master alleges that Unton is 'every year' keeping the better half of the income from the Burford living which suggests that he hung on to some of the tithes for a number of years and was prepared to continue the argument about patronage at almost any cost. Perhaps this accounts for Master's resignation from Burford in 1578 for which no explanation has been found (34).

Master's Library

Paul Morgan, formerly librarian in the Bodleian, has identified the books which William Master left to his various relations and friends and these are listed in Appendix A together with the names of the recipients. They did not make up the whole library; in the general account of Master's goods, there is a reference to books not separately bequeathed.

At a time when there was much criticism of illiteracy among the clergy, the possession of such a library, composed largely of books by the continental reformers but including other religious works and a copy of Livy, places William Master among the minority of those who were well-educated and well-read.

His bequest of books to relatives and friends who were members of Oxford colleges raises the question whether any of them found their way into college libraries. Only two possibilities have so far been pursued. Copies of the seven volume Magdeburg Centuriators are in Merton College Library but there is nothing to show whether they might be those which William Master left to his nephew Thomas of Merton.

Copies of all four works left to Robert Master of All Souls are in the Codrington Library there, but three of them have no inscription to indicate provenance. The four volume Zwingli bears an inscription that the books were a gift from Robert Master in 1598. It cannot be assumed that these were the volumes which Robert inherited from his uncle William but it is a pleasing thought that some of Master's books may be found in All Souls' Library today.

Master's Estate

It was not only a large library which the indigent parson of 1564 managed to build up by 1591. He also left a considerable estate. Nephews Thomas and Robert not only inherited books; the former also had 'my broader silver cuppe' and the latter 'my narrower silver cuppe'. The parish received 'my greatest pewter pott to serve at holie Communyon'.

The rest of the estate included 'all my houshold stuff plate goulde and silver beddinge brass pewter bookes woollen Lynnen wood catell... mencyoned and written in a Register or Inventarye with myne owne hand wherin allso ys shortly noted what thinges I have given away therof together with my house and garden in Sainte Abbes in Oxford...and allso all the Debtes that are owing to me as appeareth by the Wrytinges notes and billes therof and by myne Easter and Lambe bookes'. Master's

maidservant was left his best cow. Edmonde Harrys, his servant, the second best cow and Bartholomew Pidesley, another servant, his pied calf; and, as has been seen, £53 6s 8d was available in lieu of the legacy of twenty cows.

An estate of this size is not likely to have been acquired on the proceeds of the Shipton living alone. In the Valor Ecclesiasticus (35) of 1535, the vicarage is valued at £16. In a survey of January 1650 (36) it is valued at £40. The increase from £16 to £40 is just about in line with inflation and the general increase in valuation. These figures place Shipton a little above the country as a whole, the majority of benefices being valued between £5 and £15 in 1535 (37).

Even so, it would seem that Master's finances must have been reinforced from some source outside the parish before his death in 1591. Perhaps there was something from the Burford living, which he may have taken on in plurality for the express purpose of increasing his income; but the most obvious source for the marked improvement in his position is his affluent family.

There is no evidence of a substantial income from fees. No doubt Master received them but the only references are in two baptism entries in the parish registers. Whoever officiated on the 15 September 1579 'rec'd 4d' and on the 18 September 1580, somewhat cryptically, 'rec'd 4d & no more Quare'.

The Disposal of the Estate

The increase in William Master's fortunes during his time in Shipton remains a puzzle; and there is another puzzle in the disposal of the residue of the estate after the individual bequests. It is all to go 'for ever to the little boye that is with me named William Master beyng sonne to my Nephue John Master nowe dwelling at Southampton or nighe to yt... As for his father the same John Master my Will ys yt he shall have nothing to doe with his sonne myne heire'. The boy was about ten years old and his education and upbringing until he was twenty-four were to be the responsibility of the two nephews named as executors, with the help of the three 'reverend friends' who were named as overseers.

The provision that John should have nothing to do with his son is odd if this John is Richard's son. He is called his 'loving cosyn' in Master's will and gets his share of books, suggesting that he remained on good terms with his uncle. Perhaps there was another nephew John, son of another brother. Whoever he was, one can only speculate about the requirement that he was to have nothing to do with his own son. Had

there been an agreement whereby young William had taken the place of Master's dead son or of the son he never had and Master wanted to make sure that there was no going back on it after his death, possibly because of differences over religion?

Nothing has been found to indicate what happened to young William and to the estate which he presumably inherited. There was a provision in William Master's will that if young William died without lawful heirs, the house and garden in St Ebbe's were to go to 'Merton Colledge...for the benefit of the whole company there'. There is no evidence in the college archives to show that they ever acquired the property.

The house itself can be identified from a reference in Salter's Oxford City Properties to a lease of 27 January 1592 of two tenements in St Ebbe's between a tenement of Magdalen College and a tenement of Mr Master's occupied by Thomas Collins, baker. There is a similar reference to the City handing over to the feoffees of St Martin's parish in 1622 a tenement 'lately in the tenure of Will: Master, now of Thomas Collins'. Even here, however, there are uncertainties. Doubt is thrown on William Master's title to the St Ebbe's property by a lease of 24 August 1620 citing a case in Chancery in which the 'pretended' title of William Master was challenged on the grounds that it had been left to St Martin's by the will of William Fleming in 1543 (38).

Conclusion

William Master was more than well qualified by education, experience and temperament to carry out the duties of a parish priest and Shipton offered ample scope for a man of his talents. Shipton Church was the mother church for the outlying hamlets of Milton, Leafield, Ramsden, Lyneham and Langley and from 1572 to 1578 Master had the added responsibility of Burford.

The occupations he details in the parish registers with the few available wills of the period (27) and other evidence, show that Shipton was a substantial community engaged in a wide range of agricultural and related activities. The registers alone list four gentlemen, five yeomen and twenty-nine husbandmen. The Prebendal House was occupied by Richard Wisdom, a yeoman and a leading member of an important local family in Shipton and Burford. Anthony Ashfield, a gentleman of Shipton, was a substantial wool merchant, in trouble at one time for abusing export licences and answering charges in Star Chamber (39). When the Crown Inn Charity was established, the trustees were one gentleman and five yeomen

from Shipton and six yeomen from Milton (40).

Shipton must have placed heavy demands on its vicar. The picture which emerges from this study is that it found in William Master a man who was well able to cope with them. He was at least the intellectual equal of the gentry with whom he came into contact but retained his interest in and compassion for the poor. He was well acquainted with men prominent in public life beyond the bounds of his parish. His brother Richard appears very frequently in contemporary records - the list of grants made to him for services to the Queen occupies one and a half pages in the Calendar of Patent Rolls (41). William was a friend of Foxe and of the Randall brothers of London, one of whom also occupied the Prebendal House for a while and stood surety for those first fruits which William apparently had difficulty in finding. William invited them all to visit him (17). Foxe, in his petition to the Queen, referred to Master as 'a most worthy man perhaps not unknown to your Majesty' (42). Alexander Nowell, who became Dean of St Paul's in 1560, sent him books. He was on good terms both with Sir Henry Unton, very much an Elizabethan man of the world, an MP and twice ambassador to France, and with his wife, in spite of his quarrel with Unton's father, Edward. His nephews held important positions in the university. He may well have been part of the tightly-knit community of Marian exiles. Yet even incidental references to him are hard to come by in the extensive records of his contemporaries and his early life is a blank. Is this just a question of the chance survival of documents or is there some underlying reason not yet discovered? Perhaps further research will one day come up with the answer.

Acknowledgements

The notes show my debt to the many archivists, librarians and others who have dealt courteously with my enquiries. I am much indebted to Dr A.Hassell Smith for encouraging me to pursue the idea that William Master was a Marian exile and to Paul Morgan for the detailed analysis of his library. I am particularly grateful to Dr Molly Barratt who kindly read successive drafts, lent me a copy of her unpublished thesis (37), on which I have drawn freely on a number of points, and saved me from several errors. Those that remain are, of course, my own. My thanks also go to fellow members of the Wychwoods Local History Society for their comments and especially to Sue Jourdan, who started it all by discovering Master's will in the Public Record Office. Finally, I am much indebted to my wife for her help with the research.

APPENDIX A: Master's Library

Master's Description	Paul Morgan's Identification	Recipients
1. 'Calvins Institutions in Englishe'	Jean Calvin: *Institution of the Christian Religion*	my good sister in Lawe Mr Doctor Master his widowe Dwelling at Cirencester
2. 'thirteene Centuries of Magdeburgen ecclesiasticall historie in seaven boorded bookes'	M. Flaccus et al: *Ecclesiastica historia per aliquot studios et pios viros in urbe Magdeburdica Centuria I-XIII*	my lovinge nephue her sonne Mr Thomas Master Fellowe of Merton colledge in Oxford
3. 'twoe toomes of all the Cronicles'	This is either a) *The Cronycle of all the Kynges* or b) Halle's *Chronicle* or c) Holinshed's *Chronicles*	.....ditto.....
4. 'Vatablus bible bounde in twoe bookes'	Franciscus Vatablus, ed: *Biblia Sacra hebrice graece et latine cum annatationibus*	.....ditto.....
5. 'twoe little bookes of the newe testamente with the greeke text in the myddest of every syde of the Leafe and the twoe lattin textes on both sydes'	Too many possibilities	my lovinge nephue Mr Robert Master Fellowe of All Soules colledge... Brother to the same Thomas Master
6. 'all Zwinglius workes bounde in Fower greate severall bookes'	Ulrich Zwingli: *Opera*	.....ditto.....

Master's Description	Paul Morgan' Identification	Recipients
7. 'Sabellicus in twoe greate severall bookes'	Presumably a folio edition of the works of Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus	.....ditto.....
8. 'my Lyvie a greate booke'	Livy - too many folio editions	.....ditto.....
9. 'the poore mans garden of Mr Northbrookes makinge'	John Northbrooke: Spiritus est.... the poore mans garden	my Lovinge cosyn Mr Henry Master Fellowe of Trinitie colledge
10. 'Luther ad Galateas in englishe'	Martin Luther: A commentarie upon the Epistle to the Galatians	my Lovinge cosin Mr George Master theire oldest brother
11. 'Martyr contra ubiquitatem'	Petrus Martyr Vermilius: could be one of many works	.....ditto.....
12. 'Martirs prayers uppon the psalmes'	Pietro Martire Vermigli: Most godly prayers compiled out of Davids psalmes	my Lovinge Cosyn Mr John Master the seconde brother
13. 'Erasmi de preparacione ad mortem'	Desiderius Erasmus: Liber de praeparatione ad mortem	.....ditto.....
14. Erasmi precantinentibus'	Erasmus: possibly Precationes aliquot novae	my cosyn Edwarde theire Brother

Master's Description	Paul Morgan's Identification	Recipients
15. 'the governaunce of vertue'	Thomas Becon: Governauns of Vertus	my cosin Water the youngest brother
16. 'Calvins two or three Sermons in French beinge a little red book gilted on the outside of the leaves'	Jean Calvin but too imprecise to identify	the Righte worshipful Sir Henry Unton knighte
17. 'the womans booke'	Eucharius Roesslin: The Birth of Mankind or The womans booke	my goode Ladie Unton his wife Alexis*
18. 'Beazaes confession in Latin'	Theodore Beza: Confessio Christinae fidei	the worshippful Mr Johnson of Wyddeford
19. 'Mr Pagettes cathechismes'	Eusebius Paget: Catechismus latine editus and English editions	(one each to) my very good freindes.. feoffees (of his charity) John Coxe, Thomas Whytinge and William Whytinge of Shipton; Richard Symes, Richard Michell and Robert Moorton of Mylton; Christopher Whytinge Richard Shealar and Arthur Whytinge of Lyneham; Humfrey Weaver, Water Lardner and Ellys Kirbie alias Kentcham of Rammesden; Richard Greenewaye, Charles Comes and Gyles Fytchett of the Field

Master's Description	Paul Morgan's Identification	Recipients
20. 'one of Mr Ghilpyns sermons best bound'	Bernard Gilpin: A Godly Sermon	The worshipful Mr Braye of Teynton
21. 'Mr Bradfordes meditaciones'	John Bradford: Godlye medytacyons	.....ditto.....
22. 'Martyrs common places	Pietro Martire Vermigli: Loci communes	these three my Reverend Freindes (i) Mr Doctor Jamys Deane of Christes churche in Oxford
23. 'Gualter uppon the prophettes'	Rudolf Walther: Certaine Godlie homelies or sermons upon the prophets Abdias and Jonas	(ii) Mr Doctor Reynoldes
24. 'Qualter uppon John'	Rudolf Walter: perhaps The Homelies or Familiar Sermons upon the Prophet Joel	(iii) Mr Doctor Robinson
25. 'Gardyner de vera obedientia in englishe'	Stephen Gardiner: De vera obediencia an oracion	my Lovinge freind Mr Afflet parson of Wydeford
26. 'a Booke called a Caveat for Howlett	John Field: A Caveat for Parsons Howlet	my lovinge Freind the goodman Hyron Dyer of Bourford

* 'The womans booke' left to Lady Unton is said to be 'allreadie in her handes'. The name Alexis is something of a puzzle. The ONB says that Sir Henry Unton married Dorothy, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Wroughton of Broad Hinton, Wiltshire. Muriel Groves in The History of Shipton under Wychwood (published by the Shipton Women's Institute in 1934) says he married Sibella Fettiplace of Swinbrook. Neither suggests he married more than once.

Notes

(1) Oxfordshire County Record Office, MS.DD.Par. Shipton under Wychwood d.1.
(2) PROB 11/78. The will is dated 18 October 1590 and was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on the 22 October 1591.
(3) J.Foster, Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714, 1891-2; J. and J.A.Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, 1922-7; C.H.C. and T.Cooper, Athenae Cantabrigienses, 1858. Sir Wasey Sterry, Eton College Register, 1943, points out that Foster and Venn confuse two William Masters.
(4) There are, for example, some forty references to him in the Norfolk Record Society edition of The Letter Book of John Parkhurst, NRS Vol. XLIII, 1974/75.
(5) Dictionary of National Biography; Master, Richard MD.
(6) PRO 11/72.
(7) 'Cousin' in the sixteenth century could mean a near relation and was not restricted to its modern meaning.
(8) Robert Master's will - Archdeacons Register, Vol. 35, Kent Archives Office. Other references include Edward Hasted, The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent, Vol. VII, republished 1972, p.571; Visitation of Kent 1619, Harleian Society Vol. 42, 1891, pp.10-11; Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, Howard 2nd. Series IV, 1892, p.72; a pedigree by an unknown researcher in the nineteenth century - Gloucester County Record Office, D6746 f25; Kent Family History Journal 1975 (n.19 and related text); Sterry op.cit (n.3).
(9) H.C.Porter, Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge, 1958, pp.77-8.
(10) V.H.H.Green, Religion at Oxford and Cambridge, 1964, p.95.
(11) Christina Garrett, The Marian Exiles, 1938, p.121 and p.224.
(12) A.Hassell Smith, County and Court, 1974.
(13) Hastings Robinson ed., Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, C.U.P. for the Parker Society, 1847.
(14) In a letter to Rodolph dated Oxford, 5 November 1550, John ab Ulmis refers to their mutual friend Masters. The reference is clearly to Dr Richard Master. Ulmis speaks of Master's long illness and of his being carried into Kent for a change of air. A letter from Richard Master to Gualter dated Oxford, 14 June 1551, apologises for not writing before 'having been detained in my native place and at a distance from Oxford by a quarten ague of three months continuance'.
(15) An illegible phrase in a micro-film printout of Robert Master's will (n.8) may just possibly be a reference to a son of William's named

Robert; but neither of Miss Garrett's two sources mentions children. The article in the Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London Vol. IV, 1891-93, p.88, which is based on the archives of the French church at Frankfort, shows William Master and his wife, but no children, living in the house of Thomas Soerby on 10 June 1557. (Confusingly, it also shows them living in their own house on the same day.) R.Jung in Die englische Fluchtlings-Gemeinde in Franfurt am Main, 1554-59, Frankfurter hist. Forsch 3, Frankfurt am Main, 1910, tabulates the families of the English refugees and clearly shows the Master household as consisting only of William and his wife.

(16) Dictionary of National Biography; Foxe, John.

(17) British Library, MS Harleian 416 f38.

(18) British Library, MS. Harleian 416 art. 46 f83.

(19) I owe this reference to Mrs Chester-Master who allowed me access to her family papers which contained a copy of the article. A letter to Mr Alfred Master was returned marked 'deceased 1978'.

(20) W.H.Frere ed., Registrum Matthei Parker, Canterbury and York Society, Pt.1, Vol.35, 1907-14, p.255 and Pt.2, Vol.36 1916-28, p.450.

