WYCHWOODS HISTORY

THE JOURNAL OF THE WYCHWOODS LOCAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Number Nine, 1994

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ISBN 0 9523406 0 7

Printed by Parchment (Oxford) Ltd

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Editorial

This edition of our journal may prove to be of particular interest to family historians as it has a distinctly genealogical flavour. Frank Ware introduces us to the medieval lords and ladies who held Shipton manor as part of their vast estates in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The first part of a study of the Hearth Tax returns and other sources follows. This attempts to repopulate the village in the seventeenth century and is the work of the members' study group led by Dr Anthea Jones. She also details the vicissitudes of Widow Whiting's tenure of the Crown Inn at about that time. Norman Frost follows one branch of the Groves family across the Atlantic to America in the nineteenth century, while Keith Chandler, a 'visiting' author, sets down the fast-disappearing memories of Christmas mumming at Chadlington. The book reviews are a new feature and also point the way to mines of information on personal names. Unfortunately, Anthea Jones' own newly-published book *The Cotswolds* was received just too late to be reviewed, but it is hoped to include a full review in next year's journal.

Family modesty does not prevent me from acknowledging on the Society's behalf the immense task undertaken by the Treasurer-turned-typesetter who has set this entire edition himself using Desk-Top Publishing, while simultaneously teaching himself how the system works. When these remarks are read by the membership, we shall know whether this venture, which could save the Society several hundred pounds in production costs, has been successful.

Margaret Ware
Editor

The Medieval Lords of Shipton Manor and their Ladies

Part 1: The de Clares

FRANK WARE

Sciptone was recorded in Domesday Book in 1086 as being a Royal Manor, part of the considerable Crown holdings taken over by King William the Conqueror from his Saxon predecessors.[1] It was a large estate, centred on the present parish of Shipton and stretching east round the Royal Forest of Wychwood in two arcs, south to Leafield and Ramsden and north along the Evenlode valley to Walcot, now a deserted medieval village across the river opposite Charlbury. In all, it amounted to some 4,000-5,000 acres of arable with meadow, pasture and woodland in addition. Late in the twelfth century the manor was acquired by a de Clare earl of Hertford, one of the more prominent Norman families established in England after the Battle of Hastings. Shipton continued to be held by the de Clares and their descendants for some three centuries until the end of the Wars of the Roses, generally passing according to the normal rules of medieval succession.

Succession to medieval titles and estates, or honors as the latter were known,[2] followed first the rule of male primogeniture: the eldest surviving son inherited everything. But if there was no son, the estates passed through the daughter if there was one to her husband who held *jure uxoris* (by right of his wife), and then to her son, who normally succeeded to the title as well as the estates. If there were two or more daughters, the estates were divided between them as joint heiresses, and the title - which could not be partitioned - usually lapsed. Only if there was no issue did remoter relatives, first a brother and then sisters of the last holder, succeed to the honor or title. As will be seen, the families holding the lordship of Shipton failed in the direct male line on several occasions, and the manor passed through heiresses to new families: the Despensers and the Beauchamp earls of Warwick. Towards the end of the fifteenth century it formed part of the enormous estates of the Beauchamp heiress Anne Neville, Countess of Warwick, whose daughter (also Anne) was Queen to King Richard III.

Countess Moolde of Clare

The first reference traced so far to the manor of Shipton being alienated from the Crown dates to about 1180, when Moolde or Maud, Countess of Clare, granted a silver mark (13s 4d) a year to Godstow Nunnery, secured on rents from the manor of Shipton. Moolde was the widow of Roger de Clare, Earl of Hertford, who died in 1173. The surviving document is incomplete, but it was repeated in substance by Isabelle de Clare, Lady of Berkeley - a descendant of Earl Roger if not also of Moolde herself - in a confirmatory grant, which Isabelle executed at Shipton on 20 December 1328. This charter is worth quoting in full:[3]

> 'Isabelle of Clare, lady of Berkley, willyng this writying to be know to all cristen men, Seith in this wise, that she saw the charter of moolde, Countesse of Clare, I-made to the mynchons of Godestowe in this wise:- 'Be hit knowe to them that be now and to come, that Moolde, Countesse of Clare, the doughtir of Iamys seynt hillary, yaf into perpetuell almesse, for the sowles of her fadir and moder and for the sowle of her lorde Roger, Erle of Clare, and for the helth of her sowle and the helthe of ther heires, to god and to seynt Iohn Baptist and to the holy mynchons of Godestowe the which day and nyght serue god, j. marke of siluer to be take to them, in Mighelmasse day I-called, of the lond of the which Richard fitz Aleyn held in Shipton, that is to say of the lond the which Asculus of seynt hillary yaf to Albrike of Spinete. She yaf this a-forsaid Charter to the forsaid holy mynchons to bye them wyne in seynt Iohn Baptist day. And that this yifte, & cetera.' Also she confermed the same Charter, and ratefied it, to the forsaid mynchons and to ther successours to all ther lyf in the fourme aboue-said. Into witnesse of the which her seale was I-hanged to this present writyng. The date at Shipton, the Tewesday next in the vigile of seynt Thomas the appostle, the seconde yere of the reigne of kyng Edward the thirde after the conquest.'

Thus Moolde held Shipton as heiress of James St Hilary, who was a baron from Norfolk. She did not immediately bring the honor of St Hilary to the de Clares, indeed here we see her making a grant secured on it to Godstow Nunnery after Earl Roger's death. She remarried, and her second husband held the honor *jure uxoris*. It reverted to her on his death and was apparently escheated or reverted to the Crown when she died. Earl Roger's son, Earl Richard III de Clare, paid £360 to acquire the honor in 1195, and it is since then that the de Clare family as such included the manor of Shipton among its large holdings. St Hilary was not a large barony, some 9 knights' fees, and Earl Richard probably paid more than it was worth.[4]

The manner of this acquisition poses puzzles. If Earl Richard was Moolde's son, he should have inherited the honor under the normal rules of medieval succession, subject to payment of the usual relief to the Crown (the equivalent of Inheritance Tax). It is possible that Moolde herself had no surviving issue, and Richard was the son of a former wife of Earl Roger. Alternatively, King Richard I might have used the process of escheat wrongly to extract from Earl Richard more relief than would normally be paid, to help finance his Crusade. The charging of excessive reliefs was one of the baronial complaints in the revolt leading to Magna Carta in the next reign, in which Earl Richard and his son were both prominent.

Indeed, when Earl Richard's son succeeded his father about 1217, it was recorded:[5]

'Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, owes £100 for his relief for the honor of Gloucester, and £100 for the honor of Clare, and £100 for the honor of St Hilary, and £50 for half the honor of Earl Giffard.'

This does not reflect the relative values of these honors, but is an interesting implementation of the terms of Magna Carta, which laid down £100 as being the proper relief payable for a baronial honor. St Hilary was worth very much less than the massive honors of Gloucester and Clare, or indeed the half of the honor of Giffard, a windfall which had accrued to the de Clares through an earlier marriage on the failure of the Giffard male line.

Moolde's Charter indicates that the original grant of Shipton manor away from the crown was made some decades before 1180, probably to the St Hilarys, certainly not to the de Clares. But it poses further problems. Moolde's father James presumably held the estate before her, and Ascalus de St Hilary some time before that. If the latter was Moolde's grandfather, this could date the original grant of the Royal Manor to the reign of King Henry I. But the reference to Richard fitz Aleyn, who is not yet identified, does not clearly indicate in what capacity he held the manor or part of it, whether as tenant-in-chief, sub-tenant or enfeoffed knight.[6] Albrike of Spinete sounds like a sub-tenant or enfeoffed knight installed by Ascalus and holding from him.

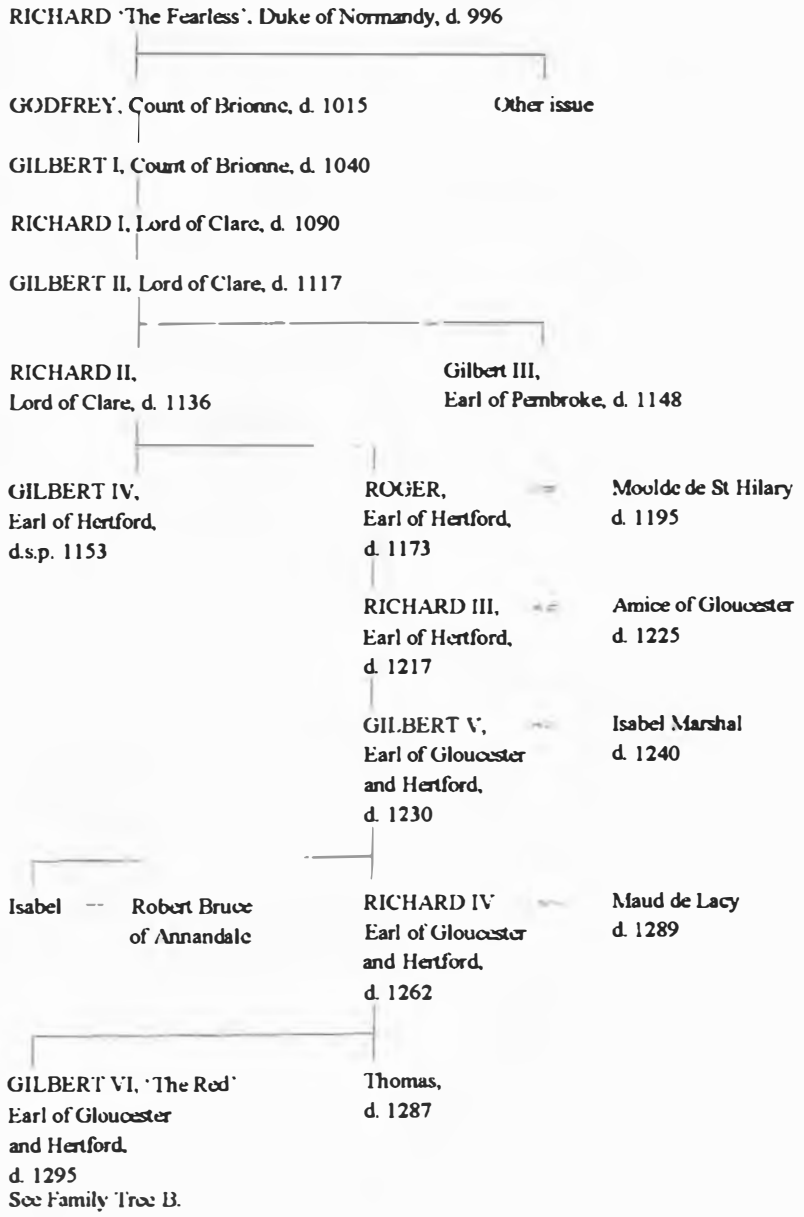
The prebend of Shipton Church was granted to Salisbury Cathedral during the reign of King Henry I, perhaps connected with the fact that the King's chief minister, Roger le Poer, was made Bishop of Salisbury in 1102. The grant was actually made by one Arnulf or Arnold the Falconer[7] - another connection with early medieval Shipton who is difficult to identify and whose status relative to the manor is unclear - but we may assume that this grant was made with the approval of the king, if not instigated by him. It appears that the value of the prebend was a material proportion of the total value of the Royal Manor, possibly as high as 40%.[8] It is speculation, but it seems possible that, so much of the estate having been granted to the church, it was King Henry I who then granted the remainder to the St Hilarys or to Richard fitz Aleyn.[9]

The House of de Clare

If the origin of the St Hilarys is obscure, that of the de Clares is well known. It lies in tenth century Normandy, in the ducal house of Rollo the Viking established in 911 under a grant of land from the French king. The third duke, Richard The Fearless (died 996), had numerous offspring, legitimate and illegitimate, among the latter one Godfrey. It was the practice then for the duke to establish his younger sons as counts in charge of districts and Godfrey became Count of Brionne.[10] His grandson, Richard fitz Gilbert, came over with William the Conqueror in 1066, and was granted vast estates in England, with the *caput* of the honor located at Clare in Suffolk, from which the family took its name. From the start, therefore, the family came from the highest echelons of the Norman aristocracy and was in the 'First Division' of Anglo-Norman tenants-in-chief.

It was King Stephen in the early years of the Anarchy - as his dynastic struggle with King Henry I's daughter Matilda was called - who sought to rally

A. SIMPLIFIED FAMILY TREE OF THE DE CLARE FAMILY



support by creating new earldoms, and he awarded two to members of the de Clare family: Hertford to Roger's brother, in the senior line, and Pembroke to his uncle, who founded a short-lived cadet branch.[11] See Family Tree A for a simplified family tree of the de Clare family. As most of them were called Gilbert or Richard, they are numbered for clarity.

But it was the accretion of the earldom and honor of Gloucester early in the reign of King Henry III which established the de Clares as probably the wealthiest and most powerful baronial family outside the royal family itself for the remainder of the thirteenth century.[12] Earl Richard III, who purchased the honor of St Hilary, married Amice, one of three daughters of William, the second Earl of Gloucester. What happened is an interesting instance of how the normal rules of succession could be abused in favour of the royal family, but ultimately were reasserted. Robert, the first Earl of Gloucester, was an illegitimate son of King Henry I, and the principal supporter of his half-sister Matilda in the Anarchy. His son William, the second earl, died without a male heir, and one would normally have expected the honor to be partitioned between William's three daughters. But King Henry II's third son, John Lackland, married William's youngest daughter Isabel, and it was arranged that he should succeed to the entire honor. When he became King, John had his marriage with Isabel annulled on grounds of consanguinity (they were second cousins), enabling him to take a new Queen (who bore him two sons) - but he kept the honor of Gloucester. By the time King John died, Amice was the last survivor with issue of the three daughters of Earl William, and in the spirit of reconciliation in the new reign between the supporters of John's infant son King Henry III and the baronial rebels of Magna Carta, the young Earl Gilbert IV de Clare of Hertford was allowed to take the title and honor of Gloucester by right of his mother's claim.[13]

The honor of Gloucester included most of Glamorgan, which involved the de Clare earls for the remainder of the century as principal Marcher lords - a considerable distraction from mainstream English politics. But among the English estates was Burford, and from 1217 until the end of the Wars of the Roses Shipton and Burford remained substantially in the same baronial hands. With castles in the old de Clare honor at Clare itself and Tonbridge, and with newly acquired distractions in Wales, we can imagine that the earls did not visit Shipton and Burford often or for long; they were two comparatively minor manors among the vast estates of the powerful de Clare earls. They would have been leased to tenants or enfeoffed knights, or more probably managed for the revenues they could raise by stewards or bailiffs and inspected or supervised by auditors and other honorial officials. The earls themselves may never have maintained substantial manor-houses on them for their own use.

But we should not forget the ladies. History appears to assign a very downtrodden role to medieval women, who were given in marriage by their parents, saw their estates taken over by their husbands, and were largely unable to sue to protect their interests. Reality could be different; wives often maintained separate households from their husbands, participated in estate management (particularly in their husbands' absence) and as widows had full

legal rights to sue and were entitled to a life interest in substantial estates in dower, often one third of the honor.[14] Many widows survived their husbands for decades, and male heirs were temporarily embarrassed, especially if two or more widows survived in the family simultaneously, as could happen. They were powerful and often strong-willed women. This brings us back to Isabelle de Clare, lady of Berkeley, who confirmed Countess Moolde's Charter in 1328.

Earl Gilbert the Red

To follow the story we need to examine the career and marital complexities of Isabelle's father, Earl Gilbert VI of Gloucester and Hertford 1262-1295, nicknamed 'The Red' or 'Goch' from the colour of his hair and perhaps the quality of his temper. He is the medieval lord of Shipton about whom the most is known before the fifteenth century Earls of Warwick. He emerges from the sources as a full-blooded and turbulent baron, and on three occasions played a decisive part in national history before attaining the age of twenty-four.[15]

Gilbert The Red was a very young man when he succeeded his father Richard IV as earl in 1262, at the height of the struggle between King Henry III and reformist barons led by Simon de Montfort, the French-born Earl of Leicester, to which is attributed the birth of the Mother of Parliaments. Gilbert's father had been sympathetic to the reformist cause but maintained good personal relations with the King. The two of them had arranged Gilbert's early marriage at the age of about eleven to Alice, daughter of Hugh de Lusignan, Count of La Marche and Angouleme, who had married the King's mother after the death of King John. King Henry's partiality towards his Lusignan relatives was one of the bones of contention with the reformist barons.

Gilbert The Red at first stood aloof from the political struggle, but King Henry incurred his displeasure by delaying his confirmation as earl and by making an award of dower in favour of his mother to which he took exception. By including in the dower certain properties, among them Clare and two castles in Wales, the King had breached custom in denying to the new earl the *caput* of his honor and estates fundamental to its security, or so Gilbert alleged.[16] He was later to take the Countess his mother (another Maud) to court to recover the estates, but his immediate reaction was to throw in his lot with Simon de Montfort. His support proved decisive at the Battle of Lewes in May 1264, which was unexpectedly won by the reformists. King Henry and his son Prince Edward were taken prisoner, and Simon de Monfort ruled in the King's name. Writs were issued for a parliament called early in 1265, not only to lay and church magnates, but also to two knights from each shire and two burgesses from selected boroughs. Efforts were made to reform national and local administration.