(21) Oxfordshire C.R.O., MS. Oxf. Dioc. pp. d105.

(22) Oxfordshire Archaeological Society Report, 1914, p.188. The references are to Master as vicar of Burford - Parker Reg III f53 and Landsdowne MS. 443 f112 (now MS. 443 f58v).

(23) Oxfordshire C.R.O., MS. Archd. pp. Oxon. ell.

(24) A.Peel ed., The seconde part of a register being a calendar of Mss. under that title intended for publication by the Puritans about 1593, 1915, p.135.

(25) Corpus Christie College Cambridge, MS 114. The Librarian states that the letter refers simply to 'my brother' without giving his name or any other relevant information.

(26) Library of the Inner Temple, Petyt MSS Vol 47 f28. The Librarian says that the letter does not appear to be dated from Shipton but recommends further inspection.

(27) Oxfordshire C.R.O., MSS. Wills Oxon. - 1/1/24, 29/1/43, 43/1/43, 11/1/66, 43/1/82.

(28) Oxfordshire C.R.O., uncatalogued, recently deposited by the Shipton Parish Council.

(29) Master anticipated problems by providing that if difficulties arose they should be resolved by the ecclesiatical officers of the diocese. One inquisition was held in February 1617 at Oxford before John Doylie and others. (A copy of their report is in the possession of the Shipton Parish Council). Another was held at Witney in April 1702 before Sir Edmund Warcupp and others. (Report of the North Oxfordshire

Archaeological Society, 1870). Papers in Queen's College archives (2 S 2 to 2 S 12) and one letter in Merton (el. 35,) are concerned with payments of grants to eligible students and to the colleges' difficulties in getting their share of the money. Queen's recovered some from the parish by a suit in Chancery in 1637-38.

(30) Charity Commission letter 10 June 1895, W64403.

(31) W.P.Haugaard, Elizabeth and the English Reformation, 1968, pp 130-144. PRO SP 12/4 gives the full membership.

(32) Parker's Register (op.cit. n.20), Pt.3, Vol.39 1932-33, pp. 999-1000, 1003-4, 1051.

(33) PRO SP 12/106 Pt. 1.

(34) Patent Rolls Elizabeth I, 1575-78 Entry 2859 gives the presentation of Bartholomew Chamberlain to Burford on 14 November 1578 'on the resignation of William Maister's.' The Archdeaconry of Oxford Visitation Call Books (n.23) show William Master as vicar of Burford in 1578, with a line drawn through the entry, and again as vicar there in 1581. Pearce (op. cit. n.22) gives the date of resignation as 1574 but in Oxfordshire Archaeological Report, 1916, p.33, he gives it as 1578.

(35) The Valor Ecclesiasticus was compiled under the Act concerning First Fruits and Tenths, 26 Henry VIII Cap.3.

(36) Commonwealth Parliamentary Survey, Lambeth Palace Library, XII/a/15/200-2.

(37) Dr Molly Barratt, The Condition of the Parish Clergy between the Reformation and 1660, with special reference to the Dioceses of Oxford, Worcester and Gloucester, unpublished Ph.D thesis, Oxford 1949.

(38) Rev. H.E.Salter, Survey of Oxford, ed. W.A.Pantin and W.T.Mitchell, Vol. II, Oxfordshire Historical Society, 1969, p.67; Salter, Oxford City Properties, O.H.S., 1926, pp.365-6; Oxford City Archives, 05.5 Ledger 1578-1636; Oxfordshire C.R.O., MS.DD. Par. Oxford, St Martin's, C24.

(39) Calendar of the Court Books of the Borough of Witney 1538-1610, Oxfordshire Record Society, Vol.54, 1985; P.J.Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England, 1962.

(40) Oxfordshire C.R.O., uncatalogued, recently deposited by the Shipton Parish Council.

(41) op. cit. n.34, p.343-5.

(42) op. cit. n.18. The Reverend George Townsend in The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, 1843-9, and J.F.Mozely in John Foxe and his Book, 1940, both interpret this as meaning that the Cambridge William Masters was appointed to Shipton.

The Burford - Shipton Omnibus

The Burford-Shipton omnibus was started in 1870 by William Matthews. In 1888, the date of this timetable, the proprietor was T. Paintin & Son who ran the coach three times a day to connect with trains at Shipton station. The journey time was a little under one hour.

They also ran a daily coach to Witney Station, leaving at 9.15am and returning at 5.05pm. The first Witney station was opened on 13 November 1861 when the Witney Railway opened its line to Yarnton Junction near Oxford. On the 15 January 1873 the East Gloucestershire Railway opened its line from Fairford to a junction with the Witney Railway just south of the old Witney station. A new station was opened on the East Gloucester line and the old station was used for goods traffic. It is still in use today but sadly without its railway.

The timetable is headed with the title 'The Original Burford Omnibus Service'. This in conjunction with the final paragraph suggests that there had been competition for these services. A little over thirty years after this timetable was printed the service ceased. A photograph taken about this time shows the coach in Shipton station in a run down condition and near the end of its days. The proprietor was then Walter Holloway.

Norman Frost

THE ORIGINAL

BURFORD OMNIBUS SERVICE,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE G.W.R. COMPANY.

A Parcel from Burford to London in 4 hours ! !

THE

OMNIBUS

LEAVES THE

BULL HOTEL, HIGH STREET, BURFORD,

AS FOLLOWS:--TO

SHIPTON STATION, G.W.R.,

AT 7.10, 11.55, 3.40,

MEETING THE 8.16 AND 8.30 A.M., 12.55, 4.42 AND 5.10 P.M. TRAINS.

TO

WITNEY STATION, E.G.R.,

At 9.15 (except on Thursdays when it will leave at 11.40 a.m.) waiting for the 5.5 Train at Witney.

PASSENGERS PICKED UP AT ANY POINT OR FETCHED IN FROM ANY DISTANCE.

Horses, Carriages, and Cab for Hire.

PROPRIETORS:--

T. PAINTIN & SON,

The Originators, who beg to thank the public for their patronage and support during the past 12 months.

September 1st, 1888.

C. W. SWATMAN, TYPO., BURFORD.

Past and Present in a Milton under Wychwood Field

GWEN ALLEN AND SUE JOURDAN

As the snow began to thaw in February 1985, Painter's Piece near High Lodge Farm, Milton under Wychwood, could be seen across the valley from the Burford-Charlbury road as a ridge and furrow field - the only well-defined one in Milton. Although Shipton under Wychwood retains a number of fields with ridge and furrow, they became single owner closes of permanent pasture before the Tithe Rent Award for Shipton in 1839. Consequently the Shipton Award map did not indicate the strips as shown on the Milton Tithe Award map of 1842 where each strip was delineated individually.

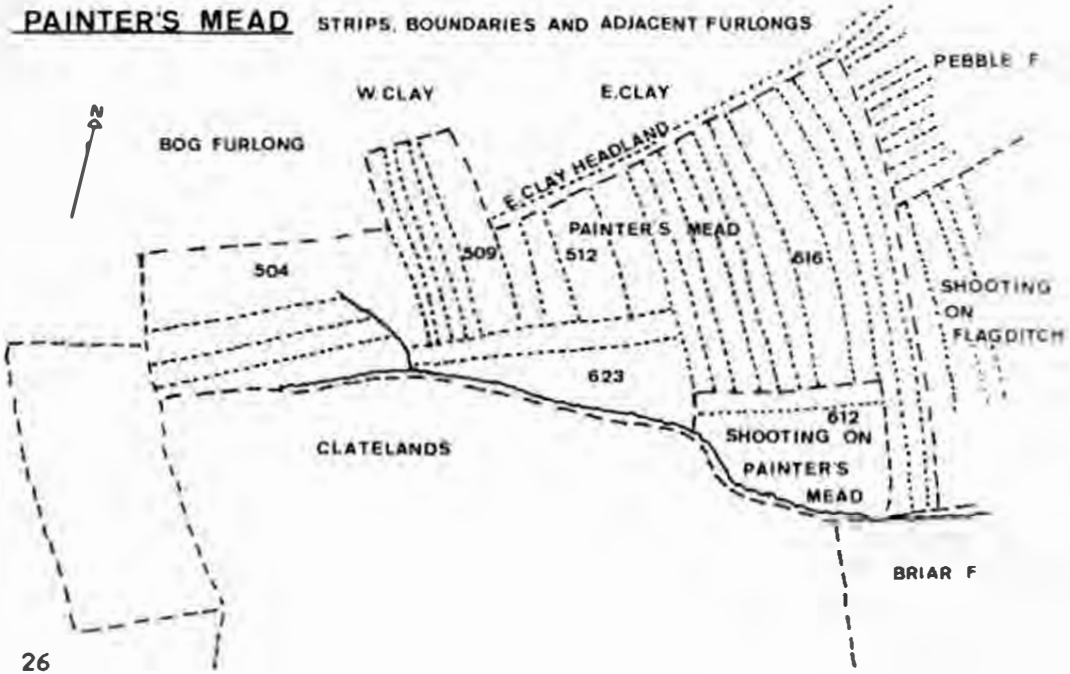
Painter's Piece was immediately sketched and significant features recorded. These were later transferred to a 1:2,500 (25 inch) map of the parish. When superimposed on the Tithe Rent Award map, the strips of Painter's Mead, as it was then called, could be compared with the present ridge and furrow and hedges. 'Mead' usually denoted meadow for hay in contrast to pasture for grazing.

Painter's Piece is mainly on lower Lias clay. The extreme south-western end is on middle Lias but the soil above the stream (A) contains limestone chips, presumably from the inferior oolite higher up the slope. The spring feeds a drinking trough which overflows into a stream butting a marshy valley (B) to the boundary of the field where it has apparently been straightened and now flows in a deep ditch. The stream has been widened to a small lake filling much of the area of an arable plot (612 on the T.A. map). The ditch runs round this and joins the outlet from the lake, apparently the original stream bed, which runs across the neighbouring fields by the boundary hedges. The ridge and furrow all run at right angles to the stream and probably aid drainage from a very wet, clay soil which must have been difficult to cultivate. The field is now pasture and the land has not been ploughed within living memory.

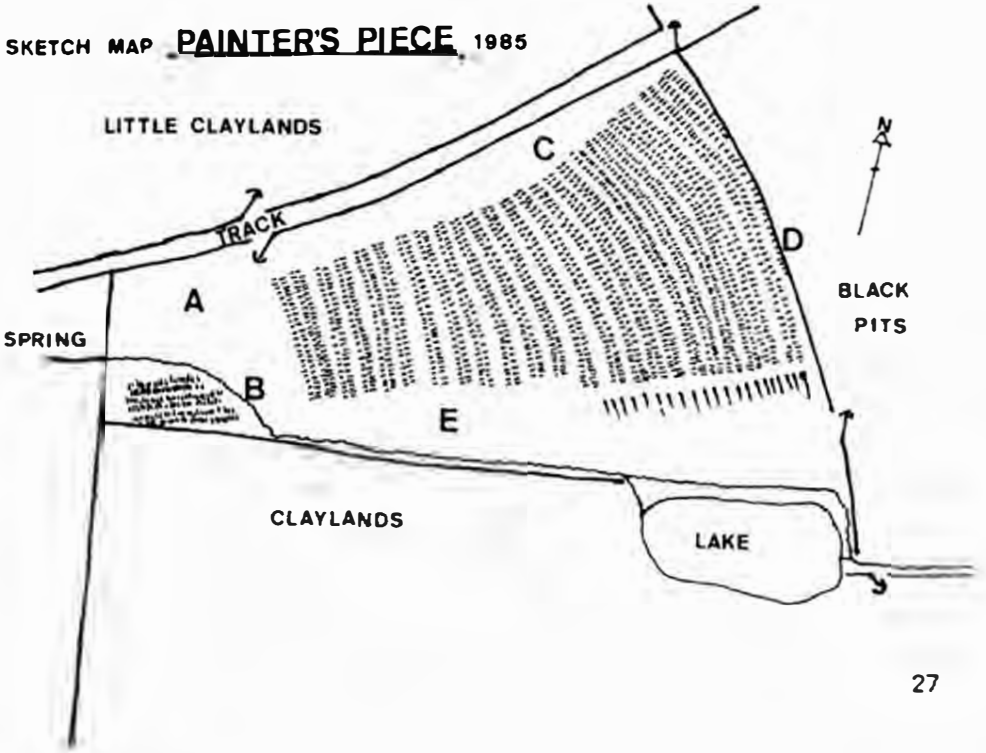
All the hedges have only 1-4 shrub species per 30 yards*. As can be seen from the two maps the present boundaries are slightly different from those of 1842 and confirm the hedges as post-enclosure. The trackway hedge leaves an area of flat land (C) above the ridge and

FROM THE TITHE RENT AWARD 1842

PAINTER'S MEAD STRIPS, BOUNDARIES AND ADJACENT FURLONGS



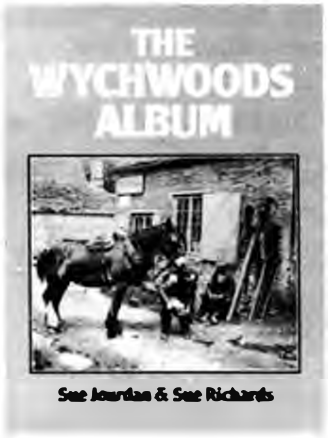
SKETCH MAP PAINTER'S PIECE 1985



furrow which appears to have been part of East Clay headland. The easterly hedge (D) crosses some of the ridges. The west boundary was further west so including the spring in Painter's Mead. On the 1842 map, 623, a low-lying plot near the stream, was an area of pasture and is still unridged. There are 20 divisions delineated with those at the western end designated as narrow; some wider ones appear elsewhere. On the ground there are 26 ridges, fairly consistently nine paces from furrow to furrow.

Absolute detail of the two maps is difficult to reconcile but this may be partly explained by the boundary changes and the wider strips which could have encompassed two ridges. The bank above the lake appears to correspond to the top of plot 612. The fields around Painter's Piece are cultivated today and the signs of strip agriculture in them are either very slight or ploughed out.

* Wychwoods History, No. 1, 1985.



The Wychwoods Album contains seventy-two photographs illustrating life in Shipton and Milton in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. Some of the photographs are by professionals like Frank Packer and Percy Simms of Chipping Norton, William Butt of Bourton-on-the-Water and Henry Taunt of Oxford. Others are by unknown photographers.

The Society is fortunate in having been able to draw on the extensive collections of photographs in the private possession of two of its members, Norman Frost and Mike Linfield, and in the support it has received in producing the album from many individuals and from the two Parish Councils. Every effort has been made to provide accurate and detailed captions to the photographs so that they are more than just pictures and make a real contribution to the history of the area.

Copies are available from local shops and elsewhere at £3.00 or by post from Foxholes House, Foscot, Oxford, OX7 6RW at £3.40 to include postage and packing (£3.75 overseas surface mail).

A Survey of the Baptist Burial Ground, Milton under Wychwood

JACK CHAPMAN

This survey complements that of the St Simon and St Jude graveyard recorded in the first number of this Journal (p.34). As in that survey, a plan has been made to enable the memorials recorded to be located unambiguously. The recording of the inscriptions has been done almost entirely by Norah Ellis, to whom the Society is extremely grateful. At the time of the survey - the summer of 1985 - the weather was not ideal for kneeling in grass to decipher semi-legible lettering!