But all was not well with de Montfort's government. There were threats of invasion from the Lusignans and others, and of excommunication from the Pope. Powerful Marcher lords, including Roger Mortimer, were at large and stirring in support of the King. Worse, dissension broke out between Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare. Probably this was in part a personal incompatibility; Gilbert The Red, who was young and hot-headed, found the

much older Simon too autocratic - Gilbert was jealous of the power and prominent position accorded to Simon's sons, and felt that Simon himself was feathering his own nest to the detriment of the reform programme. A particular cause of dispute was an understanding Simon sought with Llywelyn, the Welsh prince of Gwynedd; reasonably, Simon needed to secure peace on his borders but Gilbert felt threatened as a Marcher lord.

Undoubtedly Prince Edward, much more of Gilbert's age, sensed the discord and exploited it; one of his guardians was Thomas, Gilbert's younger brother, and the two seem to have established a close relationship. Edward was a formidable man, learning the art of kingship quickly in a hard school. He escaped, apparently with Thomas' connivance, and met up with Roger Mortimer and Gilbert at Ludlow, where other royalists flocked to them. They caught Simon de Montfort at Evesham, hopelessly outnumbered, and slaughtered him and his companions, releasing King Henry.

At Ludlow, as a condition of his allegiance, Gilbert extracted from Prince Edward some sort of oath to support the principles of reform.[17] The Prince had flirted with reformist ideas some years before and the policies he implemented later when he was king may suggest that the oath was not given reluctantly.

It took more than two years for the royalists to quell all the rebels and re-impose control. Members of the de Montfort family and their supporters were still holding out, while elsewhere there was a scramble to take over the estates of the defeated rebels. Gilbert was still in dispute with the Crown over the estates held by his mother in dower, but the main motive for his next intervention undoubtedly was that he objected to the harsh treatment being inflicted on the supporters of reform, who were former colleagues at the Battle of Lewes and included his dependents; he may also have felt that Prince Edward was dragging his feet over the oath at Ludlow. In 1267 Gilbert revolted, marched on London and occupied the city (a hotbed of reformism). A flurry of negotiation followed and Gilbert backed down; but his intervention broke the log-jam, and thereafter the process of reconciliation proceeded more smoothly. The de Montforts were permanently excluded from England, but the other reformists were allowed to regain their lands at a reasonable cost; peace was established for the remaining years of King Henry's long reign. Gilbert the Red was barely twenty-four when he made this third decisive intervention in national politics.

Estates held in dower

Gilbert's marriage with Alice de Lusignan, who must have been some years older than him, did not proceed smoothly. There were no sons but two daughters, the elder of whom was Isabelle, later Lady Berkeley, born 1263 (see Family Tree B). It was later rumoured, probably falsely, that Prince Edward was having an affair with Alice (she was his aunt).[18] At any rate, there was no love in the match and deep antagonisms had emerged by 1267. In 1271 Alice and Gilbert formally separated, but it was 1285 before the marriage was finally dissolved. Gilbert dealt generously enough with Alice, considering his inheritance was already burdened by his mother's dower - at some stage between

1271 and 1285 he settled six substantial manors on her for life, including Burford.[19] Gilbert's mother survived until 1289, and Alice until 1290.

There is a hint that the estates held in dower by Gilbert's mother may have included Shipton. A reference about poaching in Wychwood Forest records that in 1272 the offenders included the abbott of Eynsham and the countess of Gloucester's steward, while the parsons of Kiddington, Eynsham, Charlbury and Great Tew were accused of receiving the vension.[20] It could be significant that it was the steward of the *countess* of Gloucester - if it was the steward at Shipton, we may guess he was employed by Gilbert's mother, the dowager Countess Maud. There is a possibility it was Alice de Lusignan's steward at Burford, but there is reason to believe the settlement in her favour was not made until the annulment of the marriage in 1285.[21]

Princess Joan of Acre

Prince Edward succeeded to the throne as King Edward I in 1272, and was happily married with a number of sons, all but one of whom died in infancy, and daughters who survived. One of these was the Princess Joan of Acre, born in Palestine where Prince Edward was on crusade when his father King Henry III died. When they grew up, King Edward was keen to make ample provision for his daughters and future grandchildren at no expense to the Crown's estates, and sought suitable matches. He decided that Earl Gilbert The Red, who was free, was eminently suitable for Princess Joan, and lengthy negotiations followed.

It was arranged that Gilbert should surrender his titles and estates which were then resettled jointly on Gilbert and Joan for life, with succession to their children, failing which her children by a second marriage. It may seem extraordinary that Gilbert should agree, as this had the effect of permanently disinheriting his daughters by his first marriage to Alice de Lusignan, including Isabelle (later Lady Berkeley),[22] but no doubt he was flattered by the prestigious connection, his wealth and status were not impaired during his life, and any son born of the marriage would stand high in the succession to the throne. The marriage took place in 1290 and proved fertile: in the five years before Gilbert died in 1295 Joan bore him a son and three daughters, all of whom survived their parents.

It is interesting to see how the settlement then worked in practice. Having pleased her father in the first marriage he arranged with Earl Gilbert, Princess Joan followed her own inclination after Gilbert's death and eloped with a humble young knight in the de Clare entourage, one Ralph de Monthermer. King Edward was furious, but she talked him round. Ralph was permitted to assume the title and dignity of Earl of Gloucester, and enjoyed the de Clare estates with her, *jure uxoris*. But when she died in 1307, he had to surrender both the title and the estates to her son, Gilbert VII de Clare, and revert to plain Sir Ralph - in which capacity he survived and served the Crown until 1325.

The end of the de Clare line

The new Earl Gilbert VII was a brilliant young man about court, supremely eligible, the nephew of the new King Edward II who apparently admired his

qualities, close in succession to the throne, very wealthy and the scion of one of the foremost and oldest aristocratic families. There seemed to be no barrier to his having a brilliant career or to the fortunes of the family continuing to prosper. Alas, it was not to be.

One of the first things Gilbert VII did was to make provision for his older, disinherited half-sister, Isabelle de Clare, the daughter of Gilbert the Red and Alice de Lusignan. Unmarried, she was already over forty. Princess Joan had already granted her the manor (as opposed to the borough) of Burford for her maintenance during Gilbert's minority. He confirmed the grant of Burford to her for life, and added to it the manor of Shipton.[23]

In 1308 Earl Gilbert married Maud de Burgh, daughter of the Earl of Ulster. There was a son, John, born probably in 1312, but he did not survive.

Then in 1314 Earl Gilbert was killed at the disastrous Battle of Bannockburn near Stirling Castle. In a pique at what he took to be a slight from King Edward II he led a suicidal charge against the Scots at the beginning of the battle, and was cut down.[24] His widow Maud de Burgh claimed to be pregnant, persisting stubbornly long beyond the bounds of medical credibility, and the King used this as an excuse to hold up the distribution of the inheritance. But the de Clare estates were finally partitioned in 1317 between the late earl's three sisters, the daughters of Gilbert the Red and Princess Joan. At first this was subject to the provision which had already been made for the dower of Maud de Burgh, which included Burford borough, but she died in 1320.[25]

The Great de Clare Partition

The eldest of the three heiresses was Eleanor, who was married to Hugh Despenser the Younger. His father Hugh the Elder was still alive and Earl of Winchester. Both Hughs were high in the councils of King Edward II. A comparatively new and rising family, their driving greed and ambition made enemies and was a substantial cause of the rebellion in which both were captured and executed in 1326; the King himself was murdered at Berkeley Castle the following year. In the Great Partition Hugh the Younger took Glamorgan and estates in England which included Shipton and Burford, subject to the life interests of Lady Isabelle Berkeley. We shall follow the story of the Despensers and their descendants in Part Two of this study.

The second heiress, Margaret, was a widow, having first been married to Piers Gaveston, the Gascon favourite of King Edward II, who was made Earl of Cornwall and detested by the barons, a group of whom murdered him in 1312. It is a fair inference that Margaret never had much to do with Piers, who spent his time in the King's company, in conflict or in exile - at any rate the marriage was childless. In 1317 Margaret was married again to Hugh d'Audley, who took Newport and neighbouring estates in the Great Partition.

The third heiress, Elizabeth, was already twice widowed and now remarried to Roger Damory, who received Usk as well as the original family centre of Clare in Suffolk. After the death of her husband in 1322, she founded Clare College at Cambridge, named after the family in her honour.[26] Her

B. THE DESCENDANTS OF GILBERT VI, 'THE RED'

GILBERT VI, 'The Red', Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, b. 1243, d. 1295

= (1) 1254 Alice de Lusignan, d. 1290
Marriage annulled 1285

- Isabelle, b.1263, d.1338 = 1316 Maurice de Berkeley, d. 1322
- Joan, b. c.1264/1271, d. after 1322 = (1) 1284 Duncan, Earl of Fife, d. 1288
  = (2) c. 1302 Gervase Avenel, d. after 1322

= (2) 1290 Joan of Acre, da. of King Edward I, b. 1272, d. 1307 = (2) 1297 Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford 1297-1307, d. 1325

- issue

- GILBERT VII, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, b. 1291, d. 1314 = 1308 Maud de Burgh, d. 1320
  - John, b. and d. 1312?
- Eleanor, b. c. 1292, d. 1337 = (1) 1306 Hugh Despenser, d. 1326
  - issue
  = (2) 1327 William la Zouche, d. 1337
- Margaret, b. c. 1293, d. 1342 = (1) 1307 Piers Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall, d. 1312
  = (2) 1317 Hugh d'Audley, Earl of Gloucester (1337), d. 1347
  - issue
- Elizabeth, b. c. 1295, d. 1360 = (1) 1308 John de Burgh, d. 1313
  - issue
  = (2) 1316 Theobald Verdun, d. 1316
  = (3) 1317 Roger Damory, d. 1322

granddaughter Elizabeth de Burgh married Lionel of Antwerp, a son of King Edward III. Lionel was created Duke of Clarence, a fictitious title derived from Clare in view of the estates inherited by his wife. It is through the Duchess of Clarence that the de Clares can claim to be among the ancestors of the present Royal Family - and there is at least one other link, probably more.[27]

Much as Hugh Despenser coveted it, the title of earl of Gloucester was not awarded in the life of King Edward II, but in 1337 King Edward III awarded it to Hugh d'Audley. The charter was an unusual one, making no reference to a hereditary claim. The d'Audleys died leaving a sole heiress; she married Ralph Stafford, who was created Earl of Stafford, not of Gloucester. Their descendants became Dukes of Buckingham, continuing into the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile in 1316 Isabelle de Clare, the disinherited half-sister of the heiresses, married Sir Maurice de Berkeley, a minor baron in Gloucestershire whose estates included Berkeley Castle. He died in prison in 1322, after being captured in a baronial revolt against the King. Isabelle by now was past child-bearing. It was Sir Maurice's son by a previous marriage, Sir Thomas, who was jailer to King Edward II in 1327 and at least an accessory to his murder at Berkeley Castle.

However much her ancestors may have been absentee landords, we may deduce that Lady Isabelle was often in residence at Shipton. She was not wealthy, though her ancestry was a proud one. Before her marriage, Shipton was one of only two neighbouring estates in which she had a life interest. During her marriage, she may have divided her time between them and her husband's estates, not far away in Gloucestershire, but the marriage only lasted six years. Thereafter she may have held some of his estates in dower, but at first there was the question of their being rebel estates forfeited to the Crown. She survived until 1338,[28] outliving her reversioners in the Great Partition at Shipton and Burford, both Hugh Despenser and his wife Eleanor de Clare, so her connection with Shipton lasted for more than thirty years. Indeed, if we are right in supposing that Gilbert the Red's mother, the dowager Countess Maud de Lacy, held Shipton in her dower, the manor was alienated in dower and other life interests from the de Clare earls and their Despenser successors for all but about six out of the 75 years from 1263 - 1338: the six years between the deaths of Maud de Lacy in 1289 and Gilbert the Red's own death in 1295.

It was at Shipton itself that Isabelle executed the confirmatory charter in favour of Godstow Nunnery in December 1328. She at least must have maintained a decent manor-house for her own use, and if one did not exist already, would have had one built. We do not know where it was, but it would be fascinating to find out and perhaps discover its remains archaeologically; we may never have the opportunity, as these may underlie the post-Medieval Shipton Court which still stands. But other sites are possible: the grounds of the Old Vicarage, or perhaps the Crown Inn, part of whose fabric probably dates from before the Wars of the Roses.

Notes and References

1 VCH Oxon I, 400; in the Phillimore Domesday series 1,5. Frank Ware, 'The Royal Manor of Sciptone and Neighbouring Estates in Domesday', *Wychwoods History No. 1* (1985).

2 The latinized 'non-u' spelling is used to distinguish an honor, meaning the scattered assemblage of estates occupied by a baron, from honour in the abstract. Each honor had a *caput*, the principal residence of the baron (often a castle), from which it was administered.

3 A Clark (ed), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, Early English Text Society (1911), 548. 'Mynchons' are nuns.

4 Michael Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England; The Clares, 1217 - 1314*, Baltimore (1965), 23, 25.

5 Enoch Powell and Keith Wallis, *The House of Lords in the Middle Ages*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson (1968), 224.

6 William the Conqueror stipulated that everyone held land from the Crown. Thus baronial holders of honors were tenants-in-chief, and those who leased land from them for a rent were sub-tenants. Tenants-in-chief owed the King the service of a specified number of knights, and it became the practice for barons to 'enfeoff' these, i.e. install them on the whole or part of a manor to maintain them in return for the performance of knight-service (later commuted to a money-rent).

7 Brian Durham, 'Prebendal House, Shipton under Wychwood', *Wychwoods History No. 4* (1988), 50.

8 The Domesday value of the Royal Manor was £72 a year in 1086, and the value of the prebend not long after was 45 marks or £30 (Brian Durham *ibid*). 40% seems a very high proportion of so large a manor, with its six mills, the receipt of fines from the jurisdiction of three hundreds etc. There must be the suspicion that we are not comparing like with like, for instance that the 45 marks included income like tithes which was not included in the valuation of £72.

9 Ernulf or Arnulf of Hesdin, a French baron, held Chipping Norton in Domesday (Phillimore 40,3). He or a son was executed by King Stephen after the siege of Shrewsbury in 1138 - if it was the same man he must have been incredibly old (Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda*, Blackwell (1991), 132). The Ernulf of 1138 had no male heir, but a daughter was married to William fitz Alan, ancestor to the Earls of Arundel. Ernulf's estates were seized by Stephen, but after the accession of King Henry II, Matilda's son, the Fitzalans were allowed to recover Chipping Norton. The similarity in the names of the early connections of Shipton and Chipping Norton is striking but may be pure coincidence.

10 David Bates, *Normandy before 1066*, Longman (1982), 99.

11 The second de Clare Earl of Pembroke, another Richard nicknamed 'Strongbow', won fame and wealth as the Anglo-Norman conqueror of much of Ireland. Strongbow had no surviving male issue, and his daughter Isabel was married to the chivalrous knight *par excellence*, William Marshal, who took the title and honor of Pembroke (David Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147 - 1219*, Longman (1990)).

12 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 28.

13 William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, was Regent for King John's son, the minor King Henry III and leader of the party which secured the throne for Henry after John's death in 1216. He and the de Clares were on opposite sides in the decisive Battle of Lincoln in which both Gilbert V de Clare and his father Richard III were taken captive. Marshal, however, was skilfull at conciliating the rebellious barons of Magna Carta, and Gilbert

V married Marshal's daughter Isabel (D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III*, Methuen (1990)). This marriage resulted in a further unexpected accretion of wealth to the de Clare Earls of Gloucester; though Marshal was survived by five sons, they all died without issue and in 1275 the honor of Pembroke was divided between the heirs of Marshal's daughters (Altschul *op. cit.*, 208).

14 Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages*, Longman (1992) contains a detailed analysis of the status of noblewomen.

15 The events of 1262-7 are covered in detail in Sir Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, Oxford (1962), Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, Methuen (1988) and Altschul *op. cit.*

16 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 96.

17 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.* 109, quoting the chronicler Thomas Wykes.

18 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*103.

19 Jennifer C. Ward *op. cit.*, 32.

20 Beryl Schumer, *The Evolution of Wychwood to 1400: Pioneers, Frontiers and Forests*, Leicester (1984),.71 n. 54.

21 Jennifer C. Ward *op. cit.* 32 and Michael Altschul, *op. cit.* 38. Another Oxfordshire property of the de Clares was called 'Chadlington hundred', and it is possible that it is this estate that the Countess of Gloucester's steward managed. Further research should establish what Chadlington hundred comprised - it might have been a part of the Domesday Royal Manor of Sciptone. Altschul says that Maud's dower included estates in Oxfordshire, but does not specify which.

22 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 39.

23 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 50.

24 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 164.

25 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 305.

26 Jennifer C. Ward, *op. cit.*, deals fully with the life and estates of Elizabeth.

27 The Clarences were ancestors of King Edward IV and formed the main foundation of the claim of the House of York to the throne in the Wars of the Roses (though the Yorks were also direct male descendants of a younger son of Edward III). Edward IV was of course the maternal grandfather of King Henry VIII and his sister Margaret, who married James IV Stuart, King of Scots, from whom the Royal Family are descended. The other link is Isabel, daughter of Gilbert V de Clare, who married Robert Bruce of Annandale. Their grandson, Robert Bruce, was the King of Scots who won the Battle of Bannockburn, an ancestor of the Stuart kings. Thus King Robert, who won the Battle, and Gilbert VII de Clare, who was killed at it, were second cousins.

28 Michael Altschul, *op. cit.*, 39.

Shipton under Wychwood in 1662
A Hearth Tax Study

ANTHEA JONES, SUE JOURDAN, TOM MCQUAY AND JOAN HOWARD-DRAKE

Introduction

This paper is a reconstruction of the village population of Shipton in 1662 using mainly the Hearth Tax returns for that year (Appendix 1). The return for 1665, the parish registers and the Protestation Return of 1642 were also used, with further insight into the villagers' life-styles and environment obtained from probate material, leases and bonds.[1]

The Hearth Tax

Nicholas Perry was Shipton's parish constable in 1662. He would have been elected by the parish vestry and had the duty of assessing and collecting the new Hearth Tax. Following the restoration of Charles II in 1660, there was an urgent need for new revenue and a tax on hearths was introduced in 1662. For each hearth one shilling (say £35 today) had to be paid at Lady Day (25 March) and Michaelmas (29 September) each year. The tax was paid by the occupier and not the landlord. Chimneys were a relatively recent addition to many houses, which in the past had been warmed in winter by a fire on an open hearth in the middle of the room, the smoke finding its way out through the roof, door, windows and any other cracks; to heat more than one room was a mark of prosperity and only the better-off had a kitchen with a fire for cooking. The act imposing the Hearth Tax exempted householders who were not able to contribute to the support of the church and the local poor. In addition those with houses worth less than 20s (£1) a year could be excused the tax provided two parish officers - minister, churchwarden or overseer of the poor - signed a certificate that the person concerned did not have property elsewhere. This part of the act was not very clearly worded and constables were understandably confused. It was generally assumed that houses or land could be let for 5 % of their capital value, 20s (£1) a year for a £20 house. From 1663, the non-liable were supposed to be listed. The Hearth Tax was collected until 1689 when William and Mary, newly installed as King and Queen, proposed its abolition. The tax was said to be a

> *'badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every man's house to be entered into and searched at pleasure by persons unknown to him'.*[2]

Although the tax was collected for 27 years, only three lists survive for Oxfordshire. The Michaelmas assessment for 1665 has been printed. Two other

lists in poorer condition exist for Michaelmas 1662 and Lady Day 1665.

The Hearth Tax lists for the parish of Shipton show a variety of practice from township to township and help to establish the probable proportion of taxpayers in Shipton township. In September 1662 Nicholas Perry walked, or perhaps rode, round Shipton village collecting money from 43 households, but only 30 were named in the 1665 assessment, a reduction of more than a quarter. Constable Richard Paine's return for Leafield in 1662 contained the names of 32 householders who paid the tax, to which he then added another 37 names 'of the poorer sort'. Thomas Aldsworth of Ramsden wrote down 29 names and noted six empty houses. He then put a heading 'Houses not worth £20' and added 'generally receive collection' - that is, the householders received money collected for the relief of the poor. He listed 19 more names and three uninhabited cottages, each with one hearth. These two examples suggest that Shipton township's list is not comprehensive because 'the poorer sort' were not mentioned. A particularly interesting comparison can be made with the neighbouring parish of Taynton. Thirty occupiers were named in 1662 and 33 people paid a church rate in 1663, a close correspondence. In 1665, 23 are named in the Hearth Tax, five of whom were 'discharged' by reason of poverty

Table 1. Comparison of Hearth Tax payers in Leafield, Ramsden, Shipton and Taynton.

	1662		1665
Leafield			
Hearth tax payers	32		16
'Poorer sort'	37	discharged	4
total	69		20
Ramsden			
Hearth tax payers	29 + 6 empty		19
under £20	19 + 3 empty		4
	57		23
Shipton			
Hearth tax payers	43		27
		discharged	3
			30
Taynton			
Hearth tax payers	30		18
		discharged	5
			23
1663 Church rate payers	33		
1666 Poll tax payers	48		

but in 1666, 48 households paid the Poll Tax.[3] More than a third of Taynton's Poll Tax payers in 1689 were labourers, some working in the quarries but probably mainly on the farms. These were the householders omitted from all the Hearth Tax lists. These comparisons suggest that in Leafield less than one third of households appear in the 1665 Hearth Tax list, and in Ramsden and Taynton under half. More households tended to be included when the tax was new in 1662. As time went by, constables and clerks became less willing to list the non-payers and more people found an excuse for not paying.

The 1662 Hearth Tax list for Shipton included something over half the population; there may have been some 70 households altogether as 79 households paid tithe to the vicar 65 years later.[4] Comparison with the parish registers leads to a similar conclusion. For example, 14 families of Shipton township who had entries in the register in 1662 did not pay Hearth Tax, while six, including Nicholas Perry the constable, were recorded in that year. Half the Hearth Tax payers have an entry at some date for baptising their children and just over half were buried in Shipton. Surprisingly only one of the 42 taxpayers, Henry Whiting, was baptised, married and buried in Shipton. The well-documented Sir Rowland Lacy was baptised and buried in the parish church but his first wedding took place in Burford. Only eight of the heads of households in 1662 had been baptised in the parish, and 16 had been married in Shipton. These figures are an indication of the mobility of the labouring classes of the seventeenth century. The more prosperous were mostly land-holders and were more rooted in the area than labourers.

While the main source for the study is the 1662 Hearth Tax, reference was

Table 2: The distribution of Hearths in Shipton, 1662

Hearths	Number of Houses	Part 1	Part 2 (to come)
25	1	1	-
8	2	1	1
7	0	-	-
6	3	1	2
5	5	4	1
4	6	2	4
3	9	5	4
2	6	2	4
1	11	-	11
	43	16	27

also made to the printed 1665 list, in which a few mistakes have been identified:

Printed List	Amend to
Cocke	Cooke
Bedwell	Kidwell
Shaley	Shailer
Wyborne	Wysdom

Nicholas Perry was not himself literate; he made his mark on his own will and on a bond in 1682. Whoever wrote the Hearth Tax list for him left some puzzles for later readers, with eccentric spelling and illegible handwriting. The constable's own name, for example, was written 'Nicklas Perey'. After comparison with other sources only one entry has been impossible to trace: ' Mis Whiting for Collets', so that 42 Shipton households are described below.

The Parish Registers

A major source for this study is the parish registers, which record baptisms, marriages and burials. Fortunately, although Shipton was a large parish with several townships and hamlets, entries specify from which community each person came. The registers have been searched for 70 years prior to 1662 for baptisms and 70 years after for burials with a span of 100 years centred on 1662 for marriages. The search has revealed that Shipton's parish registers certainly do not cover all the baptisms, marriages and burials relating to the inhabitants. The disruption of the Civil War may account for some apparently missing entries. Fighting began in 1642 and continued sporadically until 1646, and there must have been times when normal routines were impossible. More seriously, in 1646 the victorious parliament instituted large scale reform of the Church of England. The bishops' authority, which had been in abeyance since the war began, was abolished in favour of a Presbyterian system giving more control to the congregation and less to the priest. Superstitious ceremonies like infant baptism were forbidden. Some, no doubt, liked the change, some tolerated it and others rejected it. In 1653, recognising the inadequacies of parish registers, an Act of Parliament introduced a civil registrar in each area to record births, marriages and deaths. Marriages were validated by JPs and banns, a notice of intention to marry, were published in the nearest town. This lasted for six years, until 1660, when the old constitution was revived and the House of Lords and bishops were restored. Consequently the parish registers are unlikely to tell the full life story of the inhabitants. Moreover, men often married in their brides' parish, where first babies were christened if the bride returned to her parents for the confinement. These omissions are understandable and in some families, where there was a clue to the wife's home, events have been researched in neighbouring parish records. But more perplexing is the omission of burials, when wills or inventories show that the testator had been resident in Shipton.

Other Sources

Information has been drawn from the printed Protestation Returns of 1642 naming those who agreed to swear their support for a Protestant church when it was feared that Charles I was encouraging Roman Catholicism. Another source

is probate material, that is wills and lists of personal possessions known as inventories which are made in connection with proving the will. These are of particular interest as they shed light on the life-style of whole families. Research uncovered no less than six wills, eight bonds and nine inventories so that there is probate material for 13 (31%) of the Shipton Hearth Tax payers. This is a much higher figure than in most similar published studies.[5] In addition, information has been incorporated from wills and inventories for nine close relatives.

Reconstructing Shipton's Households

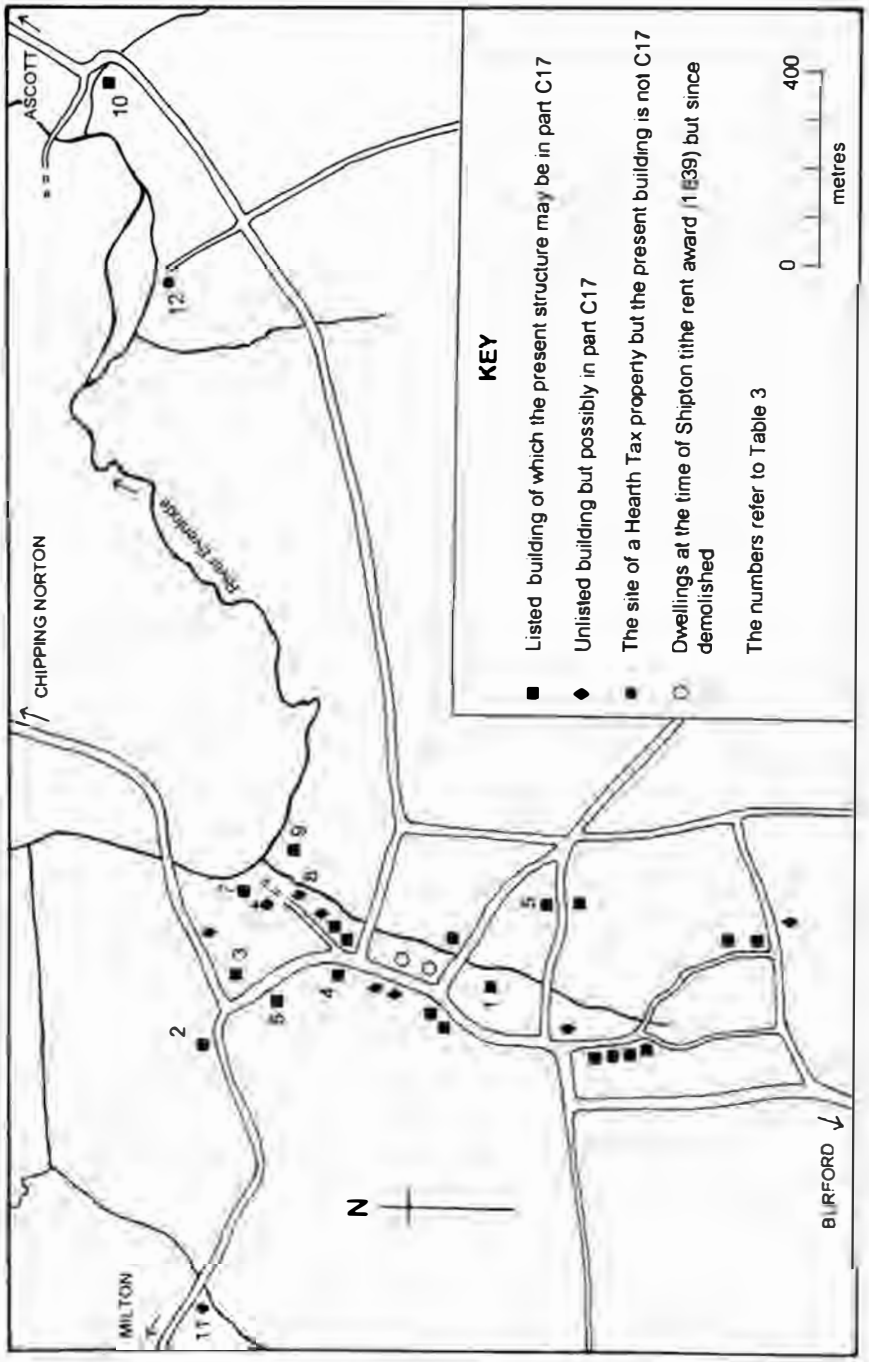
In reconstructing the household of each Hearth Tax payer, certain assumptions have been made. The same christian and surname has been assumed to relate to one person unless other evidence showed that there were two or more adults of that name in the parish at the same date. Where there was no direct evidence, ages have been estimated on the assumptions that a man was 16 years or more when he subscribed to the Protestation Oath in 1642, and that men and women were 20 years or more when married. It has also been assumed that children of 16 years and over had left home, unless other evidence suggested they were still living in their parents' home in Shipton. There were children in the houses of about 50% of the Hearth Tax payers as opposed to 26% in the Shipton of today.[6]

Indications of status and occupation have been found for many of the Hearth Tax population. The use of 'Mr' or Master and of 'Mis' or Mistress showed that the person was of 'gentle' birth, implying that he or she did not work, but lived on income from property rents. There were several gentry in Shipton in 1662 but only Sir Rowland Lacy had a title, an hereditary baronetcy which was the lowest rung of the titled ladder of the aristocracy. Most people, however, were plain 'Thomas Patten' or 'Mark Reeve', but even so there were gradations of status. Some were 'yeomen', a vague term suggesting larger, richer farmers who owned at least some of their land. Labourers were of more lowly status but three examples show that a labourer might pay Hearth Tax and that he could rent a little land and keep a cow and a pig. Most labourers were landless, untaxed and undocumented.

Sums of money have been presented in pounds, shillings and pence, as recorded in the seventeenth century (20 shillings to £1; 12 pence to one shilling; 8 half-crowns (2 shillings and sixpence) to £1). A scale of values may be deduced from the contemporary Gregory King's calculations of average income for the year 1688.[7] He supposed that a gentleman had a yearly income of £280, and had eight in his household; a farmer had £42 10 shillings and had five in family and a labourer had £15, which was not quite adequate to support the 3½ in his family. The Hearth Tax of two shillings a year for one hearth, therefore, could not be afforded by the average labourer, whose weekly income was only 5 shillings and 8 pence. The farmer's weekly income was 16 shillings. Valuations of possessions can also be related to this scale of money income.

The families who can be located

It has proved possible to locate enough people to establish the geographical



Map 1. Shipton showing the possible location of some of those who paid Hearth Tax in 1662

Table 3: Hearth Tax payers and their possible location

Name	No. of hearths	Location	No. on Map
Andrewes, Rd	2	Poole Mill	11
Brooks, Jh	8		
Browne, Rd	2		
Candish, Hugh Mr	3		
Chapman, Jn	1		
Cooke, Alex.	4		
Cooke, D'thy	3	Bank Ho	6
Cooke, Rd	3		
Cowlinge, Jn	2	?nr Court	
Cox,Wm	4		
Daniel, Wm	2	Langley Mill	12
Eeles, Jn	1		
Ellins, Jn	1		
Greene, Jh	4		
Hall, Jn	3		
Hickes, Rd	5		
Holland, Jh Mr	4	Prebendal	7
Jefferson, Jn	1	Langley Mill	12
Kidwell, Mis	3	Crown Inn	4
Lacy, Rowland Sir	25	Court	1
Morton, Hy. Jun	1		
Morton, Hy. Sen	1	Luckins	
Owen, Leon. Mr	8	Coldstone	10
Parratt, Wm	1		
Patten, Rob.	6	Lane End Fm	2
Perry, Nich.	3		
Reason, Wm.	1		
Reeve, Hum.	1	Main Street	8
Reeve, Mark	1	Main Street	8
Ricketts, Ed.	3		
Savages, Mrs	3		
Self, Geo. Mr	5	Vicarage	9
Shailer, Rd.	1		
Weland, Wm	1		
Wells, Jn	4		
Whiting, Hy	6	Crown Inn	4
Whiting, Mis	5	Upper Fm	5
Willet, Rd	5	Red Horse	3
Willet, Wm	2		
Wisdom, Th. Mr	5		
Wyatt, Mr	3	?by Court	
Yeates, Mr	6		

position of perhaps fifteen names on the list. Nicholas Perry started with Sir Rowland Lacy at Shipton Court, showing proper deference to the lord of the manor. Then he seems to have gone to the north end of the High Street, to Lane End Farm and proceeded along the High Street. The Vicarage, the Prebendal House, the Crown, the Red Horse, Bank House, Upper Farm, (now the Dower House), Poole Mill (later Shipton Mill), Langley Mill and Coldstone Farm near Ascott can all be identified. Parts of at least 18 houses in present-day Shipton are old enough to have been standing in 1662.[8]

The 42 Hearth Tax households have been divided into two groups. Sixteen are described in Part 1, mainly the gentry of Shipton together with the two innkeepers and several striking networks of their relations (see Appendix 2). In the second part, to be published later, the balance of 26 households includes most of the farmers, the labourers and the craftsmen and those for whom little information has been found. Larger houses occur in both parts, but all the one-hearth tax payers and most of the two-hearth group are in Part 2.