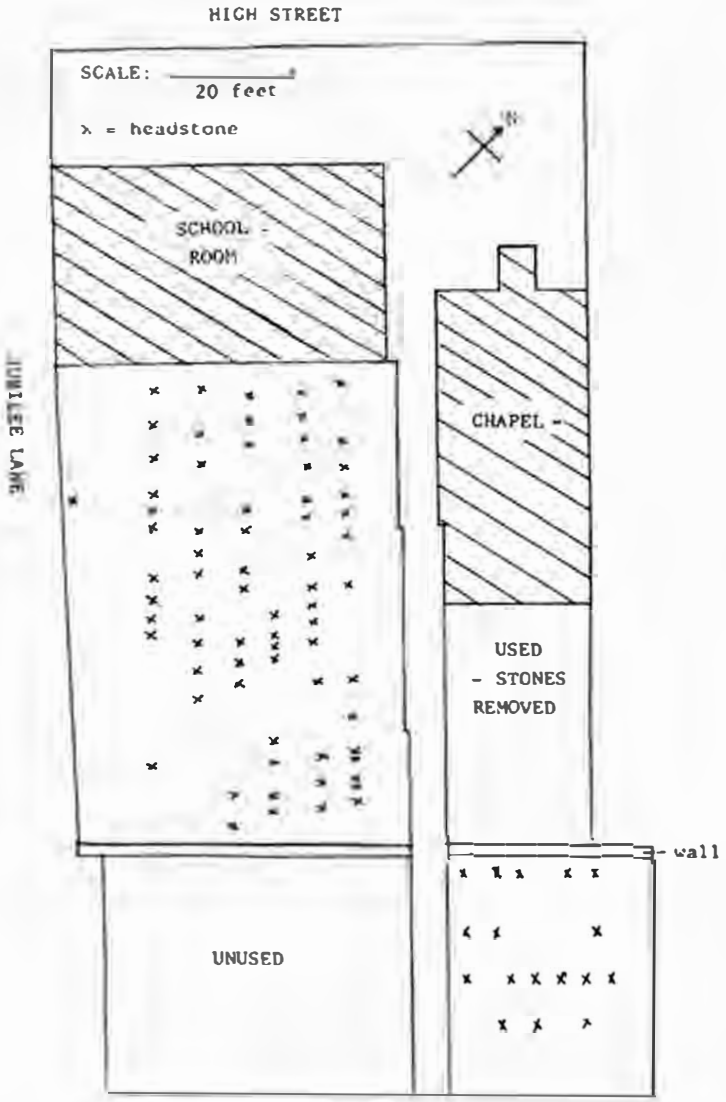
The Reverend Keith Drew, Baptist Minister for Milton and Shipton, readily gave his permission for the survey and has helped with discussion and reference to the burial register where inscriptions were partly illegible or otherwise incomplete.

I have not set out to investigate the history of the Baptists in Milton, but the Reverend Drew tells me that there was a chapel built in 1807 on the present site in the High Street, near its junction with Jubilee Lane. Before this, services were held in private houses in Upper Milton. A Baptist church was 'officially' formed in Milton in 1837, and in 1839 the present chapel was erected. The adjoining schoolroom was built in 1867.

The burial ground is small - less that .25 acre - compared with the 1.3 acres of the parish churchyard. Unlike the churchyard it is not yet filled. It consists of plots of land behind the chapel and the schoolroom, running parallel to Jubilee Lane. These plots, separated by a footpath, originally covered some 630 square yards and in about 1950 were extended to give a further 400 square yards. The original plots are still separated from the extensions by a stone wall.

Some headstones have already been removed and these have not been examined in detail. There remain in position 86 stones, recording 161 names, although it is not in every case certain that a person recorded is actually buried there. These cases occur with multiple burials and wording such as 'who died in London' occurs on several stones.

The oldest memorials still in place are in the plot immediately behind the schoolroom. Even here, one complete row of stones and part of



Ground plan of the Baptist chapel and graveyard

another have been removed and leant against the wall. The earliest burial recorded in this plot is of Sarah Barnes in 1876.

In the plot adjoining the chapel all the headstones have been removed. Some are leant against the walls but others are either missing or else less of the graves were marked in earlier times. Several of the inscriptions are illegible but there was certainly a burial in 1855 - that of Emma Yeatman. The most recent burials are in the extension on the chapel side. The extension on the schoolroom side has not yet been used.

Unhappily the register of burials goes back no further than 1878. Whether there were burials earlier than 1855, perhaps as early as 1837, may prove impossible to determine with certainty. However, when the present chapel was opened in 1839, the land behind it was referred to as the 'burial ground' (G.W.Davidson, A Brief History of the Baptist Church, Milton, Oxfordshire, 1889).

As in the parish churchyard, there are many unmarked graves. The Reverend Drew has a plan showing 154 graves in the plot behind the schoolroom, whereas there are now only 69 gravestones. The memorial stones are all relatively simple - very similar in general to those in the churchyard.

Many members of the Groves family are buried here, including the Alfred Groves and his wife Mary. He died in 1914 having reached the age of 87 and outlived his second wife by fourteen years. However, the fifteen Groves commemorated are equalled in number by the Dangerfields (of whom there are none in the parish churchyard). These include Lydia Dangerfield who ran the draper's shop in the High Street and died in 1958. (There is a picture of the shop on page 12 of The Wychwoods Album described elsewhere in this Journal). These families are closely followed by the Rawlins of whom thirteen are commemorated. The Reverend George Davidson, who was Milton Baptist Minister for twenty-one years and the author of the brief history mentioned above (The Wychwoods Album, p.41) is buried there, as is George Baughan (The Wychwoods Album, pp.21 and 32).

It may again be of interest to mention some unusual names. Perhaps the only un-English combination is Feodor M.Sziemanowicz who died in 1941 but was presumably not a refugee as his wife, Mary Esther, was buried here in 1931. Among christian names of interest, R.W.N.Goss's third name was Napoleon (recorded in the burial register) and, perhaps understandably, the names Jabez, Hephzibah and Dorcas occur. Mr Drew has suggested that the name Zilpha, which I commented on in the churchyard survey (Journal No. 1, p.38), is possibly a mis-spelling of the Biblical name Zilpah. (Genesis 29:24 'And Laban gave unto his daughter Leah Zilpah his maid for an handmaid').

The names found in the Baptist burial ground have now been added to those recorded for the Church of England graveyard. Those from the Shipton graveyard survey, carried out by members of the Women's Institute in 1965, will have been added by the time this article appears in print. The card index is available for consultation (Shipton under Wychwood [0993] 830498).

The Letters of Thomas and Hannah Groves

NORMAN FROST

The following are extracts from the letters of Thomas and Hannah Groves written in the year 1851 when they visited London in order that Thomas should receive medical treatment for a growth on his face. We are very much indebted to Mrs Marjorie Rathbone (a great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Groves) for not only preserving these letters over the years but also for allowing the use of them for this article. When quoting the contents of the letters, spelling and punctuation (or lack of it) is as in the original.

Thomas was born on the 3 June 1789 and died on the 12 July 1860. The 1851 census shows Thomas and Hannah living with their family at Elms Farm in Shipton Road, Milton under Wychwood. He is described as a mason employing 16 men and a farmer of 12 acres on which he employed one man. His wife Hannah was born in 1792 and died in 1870. They are both buried in Milton churchyard. Members of his family, employees and local inhabitants are mentioned in the letters and a brief description of each one is given in the final paragraph of this article.

Thomas Groves visited Dr Batty of South Newington, Middlesex for treatment in the summer of 1851. He and Hannah were able to obtain lodgings in the Pegasus Tavern near to Dr Batty's residence. In an undated letter Hannah wrote: 'we was much put to get lodgin we thought we couldnt get a bed in the place we pay 2 pound a week at this place your father is so well he has never been laid up one day since we have been from home that is a great comfort to me in a strange place'.

On 25 July Thomas writes: 'Mr Batty informs me that he can cure my face'.

On 1 August he again writes: 'I received Sarahs letter yesterday and was happy to heare you are all well and that Alfred is able to get out in the mornings I have named his case to Mr Batty and he says he must leave off those destructive pills He says he will send him something that will remove it'.

On 4 August he is obviously anxious about his mason's business: 'Have Alfred seen Harwood of Charlbury about the rim of the arch is the coping set on Upstones wall [Upstones lived at what is now Holly

Corner, Upper Milton] Use plenty of lime in the foundations of the bridge'.

8 August: 'Mr Batty has taken the lump off my face this morning they put in arches here like the one I have sketched [drawing of an elliptical arch of the style used by Isambard Brunel when building the Great Western Railway a few years earlier] if the centre is made as I proposed you will want 4 or 5 stiff pieces of larch large enough to make two it would be better to stand on edge 5" by 8" or 9" and 20" long Matthew had better do it be sure to have it strong enough'.

11 August: 'I am pleased to hear you are getting on with the bridge hope you will endeavour to please Mr Bayliss'.

14 August: 'Philip if you have finished at the quarry you had better get the harvest started but let it stand till ripe have Matthew finished The Carfax how does the old arches turn out'.

A very cheerful letter is dated the 21 August: 'Dear Children Pleased to hear that you are all well and that you have plenty of business and plenty of money and to inform you that we had £10 pound off Uncle Silman if Edward should come he may bring us some cash for this is a very expensive place'.

However a following undated letter was very much back to business: 'Dear Edwin I should be obliged if you would call on Mrs Edward if she has not been to pay her rent Also if John Miles and Richard should pay thers you must not give them anything back as we have to pay the takesis (taxes) and that is 8 or 10 shillings a year and ther rent is £3-3s a year and Mrs Edwards £3-10s'.

On 4 September: 'Pleased to hear the bridge is making good progress should wish to have the ashlar for the parropet etc worked well as the season is rapidly advancing for using to much mortar Philip had better set on more men to get out more [stone ?] block if he takes on more men it may be getting dry and fit for use how is he coping with the harvest you may get the coping sawed for the bridge as soon as you can and some of the best dry block your coping on the wing walls will finish under the string courses Sarah will please bring me a warmer waistcoat'.

A very descriptive letter follows on 1 October: 'I fear you will think we have quite forgot as I have not rote to you before my hand has been shaking that I could not rite We left Purfleet yesterday morn at 10 oclock by boat to Blackwall then took train and came to London took a cab and came to the Bank and took the bus I gave order to the conductor to put us down at Rathbourn Place instead of that he took us nearly to Camden Town we had to walk to Woborn Place took a bus then to South Place your mother was tired down we took a coop of tea and spent

a very pleasant evening after a very tiresome day Send me a line today to say how you get on with the bridge if the plowing is wanting to be done get Pratts team plant some winter beans if you think best Tell Ellen you must let her please herself about staying with us another year'.

Evidently one of his men had an accident for on 31 October he writes: 'Pleased to hear R Pitts is likely to occupy his place so soon and trust it will be a warning to him to fasten the ladder How are you getting on in the feild and in the quarry do not come from the quarry without a load of wallstones let them be chopt a little off the rough and be laid at the end of the house on the left of the stable door opposite Mr Bursons door or Alfreds shop Your mother says she shall want a great many loads when you have time you may draw some mortar by doing so you will oblige your affectionate Father & Mother T & H Groves'.

The good news came on 1 November: 'I am just returned from Mr Batty and he says my face is perfectly cured of the disease I wrote tonight as I knew you would be very pleased do not talk much about it the less the better at present'.

21 November: 'We intend coming home by the Moreton coach if we can if we cannot we must come by the other to the top of Burford Hill hoping that we shall arrive safe please send the rag cloak yours affectionately T & H Groves'.

These extracts are but a small selection of the total so carefully kept by Mrs Rathbone. The total lack of any punctuation and the rapid change of subject require them to be read very carefully. However they do give a good idea of life 130 years ago. The remarks about the cost of living in London would apply equally well today. London apparently had quite a comprehensive transport system from the remarks made by Thomas when travelling by boat, train, cab and horsedrawn omnibus, even if the conductors were not too reliable. With today's banking services it is easy to forget the problems of those days when one must have had to carry any cash that was likely to be needed.

Unfortunately I have yet to discover a great deal about the masonry work that made Thomas so anxious - I would particularly like to know more about his elliptical arches.

Of the names mentioned in his letters I have been able to discover a little more. George, his eldest son, was born on 25 September 1817 and died on 2 August 1886. He is buried in Milton churchyard. At the time of these letters he was married to Charlotte (nee Pargetter of Lutterworth) who was nine years his junior. Their first child, also Thomas, was born in May the next year and was followed by seven more children. At this

time he shared a house with his brother Phillip at Upper Milton but later moved to Jubilee Lane. On his father's death he took over the Milton quarries.

Philip was born in 1821 and also became a stonemason. He died on 9 April 1900 and was buried in Milton churchyard where his wife Mary who predeceased him on 18 May 1860 was also buried.

Sarah was Thomas's only daughter. She married twice but had no children. She and her first husband, James Ellis, had a bakery and grocery shop in Milton High Street. They are both buried in Milton churchyard.

Edwin, the third son, was born on 20 December 1825 and was unmarried when he died on 13 April 1873. He had a tailor's business in the High Street next to the Baptist chapel.

Alfred the youngest son, was born on 28 December 1826 and died on 16 January 1914. He is buried in the Baptist burial ground at Milton. Locally he is possibly the best known of the family as he carried on the family business as a stonemason at The Elms and formed the modern company of Alfred Groves & Sons. His first wife, Ann Shepard, bore him three children but died in 1855. His second wife, Mary Reynolds, gave him another ten children and thereby ensured the direction of the family business unto the present day.

Matthew was Thomas Groves' younger brother, born in Shipton in 1796. He was a carpenter by trade and lived with his wife Ann Sophia Pratt from Leicestershire in Milton High Street next to the Butcher's Arms. So far we believe they had three children, some of whose descendants correspond regularly with this society.

Ellen Miles was a living-in servant to the Groves family. Thomas's remark 'tell Helen she must please herself about staying' was presumably a reference to the end of her year of service when a servant would then go to the hiring fair (possibly Burford Fair) to seek employment for the coming year. Thomas gave her the option of staying with them. Evidently she thought they were good employers and we can see in subsequent letters (not quoted here) that she stayed. Her parents Richard and Elizabeth (nee Puddle) were tenants of Thomas Groves and lived in a now demolished cottage on the site of Poplar Farm Close. From Thomas's letter their rent was £3 3s a year.

The tenants quoted in these letters were John and Jane Miles (nee Hunt) who lived in Lower Milton. They were in their late seventies and obviously John was beyond working as a farm labourer as both were living on parish relief.

The last tenants to be noted were Thomas Edwards and his wife who lived in a cottage on the Shipton Road at Milton, possibly now part of

the present house 'Hoplands'. They were both newcomers to the village. They had three children and Thomas worked for Groves as a plasterer.

Information used to supplement these letters was obtained from:

Family papers in the possession of Mrs Marjorie Rathbone.
1842 Milton under Wychwood Tithe Returns.
1851 Oxfordshire Census.
Milton under Wychwood Graveyard Surveys compiled by Jack Chapman.

Acknowledgements are made to Roy Groves of Illinois U.S.A., Keith Barrie of Newport Beach, Australia and Keith Miles of Milton for information received.

Opposite: In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the government introduced a series of experimental and trivial taxes in an attempt to increase revenue. In 1794, for example, Pitt imposed taxes on horses used for sport and carriage work. In 1795 he brought in a graduated tax on personal servants with a higher rate for bachelors than for married men. And in the 1790s, hairpowder, dogs, clocks and watches were all taxed.

With various modifications and amendments these taxes, which were 'directly assessed', lasted for many years. This notice shows those to which the citizens of Shipton were subject in 1852.

No. 172. To be placed on the Church or Chapel Doors, &c. the same being first signed by the Assessor.

Assessed Taxes.

NOTICE is hereby given, that all such Lists and Declarations as are required by the Acts passed in the 43rd, 48th, and 52nd Years of Geo. III., relating to the Duties of Assessed Taxes, to be delivered in this Parish, are to be left, being first duly filled up and signed by the respective Parties at my Dwelling-house, situated at *Shipton*

within *Fourteen Days* from the Date hereof under the Penalties contained in the said Acts, although no particular Notice may be left for that purpose.

Such Lists should contain the greatest number of Male Servants, Carriages, Horses, Mules, and Dogs, kept at any Time between the *5th Day of April*, 185[illegible], *and the* 6th *Day of April*, 185[illegible], with their proper Descriptions.

Also the Names of Persons using or wearing Hair Powder, or any Armorial Bearing or Ensign, or using or exercising the Trade and Business of a Horse-Dealer.

The Names of Inmates and Lodgers who are liable to any of the said Duties.

Also of Persons keeping Horses or Carriages at livery, or to let out to hire.

Proper Forms have been left at each Dwelling-house: but any Person to whom a Notice, with the Forms for making out such Lists and Declarations, shall not have been delivered, may receive such Forms on application at my said Dwelling-house.

Dated at *Shipton*

this *15th* **Day of** *April* **185[illegible]**

Robt Townshend **Assessor.**

The Royal Manor of Sciptone and Neighbouring Estates in Domesday

FRANK WARE

Part Two: The Sciptone Hundreds - Manors, Lords and Peasants

This year is the ninth centenary of Domesday Book, which was compiled in 1086 by order of King William I, the Conqueror, to ascertain the resources of his new kingdom and who held them. In Part One of this study I examined the Domesday entries for Shipton and Milton, together with Wychwood Forest, and gave some explanation of their meaning. The entry for the large and important Royal Manor of Sciptone included this detail:

> 'The Jurisdiction (soke) of three Hundreds belongs to this manor.'

Hundreds were divisions of the Shire in the Saxon period, for administrative and fiscal purposes. This entry means, literally, that the Royal Manor derived the profits from the fines imposed in the Courts of three hundreds. The hundreds in question are not named, nor are their boundaries known, but it is generally accepted that they were later combined to form what became called the Chadlington Hundred, the boundaries of which are well established. Part Two of this study now examines all the Domesday entries for the estates in this Chadlington Hundred, or the 'Sciptone Hundreds' as I prefer to call it.

Originally, a hundred was composed of 100 hides, the basic Saxon unit of assessment for taxes and other purposes. Tax, or geld, was assessed at say three pennies to the hide, like our modern rate assessments, and the king's ministers would have known just what that would raise (this was how King Ethelred collected the Danegeld, year after year, to buy off the marauding Danes a century before Domesday). Table Two shows there were altogether 323¾ hides in the area studied. However, of the estates listed, Widford belonged to Gloucestershire until the nineteenth century; excluding it, the total comes down to 321¾ hides.

Map showing the estates in the neighbourhood

One possibility, which I put forward as pure speculation, is that the three hundreds were centred respectively on the Sciptone Royal Manor, the Nortons, and Sarsden/Enstone. The Shipton Hundred included most of the estates south of the river Evenlode. The Nortons Hundred centred round a tidy core of some 86 hides, including Chipping Norton and the estates north and west of it. The Sarsden/Enstone Hundred was a wedge between the other two, extending the shape of the Sarsden manor itself, which stretched downstream from the modern parish to cover Chilson, Pudlicote and parts of Chadlington. Kingham, Churchill, and Dean & Chalford were distributed in some way between the two hundreds north of the Evenlode.The figures come near 100 hides for each hundred, and it seems impossible to make them do so if either Enstone or Sarsden are combined with the Nortons, or Sarsden with Shipton.

Table One lists all the Domesday entries in the area covered by the Sciptone Hundreds. These are shown first by the modern names, and then by the Domesday equivalents (which are the Domesday clerks' efforts at rendering the names phonetically in the Latin script). What immediately strikes the eye is that, with one exception, the Domesday name is recognisable as the ancestor of the modern name; most of them are extremely close, though Secendene to Sarsden, and Rollandri to Rollright show more evolution. After nine centuries, this reveals a very high degree of continuity in the communities of rural England. The exception makes the point; this is Bruern (formerly Draitone) where a Cistercian monastery was founded in the twelfth century. The site of this was recorded as 'de Brueria Tretonie' - the Heath of Draitone - and the Abbey took its name from the heath rather than the Draitone part of its title (1).

However, as noted in Part One, this appearance of continuity needs treating with a degree of caution. What are listed in Domesday are estates or manors, not villages. Sometimes two or more manors share a place name, but in other cases the estate covers several modern parishes, and may have contained a number of hamlets and scattered dwellings outside the centres. There is considerable evidence that until the eleventh or twelfth centuries, settlement sites did shift about a good deal within the boundaries of the estates on which they stood (2).

Estates held by the Church

King William insisted that all land belonged to the King, and was held from him by concession. What he had granted he could, and sometimes did, take back. The principal holders of estates, as shown in Table One, were

Modern Name	Domesday Name	Tenant-in-Chief	Sub-tenant or Occupier	Value £p	Phillimore Reference
SHIPTON -					
Royal Manor	SCIPTONE	King	-	72.00	1,5
Shipton (2)		King	Alsi	9.00	1,9
Shipton (3)		-	Alsi	2.00	58,29
Swinbrook	SVINBROC		Geoffrey	2.00	58,15
MILTON (1)	MIDELTONE	-	Ranulf Flambard	3.00	14,6
MILTON (2)		-	Alwy	7.00	59,21
KINGHAM	CANINGEHAM	Geoffrey de Mandeville	-	15.00	39,1
CHURCHILL	CERCELLE	Earl Hugh of Chester	Walter of Vernon	10.00	15,4
SARSDEN	SECENDENE	Richard de Courcy	-	26.00	32,2
LYNEHAM	LINEHAM	Bishop Odo	Ilbert de Lacy	10.00	7,59
CHADLINGTON (1)	CEDELINTONE	-	Rainald Archer	2.00	58,3
CHADLINGTON (2)		-	Siward Hunter	2.00	58,23
SPELSBURY	SPELESBERIE	Bishop of Worcester	Urso	10.00	EWI
ASCOTT D'OILLY	ESTHCOTE	Robert D'Oilly	Roger	8.00	28,25
ASCOTT EARL	ESTCOTE	Bishop Odo	Ilbert de Lacy	4.00	7,61
WIDFORD	WIDIFORDE	St Oswald's of Gloucester	Ranulf	3.00	EG2
FULBROOK	FVLEBROC	Roger d'Ivry	-	16.00	29,5
TAYNTON	TEIGTONE	St Denis Ch., Paris	-	15.00	13,1
BRUERN	DRAITONE	Robert D'Oilly	-	7.00	28,7
FIFIELD	FIFHIDE	Henry de Ferrers	-	5.00	24,4
IDBURY	IDEBERIE	Ralph de Mortemer	Odelard	12.00	30,1
FOSCOT	FOXCOTE	Richard de Courcy	-	.50	32,3
CHASTLETON (1)	CESTITONE	Bishop Odo	Various	1.80	7,54-7
CHASTLETON (2)		Winchcombe Abbey	Henry de Ferrers	-	11,2 & 24,7
CORNWELL	CORNEWELLE	Ansketel	-	1.50	59,26
SALFORD (1)	SALWORD	Bishop Odo	Ansketel	6.00	7,58
SALFORD (2)	SALFORD	Roger de Lacy	-	3.00	59,27
LITTLE ROLLRIGHT	ROLLANDRI	Bishop of Lincoln	Columban the monk	5.00	6,8
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (1)	ROLLENDRI	Robert de Stafford	-	5.00	27,2
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (2)		-	Robert son of Thurstan	5.00	58,4
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (3)	ROLLANDRI	-	William	3.00	58,10
HOOK NORTON	HOCHENORTONE	Robert D'Oilly	-	30.00	28,6
SWERFORD	SVRFORD	Robert	-	5.00	59,20
CHIPPING NORTON	NORTONE	Arnulf de Hesdin	-	22.00	40,3
CHALFORD	CELFORD	Henry de Ferrers	Robert	1.50	24,2
DEAN & CHALFORD	DENE	Henry de Ferrers	Robert	9.00	24,5
ENSTONE (1)	MENESTAN	Winchcombe Abbey	-	18.00	11,1
ENSTONE (2)		Winchcombe Abbey	Urso	-	11,1
RADFORD	RADEFORD	Ansketel de Grai	-	4.00	59,14
KIDDINGTON (1)	CHIDINTONE	Hascoit Musard	Mainou	4.00	56,4
KIDDINGTON (2)		Roger de Lacy	Ralph	2.00	59,15
				£366.30	

TABLE 1: The Estates - Names and Lords

therefore known as Tenants-in-Chief. In practice he left most of the Church holdings undisturbed, though exacting new feudal conditions (e.g. the bishops had to furnish knights for his service). As sees or abbeys fell vacant, he appointed Normans. One such was Remigius, the local Bishop, who moved the centre of the diocese from Dorchester to Lincoln. He held vast estates in the Shire, at Dorchester, Thame and around Banbury in particular. Here we find him holding only a comparatively small estate at Little Rollright, with the monk Columban holding from him. The latter was the first Abbott of the revived Eynsham Abbey, and Eynsham itself was also held by Columban from the Bishop; in effect Remigius had granted these lands to endow the Abbey when it was refounded.

However, church holdings in the Sciptone Hundreds were relatively small, compared with the Shire and the country as a whole. King Edward the Confessor had granted a big estate at Taynton to Deerhurst Priory in Gloucestershire, which he made a dependency of Saint Denis' Abbey in Paris - the original charter of 1059 survives in the French national archives. Domesday records the estate as belonging to Saint Denis' Church in Paris. Winchcombe Abbey held a big estate at Enstone. Spelsbury was held by the Bishop of Worcester, and again there is a charter suggesting the gift goes back to the mid-ninth century when Mercia had its own king (3). Widford was held by St Oswald's of Gloucester; both Spelsbury and Widford were sub-let to lesser barons. It is interesting that Widford remained an outlying part of Gloucestershire until the nineteenth century, and that its charming little church is still called St Oswald's - another indication of continuity over nine centuries. It stands now isolated in the midst of the typical humps and bumps of a deserted medieval village, with Roman mosaic in its flooring and medieval wallpaintings.

Nearby, but outside the Sciptone Hundreds, the Bishop of Winchester held the large Manor of Witney - another grant by charter made by King Edward the Confessor in 1044 (4).

The Lords of the Manor

Despite his being Bishop of Bayeux, I count Odo among the feudal magnates, as his holdings were clearly personal rather than by virtue of his clerical office. He was the King's half-brother, and Earl of Kent as well. He held vast estates throughout the kingdom, no less than 65 in Oxfordshire alone (by far the largest number held by any tenant-in-chief in the Shire, though many of them were comparatively small). Most of these were sub-tenanted by greater or lesser feudal barons, like Ilbert de Lacy at Lyneham and Ascott Earl, and Earl Aubrey at Burford beyond the borders of our Hundreds. Odo was already on bad terms with the King, and in the next reign was exiled and dispossessed of his estates after leading an abortive baronial revolt in 1088. Some of his manors were retained by the sub-tenant as tenant-in-chief, while others reverted to the Crown and were granted to new tenants-in-chief. Ilbert de Lacy appears to have retained Lyneham, but at some stage Ascott Earl seems to have been added to the Royal Manor of Sciptone. Elsewhere, Ilbert de Lacy was a tenant-in-chief in his own right, the centre of his Honor - as these vast feudal holdings were called - being at Pontefract, where he built an early castle (5). Burford was regranted to Robert FitzHamon, thus becoming part of the Honor of Gloucester (6). Later, the Royal Manor of Sciptone joined the Honor of Gloucester by a different route.

The King was his own tenant-in-chief on the Royal Manor, and sub-let another estate recorded at Shipton, but thought to be at Milton, to Alsi, a surviving Saxon thegn. This was 'ad firmam', at a rent, not by feudal tenure. Alsi and his son Alwy held altogether three estates by different titles in Milton and Shipton, and we know that Alsi had estates elsewhere, at Faringdon, Langford and Windrush, where he is described as a 'King's thane' (7). The King also held Wychwood Forest, which I discussed in Part One.

The other major estates were held by Norman magnates (including in that description barons from Brittany and elsewhere in France who came over with William I in 1066). Altogether there were fewer than 200 men of this stature throughout England, and they were rewarded with vast estates or honors throughout the country. Originally, William had intended to take over and rule Saxon England, as Cnut the Dane had done before him, retaining those Saxon earls and thegns who survived the wars of 1066. But by 1086 the Saxon aristocracy had been almost completely eliminated or dispossessed - only two of the tenants-in-chief recorded in Domesday can be identified as Saxons. The rest of the Saxon nobility had died in the wars or revolts, or of natural causes in some cases, or gone into exile - many of them, reviving a Viking tradition, to serve in the armies of the Eastern Roman Emperor at Byzantium. However, a number of Normans did marry Saxon heiresses. As a surviving Saxon, Alsi was very much the exception, and down-graded in status.

Earl Hugh of Chester (son of the vicomte of Avranches) was one of three major Norman magnates to whom William entrusted the organisation of the Welsh Marches. Ralph de Mortemer and Roger de Lacy were lesser, but still substantial, Marcher lords, with large holdings in Herefordshire and Shropshire. The centres of their Honors were at

Wigmore and Ludlow respectively, where they built early castles. Roger de Lacy was prominent in Odo's rebellion of 1088, and again in 1095. He was then exiled, but his brother Hugh was allowed to retain Ludlow. Descendants of Hugh were prominent in the twelfth century incursions into Wales and then into Ireland under Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke. Later, the two families combined when a Mortimer married a de Lacy heiress, rebuilt Ludlow castle, and became the first Earl of March. A descendant of theirs was the grandmother of King Edward IV, so there is Mortimer and de Lacy blood in the Royal Family today. These three Marcher lords held estates at Idbury, Churchill and Salford.

The honor of Henry de Ferrers is a good example of the extensive and scattered estates of these major barons. The centre of his honor was at Tutbury in Staffordshire, where he built a castle. In all, he is recorded in Domesday as holding over 200 estates, scattered through fourteen counties; his descendants were Earls of Derby (8). Here we find him at Fifield and Dean & Chalford.

Arnulf de Hesdin, who held Chipping Norton, was a Frenchman from a prominent family in Artois. Hascoit Musard was a Breton (Kiddington). Geoffrey de Mandeville, at Kingham, was ancestor to Earls of Essex. A de Courcy was prominent in Ireland in the twelfth century (Sarsden). De Stafford was connected with Stafford Castle, an early building by King William following a Saxon revolt in 1069-70 (Rollright). These were all major magnates who only had a small part of their honors located in our shire, with their residential castles located elsewhere.

The only barons listed here whose strength was centred in Oxfordshire were Robert d'Oilly and Roger d'Ivry. Robert was Sheriff of Warwickshire and of Oxfordshire. The centre of his honor was at Hook Norton, though I know of no castle ever having been built there - presumably his principal residence was at Oxford castle, of which he was builder and first castellan. He held 29 estates in the shire as tenant-in-chief, some of them sizeable, together with others as sub-tenant. Apart from Hook Norton we find him as Ascott d'Oilly. The motte and bailey castle there, which is still a prominent feature on the ground, is said to be twelfth century, presumably associated with the anarchy in Stephen's reign (9).

Roger d'Ivry (Fulbrook) held 23 estates in the shire, including Asthall beyond the borders of our Hundreds. He was a close associate of Robert d'Oilly - they were said to be 'sworn brothers' - and held the office of butler in the King's court. His honor does not seem to have had a centre in England - perhaps he was mostly court-based - but he is associated with Rouen Castle, a very important Norman fortification (10).

A number of these estates were sub-tenanted, sometimes by men of tenant-in-chief status. Ansketel de Grai may have been one such (at Radford, and I think he is the Ansketel at Cornwell and Salford); the family seem to have given their name to Rotherfield Greys. At Churchill, Walter of Vernon is known to have been an honorial baron, holding estates throughout the country from the Earl of Chester. 'Roger' at Ascott d'Oilly could have been anyone - five estates were held off Robert d'Oilly and several more off other tenants-in-chief by one or more minor barons of that name. Urso, Odelard, Mainou, Robert and Ralph may have been men of like stature, but with only one or two entries in the shire for each of them.

A few estates, mostly on the smaller side, were tenanted by men of other classes. Alsi and his son Alwy have already been mentioned at Shipton and Milton. The other estate at Milton was held by Rannulf Flambard, a young Norman cleric of low birth who was at the start of a long and successful, if disreputable, career; he went on to be successively Chief Minister to King William II, pirate in the Channel and Bishop of Durham before he died some 42 years after Domesday (11).

Finally, there is a section in the Oxfordshire folios under the heading 'Land of Richard and others of the King's Servants (ministros)'. Reginald the Archer held two small estates, one at Chadlington. Also at Chadlington was Siward Hunter, presumably a Forest official. The name is English or Danish, and we are told he held it freely before 1066. Geoffrey held Swinbrook. In Great Rollright there are two small estates held respectively by Robert son of Thurstan and one William. We are not told what office the last three held. Alwy's estate, and Alsi's smaller estate at Shipton, which have already been discussed in Part One, are recorded in this section.

Of the knights of the shire, so prominent in rural life in succeeding centuries, we meet no trace here. Three of them - 'milites' in the Latin text - are mentioned on a par with the peasants on the Bishop of Lincoln's estate at Eynsham. The bishop had to furnish knights for the king, and presumably settled them on his land this early to get them away from his cathedral precincts. It would seem that most of the knights at this stage were accommodated by the barons in their castles - the garrison - or accompanied them on their travels. It was after Domesday that the knights rose in the social scale, as armour became heavier and more expensive, requiring better bred horses. The knights were then granted estates by their lords as the most economical way to maintain them.

A rather formal picnic (after the Bayeux Tapestry)

Absentee Landlords

The most important single circumstance affecting social and economic life in the community was that almost without exception these baronial landlords were absentee. The concept of the lord or squire in his castle or manor-house, at the centre of the rural community, did not exist at this stage. The lords may have paid visits, more or less infrequently, and there may have been a hall available for their use, or for their representatives. Indeed, I get the impression that at this time the king, lords and bishops can hardly be said to have had any fixed abode at all. As Lady Mary Stenton put it (12):

> 'The circumstances of the feast pictured on the (Bayeux) Tapestry were often reproduced at the ever-moving court of the Norman kings of England. William I was constantly moving about the land, mainly to secure the obedience of remote parts, partly to save the expense of sending the produce of royal manors about the country, and partly also to enjoy the hunting in the royal forests. Many of his meals therefore must have been in the nature of highly organised and rather formal picnics. On a smaller scale the same is true of his magnates. All of them had manors scattered in many shires and none of them remained constantly in one. All through the period...there was an ever-moving stream of traffic on the roads of England; great men, their families and retinues, moving from manor to manor.'