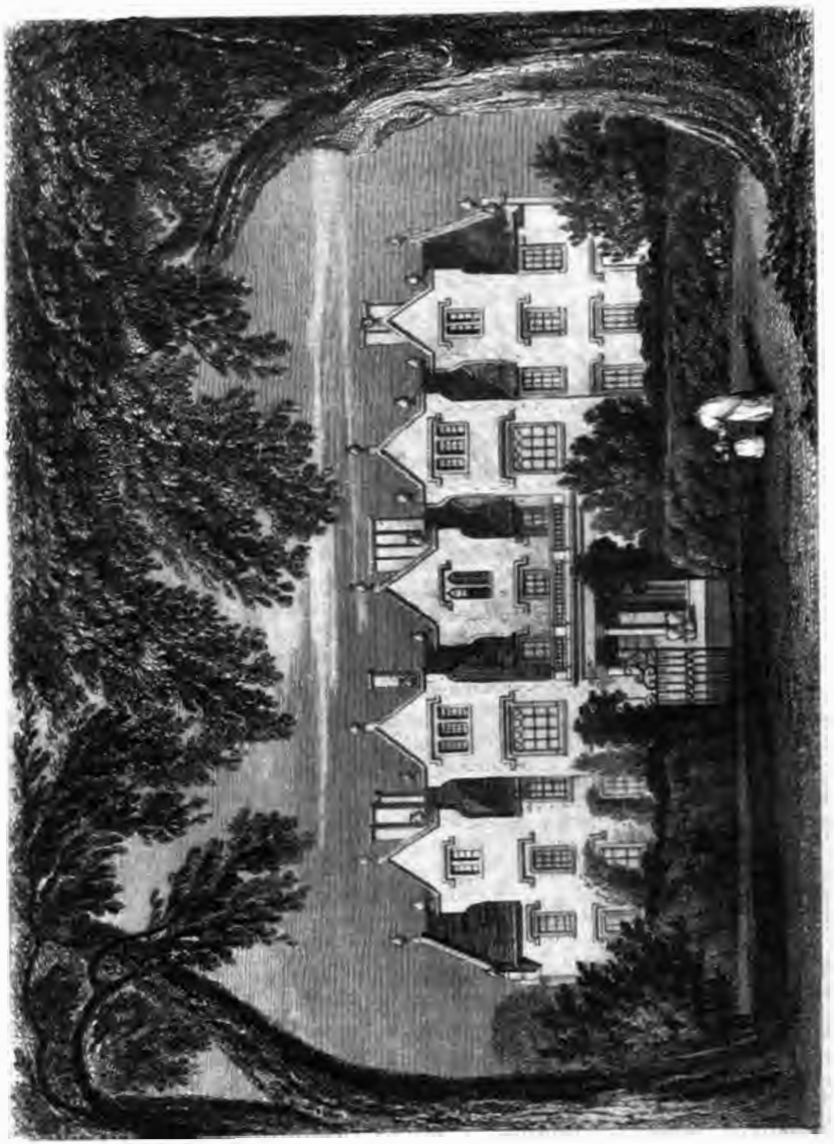
A description of Shipton in 1662 : Part 1

Shipton Court

The Lacy home had 25 hearths and was one of the largest houses in the district. John Lenthall at Burford Priory had 36 hearths, but Queen Elizabeth slept there! Sir John Fettiplace, also a baronet, had a 20-hearth house at Swinbrook as did Mr William Cope at Bruern. The big house at Langley had 17 hearths and Taynton Manor had 10.

The Lacy family had been at Shipton since the beginning of the seventeenth century. Sir Rowland Lacy of Shipton under Wychwood is mentioned in a deed of 1598 and the present house was built by 1603.[9] The earliest entry in the parish register is in 1613, when Lady Constance Lacy was buried, the grandmother of the **Sir Rowland Lacy** in the Hearth Tax list. Previously the family had been based in Northumberland, but like other affluent gentry families they found husbands and wives of the same social class all over the country.[10] Only two generations of Lacys lived at Shipton Court. Sir John married Mary Wythepol of Suffolk and baptised three children here. The eldest was Rowland, who was thus one of the eight Hearth Tax payers who had been baptised in the parish church. In 1641 he married Frances Lenthall, a daughter of William Lenthall of The Priory in Burford who was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1640. Both Frances and her newly-born daughter died after her first confinement in 1643. Rowland inherited the baronetcy in 1652 on the death of his father.

By the time of the Hearth Tax, he had been a widower for nearly twenty years. At the age of 65 he married again, to Arabella Fettiplace, and had three children in five years. By this time the family were living at the more modest Pudlicote House near Chadlington with eight hearths; Shipton Court was sold to Sir



Engraving of Shipton Court from Neale's Views of the Seats of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, *vol. 1, 2nd. series (1824). Reproduced by kind permission of The Bodleian Library, Oxford (G.A. Gen. top. 4° 43 1).*

Compton Reade in 1663 though Sir Rowland was still listed as paying the Hearth Tax in 1665, as well as at Pudlicote. He died in 1690, after losing his second child but before the third, a daughter Arabella, also died. The two children were brought back to Shipton for burial in the family vault, and there still exists a floor tablet by the organ in Shipton Church commemorating the burial of seven-year-old Arabella. Alas, in his will, he had made provision for his daughter's portion of £4,000 if she married with her mother's consent or at the age of 21 years and £1,000 if she married without consent, and she was to receive the silver tankard which he had won at Chipping Norton, for what we do not know. His properties included the manors of Ascott Earl, Shipton under Wychwood, Milton Spencer, Milton Sandbrooke and Pudlicote, and property at Langley and Coldstone, near Ascott. Only one old favoured servant was mentioned in the will, to be provided with an income of £20 a year for life. A house the size of Shipton Court would have had many servants. At Northwick Park in Blockley, Gloucestershire, for example, the young Sir James Rushout, also a baronet, employed twelve men and eight women servants indoors in 1705, as well as other men outdoors, and the house was probably smaller than Shipton Court.[11] Sir Rowland's only surviving child, another Rowland, lost his mother in 1695. In her will, fearing strife in the family, Arabella enjoined her Fettiplace family to consult her second husband about the boy's guardianship.

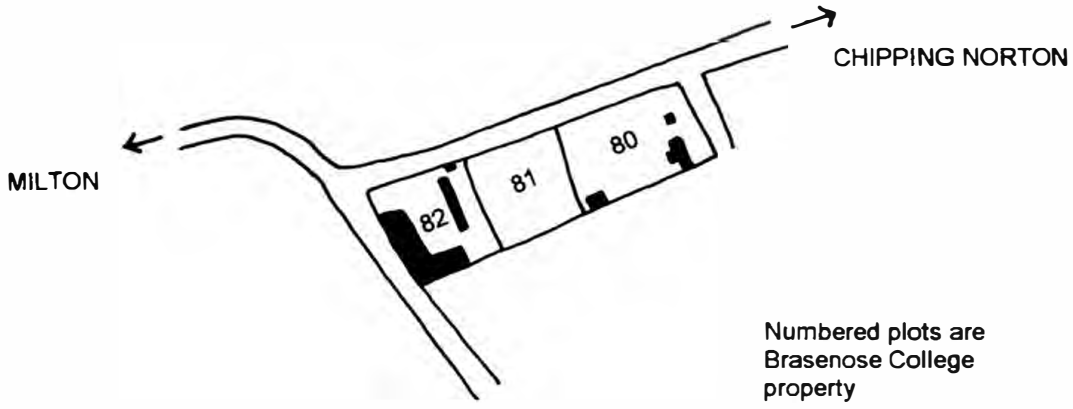
Two people listed in the Hearth Tax in 1662, Mr Wyatt and John Cowling, probably lived in the house or surroundings to Shipton Court. When a settlement of Sir John Chandos Reade's estate was made in 1847, anticipating arrangements for inheritance which might otherwise have been made in his will, the title to the large proportion of the Shipton properties was defined by reference to the occupants at the time of Sir Compton Reade's purchase in 1663.[12] The manor house was said to be in the possession of Rowland Lacy Esq. or Matthew Wyatt.

Mr Matthew Wyatt paid tax for three hearths. Possibly he occupied an older house or wing while Sir Rowland lived in the newer front range: the example of the Prebendal House shows that mansions were sometimes divided in this way. Master Matthew was a newcomer to Shipton in 1662; he came from Ducklington to marry Mistress Mary Ashfeild of Shipton, a widow, in July 1661. The parish registers suggest that there could have been five fatherless Ashfeild children aged between nine and three at the wedding. Mr Anthony Ashfeild had died in 1659, leaving his widow well-provided, though debts to Rowland Lacy Esq. had to be paid. His will mentioned four children, so it appears that in fact one child had died by 1659. The executors were given 5s each to buy a pair of gloves. The Wyatts had a daughter Elizabeth in 1662 who died aged three, and Priscilla was baptised in 1664. One Master Matthew was buried in April 1666 and another buried in 1713, and according to his will had a daughter Priscilla. The first Matthew buried could be the father of the newly-wed Matthew. Incidentally a second Ashfeild widow was probably also living in the village in 1662. Mistress Barbara Ashfeild had married Francis Savage of Tetbury in 1649 and **Mistress Savage** was charged on three hearths. She may have returned to

Sir Compton Reade (1626-79) from A Record of the Reades *by Compton Reade, 1899.*

a family home. **John Cowling**, who paid tax on two hearths in 1662, also probably lived and worked on the Shipton Court estate. The deed of 1847 mentioned 'The water or conduit house and yard formerly of John Cowling', which seems to place him in the Shipton Court complex. His marriage was registered at Shipton in 1674 but there is no other information.

Map 2. The Red Horse site from Oxfordshire Archives, the Tithe Rent Award for Shipton 1843, no. 342 (map dated 1839).

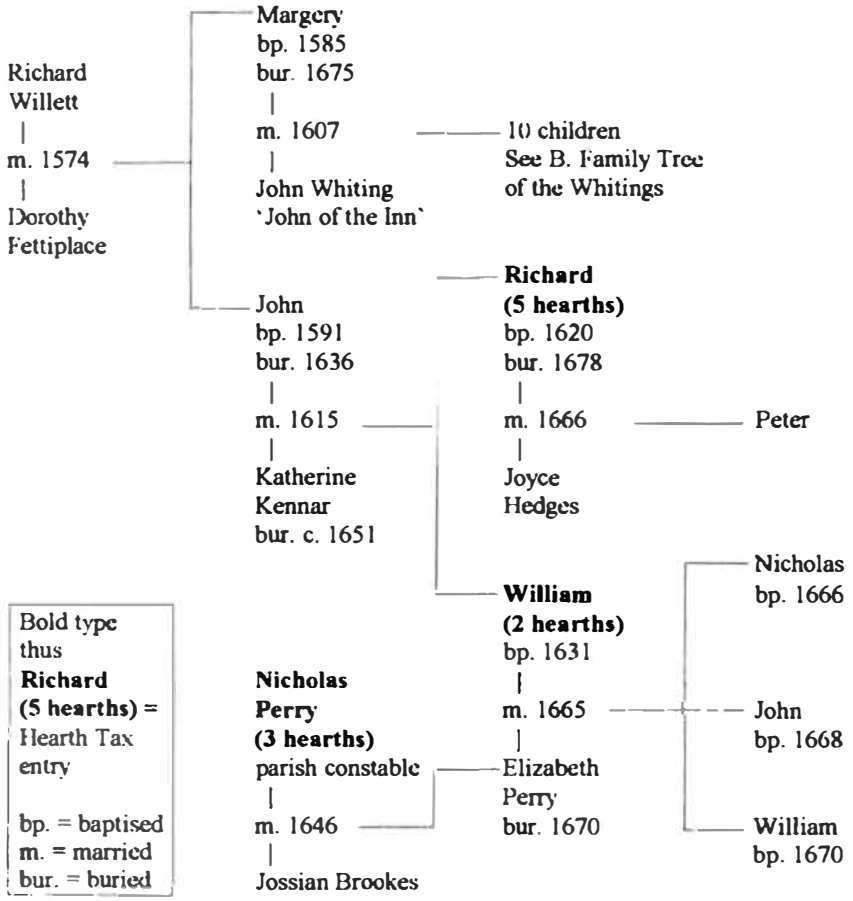


The Willett family, tenants of the Red Horse Inn, and related families

After Lane End Farm, which will be described in Part 2, Nicholas Perry went next to The Red Horse, occupied by **Richard Willett** and collected five shillings for five hearths. Part of the present building is at least as old as 1662. The property had been given to Brasenose College soon after the College was founded in 1509 and the Willett family had been tenants since 1563.[13] Although the lease to Richard Willett was renewed in 1670, at this date he was an Innholder and living at Burford, which was where he died in 1678. Richard Willett also owned land in Shipton at his death. His son Peter took over the Red Horse and was described as a glover in the lease. Members of the Willett family continued to occupy the Brasenose property until 1780, later generations being butchers.

Richard Willett had been baptised on 28 January 1620, another of the eight inhabitants born in the village, and he was therefore 42 years old in 1662. His father had died in 1636 and his mother Katherine took on the Brasenose lease. Richard became the leaseholder in 1651 when he was 31 years old. In 1666, when he was 46, he married a widow, Joyse Hedges of Burford whose husband Henry, a 'vitler', had died just two months before she remarried. There are no baptisms of children recorded and it is likely that Richard Willett left the Red Horse in the charge of a manager and moved to a more prosperous Inn that his wife held in Burford. When he died in 1678 he was said to be of 'The Katherine Wheele'. His will mentions his son Peter who was to let his widowed mother have 'a room and washing' if she wished, or £5 a year if not.

A. FAMILY TREE OF THE WILLETTS



Six other Hearth Tax householders in Shipton seem to have been related to the landlord of the Red Horse: Richard's brother William Willett, and their aunt Margery Whiting at the Crown Inn (who will be described later), Nicholas Perry, Hugh Candish, Richard Hickes and John Brookes. **William Willett** was a younger brother of Richard and lived in a two-hearth house, whose location is not known. He had a small farm of 20 acres of arable and 3½ acres of meadowland, leased from the Wisdom family.[15] He married Elizabeth Perry, the daughter of the parish constable, in 1665. She may have been about 19 and the

couple baptised their first baby, Nicholas, on 18 June 1666, exactly nine months after their wedding, suggesting a young and fertile bride. The baby was presumably named after his maternal grandfather, Nicholas Perry. John was born 20 months after Nicholas and the third son William three years later, but the mother Elizabeth died two months after the confinement. It was unusual for a baby to survive a maternal death and, as he was not mentioned in the parish constables's will along with the rest of his brothers and sisters, he was probably buried with his mother. William Willett appears then to have married another Elizabeth although the marriage is not recorded in the Shipton registers. Four more children were born in the next seven years, one of whom died in infancy. The eldest son Nicholas was 18 years of age when Grandfather Perry died in 1685. He inherited £60 and 'all from the best bed chamber'; John aged 16 inherited £50. William Willett himself was given 2s 6d which could have paid for new gloves to wear at the funeral. The two boys, Nicholas and John, later described as butchers, took over the Brasenose lease from their cousin Peter Willett in 1687.

Nicholas Perry appropriately lived somewhere in the heart of the village near the Crown. On different occasions he was described as a grazier (cattle dealer) and yeoman, and was a churchwarden in 1664 and 1665. His house had three hearths, an average dwelling among the taxpayers but substantial for the community as a whole. He probably came from an Ascott family and may have subscribed to the Protestation oath there in 1642. He married Jossian or Jossuan Brookes of Lyneham in 1646 when she was 27 years old. The first child whose baptism was recorded in Shipton was Mary, born almost exactly two years after the wedding, with Nicholas two years later and twins after another three years. Elizabeth, who married William Willett of The Red Horse, was not baptised in Shipton but could have been the first child, born before Mary; if so, she was about 19 years when she married. Sixteen sixty-two was a sad year for the constable. He had lost his eldest son aged eleven in the December of 1661 and buried one of his eight-year-old twins in January 1662. Nicholas Perry lost his daughter Mary too, when she was 25, after having two babies who died in infancy. John was the only survivor of the five children, who therefore inherited the constable's property. John, too, was to have a short life and outlived his father by only five years, dying aged 37 at the same time as one of his children, which suggests an infectious disease as the cause of their deaths. Nicholas Perry left Jossian an income of £10 a year and all his possessions except from the best bed chamber which went to his Willett grandchild and namesake. Jossian was to outlive them all and died 17 years later at what was then the ripe old age of 83 years.

Hugh Candish, who paid tax on three hearths, was also related to Nicholas Perry. Hugh married Cicely Brookes, Jossian's sister, and was referred to in Nicholas Perry's will as 'cousin'. Called 'Mr Candish' on the Hearth Tax list, he had the status of a gentleman. In 1662 there may have been two or three sons in the house; again there was no entry in the Shipton register for one child, possibly the first. An infant had been buried the year before the Hearth Tax list and another was to be buried the year after. In 1671, Hugh Candish's house had

eight rooms: a parlour, study, kitchen, dairy and buttery downstairs and two bedrooms and a corn store upstairs. He was not a wealthy farmer but probably had other sources of income. He was literate, which matches his status as a gentleman, though his wife could not sign her name. He was one of only three among our tax payers to have 'books in the study'. He was responsible for valuing William Parrat's possessions in 1663. It appears that the three men who valued Hugh Candish's possessions after his death in March 1671 were all related to him: Nicholas Perry (his wife's brother-in-law), William Willett

(wife's niece's husband) and Henry Brooks (possibly brother-in-law)!

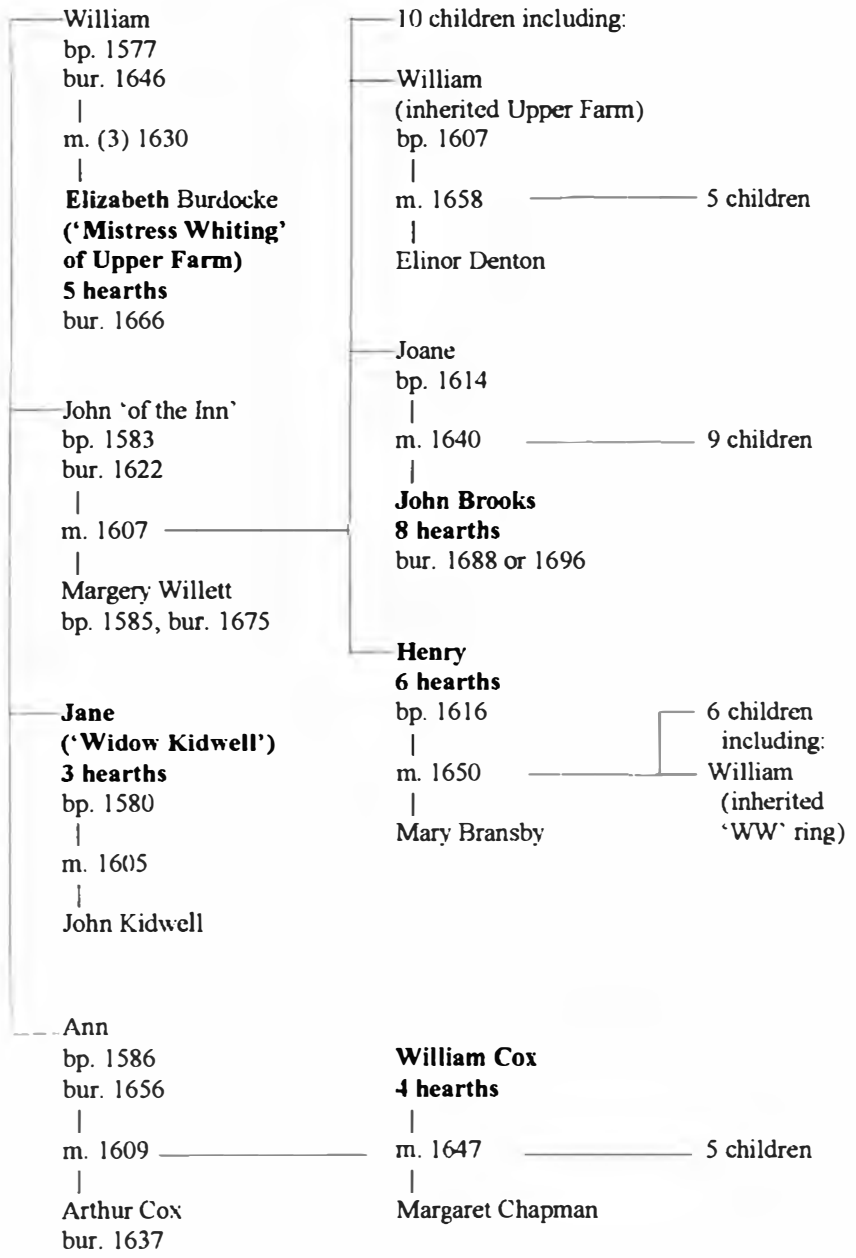
The Brooks or Brookes were a large local family, mainly of Lyneham. Thirty-two Brooks were baptised in the half-century before the Hearth Tax and 22 were buried in the 50 years after. It is therefore quite possible that Richard Hickes, with five hearths, who had married Anne Brooks of Lyneham, was related to the Perry and Candish families, as also was John Brooks with an eight-hearth house. Richard Hicks and John Brooks were apparently more prosperous than either Hugh Candish or Nicholas Perry. Both were trustees of the Crown Inn charity, described as yeomen. In a later deed John Brooks was called 'gentleman' although he was not so titled by the constable as others were in the Hearth Tax list.[16]

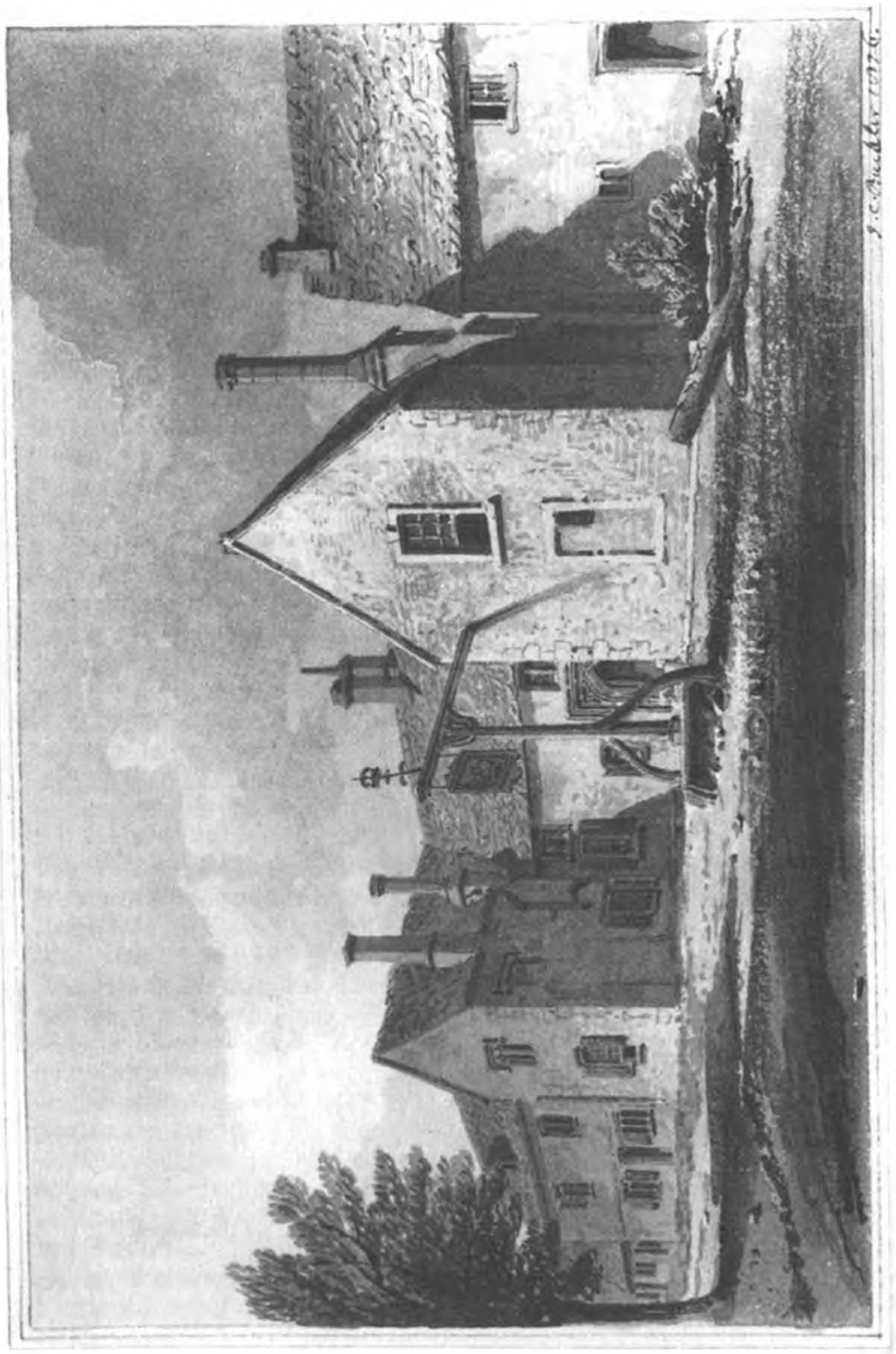
Little is known of **Richard Hickes'** family. The eldest of his four surviving children, all daughters, was 25 years old in 1662 and the youngest was eight. Three babies died in infancy. He too was a trustee of the Crown Inn charity in 1663, but later the same year was replaced by John Hicks. **John Brooks** was one of those who had been baptised in Shipton and was aged 41 years in 1662. In December 1640 he married Joan Whiting, daughter of 'John of the Inn' at Burford Church by license. The more well-to-do often paid for an ecclesiastical license to marry without waiting for banns to be called for three weeks running in church. The first-born had died aged three months and two other children died at four and six years. John Brooks' wife gave birth to her ninth child in August 1662, just before the constable collected the tax, so six children survived. Sir Rowland Lacy mentioned his favourite servant, John Brooks, in his will and gave the servant's son in Oxford one of his best horses. One John Brooks may therefore have lived in or near the Court and been Sir Rowland's butler or steward. In the Hearth Tax list, John Brooks' name follows others associated with Shipton Court, but with his eight hearths, he occupied a large house and was important in the village.

The Whiting families of The Crown Inn and The Upper House

A second set of relationships clustered round the landlord of the Crown Inn, **Henry Whiting**, who was linked with the Willett family at the Red Horse. His father was one of ten children, and two of his aunts by marriage appear in the 1662 Hearth tax list. The Crown (now called the Shaven Crown) was a large six- (possibly nine-) hearth building where Henry Whiting lived with his wife Mary and four children. He had married when he was 34, in 1650; his wife Mary Bramsby was perhaps a daughter of a Henry Bransby who had surveyed the manor of Shipton for the Lacys in 1617. Comparison of the marriage and baptism registers suggests that she was in a state of advanced pregnancy on her wedding day, the only pre-nuptial pregnancy among the 1662 tax payers of Shipton. Moreover, it would seem that Henry had already fathered one child for in 1644 Elizabeth Clarke had taken her illegitimate baby to be baptised and had him christened 'Whiting Henry baseborn son of Elizabeth Clarke and she affirms of Henry of Shipton'. The child died ten months later. Mary and Henry had a set of twins who had been born in 1657 but one died aged one year. A son Henry was born in 1663 but died aged two months.

B. FAMILY TREE OF THE WHITINGS





J.C. Buckler's engraving of the Crown Inn, 1826. Reproduced by kind permission of The Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS Top. Oxon. a 68 No 470)

Although Henry paid the Hearth Tax, his widowed mother Margery Whiting also lived at the Inn. She was born Margery Willett, the daughter of Richard Willett at the Red Horse and had married John Whiting, the son at the Crown Inn, in 1607. John Whiting leased the property from the Crown Inn trustees and was himself a trustee of this charity which had been created in 1586 for the maintenance of the bridges at Shipton and Milton and for the poor.[17] There were twelve trustees, six from each village. Described in the register as 'John of the Inn', he died 40 years before the Hearth Tax, in 1622, when Henry was six years old, leaving Margery with ten children. All appear to have survived, a remarkable achievement in the seventeenth century. The importance of the village innkeeper is revealed when, following John's death, Margery had had to provide an account for probate of his will. It would appear that John not only ran the Inn but was also the village banker. Margery had paid money 'due uppon a bond' or for 'a debt due' to 15 individuals amounting to £136 10s and still had to pay £71 to nine others. Most were men and women in Shipton or Milton. She also had to discharge the debt of £1 10s to 'Mr Randolph for teaching the deceaseds children', suggesting the family were literate: Henry's signature is on at least two Shipton wills and inventories. Margery had to pay a legacy of £10 to each of the ten children when they reached eighteen or married, whichever happened sooner, or half that amount if she bound any of them as apprentices. They were all listed by name and therefore presumably alive when their father died. The year after the Hearth Tax, in 1663, Margery was taken to court for claiming that the Crown Inn was her own property, since all the trustees had died.[18] New trustees were accordingly appointed, with Margery named in a new lease although Henry paid the Hearth Tax. This redoubtable lady died aged 90 in 1675 having been a widow for 53 years.

Margery had two sisters-in-law by marriage in the village in 1662, both widows. Jane Whiting, John's older sister, married John Kidwell of Ledgelad (Lechlade), Gloucester in 1605 and she appears in the hearth tax list as **Widow Kidwell** apparently living in a part of the Crown Inn. Henry Whiting paid her Hearth Tax of 3 shillings. By 1662 she would have been quite an old lady, 77 if she had been about 20 years old when she married. There is no record of her death. The other sister-in-law, the second **Widow Whiting** in the list, was Elizabeth at Upper House (now The Dower House in Plum Lane; inscribed on the beam over the inglenook at The Dower House is a 'W' suggesting building work by the Whiting family about this time). Elizabeth was the third wife of William Whiting who was an older brother of 'John of the Inn'. He had married Ann Maunsell in 1604 but she died childless in 1622. Although there is no record in Shipton of a second marriage, in the burial register on 17 June 1628 the vicar notes 'Whiting Margorie wyfe of William who died in childbed' and on the same day 'John son of William' was baptised. This baby survived for two years suggesting that he was cared for by a wetnurse who may have been a servant paid to feed and care for the infant along with one of her own. In 1630 William married for the third time. In the Bradwell registers, on November 11 was entered the marriage of Elizabeth Burdocke to William Whiting by license.

It appears that William had no children and when, aged 63 years, he made

'W' from the inglenook at The Dower House

his will on 21 March 1640, 'being sick in body but of a perfecte memory and understandinge', Elizabeth was the main beneficiary and executrix. His house and farm were left to his wife for her life-time and then the property was to be divided; the land he had bought from a cousin, Stephen Whiting, he bequeathed to his cousin Henry, while cousin William was to inherit Upper Farm and the '2 yardlands thereto belonging' (about 60 acres).[19] Modest bequests were made to his numerous relations. The children of his late brother 'John of the Inn', Richard, Dorothy, Anne, Johanne and Isabella were given £5 each, that is all the girls and the youngest boy of the family; the children of his sister, Jane Kidwell, also received £5 each. As she is named rather than her husband it is likely she was already a widow. His sister Anne, who had married into the Cox family, received 30s (£1.50). Anne had already experienced her brother's generosity. Her husband Arthur had mortgaged his property to Mr Bramsby, probably the father-in-law of her brother Henry, and it was not until after her husband's death in 1637 when she took out letters of administration that she discovered this. Her brother redeemed the mortgage for her. William Whiting also made bequests to his cousins John and Stephen of 30s each and 10s each to the two children of his elder brother Thomas. A servant, Johanne Knigh, received 20s, and three living-in servant boys also received bequests in a codicil. He bequeathed 10s to the poor of Shipton, the same to the poor of Milton and 20s to Shipton church. Although William was 'sick in body' when he made his will, he nevertheless lived another seven years and the register records his burial on 27 June 1646 with probate granted to his widow on 27 September 1646. The will suggests that he was one of the richest men in Shipton. Although he had signed Arthur Coxe's inventory in 1637, his age or infirmity meant that he marked his will with a shaky cross.

From 1646 the heir to The Upper House, another William Whiting (William's nephew), must have looked after the farm for Widow Elizabeth and

almost certainly lived in The Upper House, as he is not listed in the Hearth Tax, but was 'of Shipton' when he married Elinor Denton on 8 April 1658. On 10 August in the same year the baptism register has 'Denton Marie daughter of Elinor wife to William Whiting of Shipton begotten (as she affirms) by Symon Parrat of Fiefield'. William appears to have married a bride five months pregnant by another man. He and his uncle Henry had irregularities in their sex lives not shared by any of the other taxpayers who appear to have been more conformist. Two more children were born by 1662 and three more by 1670 but of the six, two died in infancy. When Nicholas Perry came to collect the tax on the five hearths at Upper house in 1662, he would have found the Widow Whiting and probably also William, her nephew by marriage and her heir, aged 55 years, his family and at least four living-in servants, running a busy and very prosperous farm.

Three years later on 5 March 1666, an inventory was taken of the Upper House, three days after Widow Elizabeth's death. It gave the value of the goods, chattels and cattels (cattle) as £605 18s 2d, a substantial amount in 1666. There is an impression of an affluent life-style at Upper House. There was brassware in the kitchen valued at £7 and 33 pewter dishes worth £4. There was £60 worth of wool, abundant malt, pease, wheat, bacon and beef. Her part of the house had 8 rooms, a hall, parlour, kitchen, pantry and a buttery, and upstairs a chamber over the buttery, a 'yellow' chamber, and a mens' or farm servants' chamber. The furniture is valued but unfortunately not specified. Outside there were 'pigs about the house' valued at £12. At the beginning of March there were 165 'dry sheepe' with 54 ewes and lambs, the biggest flock among the Shipton hearth tax payers, and 9 cows and calves. Presumably the 7 'bease' in Bowerham Close and 13 dry 'bease' were oxen. There was also a large arable farm with 30 acres of winter wheat, 43 acres of 'pease sowed', 17 acres of 'barley sowed' and a further 20 acres of barley to be sown.