One can imagine what an event it was when the great lord, or even a lesser representative, did visit: the preparations, the anticipation, the apprehension! Then, after a few hectic days, they were gone and life resumed its normal routine.

The peasants of course formed the overwhelming majority of the population. Their lot was not just a matter of routine, but of hard, unremitting toil, very close to the subsistence level with no comforts, hardly any amenities and very little joy. Homo sapiens being what he is, they would have been well adapted to their condition and would have taken what ever joy they found. But the contrast between their circumstances and those of the great Norman lords - with their highly organized picnics - could not have been more stark.

The general picture conveyed by Domesday is of late Saxon rural England under new management - the Norman lords had taken over, but had not had enough time to make fundamental changes in those areas (like Oxfordshire) which they did not actually devastate. We have seen who these new proprietors were. But most of the detailed information in Domesday is about the Saxon countryside which they had acquired - how the estates were organised, peopled and equipped. It is now time to look at that.

Hides and Ploughteams

Table Two summarises the information contained in the Domesday entries for all the estates in the Shipton Hundreds, as to hides, ploughteams,

Modern Name	Hides	Land for Ploughs	Ploughteams	Acres of Meadow	Acres per Ploughteam	Mills
SHIPTON -						
Royal Manor	33¾	N/A	53	N/A	N/A	6
Shipton (2)	8	12	9	36	4.0	-
Shipton (3)	2	2	2	-	0.0	-
Swinbrook	4½	3	2	3	1.5	-
MILTON (1)	4	4	2	6	3.0	-
MILTON (2)	1	1	1	2	2.0	-
KINGHAM	10	16	16	109	6.8	1
CHURCHILL	20	20	12	170	14.2	2
SARSDEN	20	28	28	155	5.5	3
LYNEHAM	10	14	15	120	8.0	1
CHADLINGTON (1)	2½	2	2	-	0.0	-
CHADLINGTON (2)	2½	2	2	3	1.5	-
SPELSBURY	10	16	16	32	2.0	1
ASCOTT D'OILLY	6	5	6	15	2.5	1
ASCOTT EARL	4½	7	4	16	4.0	-
WIDFORD	2	N/A	4	8	2.0	1
[illegible]	12	15	17	63	3.7	1
TAYNTON	10	15	21	170	8.1	2
BRUERN	10	9	10	30	3.0	1
FIFIELD	5	7	7	24	3.4	-
IDBURY	14	12	11	60	5.4	-
FOSCOT	1	1	-	4	-	-
CHASTLETON (1)	4	2½	2	17	8.5	-
CHASTLETON (2)	1	-	-	-	-	-
CORNWELL	2	2	1	20	20.0	1
SALFORD (1)	6	7	6½	38	5.4	1
SALFORD (2)	3½	5	2½	23	9.2	Pt
LITTLE ROLLRIGHT	5	6	8	25	3.1	-
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (1)	5½	6	6	50	8.3	-
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (2)	5½	6	4½	50	12.5	-
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (3)	4½	5	4	20	5.0	-
HOOK NORTON	30	30	35	140	4.0	2
SWERFORD	5	8	9	12	1.3	1
CHIPPING NORTON	15½	21	21	60	2.9	3
CHALFORD	3	3	3	4	1.3	1
DEAN & CHALFORD	8	8	13	13	1.0	2
ENSTONE (1) & (2)	24	26	23	50	2.2	4
RADFORD	3	4	5	6	1.2	1
KIDDINGTON (1)	5	6	4½	12	2.7	1
KIDDINGTON (2)	1½	2½	2	2	1.0	Pt
	323¾	339**	390	1568*	4.6*	37

* excluding Royal Manor ** excluding Royal Manor and Widford

TABLE 2: Hides, Ploughteams, Meadows and Mills

meadow and mills.

Hides were Saxon units of assessment, for tax and other obligations like maintaining and manning the borough walls. It is thought that during the eleventh century an attempt was made to standardise the hide at 120 acres. Nevertheless it is evident that as an assessment this was somewhat arbitary and only roughly equated to the agricultural capacity of the manors, many of the assessments being in multiples or divisions of five hides. In some cases this is not immediately apparent: the three estates at Great Rollright look very precise, with 5½, 5¼ and 4½ hides, but they total exactly 15 hides.

Information is then given about 'land for so many ploughs'. It has been suggested that this was an attempt in the Domesday survey itself to update and correct the old assessment in hides. The fact that this information is not given for the Royal Manor - which would not have been assessed for tax as such - may support this theory. Quite often, but by no means universally, there is a close correspondence between the number of ploughteams expected, and those found: excluding the Royal Manor and Widford in the Gloucestershire folios, there is land for 339 ploughs, and 333 are found. The plough is not just an implement made of iron and wood, it is also the team of oxen used to draw it, generally thought to be eight in number. They would have been used - a whole team or part as necessary - to draw other implements like harrows or carts of produce, fuel or manure. I have taken the number of ploughteams on an estate as being the most useful indication of its relative size and agricultural capacity. With 390 ploughteams (including the Royal Manor), there were therefore over 3000 oxen in all on these estates.

Meadows and Mills

Table Two then shows the acreage of meadow - unfortunately the Royal Manor omits this detail (this is also the case with the other Royal Manors in Oxfordshire). Over 1500 acres are recorded, and we may presume that including the Royal Manor (which accounts for 13.6% of the total number of ploughteams), the total would have approached 2000 acres. On the information given we have an average of 4.6 acres per ploughteam. Meadow was valuable for the hay needed for wintering the beasts, who were let on the meadow to graze once the crop was in. I suggested in Part One that the haycrop was a vital component of any estate, essential for bringing the oxen through the winter fit for the spring ploughing. However, the figures do imply that this is perhaps an exaggeration. The acreage of meadow per team varies enormously on different estates, and

it is noticeable that two of the relatively large manors get by with less than half the average (Enstone and Spelsbury). A spot check on the other Oxfordshire entries suggests that the Sciptone Hundreds were exceptionally well endowed with meadow. Large acreages are found elsewhere, but it was not uncommon for substantial estates to get by with less than two acres a team. At first sight this is puzzling; what acreage was required to provide winter sustenance for one ploughteam? What did the many estates do which palpably had much less than this?

Part of the discrepancy may arise from the fact that the term 'acre' is itself imprecise. We are not talking about the modern statutory acre of which there are 640 to the square mile. An acre on one estate may have comprised more square yardage than that on another. But I think this factor alone is not sufficient to dispose of the problem. Another explanation is that hay was also taken from the pasture (meadowland comprised the valley bottoms which were often flooded in the wet season, while pasture was the rougher permanent grazing on higher ground, probably of poor quality with more thistle than grass). Domesday does give details of the pasture, but it is difficult to collate, being sometimes recorded in acreage and sometimes in linear measurements - 'pasture four furlongs long and as many wide' at Sarsden. Are these average measurements - giving a quarter of a square mile or 160 modern acres - or are these maximum or minimum measurements? Probably these figures are pretty rough and ready. Another possibility is that there was an element of trading in hay between estates.

But perhaps the most likely explanation is that hay did not in fact comprise all, or on some estates the greater part of, the winter diet for these beasts. A thirteenth century writer on agricultural methods said that a single ox needed 3½ sheaves of oats weekly, and I gather this meant both the grain and the stalk (13). It may be dangerous to assume that what Walter of Henley described as ideal practice two centuries later was general practice in the eleventh century, but in this instance it seems to be a possibility.

The other statistic recorded in Table Two is the number of mills, of which there were 37 in all. These are water mills, usually on side-streams, often only functioning in wet weather - very much smaller than later mills built on mill-races or powered by wind. The six found on the Royal Manor is a very large number, only one other Royal Manor in the shire having as many (14). It will be seen that two of the smaller estates are recorded as having part of a mill. Salford and Kiddington are too far apart to have shared a mill between them, and no other information is given as to part-ownership of other mills locally. The most likely explanation seems to be that these two small manors shared

	Ploughs in Lordship	Slaves	Peasants' Ploughs	Villeins	Small-holders	Oxen per Peasant	
						Estate	Villeins
SHIPTON -							
Royal Manor	10	6	43	54	64	3.4	6.4
Shipton (2) & (3)	4	8	7	18	5	2.8	3.1
Swinbrook	1	1	1	2	4	2.7	4.0
MILTON (1)	1	2	1	4	2	2.0	2.0
MILTON (2)	1	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A
KINGHAM	4	4	12	19	10	3.9	5.1
CHURCHILL	3	-	9	24	14	2.7	3.0
SARSDEN	9	34	19	37	26	2.3	4.1
LYNEHAM	4	6	11	30	7	2.8	2.9
CHADLINGTON (1)	2	4	-	-	2	2.7	N/A
CHADLINGTON (2)	2	1	-	-	3	4.0	N/A
SPELSBURY	4	5	12	25	12	3.0	3.8
ASCOTT D'OILLY	3	6	3	7	1	3.4	3.4
ASCOTT EARL	2	4	2	3	6	2.5	5.3
WIDFORD	2	4	2	4	3	2.9	4.0
FULBROOK	5	12	12	22	7	3.3	4.4
TAYNTON	4	4	17	17	30	3.3	8.0
BRUERN	3	5	7	13	5	3.5	4.3
FIFIELD	2	4	5	9	4	3.3	4.4
IDBURY	5	5	6	13	5	3.8	3.7
FOSCOT	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A
CHASTLETON (1)	2	1	-	1	4	1.6	0.0
CHASTLETON (2)	-	-	-	-	-	N/A	N/A
CORNWELL	1	1	-	-	6	1.1	N/A
SALFORD (1)	3	3	3½	7	4	3.7	4.0
SALFORD (2)	2	3	½	2	1	3.3	2.0
LITTLE ROLLRIGHT	2	2	6	12	3	3.8	4.0
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (1)	2	5	4	9	1	3.2	3.6
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (2)	1	2	3½	7	5	2.6	4.0
GREAT ROLLRIGHT (3)	2	-	2	5	3	4.0	3.2
HOOK NORTON	5	5	30	76	3	3.3	3.2
SWERFORD	3	3	6	7	6	4.5	6.8
CHIPPING NORTON	10	15	11	22	16	3.1	4.0
DEAN & CHALFORD	8	4	8	13	3	6.4	4.9
ENSTONE (1)	3	6	18	29*	7	4.0	5.0
ENSTONE (2)	1	-	1	3	2	3.2	2.7
RADFORD	2	2	3	4	8	2.9	6.0
KIDDINGTON (1)	2	4	2½	7	10	1.7	2.9
KIDDINGTON (2)	1	-	1	3	3	2.7	2.7
	121	171	269	508*	295	3.2	4.2

* Includes 4 freemen

TABLE 3: Peasants and Oxen

the revenue from the mills recorded as belonging to the larger estates at each of these two places.

The Home Farm

Table Three divides the total number of ploughteams between those held on the demesne or home farm ('in dominio') and those held by the peasants. It then gives figures for the various classes of peasants, and itemises the ratios of oxen to peasants.

Every estate of any substance - here at any rate - had a home farm, with ploughteams belonging to it, and most had a number of slaves working on them. Slavery had been an established practice throughout the Saxon period, to be found on church as well as lay estates; within a century or so of Domesday it had disappeared, the slaves merging with the lower classes of peasants or serfs. They worked more or less full-time on the home farm, holding no land of their own except perhaps for a vegetable patch. The other classes of peasants also had obligations to work on the home farm for a proportion of the time, bringing their own ploughteams with them. For this reason the demesne ploughteams expressed as a percentage of total ploughteams does not tell us what proportion of the land was occupied by the home farm. It must have been a significantly higher proportion than the percentage would suggest (the latter is 31% overall in our sample, see Table Four). There are however considerable variations in the percentages found on individual estates. To take the three largest estates, we have 19% on the Royal Manor, 32% at Sarsden, and only 14% at Hook Norton; moving down the size-scale a bit, it was 47% at Chipping Norton.

It took two people to operate a ploughteam - one leading or goading the oxen, the other guiding the plough. It is generally thought that the slaves were the ploughmen on the home farm, responsible for the care of the ploughteams, and sometimes assisted by other peasants when working the land with them. However, there seems to be no general correlation between the number of slaves and the number of demesne ploughteams; sometimes it is one slave per ploughteam, sometimes between one and two, but in other cases the number falls outside this range. There is an approximate correlation between the proportion of demesne ploughteams compared with total ploughteams, and the degree of servility on estates: the higher the proportion of ploughs in lordship, the greater the proportion of slaves in the total population. Table Four illustrates this and demonstrates that there is also a connection between this correlation and the size of the estate - the smaller the estate,

generally speaking, the higher the proportion of ploughs in lordship, and the more servile it is (15). But there are exceptions: among the larger estates, Sarsden, Fulbrook, Chipping Norton and Dean & Chalford have a high proportion of demesne ploughteams, and of these all but Dean & Chalford are more servile than the average for the 16 smallest estates. Among the estates in the 5-12 ploughteam category, Churchill has a quarter of its ploughs in dominio, but no slaves.

For the shire as a whole, the demesne ploughs are 32.3% of the total, and 15.2% of peasants are slaves (for South East England as a whole slaves are 12.1%). So with 17.6% slaves, the Sciptone Hundreds form an unusually servile corner of a relatively servile shire - but compare these figures with Hampshire, with 17.9% slaves (16).

When I wrote Part One of this study, I presumed that the home farms were run for the direct profit of the lord, or whoever was at the end of the chain of land-holding - the sub-tenant if there was one, otherwise the tenant-in-chief (some historians call this 'demesne farming', as opposed to leasing). I was led to this conclusion by the Domesday entries themselves, which give the appearance of a complete record of land-holding, from the King, to the tenant-in-chief, to the sub-tenant, down to the lesser people recorded as holding strips on the estates from

	Demesne Ploughs as Percentage of Total Ploughs	Slaves as Percentage of Total Peasants
Eleven largest estates (over 13 ploughteams):		
Royal Manor	18.9	4.8
Sarsden	32.1	35.1
Hook Norton	14.3	6.0
Kingham	25.0	12.1
Lyneham	26.7	13.9
Spelsbury	25.0	11.9
Fulbrook	29.4	29.3
Taynton	19.0	7.9
Chipping Norton	47.6	28.3
Dean & Chalford	50.0	20.0
Enstone	14.2	14.3
Average	25.5	16.0
Eleven medium estates (5-12 ploughteams)	35.7	19.4
Sixteen smaller estates	57.1	22.1
Overall average	31.0	17.6

TABLE 4: Demesne Ploughteams and Servility

them - some knights and freemen where found, as well as the peasants. It was necessary to postulate the existence of a class of estate managers not recorded in Domesday, it is true, since the lord was mostly absentee, and these estates could not run themselves. Alsi was the only tenant recorded as holding 'ad firmam', that is paying a rent, though I suspected that some of the sub-tenants were also paying rents, particularly men like Urso and Rannulf on the church estates. Otherwise I presumed that the tenure was generally feudal, or in the case of some lesser men, a reward for particular service to the King.

However, some recent academic opinion asserts that most of these estates were in fact leased, particularly the Royal Manors (17). The men I presumed to be stewards were actually lessees, paying a fixed rent to the lord and exploiting the estates as best they could for their own benefit, instead of accounting to him for the profit. Demesne farming did not appear as a general practice until the end of the twelfth century. It would have required heavy supervision or more sophisticated accounting and audit than was yet developed, otherwise the lord would have been at the mercy of a crafty manager. What I find disconcerting about this discovery is that the Domesday survey - far from being a complete record of the chain of landholding - is revealed as totally omitting mention of the existence of a rural middle class which was socially and economically significant, and in national terms numerically also. Why should it do this? The answer can only be that these people were taken for granted - everyone knew that these estates had a manager/lessee. What their names were and how much each held was regarded as immaterial - they were only English, and therefore unimportant. Yet these were the people to whom the peasants related in their daily lives and they were very important in the local community. In most cases their home would have been the biggest permanently occupied house in the village. Alsi, Alwy his son, and Siward Hunter are exceptions in being Englishmen who are mentioned - the first two because they were socially superior to the rest, with several estates held 'ad firmam', and Siward perhaps because he held in return for service, instead of for a rent. But unlike the Norman tenants, Alsi probably paid much more attention to his relatively few estates, having no other distractions; Alwy may have resided at Milton. I think Siward Hunter did live at Chadlington and was a working farmer.