In her will, Elizabeth made 21 bequests of £277 to her 'kinsmen and women'. William, the son of Henry Whiting of the Inn received £10 and 'my sealed goold Ring with W.W.' Her maid, Barbara Ionns, received £5 and her servants 10s each. The poor of Shipton, the parish church and 'the towne of Shipton for the mending of the way to church' were each given £1. As Elizabeth had no children and her husband had made provision for his family at the time of his death 19 years earlier, Elizabeth made many bequests to her Burdocke kinsmen and kinswomen and made her brother John Burdocke her executor. One of her bequests was £20 to her great-niece Elizabeth Holland, daughter of her niece Mercy and **John Holland**. Elizabeth was only eleven years old so the legacy was to be paid at the discretion of the executor. John Burdocke, Elizabeth's great-uncle, for some reason refused to pay the money. The affair rumbled on for four years until in 1669 Elizabeth's father John Holland took the case to court in Chipping Norton. John Burdocke was obliged to hand over the money and in return John Holland was to present an account in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Oxford when Elizabeth came of age showing that the money had been wisely invested or he would forfeit £40. One can only speculate on why John Burdocke would not hand over the money, perhaps he suspected

that his niece and her husband would spend their daughter's inheritance on themselves. Widow Elizabeth was buried on 2 March 1666, two weeks after she had made her will, having been a widow for nearly 20 years.

A further relation of the Whiting family was **William Cox** who paid tax on three hearths. William's mother was Anne Whiting. His father Arthur died in 1637 (when William Whiting redeemed the mortgage) and Anne died in 1656. William had married Margaret Chapman in 1647 and by 1662 five children had been baptised but three died in infancy. The Cox house was appraised in an inventory when Arthur died in 1637. There was a hall, kitchen, buttery, study, brewhouse, dairy and corn loft with a bed chamber, a chamber over the hall and a 'best' chamber. The farm stock consisted of 4 cows, a mare, 27 sheep, 2 swine and poultry. In 1662 William may have farmed along the same lines as his father, but it is not known where William lived.

Parsonage Farm and The Vicarage

The Holland family

John Holland, who paid tax on four hearths, may possibly have been the gentleman tenant of part of the Old Prebendal House. At that time it was the Rectory or Parsonage, and the house and about 88 acres of land belonged to a member of Salisbury Cathedral Chapter who was also Professor of Civil Law at Oxford University. The Parsonage was surveyed in 1650 when bishops and cathedral chapters were abolished.[20] Eleven living rooms were listed: hall, parlour, kitchen, two butteries, milkhouse, washouse and four chambers, also a corn loft and two other cocklofts. In the yard was a barn of eleven bays (probably what is now called the Tithe barn), a little barn, a stable, an oxhouse, a malt house and a gate house. There were two little gardens and a 'barton' (farmyard) extending to about one acre. Although there were numerous outbuildings, the house itself was smaller than it is now. The estate was apparently let in two lots, one to a farmer who occupied the barns and general farm buildings and collected the corn tithes from the parish of Shipton, and part to a gentleman who occupied the Hall, Parlour, bed chambers and stables. A number of farmers' leases of later date show the division of the property and in 1694 the farmer was specifically excluded from the Parlour Garden, while joint use of the Great Kitchen, Washhouse, Malthouse, henhouses and pigsties, and the yards was specified. The farmer in 1661 was James Stocke of Essex, who must have used a local farmer as subtenant.

Later leases required the subtenant to look after the premises, furniture, trees and household goods, not to put animals in the gardens or orchards nor corn nor grain on the boarded floors. The church was to be provided with 'pease straw as is usually given', presumably to strew on the floor. At the end of the term of the lease, compost made of hay or straw was to be left on the premises, and the garden sown with vegetables: beans, peas, worts (brassicas), carrots, parsnips and turnips. The rent was £60 per year payable in the Great Hall of the Parsonage on Michaelmas Day and Lady Day. The tenant was also liable for taxes including 'hearth money' and was obliged to entertain two couples of 'poor' every Sunday and festival day, after they had attended Divine Service, and

he was liable for the repair of the Chancel and the bridge on the road to Chipping Norton.

John Holland in the Hearth Tax was buried later in 1662, but probably his son with the same name also lived in the parsonage, and paid the tax in 1665. He was distantly related to the Whiting family, as he married Mercy Burdocke, a niece of Elizabeth Whiting of the Upper House. Mercy was baptised on Christmas Day 1632 at Bradwell and married at nearby Westwell, when aged twenty, to John Holland who was said to be a 'cleric'. Their daughter Elizabeth was born at Westwell and 'baptised by Charles Trinder Gent.' in 1654. John Holland died in 1685, when an inventory (now in poor repair) was taken by John Brooks, Henry Whiting of the Crown Inn and Sampson Holland. All three men were able to sign their names. The living rooms, including Hall and Parlour, contained a large number of items of furniture and linen, leather chairs, 'his study of books' worth 10s and '1 paire of Andirons with new fashion brass tops 2s'. 'On his finger one Gold sealing ring £1' was recorded. There were no farm implements or stock, but four horses (£8) and a little nag (£1). Of greatest value in the inventory was his leasehold estate in Shipton worth £120. John Holland's position on the Hearth Tax list, his leasehold estate, the fact that he was of gentlemanly status and the description of his house at death all point to his being at the Parsonage.

Although a canon of Salisbury Cathedral was rector of Shipton, a vicar actually served the church and parishioners. The Vicarage was on the site of today's Old Vicarage at the bottom of what was called Main Street. The vicar paid tax on five hearths so the Vicarage was quite a substantial house. In 1650 the living was said to be worth £40 a year from half a yardland (about 15 acres) and the small tithes which would have been collected in small cash payments on a large number of commodities like fruit, eggs, geese and turkeys, pigeons, onions, pigs, calves sold, bred or killed and lambs and wool as well as fees due for churchings, marriages or burials.[21]

George Self was appointed the Vicar of Shipton in 1641. He came from Wiltshire and became a commoner of Merton College, Oxford when he was 16 years old, gaining his B.A. in 1624 and M.A. from Pembroke College in 1627.[22] He married Bridget Whitton by license in Ascott church in 1629, the same year as he was ordained, and for eleven years from 1632 he was the curate at Woodstock. Presumably at that time he purchased a house there which in his will he left to his wife. George Self baptised his daughter Marie on 30 January 1642, the only one of his children born in Shipton. In 1662 he was living at the Vicarage with his wife Bridget and possibly his daughter of the same name who died in September four years later. His son George Rowland Self died at Shipton a year after his sister but was said in the register to be of Flatwick, Bedfordshire. The vicar died eighteen months later at the age of 64 years. In his will he bequeathed 5s to his son George and his signet ring to his grandson William. He also left a debt of £4 to his wife which his son George owed. Whereas his predecessor Henry Mills wrote and witnessed several Shipton wills and inventories, George Self's name does not appear on village documents. Bridget was buried in October 1670 when she was said to be of Great Rollright.

George Self's apparent isolation, and his family's lack of links with Shipton families, help to emphasise the strong inter-relatedness of a considerable number of hearth-tax payers described in this article. Without the illumination of wills and parish register entries, these remarkable family networks would not have been known, and no doubt further links existed but are not recoverable from these sources. In Part 2 of our examination of Shipton's households in 1662, there are no families to rival the Willett and Whiting connections. On the other hand, a number of farms can be described, and also more of the 1662 households placed in houses which still exist.

References

1 The main sources for the study were:
I. The Oxfordshire Constables' Returns for the Hearth Tax for Michaelmas 1662 in PRO. E 179/255/4 and Bodleian microfilm MS 182.
II. 'Hearth Tax Returns, Oxfordshire', 1665, ed. M.M.B. Weinstock, *Oxfordshire Record Society* 21 (1940).
III. Parish Registers, Oxfordshire Archives MS. DD. Par Shipton under Wychwood, transcribed by J.& J. Howard-Drake, and other relevant parish registers.
IV. 'Protestation Returns 1641-2', ed. C.S.A. Dobson, *Oxfordshire Record Society* 36 (1955).
V. Probate Material, i.e. wills, inventories & bonds, drawn from the Public Record Office and Oxfordshire Archives. Full references are given in Appendix 3 where the names are arranged in alphabetical order. Each individual reference in the text has not been sourced separately.
VI. Leases are individually sourced where relevant.
2 Act of Parliament 1 Will & Mary, c.10.
3 Oxfordshire Archives, MS. DD. Par. Taynton c3/ m and r.
4 Oxfordshire Archives, MS. DD. Par. Shipton under Wychwood, e.1.
5 C. Husbands, 'Hearths, wealth and occupations: an exploration of the Hearth Tax in the later seventeenth century' in *Surveying the People*, ed. K. Schurer and T. Arkell, Local Population Studies (1992). On pages 70-71, the results of two much larger Hearth Tax studies are discussed; less that 3% of Hearth Tax names were linked with inventories. Small scale investigation using parish registers establishes more links, but if 'the poorer sort' in Shipton had been listed in 1662, the proportion of linkages would probably have been halved.
6 Calculation based on numbers of households in the Register of Electors 1990 and personal communication.
7 Gregory King's 'Scheme of the income and expense of the several families of England' is printed in Schurer and Arkell, *op. cit.* 12-13.
8 Based on 89th *List of Buildings of special architectural or historic interest*, Department of the Environment 1986.
9 Gloucestershire Record Office, D2959, P/888/146 (6); *The History of Shipton under Wychwood*, ed. Muriel Groves (1934), 18.
10 *Harleian Society Publications* 5 (1871) 268-9.
11 A. Jones, *The Cotswolds*, Phillimore (1994) 165-67.
12 Oxfordshire Archives, E2/22D/5.
13 Brasenose College Archives, Shipton under Wychwood lease. Although the leases do not name the Red Horse, Richard Willett was called 'Innholder' in 1670, and Nicholas Willett was so termed in 1731 (Bodleian, MS Top Oxon c.803/11). The first licensing records in 1752 include Martha Willett but not until 1818 was the name 'Red Horse' recorded.
14 Oxfordshire Archives, Tithe Award for Shipton, 1843, no. 342 (map dated 1839).
15 Oxfordshire Archives, Misc. Ri. VI/i/3.
16 Oxfordshire Archives, Shipton PCC I/ii/1.
17 Oxfordshire Archives, Shipton PCC I/i/3 and I/ii/1.
18 Oxfordshire Archives, Shipton PCC I/ii/1 and I/iii/1.
19 'Yardland' was a legal description of a landholding in the Common Fields, comprising a house on its plot (messuage), strips of arable land measured in acres, and rights of pasturing a specified number of cattle and sheep on fallow fields and common pastures or downs. Sometimes a share of meadow was also included.
20 Oxfordshire Archives, Gen. XXV/ii/1 (Survey 1650), Talbot I/i/1, Misc Mar I/134, Winch.I/i.
21 Oxfordshire Archives, Gen. XXV/ii/1 and MS. DD. Par Shipton under Wychwood e.1.
22 *Alumni Oxoniensis, Early Series 1580-1714*, ed. J. Foster, Oxford (1891-2).

Sketches of seventeenth-century country dress by Jean Richards

Appendix 1

Constable's accounts for Michaelmas 1662 for the Hearth Tax : Shipton

PRO. E179/255/4 Bodleian microfilm MS 182

	£	s	d	
Sir Rowland Lacy	1	5	0	
Robert Patten		6	0	
Richard Willett		5	0	
Doruthy Cooke widey		3	0	
Mr Yeates		6	0	
Henry Whiting		6	0	
of him for Mis Kidwell		3	0	
Richard Hickes		5	0	
Nicholas Perry		3	0	
William Willett		2	0	
John Wells		4	0	
Mr Thomas Wisdom		5	0	
Mr Caundish		3	0	
Mr Wyatt		3	0	
Mis Whitinge		5	0	
Henry Morton		1	0	
John Brooks		8	0	
John Greene		4	0	
John Holland		4	0	
John Hall		3	0	
Richard Cooke		3	0	
William Reason		1	0	
Alexander Cooke		4	0	
Mis Savages		3	0	
William Cox		4	0	
John Cowlinge		2	0	
Henry Morton		1	0	
William Weland		1	0	
Hunphrey Reeve		1	0	
Mark Reeve		1	0	
Richard Browne		2	0	
John Chapman		1	0	
Mr Self		5	0	
Mr Leonard Owen		8	0	
William Daniell		2	0	
Richard Andrewes		2	0	
John Jefferson		1	0	
John Ellins		1	0	
Edward Ricketts		3	0	
William Parratt		1	0	
Mis Whiting for Colletts		2	0	
John Yeevs		1	0	
Richard Shailer		1	0	
	7	11	0	(sic)

Nicklas Perey Constable

Appendix 2

Shipton township Hearth Tax 1662 : Part 1

Summary table of names, and information on household structure from reconstitution using Shipton parish registers

Name	Age	Status	Occupation	Poss. no. in household	Probably wife living
Brooks, Jh	>42		yeoman	7	yes
Candish, Hugh Mr	>30	Mr	yeoman	5	yes
Cowlinge, Jn				1	
Cox, Wm	52			5	yes
Hickes, Rd	>48	Gent	yeoman	3/7	yes
Holland, Jh Mr	60	Mr	gent/cleric	2	yes
Kidwell, Mistress	82	widow		1	n/a
Lacy, Rowland Sir	42	Baronet	gent	1	
Perry, Nich.	>36	yeoman	grazier	5	yes
Savages, Mistress	33	widow	n/a		n/a
Self, Geo. Mr	47	Mr	Vicar	4	yes
Whiting, Hy	46	yeoman	innkeeper	7	yes
Whiting, Mistress	>52	widow	n/a	5	n/a
Willet, Rd	42		innkeeper	1	
Willet, Wm	31		butcher	1	
Wyatt, Mr	>40	Mr		8/1	yes

n/a = not applicable

> = more than

see 'Reconstructing Shipton's Households'.

Appendix 3

Shipton under Wychwood wills, bonds, inventories & accounts in Oxfordshire Archives (Ms wills OXON)
and Public Record Office (* = PRO.PROB) used in Part 1

Name	ref	will	bond	inv	acct
Candish, Hugh Mr	78/2/27 1671		yes	yes	
Holland, Jh Mr	81/2/30 1683		yes		
Lacy, Rowland Sir	*11/133 1690	yes			
Perry, Nich.	* 11/383 1684	yes			
Self, Geo. Mr	149/3/19 1675	yes	yes		
Whiting, Mis	71/4/17 1666	yes	yes	yes	yes

Other probate records used in Part 1

Name	ref	will	bond	inv	acct
Ashfeild, Anth	* 11/298 1659	yes			
Brookes, Hy	77/2/13 1682		yes		yes
Candish, Cicely	14/4/2 1685	yes		yes	
Coxe, Arth	296/2/73 1637			yes	yes
Wyatt, Matthew	177/1/46 1713		yes		
Wyllat, Rd	70/1/37 1618	yes			
Yates, Arabella	*11/431 1696	yes			

Possession is Nine Points of the Law...

ANTHEA JONES

Possession is nine points of the law... but not for Widow Whiting of Shipton in 1663.

This was the only possible legal doctrine after the upheavals of the Civil War, when a great deal of property had been confiscated from ecclesiastical and royalist landowners and sold. After the Restoration it was impossible to dispossess all the new owners who had purchased in good faith. In the case of Widow Whiting, however, possession proved an inadequate defence at law.

The story begins in 1611, when John Whiting leased the Crown Inn from the Trustees of the charity for fourteen years at a rent of £4 a year. John Whiting was himself a trustee. By 1663 John Whiting had died, and his widow Margery and her son Henry occupied the Crown. All the charity's trustees had also died in the intervening half-century. It had been provided that when the number of trustees fell to seven, those survivors should elect five more to restore the number to the full twelve; probably the uncertainties of civil war had prevented surviving trustees carrying out their proper duty.

Now, however, in 1663, with Charles II restored to the throne and the Archbishops and Bishops to their church thrones, normality had returned - except that Widow Whiting and her son refused to acknowledge that the Crown was not their own property. They had the deeds in their possession, they were granting leases 'as if entitled by inheritance', and collecting the rents 'pretending they had right to the fee simple'. As the trustees were dead, the Whitings said, they thought the original charity estate was void, and they were acting correctly! The property consisted of sixteen acres of arable, six acres of meadow and common rights in Shipton's fields, as well as the Crown, so the leases granted by the Whitings were probably for the farmland, which in later years was certainly rented by a Shipton farmer.