Estate Values

Table One shows the estate values (for convenience in decimal figures,

but Domesday of course recorded in £.s.d.). It will be seen that the values of most holdings are shown in whole pounds, and this does convey an impression of estimation or approximation. Also, since more than half the estates are valued at £5 or less, this degree of 'rounding-off' is considerable. At the Royal Manor, which accounted for £72 out of £366.30 - 19.7% of the total - the estate value works out at £1.36 per ploughteam. For the rest the average is £0.87 per ploughteam. This considerable difference is accounted for by the fines imposed in the Hundreds Courts, and other tribute and customary dues which belonged to the Royal Manor. The wording is different - in the Royal Manors we are told 'in total it pays (reddit)', on other estates we are told 'it is worth (valuit)'. I take it that £72 was what the King actually received from the estate, including the rent paid by the lessee as well as the other dues, which is what he wanted to know. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 1087 has this to say (18):

> 'The king and the head men loved much, and overmuch,
> the greed for gold and silver, and cared not how
> sinfully it was obtained so long as it came to them.
> The king granted his land on hard terms, as dearly as he
> might. When some other came, and bid more than the first
> had given, the king let it to the man who offered more.
> When there came a third, and bid yet more, the king let
> it into the hands of the men who bid most of all, nor cared
> how very sinfully the reeves got it from poor men...'

It is not so clear what the information - the 'valuit' - on the other estates indicates. On the main estate Alsi held from the King 'ad firmam', the figure represents £1.00 per ploughteam. If that was the rent he was paying, it looks sharp. Of the sub-tenanted estates, Spelsbury and Widford (church holdings) show £0.63 and £0.75, while Lyneham and Dean & Chalford (with baronial tenants-in-chief) show £0.67 and £0.66. Ascott D'Dilly, on the other hand, shows a steep £1.33. Are these the rents paid by the sub-tenants to the tenant-in-chief, the rents paid by the lessees to the sub-tenant, or the surveyors' estimate of what the value was? Of the estates which have only a tenant-in-chief recorded, the figures run from £0.56 at Swerford and £0.71 at Taynton, up to £1.50 at Rannulf Flambard's Milton estate. Sarsden, Kingham and Fulbrook - all relatively large estates with a high proportion of demesne ploughteams - are £0.94 or £0.95; Hook Norton - with a low demesne ratio - is £0.86. It is difficult to evaluate this information, and I suspect that we are not always comparing like with like.

The Peasant Holdings

Table Three then summarises the entries in respect of the peasants: how many of them there were in each class and how many ploughs they held. In the Sciptone Hundreds only four freemen are recorded, all on the Enstone estate belonging to Winchcombe Abbey. There are no knights ('milites') or representatives of the other classes superior to the villeins found elsewhere in relatively small numbers. The villeins were the highest class of peasants on most estates. They each held perhaps a virgate of land - 30 acres - which they farmed for their own account. For this they owed a variety of obligations in kind or labour to the 'lord' or his lessee. These obligations did vary very much from estate to estate, or even between villeins on the same estate. But generally, they took their ploughteams to work on the home farm for a specified number of days in the year, helped bring in the harvest and hay-crop, and did other particular chores like gathering fuel. They may also have been called on to contribute produce in kind - corn, lambs, poultry, cheese and so on. For the rest of the time they were free to work their own land and tend their own livestock. They had access to the meadow for hay, the pasture for grazing, and the woods (where these were found) for timber and fodder for the swine (acorns or beech-mast). They had to go the lord's mill (if there was one) to get their corn ground. It was later that these obligations were commuted to money rents.

It is generally thought that the ploughs recorded as belonging to the peasants would have been held by the villeins. As the right-hand column of Table Three shows, each villein only held about half a ploughteam or less (a full team comprising eight beasts). It is clear that in order to do the ploughing, whether on their own land or on the home farm, they had to combine in order to put full teams together. Indeed, at Salford the peasants on the two estates held respectively 3½ and one half of a ploughteam - here, the necessary cooperation appears to have been between manors. This could suggest that these two estates were mixed up together on the ground in one open-field system.

The smallholders or bordars probably divided into two groups. Some specialist craftsmen (millers, smiths etc.) who received payment in kind from the other peasants for their services were better off. They would have smallholdings to supplement their livelihood with vegetables and livestock. Indeed some of these specialist craftsmen may have had holdings big enough to qualify as villeins. But probably all the peasants were jacks of all trades to a certain extent - their own carpenters, hurdle-makers, house-builders and so on, while their wives were spinsters, weavers and potters.

The rest of the smallholders were much poorer, with perhaps five acres each off which they grubbed a living as best they could. Their obligations to work for the lord would have been less onerous than those of the villeins, and they would have spent much of their time labouring for a wage, probably in kind, for the lord or the villeins - often to work out the obligations of the latter to the lord. It is noticeable that on large and scattered estates like the Royal Manor, a very much higher proportion of smallholders is found than normal (see Table Five). It has been suggested that these are people living on scattered holdings on the margin of cultivation, or in relatively new hamlets on land cleared from the forest - places like Leafield or Ramsden.

The figures in Table Three are for holdings or sub-sub-tenancies - in other words households. Each villein or smallholder would have his family to support and to help him - his wife, more or less mature children, possibly a parent and unestablished siblings. It is generally thought that to arrive at population figures one should multiply the quoted figures by a factor of four or five, though there is some controversy whether slaves should be counted in as families or as single people. This gives a population range for the Sciptone Hundreds of 3380 - 4870.

The last two columns in Table Three show the average number of oxen per peasant, assuming a ploughteam of eight beasts. The first figure - under the heading 'Estate' - shows all the ploughteams on each estate, belonging both to the home farm and to the peasants, in relation to all the peasants of all classes. This can be taken to indicate how well equipped the estate as a whole was, at any rate for arable farming. As we shall see later, some conclusions can be drawn from some of the aberrations from the norm. I will here draw attention to Siward Hunter's relatively small estate at Chadlington (2). With four oxen per peasant overall, he looks exceptionally well provided for, which seems odd for such a small estate. But assume an extra working household and the figure comes down to the average of 3.2 for our sample. It is this which has led me to suggest that Siward Hunter was a resident working farmer.

The column under the heading 'Villeins' shows the number of oxen in the peasants' ploughteams relative to the villeins alone. This can be taken as a measure of the comparative wealth of these peasants on different estates. It will be noted that the villeins on the Royal Manor are particularly well equipped, though there are other high figures, for instance at Taynton.

Social Mix

Table Five shows the peasants of each class as a percentage of total householders, first in the eleven largest estates, with the average for that group (19); then the averages for two other groups, comprising eleven medium sized and sixteen small estates; then the average for our whole sample; and finally, by way of comparison, the averages for Oxfordshire and for the South East of England as a whole (20). I call this the 'Social Mix', though perhaps it is more a question of economic organisation. It is immediately apparent that our overall figures are very close to the averages for the shire and the South East, and so indeed is the average for the eleven largest estates. Yet when one looks at the detailed figures for each of the eleven largest estates, it is apparent that only one of them, Kingham, comes at all close to this norm

	Freemen %	Villeins %	Small-holders %	Slaves %
Eleven largest estates (over 13 ploughteams):				
Royal Manor	-	43.6	51.6	4.8
Sarsden	-	38.1	26.8	35.1
Hook Norton	-	90.5	3.5	6.0
Kingham	-	57.6	30.3	12.1
Lyneham	-	69.8	16.3	13.9
Spelsbury	-	59.5	28.6	11.9
Fulbrook	-	53.6	17.1	29.3
Taynton	-	33.3	58.8	7.9
Chipping Norton	-	41.5	30.2	28.3
Dean & Chalford	-	65.0	15.0	20.0
Enstone	9.5	59.5	16.7	14.3
Average	0.6	54.0	29.4	16.0
Eleven medium estates (5-12 ploughteams)	-	55.4	25.2	19.4
Sixteen smaller estates	-	33.6	44.3	22.1
Overall average	0.4	51.7	30.3	17.6
Other averages:				
Shire	1.5*	54.5	28.9**	15.1
South-East England	1.3*	52.0	34.6**	12.1

* includes other higher classifications ** includes cottagers etc.

TABLE 5: Social Mix

and that most of them vary from it very substantially in one or more respects.

As we have seen in Table Four, there is some correlation between the demesne plough percentage and the degree of servility. Of the three largest estates, Sarsden has a relatively high proportion of demesne ploughs and an extraordinarily high degree of servility, even allowing for that. The Royal Manor has a low demesne percentage and low servility. The unusual feature here is the large proportion of smallholders and I have already suggested that this is a feature of a large and dispersed estate involving a number of minor settlement sites in cleared woodland or scrub. Hook Norton on the other hand is quite exceptional in having over 90% of its householders with villein status. Yet they only have an average of 3.2 oxen per villein, which is well below the average. Perhaps these people or some of them were half-virgaters with 15 acres or so instead of the more usual 30 acres. I wonder if it is a coincidence that alone of the estates in the Sciptone Hundreds, Hook Norton rated an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, for the year 913 (21):

> 'The Force (the Danish Army) rode out after Easter from Northampton and Leicester, broke the truce and killed many men at Hook Norton and thereabouts.'

Perhaps it was necessary to offer people villein status after that, in order to persuade them to come and repopulate the place. It fascinates me that these three super-estates, so utterly different from each other and from the norm, combine to produce population averages which are very close to those for the Shire: villeins 54.8%, smallholders 30.5% and slaves 14.7%.

There is thus a considerable variety of economic organisation to be found in the larger estates which is mirrored in the eleven medium sized estates and the larger of the small estates. But it is noteworthy that there is a distinctive pattern encountered on some of the smallest estates of all, particularly those occupied by officers like Geoffrey at Swinbrook, Rainald Archer and Siward Hunter. Most of the ploughs are on the home farm and what few villeins there are have relatively few oxen - apparently half-virgaters. Servility is high but most of the peasants are smallholders.

One example, one of three units at Chastleton held by Bishop Odo, is quite exceptional. It is sub-tenanted by Urso, whom we find also at Spelsbury and Enstone. In Tables One, Two and Three these three estates are combined as Chastleton (1), but in Tables Four, Five and Six I am

treating them as three separate units. The whole entry reads:

> 'Urso holds 1 hide in Chastleton. Land for 1 plough.
> 1 villein. The value is and was 6s.'

What I wonder did this villein do, with no oxen and no home farm to work on? Spelsbury seems too far for him or the oxen to commute. Perhaps he kept sheep.

Estates by size

In Table Six I have broken down some of the figures according to the size of the estates. It is significant that the 11 largest estates listed in Tables Four and Five account for 64.7% of all the peasant households and 66.4% of all the ploughteams. A majority of the peasants live on these large estates with 13 or more ploughteams. 11 medium estates with between 5 and 12 ploughteams account for 22.8% of the households and 23.7% of the ploughs. The relatively numerous smaller estates - 16 in all - only carry 12.5% of the population and 9.9% of the ploughs; they tend to be less well equipped as well as smaller, and their economic and social significance is not great.

	Total	Largest	Big	Medium	Small
Number of estates	38	3	8	11	16
Ploughteams:					
Range	-	25+	13-24	5-12	5-
Numbers	390	116	143	92½	38½
Percentages	100.0	29.7	36.7	23.7	9.9
Peasants:					
Numbers	974	305	325	222	122
Percentages	100.0	31.3	33.4	22.8	12.5
Oxen per peasant:					
Estate	3.2	3.0	3.5	3.3	2.5
Villeins	4.2	4.4	4.6	3.9	3.2
Mills (numbers)	37	11	15	7	4

TABLE 6: Estates by Size

Woodlands

The Domesday entries then go on to give information about the woodland available for the estates. Usually what is recorded is a linear measurement - at Sarsden, for instance, '1 league long and 7 furlongs wide' (a league being 1½ rather than 3 miles) - but on the Royal Manor we are simply told 'The Woodland is in the King's Enclosure'. The same remark is made at Wootton, another Royal Manor, and I take it to mean that the estate's woods were located within the King's demesne hunting forest of Woodstock, Cornbury and Wychwood (22). Altogether, woodland is recorded as being held as part of 9 other estates within the Sciptone Hundreds, and Beryl Schumer has shown that all these woods were clustered around the bounds of the demesne forest and locates exactly where they were (23). The estates in question were Taynton, Fulbrook, Alwy's estate at Milton, Ascott d'Oilly, both estates at Kiddington, Enstone, Swinbrook and Spelsbury. A twelfth estate, Widford, is not recorded in Domesday as having any woodland but subsequent records show pretty clearly that it must have had some. I take this discrepancy to arise from the fact that Widford was entered in the Gloucestershire folios, based on the reports of a different team of surveyors; we should not draw conclusions from it about the apparent lack of woodland on other Oxfordshire estates.

In some of these cases the woodland in question lay separated on the ground from the estate to which it belonged. The Taynton woods, for instance, were located between Shipton and Swinbrook, north of Pain's Farm (24). This was by no means unusual. The woodlands belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln's large estates around Banbury were located within the parishes of Charlbury, Finstock and Fawler, also adjacant to the demesne forest. No settlements are recorded at these places in Domesday because they belonged to a larger estate, and it is significant that these parishes formed an outlier of the Banbury Hundred. Within a few years of Domesday the Bishop had granted these parishes with their woodlands to Eynsham Abbey (25).

Of the other estates Hook Norton alone is recorded as having 'spinney 2 furlongs long and ½ a furlong wide' - a poor resource for such a large estate by comparison with the manors fortunate enough to have rights abutting on the demesne forest. Nothing is said about woodland as a resource on the other estates, some of which were quite large or with established woods today e.g. Bruern. Undoubtedly there were some hedgerows and bushes and isolated trees on waste and scrubland but I take this information to be substantially correct: these estates had no organised woodlands or coppices to draw on for their requirements of

timber for fuel, hurdles, tools and housebuilding. This was a serious deficiency and later medieval records mention people from such estates buying or scrounging timber from the forest. The well-wooded landscape with its extensive hedgerows that we treasure, is largely a result of later plantation - see for instance the report on the hedge-counts in Milton and Shipton (26). Away from the established woodlands round Wychwood Forest, the Domesday landscape was a comparative prairie.

The Missing Churches

We have already noted one significant omission from the Domesday entries, namely the total lack of reference to the class of managers or lessees who ran the estates on the ground. Another total omission is of any record of churches, or parish priests. Many of the latter may only have been of villein status, so conceivably are concealed in the returns of peasant-holdings. But even at Eynsham, apart from the reference to the monk Columban holding the estate, nothing is said about monks or priests at the refounded Abbey. We must presume there were many churches in the community, some of them sources of revenue for lay lords, some well-endowed. At Shipton it appears that the prebend of the church was granted away within about half a century of Domesday, predating the earliest part of the fabric of the modern St Mary's Church. At Fulbrook the church is certainly an old building - indeed a prominent herring-bone pattern in parts of the stonework is said to be typically Saxon. On another neighbouring estate - 'Minster' (Minster Lovell) - the very name indicates the location of an earlier Saxon mother-church from which priests served a wider area of churchless estates. There is no mention of a church or priest on any of these estates, and indeed I cannot find any such mention in the Oxfordshire folios at all, outside the Borough of Oxford itself - not even at Dorchester which we know to have been the centre of the diocese until shortly before Domesday. Other shires do record information about churches but it is clearly very incomplete.

Taynton

It is worth examining in detail the entries for two of the estates which are materially different from the others. The first is Taynton:

> 'St Denis' Church Paris holds Taynton from the King. King Edward gave it to the Abbey. 10 hides. Land for 15 ploughs. Now in lordship 4 ploughs, 4 slaves. 17 villeins with 30 smallholders have 17 ploughs. 2 mills at 32s 6d and 62s 6d for eels; meadow 170 acres; pasture 1 league long and ½ league wide; woodland 1 league long and 4 furlongs wide; between the quarries, meadow and pasture they pay 24s 7d. Value before 1066 and later £10; now £15 in total.'

The mention of quarries immediately strikes the eye, and of course Taynton was famous for its stone in succeeding centuries. There is a very high proportion of oxen per villein - a whole ploughteam each, the largest number in our whole sample and nearly twice the average. There are 21 ploughs although land for only 15 - an unusually large excess - and a very large number of smallholders, 58.8% compared with the average for our study of 30.3%. Finally, the estate has increased in value from £10 to £15, which again is rather unusual. I did wonder whether the explanation for all this lay in the quarries: perhaps the extra smallholders were quarry-workers who owned a number of ploughteams to haul the stone. The relatively large acreage of meadow could be adduced as supportive evidence - at 8 acres a team it is nearly twice the average for even our well-endowed area - as such beasts owned by folk who were not primarily farmers would need easy forage.

Raymond Moody thinks otherwise (27). He points out that at 24s 7d the quarries, meadow and pasture between them made a relatively small contribution to the yield of the whole estate - only about 8% - not much more than a quarter of what the mills and eels contributed. He suggests that in fact the quarries were only intermittently used, according to need, and that when used they were manned by itinerant workers. Therefore the explanation for these unusual features lies elsewhere. We have already noted that the Taynton woodlands were separated from the main estate, but there was a second outlier - fenland rather than meadow down on the Thames at Northmoor. Probably one of the mills was there, and the eels came from the Thames rather than the Windrush. Many of the smallholders would have been at Northmoor (as we have seen, a typical feature of a scattered estate), fishing, fowling and tending cattle during the summer. Raymond Moody postulates some form of cattle-ranching or breeding as a possible explanation for the high number of oxen per villein.

One can only theorise and perhaps the truth lay between the two explanations. Even if the quarries were only intermittently worked by

itinerant specialists, the stone would still have had to be hauled to the nearest river transport. Being well-endowed with meadow, perhaps the villeins profited from having spare oxen available to meet the occasional demand.

Churchill

At first glance the entry for Churchill is not so remarkable and we have not so far studied details of it separately in Tables Four and Five, because with only 12 ploughteams it is classified as a medium estate. It is in fact a larger estate than the classification of ploughteams would suggest:

> 'Walter holds Churchill from the Earl (Hugh of Chester). 20 hides. Land for 20 ploughs. Now in lordship 3 ploughs. 24 villeins with 14 smallholders have 9 ploughs. 2 mills at 20s; meadow 170 acres; pasture 120 acres. The value is and was £10. Earl Harold (King Harold Godwinson) held it before 1066.'

It is indeed the lack of ploughteams which is unusual - land for 20 ploughs but only 12 recorded. Taking the estate as a whole we have 2.7 oxen per peasant, compared with the average of 3.2. The villeins only have 3.0 oxen each, compared with the average of 4.2. Yet the estate is well-endowed with meadow: 170 acres gives 14.2 acres for each team actually there, and would still give 8.5 acres if there were 20 teams (for which there is said to be land available), compared with the average in our study of 4.6 acres per ploughteam. The fact that the estate is still worth £10, what it was twenty years before, would tend to discount some explanation like devastation during the wars and uprisings - and in any case there is no sign of that sort of trouble anywhere else in our sample, unlike other parts of England.

However, if one looks for this somewhat incompatible combination of features - fewer ploughteams than one would expect, low numbers of oxen per peasant, high acreages of meadow per ploughteam, with no loss of value over 20 years - one does find it in whole or part elsewhere, albeit on smaller estates. Roger de Lacy's estate at Salford has land for 5 ploughs but only 2½ recorded; this gives 3.3 oxen per peasant and only 2.0 per villein. There are 9.2 acres of meadow per ploughteam found: the value is and was £3. At Rollright (2), held by Robert son of

Thurstan, there is land for 6 ploughs but only 4½ are recorded. This is 2.6 oxen per peasant, though the villeins among them are better off with 4.0 each. However, this estate has 12.5 acres of meadow per team. Again the value is and was £5. At Rannulf Flambard's estate at Milton there is land for 4 ploughs but only 2 recorded; this averages only 2 oxen per peasant and 2 per villein - very poor figures. Admittedly the meadow is not abundant here, at 3.0 acres per ploughteam: but the value is and was £3.

These features, or some of them, combine together sufficiently often to suggest that, rather than being the symptoms of estates which are run down or under-exploited, they represent instead manors where a different form of agricultural operation is practised. The number of ploughteams is a very good measure of capacity and activity on estates which are primarily engaged in arable farming, but obviously it is less relevant as a measure if there is more emphasis on livestock. Unfortunately the transcript of the Domesday Survey in the Public Record Office gives no information about animals other than draught oxen, though it appears that this information was ascertained in the survey itself. My suggestion is that at Churchill and the other smaller estates, we are looking at manors which had a greater emphasis on sheep-farming compared with the arable activity generally found. There certainly was sheep-farming elsewhere - though to a lesser extent than in the Cotswold heyday of the fourteenth century and later - and Shipton itself after all gained its name centuries before from this sort of activity. It would be remarkable if there were no estates in the area at the time of Domesday which did not concentrate on sheep.

Summary of the Area

As we have seen, the Sciptone Hundreds at the time of Domesday comprised some 38 agricultural estates, the majority concentrating on arable farming, though with evidence of stockfarming in certain cases, probably sheep. There were quarries at Taynton. The size range of the manors was considerable - from the Royal Manor itself with over 5000 acres of arable, down to estates of 250 acres or less. However, the larger estates with 10 ploughteams or more, say over 1000 acres of arable, accounted for most of the economic activity. If we look back at Table Six and extract the four biggest estates from the medium category - those with 10 ploughteams or more - we find that the largest 15 estates accounted for 745 peasant households and 304 ploughteams, respectively 76% and 80% of the totals found in the Sciptone Hundreds. The smaller 23

estates therefore employed only a minority of the population and their economic significance was small.

Most of the estates, and almost all of those of any size, were held by the king himself, branches of the church, or most commonly Norman baronial magnates, a number of them being sublet to lesser barons. Most of these estates formed only a small part of the scattered holdings or Honors to which the barons or church institutions laid claim, the main residential centres of these Honors lying elsewhere, in baronial castles, cathedrals or abbeys. Hook Norton was exceptional in being the centre of Robert d'Oilly's Honor, but there seems to be no evidence that he had a castle there. The most significant social factor was that the holders of these estates were almost universally absentee, and they or their representatives would have paid only fleeting visits. The area was a bit of a backwater, of no particular strategic significance, and had been spared the campaigns and devastation which other parts of England had suffered from in the two previous decades. People had thus been left to get on with their agriculture which was comparatively prosperous for its time.

In the absence of the major landlords this activity must have been managed by a middle class, most of them lessees farming the estate for a fixed rent, rather than stewards. There is no mention of this class of person in the Domesday records, so it is presumed that they were mostly English. Neither is there any mention of the clergy who must have been evident in the community, if not actually established in all the parishes. For these reasons it would appear that the population range indicated by the Domesday record (I have suggested it fell between 3380-4870) may understate the true position by perhaps 200 souls, allowing for the dependents of the lessees and clergy (who may have been married at this time).

Even so, the population in the Sciptone Hundreds was around 20-28% of what it was in the 1981 census, which was about 17,500. This is a very high proportion compared with national figures. The national population in 1086 has been variously estimated from the Domesday records at up to two million, that is 5% of the present figure or less. The high proportion here is of course less a reflection of a high level of population then, than of a lack of intensive local urban development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

A team led by Professor Darby has made comparisons of density of population and of ploughteams in South East England. In the Sciptone Hundreds it was about 10 households and 4 ploughteams to the square mile. This is relatively high, although in Oxfordshire higher densities are recorded below the Chiltern scarp (12 households to the square mile)

and north of us around Banbury (11 households); and figures above 15 to the square mile are recorded locally on the Kent and Sussex coast. Elsewhere in Oxfordshire and many parts of the South East, lower densities are recorded (28). All this confirms the picture of solid, if unspectacular, agricultural activity and prosperity in the Sciptone Hundreds.

Acknowledgements

In Part One I acknowledged my debt to Dr Janet Cooper of the Victoria County History and to Beryl Schumer, for help and advice given over an earlier draft of this paper - that acknowledgement still stands. I claim as my own whatever errors remain. My wife Margaret did the artwork.

Footnotes

(1) The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, Vol. 2, 1907, pp. 79-81. E.M.Jope and I.B.Terrett in The Domesday Geography of South-East England, ed. H.C.Darby and E.M.J.Campbell, Cambridge University Press, 1971, p.194 write 'Bruern is an interesting example of the deliberate removal of a settlement by a Cistercian house to attain the solitude it desired.' Domesday Book, Vol. 14 Oxfordshire, 1978, in the Phillimore series, ed. John Morris, suggests that the Draitone entry was not at Bruern, but the concensus of opinion is that it was.

(2) Christopher Taylor, Village and Farmstead, 1983, George Philip.

(3) Margaret Gelling, The Early Charters of the Thames Valley, 1979, Leicester University Press - Spelsbury p. 126 and Taynton pp. 142-4. Raymond Moody, The Ancient Boundaries of Taynton, Tolsey Papers No. 5, 1985.

(4) PH 3,1 (I am using here the reference system in Domesday Book, Vol. 14).

(5) Sir Frank Stenton, Domesday Survey, in The Victoria History of the County of Oxford, Vol. 1, 1939, p. 380.

(6) PH 7,36: the entry says 'Earl Aubrey held (tenuit) Burford'. Raymond and Joan Moody, The Book of Burford, 1983, Barracuda, p. 17.

(7) Frank Ware, The Royal Manor, Part One, Wychwoods Journal, 1985, No. 1, pp. 49-50.

(8) Lady Mary Stenton, English Society in the Early Middle Ages, Pelican History of England, 1951, pp. 65-66.

(9) Mary Jessup, A History of Oxfordshire, 1975, Phillimore, p.35.

(10) Domesday Survey, p. 383.
(11) The Royal Manor, p. 50. Charles Bigham, Viscount Mersey, The Chief Ministers of England 920 - 1720, 1923, Chapter II.
(12) English Society, p. 17.
(13) Dorothea Oschinsky, Walter of Henley and other Treatises on Estate Management and Accounting, 1971, O.U.P., p. 319.
(14) Bloxham & Adderbury, PH 1,7a.
(15) In Tables One, Two and Three I show 40 entries; this is treating three separate estates at Chastleton as one, and assuming that two others duplicate each other. In Tables Four, Five and Six I have reduced the number of estates to 38. I have treated the three estates held by Alsi and Alwy at Shipton and Milton as one, since only the major estate has peasants: they must have operated as one functional unit. On the same principle I have ignored two estates which were waste and had no peasants (Foscot and Chastleton (2) - the duplicated one). On the other hand I am here treating the other three estates at Chastleton (1) as separate estates. The Domesday entries at Chastleton do pose a lot of problems, considering that the major entry should have been recorded as at Salford (PH 7,58). As Domesday (after a lot of bother) shows there to have been practically nothing there, I do wonder why the Shire boundary extended so far out to incorporate it.
(16) The Domesday Geography, pp. 205 and 617.
(17) P.D.A.Harvey, Manorial Records, 1984, British Records Association, pp. 3-6; and S.P.J.Harvey, The Extent and Profitability of Demesne Agriculture, in Social Relations and Ideas - Essays in Honour of R.H.Hilton, 1983, C.U.P., p. 47.
(18) Anne Savage, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, 1982, Phoebe Phillips/Heinemann, p. 218.
(19) In Tables Four and Five I am treating the slaves as heads of households, on a par with the villeins and smallholders.
(20) The Domesday Geography, p. 205.
(21) The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, p. 115.
(22) PH 1,10 and The Royal Manor, p. 54.
(23) Beryl Schumer, The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400, 1984, Leicester University Press.
(24) The Evolution of Wychwood, pp. 20-21 and Taynton, pp. 10-12.
(25) Frank Emery, The Oxfordshire Landscape, 1974, Hodder & Stoughton, p. 87.
(26) Sue Jourdan and Gwen Allen, The Hedge Survey of Shipton and Milton under Wychwood, Wychwoods Journal No. 1, 1985, pp. 6-26.
(27) Taynton, p. 18.
(28) The Domesday Geography, pp. 585-95.

Alfred Groves & Sons Ltd have had a profound influence on the Wychwood villages, particularly Milton. The company has its origins in a building business started in 1660 by William Groves, a stonemason from Chipping Norton. He was one of Wren's team of masons who rebuilt St Paul's Cathedral after the Great Fire. The company under its present name was founded by Alfred Groves in the nineteenth century.

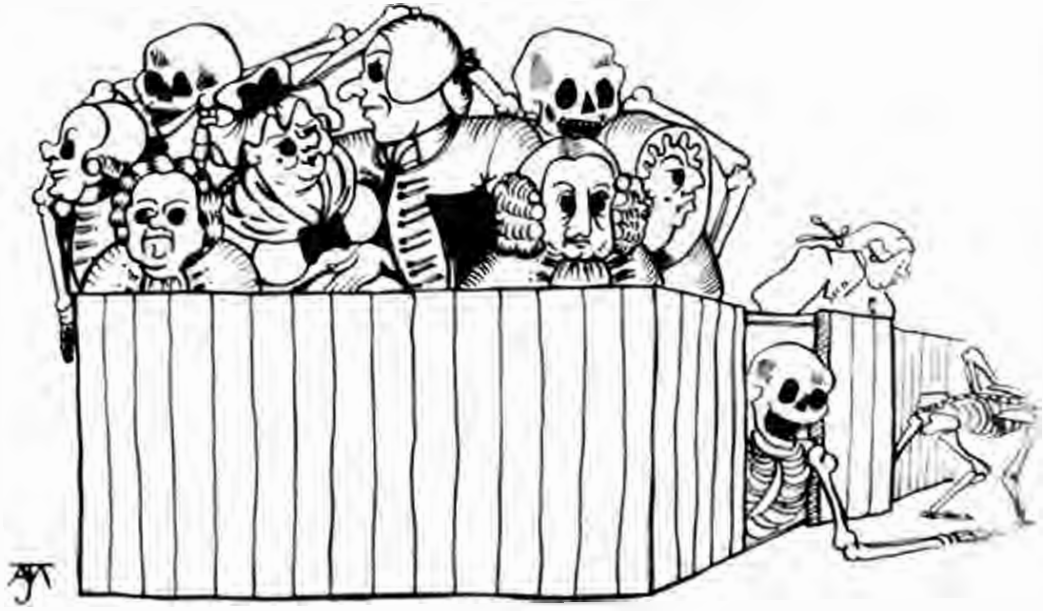
The stables at Shipton Court, built in 1727, are the earliest known work of Groves builders surviving locally. They are thought to have been built by John Groves, grandson of William Groves. The same company restored the stable block in 1910 shortly after this photograph was taken.

Alfred Groves & Sons Ltd have deservedly built a great reputation for high quality traditional building which continues to this day in Milton under Wychwood. We are grateful to them for a donation towards the cost of producing this issue of the Journal.

Bones under the Pew

In October 1732, Sir Thomas Read and George Read were granted a faculty or licence by the Bishop 'to appropriate a Place in the Parish Church of Shipton under Whichwood .....commonly called or known by the name of the Scull house being under the respective Pews or Seates of the aforesaid Sir Thomas Read Bart and George Read Esq.,...'. They were to dig another 'Scull house' near the old one 'to put all sculls and bones in for the future' and were granted the old 'Scull house to be a Dormitory or place of Buryall' for their families provided they kept it in 'constant and decent' repair at their own expense.

Efforts to locate these 'Scull houses' with any certainty have so far proved unsuccessful. They were presumably under what is now known as the Read chapel. The old one, which became the Read's family burial place, measured about fourteen feet from north to south and about nine feet from east to west, measurements which are difficult to reconcile with those of the present chapel, the floor of which is at two different levels above the main floor of the church. There is perhaps a clue in



what appears to be the top of an arched entrance to a vault low down on the outside of the east wall immediately under the centre of the memorial window.

It is within living memory that the area of the chapel was screened off from the rest of the church and that the Pepper family used the small door on the south side to go in and out unobserved. But we have so far failed to find any record of the building of the chapel in its present form.

We should be glad of any information which might help us to discover the history of these burial places and the use of the chapel for the private pews of the local gentry.

Jack Howard-Drake

Compromise on a Muddy Lane

In 1617 James I increased the endowment of the Regius Professorship of Civil Law in the University of Oxford by annexing to it the Prebend of Shipton under Wychwood. That there were some calls on the Professor's income is shown by the following gentlemanly agreement recorded in the parish register for 2 October 1786, signed by Robert Vansittart and Thomas Brookes and witnessed by William Brookes:

> 'Whereas a Lane leading from Shipton Church Gate to Ascott (and usually called Church Lane) is at this time shamefully bad and it is not known who of right ought to repair the same Now it is voluntarily Agreed between the Professor of Laws in the University of Oxford Rector of the said Parish and the present Vicar that they will mutually and at their equal Expence repair for this one time effectually the said Footpath Lane or Way in hope that it may be known beyond dispute long before the said Way shall need further repair who ought of right to keep the same in good order.