Twelve men of Milton and Shipton put their case together and applied to the Lord Chancellor to appoint new trustees, force the Whitings to account for their profits and yield up the trust deed. Rowland Lacie Esquire, of Shipton Court, was one of the twelve; Oliver Pleydell, John Gregory and John Draper the Elder of Milton were all described as gentlemen, and Peter Herbert, Robert Wilkins and John Baylis of Milton, John Holland, Richard Hick, John Brookes, Leonard Owen and John Greene of Shipton, were all called yeomen, that is better-off farmers.

Against this array of local talent, Widow Whiting and Henry could not hope to win their case, and they were accordingly dispossessed. No grudges were held: Widow Whiting duly signed a new, 21-year lease and was asked on the Thursday of Easter week to provide the trustees with a 'decent and fitting entertainment of meat and drink to the value of ten shillings'. Another son, Thomas, a joiner of London, signed a bond to guarantee his mother's performance of her obligations.

The trustees were not yet done with the Whitings. In 1680, William Whiting, yeoman, was required to sign a declaration to avoid future argument that a certain New Close belonged to the Crown and Shrubby Close belonged to him. From this time, the charity seems to have followed a smoother course.

In 1985 Shipton Parish Council deposited all the documents relating to the charity in the Oxford Record Office, where this story can be read. Widow Whiting's case illustrates how a charity's property could be 'lost', and how, after long-continued occupancy, a tenant might tacitly gain possession.

Sources

The documents relating to the Crown are catalogued in Oxfordshire Archives, Shipton P.C. I/ii/1 and iii/1, 2, 3.

Sketch of seventeenth-century country dress by Jean Richards

One Hundred Years Ago

From the *Oxford Times*, August 25 1894

A GREAT DAY AT SHIPTON COURT

THE CHURCH TOWER FUND

The united inhabitants of Shipton, Milton and other places in the neighbourhood who, on Saturday last, sacrificed their time and their pence to help in the repair of Shipton tower, must have felt an unusual satisfaction in the reward of their own good deeds. The posters and advertisements had already prepared people for a lavish variety of amusements, and through the whole afternoon, from three to 10.30, there was a large crowd of visitors to the grounds, growing gradually larger as the entrance fee grew less...

Besides the familiar cocoa nuts, swing boats and merry-go-rounds, looking gaudier than ever in the grey stable yard, a May-pole, a rummage sale, and an open-air theatre... took turns with each other in the garden beyond. On the lawns below the terrace was the Chipping Norton band, with a row of pretty stalls to constitute the bazaar, close by; and, below these again, up and down the lake gaily-decorated punts were plying with passengers at the reasonable charge of twopence a voyage. Indoors was the *café chantant*, combining cakes with comic songs, while at intervals... parties of sight-seers were escorted over the house by discursive and imaginative guides...

In the evening all the interest was concentrated upon the lake, around which, and the lawns above it, festoons of Chinese lanterns were hung. In the middle of the water a large raft lay, and to this in turn came loaded punts, bearing crews in fancy dress to dance and sing... The dancing of a set of Lancers in costume of the last century, with lime-light thrown upon it from the bank, completed the illumination.

The success of such a fete bears remarkable witness to the generosity and energy of Mrs and the Miss Reade, without whose skilful management nothing so new could have been carried out...

The Groves Family of Milton under Wychwood

Part 3: The Emigrants to America

NORMAN FROST

Early in 1984 I received a letter from Roy Groves of Mount Zion, Illinois, USA asking for details of his family who used to live in Upper Dick's Lane, Milton. His great-great grandparents were a William and Catherine Groves whom he thought might be related to Alfred Groves of Milton. This request came after four years of my research into the Groves family, much of which has already been reported in two previous Journals (*Wychwoods History* 7 and 8). In Part 1 we met the William Groves who proved to be the younger brother of Thomas, the father of Alfred Groves. William and Thomas were the sons of George Groves, a stonemason like many of his forefathers, and his wife Ann who lived in Elm Cottage which he built in what is now Groves' Yard (see Family Tree A, *Wychwoods History* 8, p 28).

William was baptised on May 15 1803, married Catherine Fisher on Feb. 10 1824 and some time subsequently moved to his cottage in Upper Dick's Lane, now part of High Street, where they had seven children, the family corresponding to Roy Groves' description. William's neighbours in this small building were another William and Ann Groves who raised six children there. These two tiny cottages exist today as one unit, housing a much smaller family.

From the Milton Inclosure award of 1849 we see that William was allocated ten poles of land adjacent to the cottage, not a very large plot on which to produce enough vegetables for a family of nine people. It is more than likely that he kept pigs on the plot as well, to supply bacon. However, the 1841 census tells us that William's eldest son Sampson had, by then, moved out of the family home to live with his grandmother in Green Lane. Even so, the overcrowding must have influenced William's decision to emigrate to America, and he may have intended to take the whole family with him, but the records show that Sampson and his twin sister Hannah stayed behind in Milton. As they were both to marry in a few years, this may have been the reason. William's wife Catherine also decided she would not go. Did she wish to see her twins married? From the present family in America comes a story that she was afraid of the American Indians. An elderly Milton resident who had lived in the American Middle West once told me that the memory of Indian massacres still struck fear into the settlers early in the present century. In the mid-nineteenth century those fears must have been very real. No doubt William thought long and hard before reaching his decision, especially as he was taking his five younger children with

him, but on August 14 1849, William and Emily (18), Charles (17), John (16), Thomas (11) and George (8) sailed from Liverpool aboard the *Sheridan*.

They arrived in New York late in August and for a time their movements are a little obscure. One family story is that, while in New York, they discovered the tomato for the first time, but that their unanimous decision was that they did not like this strange fruit. Family tales again continue the story. William is said to have gone straight to the state of Illinois, possibly because of the connection with the Ellis family who had long lived in Milton and Shipton and who were connected with the Groves' by marriage. Thomas and Elizabeth Ellis had emigrated in the early 1830s, settling in Pike County, Illinois.

William Groves paid $140 in cash for an adjacent 35 acre farm near to Florence, Ill. On his land he found clay suitable for brick-making, so built a kiln and started making bricks, charging 50 cents per 100. He may have used his existing skills as a mason to contract for building work in the neighbourhood, where some stone buildings remain today, including one on his land which suggests he may have built himself a cotswold-type barn. His farm appeared to be good arable land (in 1982 the corn crop averaged 175 bushels an acre and an offer of $3000 per acre for the farm was refused). Unfortunately William's life in America was a short one. In the spring and summer of 1851 the doctor was called several times to treat the family. The nature of the illness was not recorded but William died on Nov. 14 of that year.

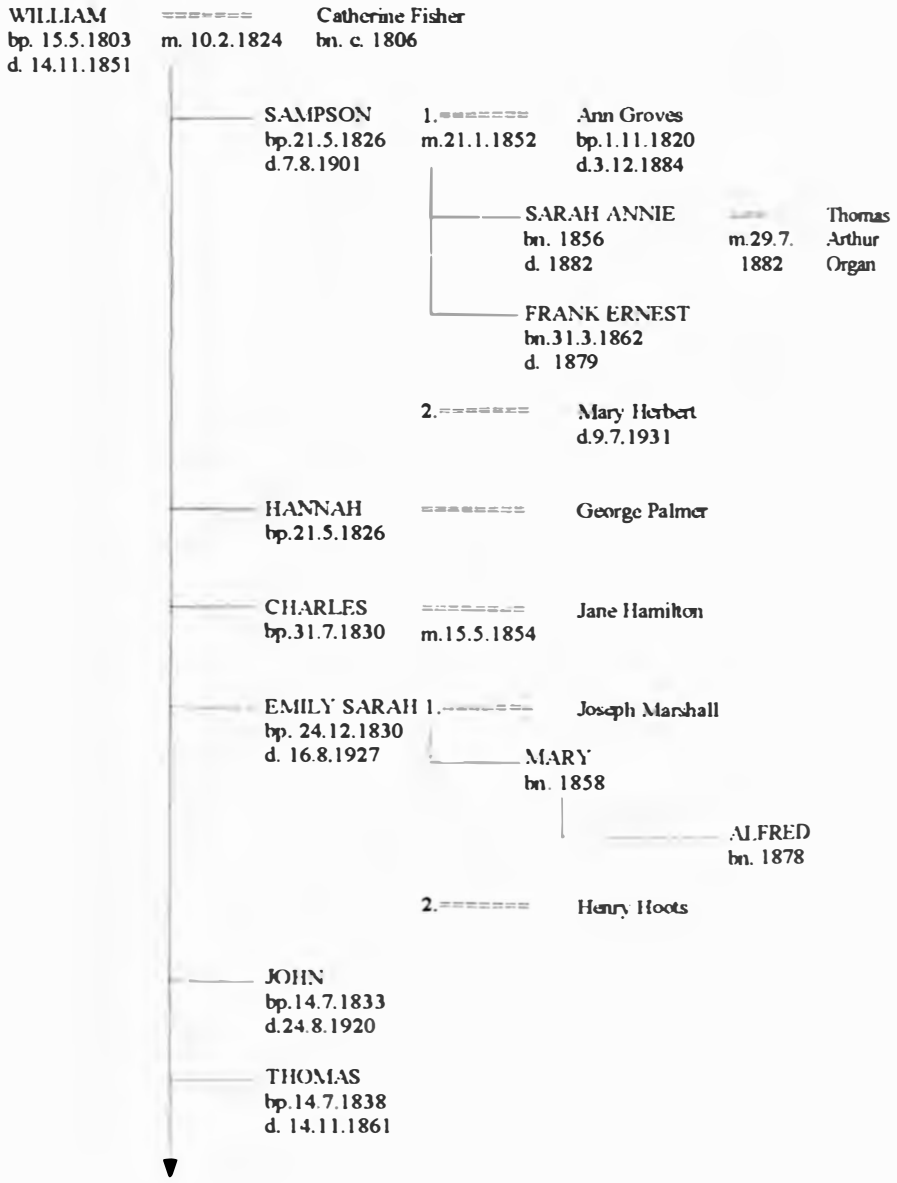
After his death it took some four and a half years to settle his affairs, caused largely by a difference of opinion amongst his children as to the division of the estate. Sampson and Hannah were also included in the will; no doubt the length of time it took to communicate with them did not help matters. William's son Charles and William's friend and neighbour Edward Hollis were his executors. His relative Thomas Ellis bought the farmland for $896, and the household goods and implements raised $417. William could not be said to have been a rich man but by contemporary standards he was 'comfortable'. He had certainly put to good use the skills learned in Milton, and raised his standard of living and that of his family. William's wife Catherine who stayed behind in Milton did not benefit from the will. So far I have found no indication of what befell her after her husband's departure; she was no longer living in Milton at the time of the 1851 census.

The Children of William and Catherine Groves (see Family Tree)

Sampson

After Sampson's marriage to Ann Groves in 1852 it seems that they left Milton. He seems to have acquired several properties in the London area (mentioned in his will) and their daughter Sarah was married in Penge. After his first wife Ann's death in 1884, Sampson returned to Milton and there married a lady much younger than himself, Mary Herbert, the daughter of an old Milton family who lived in Green Lane. Her father Philip practised as a cowleach, the forerunner of a veterinary surgeon. Sampson and Mary came to live in the house on Shipton Road which had been the Coach and Horses Inn, later known by many names including 'Meadowcroft'. Sampson died in 1901, with an estate

THE FAMILY TREE OF WILLIAM GROVES AND CATHERINE FISHER



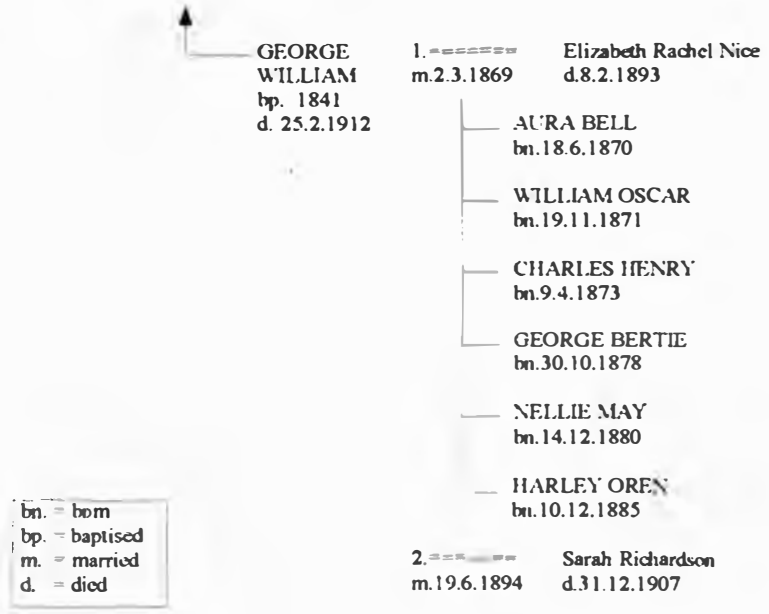
Continued on next page

valued at £2982 9s. a moderately prosperous man. His wife Mary lived until 1931 and is still remembered by some older Milton residents.

Hannah
After her marriage to George Palmer they appear to have left Milton. Her share of her father's estate was passed on to her via Sampson and the solicitors dealing with William's affairs; it seems there was no correspondence between the parts of the family in England and America although, much later, Alfred Groves' daughter Lucy Ellis who was not born until 1868, wrote frequent letters to her relatives in the USA.

Charles
He was the eldest child to emigrate. Although his date of baptism is recorded as July 1830, he must have been born earlier as his sister Emily was baptised in Dec. 1830. Charles appears to have been a difficult person to get along with. When Dr T.H. Flemming, who attended William at his death, rendered his account he included an amount for attending Charles and 'draping of wounds', but there is no indication of how these were acquired. Charles was taken to court in June 1853 by Edward Hollis his co-administrator to explain his handling of his father's estate and to account for monies received. He seems to have been in difficulty again in 1853 over money owing to a John Lyster, the court making an

THE FAMILY TREE OF WILLIAM GROVES *continued*



order in favour of Lyster. Charles was eventually able to repay him when he received his share of his father's estate.

From some old accounts. Charles seems to have helped his father in the brick kilns and with the building work. The last we hear of him is in the township of Florence, in Scott County, across the Illinois river, where an entry in the marriage register records the marriage of Charles Groves to Jane Hamilton on May 15 1854.

Emily Hoots née Groves with a neighbour, shortly before she died in 1927

Emily Sarah

From the records of local stores. Emily is known to have made several purchases over a period in 1851 indicating that she was the family housekeeper. She also purchased a slate, a reader and a speller and is reputed to have said that as none of the family could read or write, they now had a chance to learn. She appears to have avoided the illness which caused her father's death. No record of her marriage is known but the 1860 federal census for Scott County shows her living with her husband Joseph Marshall and their daughter Mary, aged two. Joseph had bought a 30-acre farm in Dec. 1855, possibly around the time of their marriage. In 1880 they were still living at the farm, with an addition to the family of Alfred, a step-son, aged two. He was subsequently shown to be Mary's son, thus Emily's grandson..

Shortly after 1880 Joseph Marshall died and Emily married Henry Hoots of Alsey, Illinois. Emily gave her age as 66 on the marriage certificate which does not accord with her date of baptism in Shipton, but her age seems to vary on different records, by as much as six years. She died on Aug. 16 1927, her age given as 99; whatever her true age, she was a very old lady. Her obituary appeared in the *Decatur Herald* stating that she was survived by two grandchildren, Alfred Marshall of Morrisonville and Mrs C E Dunn of Decatur.

John

We know very little of his life in America. Both he and his younger brother Thomas were ill at the time their father died as their names are included on the doctor's bill for treatment. John is reputed to have been a strange man and difficult to handle. He lived on a farm with a family named Bentley, his youngest brother George sending Mrs Bentley money for his upkeep throughout his lifetime. He was unmarried and died of dysentery in Scott County in 1920.

Thomas

Little is known or remembered of him. The 1860 federal census records a Thomas Groves, farm hand, born in England, aged 25, living with William Gordon and family. They lived about two miles from Thomas' sister Emily. This must be Thomas Groves of Milton, although his age was actually twenty two. This was now the time of the American Civil War; an entry in the records of the 22nd Illinois Infantry is of Thomas Groves, single, aged 24, a farm hand, 5 ft. 7 ins. tall, with fair hair and grey eyes, died of pneumonia at Birds Point, Missouri on 14 November 1861. He had served a little less than four months.

George William

The youngest of the family, he was only eight years old when the family sailed for America and eleven days short of his twelfth birthday when his father died. Although Emily kept house, it must have been quite a task for a girl of twenty and George was taken in by a neighbour. He worked for his keep and went to school in the winter months. After his father's death, Thomas Ellis was appointed his legal guardian. By this time the family with whom George lived moved to Maroa, Illinois, taking him with them.

George worked at any job he could get until he had enough money to buy a pair of oxen and a plough, and eventually, on April 30 1868, to buy 80 acres of farmland near Maroa. George paid off the purchase price, $1280, in nine years. Soon after this purchase he met the daughter of a nearby farmer, Elizabeth Rachel Nice and they were married on March 2 1869, setting up house in a single-room log cabin with a dirt floor. Three children were born there (see Family Tree). Seven years years later George sold the farm for $4000 and bought a 160-acre farm nearby for $5400. He built himself a new farmhouse where three more children were born (this farmhouse has been updated many times but is said to look very like the original. It is still lived in by George's grandson).