The Hedge Survey of Shipton and Milton under Wychwood

SUE JOURDAN and GWEN ALLEN

Part 2: Walks in Shipton and Milton

These walks, along footpaths, bridleways and roads in the parishes of Shipton and Milton under Wychwood, follow on from our Hedge Survey article in Wychwoods History No. 1, 1985. We cover a number of points on hedge-surveying but the two articles need to be used together. To help with shrub recognition we have included illustrations of some of the more easily confused species. The walks are covered by Ordnance Survey sheet nos. 163 (1:50,000) and SP 21/31 (1:25,000).

Please remember the Countryside Code.

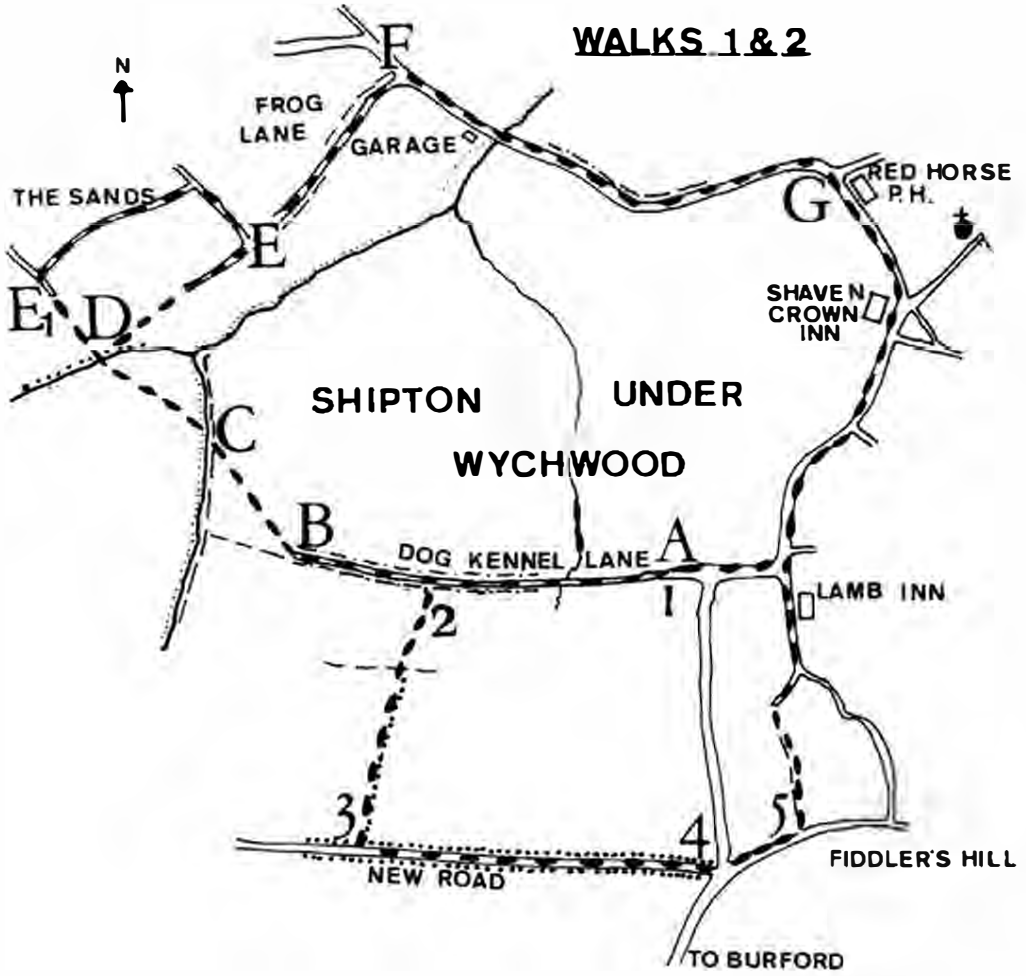
WALK 1

Follow numbers 1-5 on map 1, approximately 1 mile.

1. It is possible to park at the beginning of Dog Kennel Lane (grid ref. 275175). This lane is not suitable for vehicles and can be very muddy in winter or after rain; springs emerge in several places where water, draining through glacial gravels, meets impervious clay. Proceed down Dog Kennel Lane. On the right is the old Pleasure Garden of Shipton Court which is still private property. As the lane begins to rise, the hedges on either side contain a rich variety of species. It is possible to find hawthorn, midland hawthorn, dogwood, dogrose, field rose, field maple, hazel, holly, willow, ash, elder, blackthorn and elm.

2. At a six-bar gate on the left opposite a holly tree, follow the footpath across a ridge and furrow field to a kissing gate in the opposite side. This field shows the arable strip system of agriculture which has been 'fossilised' as pasture. The ridges have slight curves and allow drainage to the lower end. The hedges on three sides have 5-7 species per 30 yds, indicating that this was enclosed from the West Field of Shipton, perhaps in late medieval times.

After the gate continue along the edge of the next field. The hedge is post-enclosure, containing only hawthorn, dog rose, elder, blackthorn



and a holly. The open West Field ran from here up to the brow of the hill.

3. Turn left in New Road, a typical 25 feet wide, straight post-enclosure road which replaced two tracks called Upper and Lower Woodway across the open field. Again the hedges are recent. The avenue of Norwegian maples was planted by Shipton village for the Queen's Jubilee in 1976.

4. Cross the A361 Burford to Chipping Norton road towards an area of Shipton known locally as Fiddler's Hill. In the field on the right, at certain times of the year, can be seen the stony ridge marking the old road across the open field to Langley.

5. Turn left down a tarmac path between the cottages directly on the road. This is again thought to be an old road, possibly the main road into Shipton. In the field to the right, behind the chalet bungalows, are the remains of medieval house platforms. The hedge has gaps but contains species indicative of an old hedge. Continue along Upper High Street, past the Lamb Inn, to the main road. Turn left back to the starting point.

WALK 2

Follow A-G on map 1, approximately 2 1/3 miles.

A. Parking as in Walk 1 (grid ref. 275175). Proceed the whole length of Dog Kennel Lane to B. Spindle and guelder rose will also be found as well as the species listed in Walk 1.

B. At the kissing gate continue down the ridge and furrow field (see Walk 1, no. 2) to the stile and bridge to the right of the gate at C.

C. This stream is the parish boundary and the hedge along it has several significant species e.g. hazel, field maple, dogwood, which are found in boundary hedges known to be several hundred years old. Continue to follow the path across the field to the kissing gate at the bridge over Simmonds Brook. Some ridge and furrow can be seen immediately on the left. About halfway down the path crosses a small valley probably marking an original stream, now piped into the brook.

D. From here there is a choice of route:
1. (Slightly shorter). Turn right along the path to the stone stile and

iron gate to Frog Lane at E. It is possible to see the original bed of Simmonds Brook which meandered over the field; the patch which is frequently very wet to the left of the path is part of this. The stream was straightened at the time of enclosure so the hedge by it is a recent one.
Or 2. Continue straight up the path to E1, changing from clay soil by the stream to glacial gravels and sands which can be seen by looking at the mole-hills! At one time the gravels were extensively quarried, and although backfilled with sawdust from Groves' timber-yard, the hollows can still be seen. On leaving the field, after 50 yds, turn right into The Sands. The road, which originally continued across the strip-fields to Upper Milton, follows the curve of the old track through the open field of Milton called Landcroft. At the T-junction turn right and continue down the hill to join the other route in Frog Lane at E.

E. Continue along Frog Lane, thought to be so called because of its low-lying situation and damp inhabitants! Some of the residential properties still have hedges containing species indicative of early 'closes', small enclosed fields, marked on the Tithe Rent Award map 1842 and privately enclosed long before Parliamentary Enclosure 1845/6. Frog Lane is one of the oldest roads in Milton.

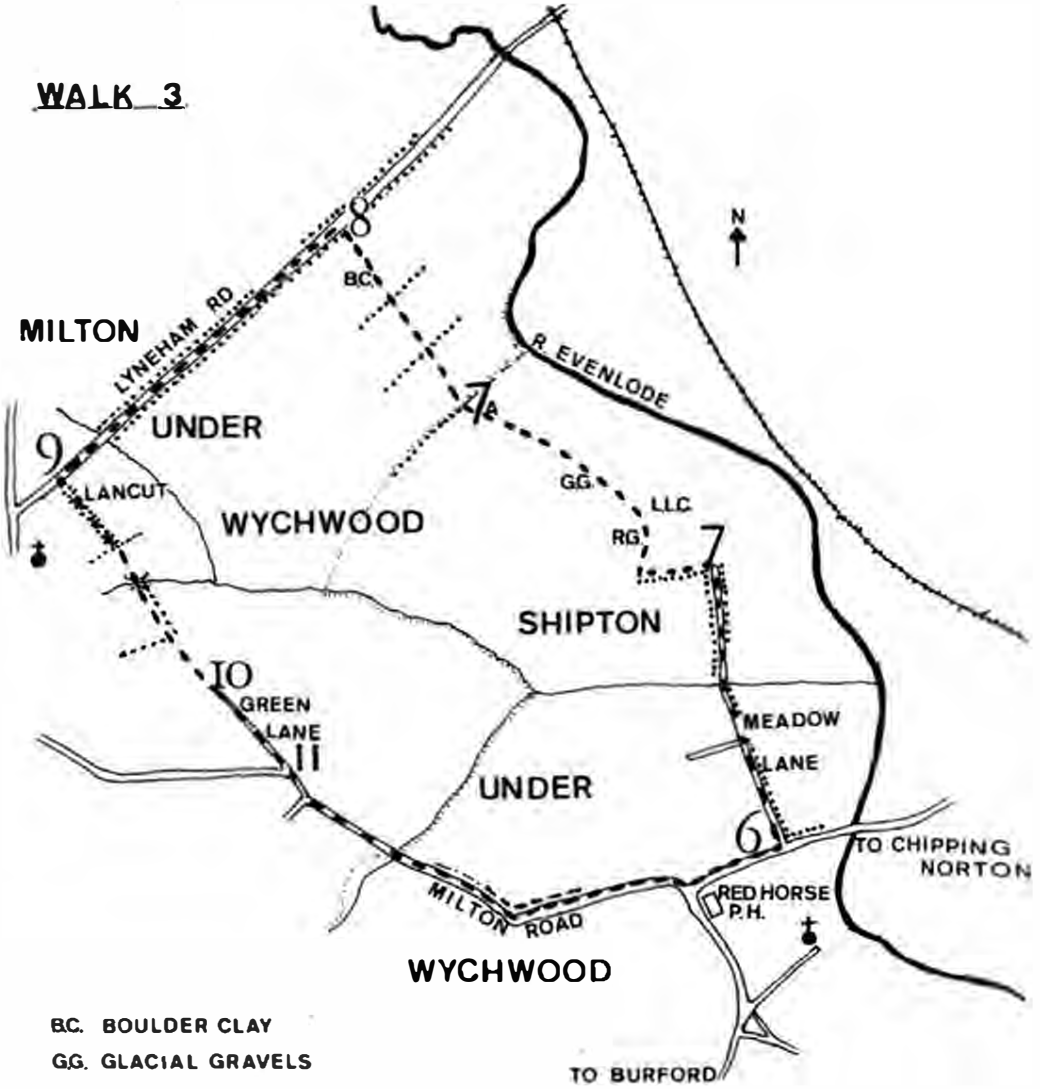
F. Turn right into Shipton Road, Milton. At the garage, the site of Shipton Mill, cross the parish boundary at the stream to Milton Road, Shipton. The hedge on the opposite side to the school again has many species indicating an old hedge.

G. Continue up the main road through Shipton, past the village green, on past Shipton Court and return to start at A.

WALK 3

Follow 6-10 on map 2, approximately 2½ miles.

6. Parking is possible in Meadow Lane beside Shipton recreation ground (grid ref. 279183). The beginning of the walk follows the Oxfordshire Way (OW on signs). Walk along Meadow Lane crossing Littlestock Brook, one of the streams straightened at enclosure. (See Walk 2, D.) Continue along the bridleway which is ditched on both sides for drainage. Near the end of the track there are dogwood bushes on the left and buckthorn on the right but the hedges are in the 1-4 species category and are post-enclosure.



7. Turn left along a hedge at the OW sign. This whole area was Shipton Town Meadow and was divided into smaller fields after enclosure. At the end of the hedge turn right. Some of the hedges have been removed in this area but the footpath follows a curved bank across the field around a part called Ring Acre in the Tithe Award Schedule 1839. Here the soil changes colour and texture as the path leaves solid clay and crosses the edge of a patch of river gravels with rounded pebbles in a sandier soil. This is followed by boulder clay which has stones both rounded and angular in stiff clay soil. Much of the field towards the river is Lias clay. At the parish boundary (7A) the hedge to the left is poor in species but right, to the river, are standing oak and ash and many more species indicative of an older hedge. Continue over three more fields to the Lyneham Road. The last field is sticky boulder clay.

8. Leaving the Oxfordshire Way, turn left up Lyneham Road. (The Oxfordshire Way continues to Idworth Gate at the boundary between Milton and Bruern parishes at the wood edge). The land to the right was open heath until the late nineteenth-century when it was cleared and divided into small fields with recent hedges. The patch of bracken along the roadside beyond Heath Farm and a clump of pines is probably on the narrow band of Lias clay that interrupts the boulder clay.

9. Continue past the first few houses, then turn left over a stile between Heath House and Lancut House by a row of pines into Lancut, a narrow lane with overgrown hawthorns. On the right is the nineteenth century church and vicarage built after Milton became a separate parish from Shipton in 1848. Continue over Littlestock Brook and along the edges of two fields to Green Lane. The area to the right was the common green and still has paths across it to the rest of the village. Parts of the green were sold to pay for the work involved at enclosure in 1845-6.

10. Enter Green Lane by a kissing gate and continue along it to Shipton Road. From another, older, Heath Farm on your left Walker's carriers cart started for Witney market: it was reputed to have had a false bottom for poached venison. Quaker's Meet and Quaker's Piece, also on the left, are on the site of an early Quaker Meeting House and graveyard. Several houses have clauses in their deeds forbidding building over the area of the graves in their gardens.

11. Follow the main road past the garage and school (see Walk 1) to the A361 in Shipton opposite the Red Horse public house. Return past the recreation ground to Meadow Lane.

Field rose,
Rosa arvensis

Flowers creamy white with a stout column in the centre. Usually later than dog rose, growth less robust.

Dog rose,
Rosa canina

Flowers pink or white with a short conical centre. Growth robust.

Buckthorn,
Rhamnus catharticus

Veins of the leaf curve towards the tip. Flowers and fruits grow along old wood.

Dogwood,
Cornus sanguinea

Veins of the leaf curve towards the tip. Branches are red and flowers grow at the ends.

Spindle,
Euonymus europaeus

Stems green and ridged, flowers small and greenish. Fruits pink with orange seeds.

Hawthorn,
Crataegus monogyna

Thick set bush, leaves deeply lobed. Flowers with one stigma and fruits one stone.

Midland hawthorn,
Crataegus laevigata

Looser bush, leaves less lobed. Fewer flowers in each cluster, each flower with two stigmas and fruits with two stones. As the flowers open a week or two earlier than the hawthorn they would be in time for May Day celebrations on the old calendar before the Gregorian Calendar was introduced in 1752.

English elm,
Ulmus procera

Twigs downy, very small buds, leaves unequal at the base. If in doubt in winter look for fallen leaves.

Hazel,
Corylus avellana

Twigs covered with reddish glandular hairs, buds with obvious scales. Catkins probably present.

Pussy or goat willow,
Salix caprea

Leaves broad, strongly veined, downy beneath. Catkins appear before the leaves.

Osier,
Salix viminalis

Long flexible branches, often used for basket work. Leaves very long and narrow with silky hairs beneath.

All willows have catkins of male and female flowers on different trees or bushes.

Field maple,
Acer campestre

Leaves much smaller than sycamore, fruits flatter.

Blackthorn or sloe,
Prunus spinosa

Thorny shrub, branches almost black. White flowers appear before leaves. Fruits bluish, very sour.

Common and Latin names from Excursion Flora of the British Isles by A.R.Clapham, T.G.Tutin, E.F.Warburg (third edition).

The Wychwoods Local History Society meets once a month from September through to May. Meetings alternate between the village halls at Shipton and Milton. Current membership is £3 for an individual member and £5 for a couple, which includes a copy of the Journal and the Society Newsletter. Further details can be obtained from the Secretary, Norman Frost, The Gables, Station Road, Shipton under Wychwood, Oxfordshire (telephone Shipton under Wychwood 830802).

Further copies of Journal Number 1 and 2 may be obtained for £2.50 each plus 40p postage and packing from the editor, Sue Richards, Foxholes House, Foscot, Oxford OX7 6RW.

Front cover illustration: St Simon and St Jude Church and the old school, Milton, from the lych-gate. (Drawing by Jean Richards)

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