George Groves with his first wife Elizabeth, at her childhood home in Lucerne, Indiana in c. 1870, with their eldest child, Aura Bell

The land around the farm was low-lying, often with standing water and the family were prone to fever and chills. Elizabeth died of cancer in 1893 after a long illness. George remarried just over a year later; his bride was Sarah Richardson of Ramsey. They lived on the north-west side of Maroa with George's eldest son taking over the farm. After Sarah's death thirteen years later, George returned to the farm and died there of pneumonia in 1912 at the age of 71. He is said to have retained his native (Cotswold) dialect to the end, and his American solicitor had great difficulty in interpreting his will.

Author's note

Although the families of Emily and George are the only American descendants of William and Catherine Groves of Milton extant today, with the Groves name only in George's family, an annual Groves family reunion held in the States ever since 1923 usually has a large attendance.

The earlier history of the Groves family from 1576, researched by the author, was passed to Roy Groves, then living in Maroa. With his agreement, this article has been condensed from his book *The Groves Family Story*.

I should also like to acknowledge the help of Gwen Allen of Milton.

That Curious Stone Vessel

MARGARET WARE

Readers may remember the illustration in Journal 7 of 'a curious stone vessel', the largest of a set of three which had been found in Milton quarries by George Groves in 1814 (*Wychwoods History 7*, p 28, 1992). It appears that these were medieval mortars, although whether used for grinding in building or in culinary activities is not clear.

Carol Anderson of the Oxfordshire Museums Service at Woodstock has kindly sent me an extract from a Northampton excavation report which describes the discovery of a similar mortar in Purbeck marble, but only half the size of the one we illustrated. This report mentions that such mortars have also been found at Southampton; Burgh Castle, Suffolk; Northolt Manor, Mddx.; Saffron Walden, Essex; and Boston, Lincs. and they are datable to between c 1250 and c 1350 AD.

An Old Christmas Custom at Chadlington

KEITH CHANDLER

During the nineteenth century, the village of Chadlington was, like others in the Wychwood area, a repository of traditional custom and usage. Such expressions included an active morris dance team, whose performances lingered on until a relatively late date, into the 1880s.[1] Another custom which survived later still, until the decade prior to the second war, was that of Christmas Mumming.

During the nineteenth century, mumming typically involved the peripatetic perambulation of a small group of men, generally around six in number, dressed in fantastic costume, and reciting the text of a short play. During performance, each man stepped forward and spoke some appropriate lines, in 'something of a dialect'.[2] There was a mock fight between two of the protagonists, one of whom fell to the ground wounded. A quack doctor was called for, who then proceeded to revive the ailing man with a spurious potion or pill, after which one or more of the characters solicited contributions to the team's collecting tin. On occasion the performance was concluded with one or more songs and dances. The cast of characters varied a little from one place to another, but at Chadlington consisted of Father Christmas, King George, Soldier Bold, a Doctor, Moll Finney and Humping Jack.[3]

The exact details of the Chadlington mumming performances within living memory are less certain, with informants recalling events which had occurred more than half a century earlier. According to one eye-witness, 'They used to dress up and go round...they used to act the fool...go from door to door...just sort of mucked around'.[4] Another remembered seeing them perform, but again he was 'only a kid at the time', and could not remember exactly what they used to do. He did, however, recall that one of the mummers used to go about with a pig's bladder, recalling the ubiquitous badge of office of the morris dance fool, and all had red ribbons tied round their hats. In addition, he thought that they had used a melodeon as musical accompaniment, but could not remember who played it.[5] Yet another informant (born about 1928) was just too young to have seen them perform but had heard stories. 'They used to go round doing it', he claimed, although he did not seem to know exactly what 'it' was. His older brother was one of the participants, and also played the melodeon, and he 'used to take it round'.[6] But even this man was unable to pinpoint exactly what the performance with which he had been personally involved had consisted of. He recalled that they 'used to go around and have a bit of fun', but when asked about specifics could only say that it had been 'sort of a bit...of a dance...bit of fun'.[7]

In the oral interviews which I have conducted over the past six years, each informant was specifically asked if the performances had included a play with words, but none could confirm this fact. It may be that, by the inter-war period, at Chadlington the text had become eroded, and songs and dances at least partially substituted in its place. That said, the son of one 1930s participant thought that his father had taken the part of Father Christmas, which suggests that the character roles, at least, were retained.[8] Elsewhere in Oxfordshire, at Bloxham for instance,[9] the old form of mumming transmuted into a form of amateur 'nigger' minstrelry, after the manner of popular professional black-faced groups who typically performed 'plantation' and Stephen Foster-type material. Both forms had the blacking of faces in common. At Chadlington, it was said, the mummers used to 'put on old black jack...old soot'.[10]

But whatever the content, performances occurred typically at Christmastime, and involved travelling around a set of venues which included both private and public houses. As one participant during the 1930s put it: 'To the big Manor House even...especially at Christmas...that used to be the time'.[11] Another informant, whose father and uncle both had been involved during the 1920s, gave the following performance itinerary: Pudlicote House, Langstone and Greystones in Chadlington itself, and Wyfold's House at Sarsden.[12] In return for their performance there was an expectation of some form of reward, cash perhaps, or alcohol. One informant, born 1914 and recalling the second half of the 1920s, said that the Mummers 'used to collect money...I 'spect they had some beer with it, when they got threepence'. At that date public house prices were fourpence a pint for ale, sixpence for best bitter, and threepence for cider.[13] A son of performer Christopher 'Dick' Souch mused, 'I s'pose they got money...they used to end up in the Sandys [Arms] having a good old sing'.[14]

The exact antiquity of performance is unrecorded and indeterminable. Assuming the word 'Mummers' carried the same meaning as later, there was a team at nearby Charlbury as early as January 1680, which was paid one shilling for a performance at the estate of Hastings Ingram of Little Wolford.[15]

One participant at Chadlington during the 1930s, when asked if it was considered very old in the village when he started, replied, 'Yes, very old'.[16] The words of the Chadlington text were written down in 1893,[17] but it is likely that they had been handed on orally for many decades prior to that date. Of the known participants, the earliest, Daniel Burden, was born in 1842, and was perhaps active from as early as the 1850s. Two of his sons, George Henry and Alfred William Burden (born 1880 and 1885, respectively), were members of a later set of performers. About 1933, Sampson Cooper claimed to have learned the words of the play from 'Old Mummers, 63 years ago',[18] while William Betts said he had learned from 'Lynchburies and Coopers, 60 years ago',[19] that is, about 1870. Joseph Benfield (born 1888) similarly learned from men in an earlier mummers set, in this instance the Burden brothers and Thomas Cooper (born circa 1864), during the early years of the present century.[20]

So, evidence exists for oral transmission of both the play text and details of

its associated cultural aspects (a psychological process which is practically impossible to quantify) across at least three generations. Similarly, there is evidence for participation by at least two further pairs of siblings: Albert George and Alfred Betts (both baptised in 1902), and the half-brothers Christopher and George S. Souch (circa 1894 and circa 1902, respectively). As with other cultural forms such as morris dancing,[21] the men involved tended to be either related, or closely linked through other associations such as work or proximity of habitation. As one informant put it when speaking of the families involved with the mumming: Souchs, Betts' and Kitchings were 'all big mates', and all lived in the Bull Hill area of the village.[22]

Collation of all the sources relating to Chadlington reveals the names of almost a score of participants. These are listed below, with birth and death dates where known ('>' = after that date).

Daniel Burden	1842	>1891
Sampson Cooper	1854	>1933
James Lainchbury	ca 1859	>1916
William Betts	1861	>1933
Thomas Cooper	ca 1864	>1881
George Henry Burden	1880	>1891
Alfred Edward Burden	1885	>1891
Joseph Benfield	1888	>1933
Hubert William Cooper	1892	not known
Harold Emmanuel Cooper	1894	not known
Christopher 'Dick' Souch	ca 1894	ca 1977
Harry William Cooper	1896	ca 1975
Albert George Betts	1902	>1948
Alfred W. Betts	1902	>1948
George S. Souch	ca 1902	>1948
Joshua Kitching	ca 1903	>1973
Percival Dix	ca 1908	>1990
William Lainchbury	1916	>1990

One further participant was recalled by more than one informant, namely a man named Hutchison or Hutchinson, who lived at Pudlicote. The 1930 Register of Electors for Pudlicote reveals no such surname, and the most probable identification is Leslie Sydney Gerald Huckin (born 1889).

Mumming was essentially a working-class custom. Of the known participants at Chadlington who were old enough to be at work at the date of the 1891 census, all were agricultural labourers. Men on the lower rungs of the social hierarchy suffered from a degree of social, cultural and economic deprivation. It was possible, however, to redress the balance somewhat by

participation in cultural forms such as morris dancing or mumming, which required minimal cash outlay, and which were considered by their social peers as a legitimate means of soliciting tangible contributions. As late as the 1930s, however, the situation was little improved over that of previous centuries. As participant William Lainchbury put it:

> 'Life was so different in the village then. There was no television and nothing much to do, except go to the pub, and even then pennies were scarce. They had to make their own entertainment. If they wanted a "real treat", say to go into Oxford, they had to save up for it'.[23]

One method of alleviating the situation was to dress up at Christmas and make a tour of the houses of the minor village gentry, thereby maintaining a tradition which had been a recurrent cultural feature of village life in Chadlington for many generations.

Author's note

I would be grateful to receive any further information (however seemingly insignificant) about mumming, morris dancing, or any other form of working-class cultural expression in the Wychwood area prior to the second war, or on the men named in the article. Keith Chandler, Windrush Cottage, Station Road, South Leigh, OX8 6XN.

Footnotes

1 See the entry for Chadlington in Keith Chandler, *Morris dancing in the English South Midlands, 1660-1900: A chronological gazetteer* (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, for the Folklore Society, 1993), 150-151. Other Wychwood villages which fielded both morris dance and mummers teams included Finstock, Leafield and Shipton under Wychwood.
2 Telephone interview with S.J. Hobbs, Chadlington, 10 May 1990.
3 The Folklore Society, T.F. Ordish collection, reproduced in Stephen Roud, *Mumming plays in Oxfordshire: An interim checklist* (Sheffield: Traditional Drama Research Group, 1984), 30-33.
4 Telephone interview with Mr R. Souch, Enstone, 26 March 1991.
5 Telephone interview with Philip Pratley, Chadlington, 26 June 1990.
6 Telephone interview with Ron J. Lainchbury, Chadlington, 7 June 1990.
7 Telephone interview with William Lainchbury, Elton, London, 7 June 1990.
8 Telephone interview with George Betts, Chadlington, 22 June 1987.
9 Y.S. Huntriss, 'Mummering and Niggering in Bloxham', *Cake and Cockhorse 7*, no.7 (Autumn 1978), 219-224.
10 R. Souch, Enstone, 26 March 1991.
11 William Lainchbury, Elton, London, 7 June 1990.
12 Telephone interview with Harold Cooper, Chadlington, 9 June 1987.
13 Philip Pratley, Chadlington, 26 June 1990.
14 R. Souch, Enstone, 26 March 1991.
15 Warwickshire Record Office, CR 2855, Hastings Ingram, Little Wolford, account book. I am grateful to Lane F. Thompson for this reference.
16 William Lainchbury, Elton, London, 7 June 1990.
17 Vaughan Williams Memorial Library collection, typescript sent to the library by Margaret Ampthill, 13 July 1928.

18 Library of Congress MSS. Music 3109, James Madison Carpenter MSS., f.938.
19 Carpenter MSS., f.975.
20 Carpenter MSS., f.942.
21 See Keith Chandler, *'Ribbons, bells and squeaking fiddles': The social history of morris dancing in the English South Midlands, 1660-1900* (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, for the Folklore Society, 1993), especially Chapter seven.
22 Philip Pratley, Chadlington, 26 June 1990.
23 William Lainchbury, Elton, London, 7 June 1990.

The Moss Families of Ascott under Wychwood

Mr R.J.Newton of Wheatley has kindly sent the Society the result of some of his family researches in the form of an extensive Moss family tree. This contains about 400 entries, from the late seventeenth century to the present. It will be held in the Society's archives and may be consulted by any member upon application to the archivist, Norman Frost, tel. 0993 830802. Mr Newton would be glad to receive or pass on information - at 50a Farm Close Road, Wheatley, Oxon OX33 1UQ.

Book Reviews

OXFORD CHURCH COURTS. DEPOSITIONS 1542-1550 and **DEPOSITIONS 1570-1574**. *Jack Howard-Drake*. Published by Oxfordshire County Council, Department of Leisure and Arts, 1991 and 1993 respectively. Available from Oxfordshire Archives, County Hall, New Road, Oxford OX1 1ND, at £3.95 each plus 50p p&p, and some County Libraries and museums.

It is always a pleasure to acknowledge the work of members of the Society which appears in print, the more so when it is the result of such painstaking scholarship as lies behind these two volumes.

The author himself observes that records of ecclesiastical courts have been neglected in the past as historical sources, partly through difficulties of access and transcription, and partly because of the mistaken impression that they contained little of relevant interest and value. They are now recognised as a rich source of information about the daily life of people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 'The ecclesiastical courts... dealt with many matters affecting the clergy; but they also had a wide jurisdiction over the laity, in the administration of wills and in the adjudication of disputes about tithes, marriage contracts and other matrimonial affairs, and in punishing immorality, scandalous behaviour, failure to perform religious duties, and other secular and ecclesiastical offences. ... the records of the courts contain a great deal of information about the names, ages, status, occupations, relationships, possessions and parishes of those involved; and much can be learned from them about the general economic, social and religious fabric of the times.'

The depositions are verbatim copies of the evidence given by the parties and witnesses in 'civil' cases of litigation which fall into four main categories: testamentary, defamation, matrimonial and tithes and offerings. Eighteen volumes of depositions from the church courts of the Oxford diocese have survived, covering the period 1542-1694, and Jack Howard-Drake has now embarked on the monumental task of compiling a guide to their contents. Each case is listed with its date where given, the names of the parties to the case and of others mentioned, with a succinct résumé of the main substance of the suit. The first volume also contains a useful introduction to church court records in general, and the Oxford records in particular, and each volume has indexes of persons, places and subjects.

The task is a formidable one, involving not only the reading of difficult handwriting in a mixture of Latin and English, but also the unravelling of the facts of each case from the witnesses' statements which 'frequently contradicted each other and occasionally themselves'. But the author's enjoyment of his work often reveals itself in such delightfully dry and restrained phrases as 'confused mutual accusations of who were cuckolds and who was responsible' and 'much coming and going and plying with drink and some hard bargaining'. The flavour of contemporary life is vividly conveyed, with fascinating insights into personal relationships, agricultural practices and monetary values as well as specific scurrilous goings-on. These calendars will be of immense value to serious students of the period, as an introduction to the original documents, but must also be highly recommended to the ordinary reader with any interest in how our forebears lived and how they resolved their differences at law.

MORRIS DANCING IN THE ENGLISH SOUTH MIDLANDS, 1660-1900. A CHRONOLOGICAL GAZETTEER, *Keith Chandler*. Published for the Folklore Society by Hisarlik Press, 1993 at £10.95.

This is the second part of a complementary two-volume set by this author, dealing with the phenomenon of morris dancing. The first volume, *Ribbons, Bells and Squeaking Fiddles* examines the social history of morris dancing in general terms, but it is the second book, reviewed here, which will be of particular interest to students of family and local history because of the wealth of specific information about more than 700 individuals contained therein.

From the late seventeenth century up to 1900, morris dancing was performed in a limited geographical area of the south Midlands centred on the Wychwoods. Of the 151 morris teams known to be in existence sometime during this period just under half practised in Oxfordshire, while most of the rest were to be found in east Gloucestershire, west Buckinghamshire, south-east Worcestershire and south-west and central Northamptonshire, with a few in surrounding counties. Participation was often a jealously guarded tradition, held by one or two local families and others bound by ties of work or friendship, and passed on from one generation to the next.

Part I contains a brief introduction describing the nature of morris dancing, when and where it was performed, the participants and its cultural relevance - all themes developed more fully in the first volume. It also contains a clear account of the nature of the source material, the research techniques employed and a case-study. Part 2, the main body of the book, consists of a detailed gazetteer of the 151 locations recorded as fielding a morris team during the 240 years in question, arranged alphabetically by county. Where known, each entry records dates of performance, names of participants with dates of birth and death and occupation, familial relationships, the role played and instruments used, and a detailed bibliography of primary source material. (There are entries for Milton, Shipton and Ascott under Wychwood and many other neighbouring villages.) There is a full index of personal names.

The author has thoroughly reassessed every known extant primary source, including a wealth of material generally unknown to historians. This is a vast and impressive body of research, clearly and unambiguously presented in an attractive format. It is a valuable quarry for family and local historians since those people (mostly men) who participated in morris dancing were usually from the lower echelons of society - agricultural and urban labourers and small traders - whose aspirations and activities tended not to be otherwise recorded. Some of the information derives from the extensive researches of Cecil Sharp and others in the early years of this century, who interviewed large numbers of people, recording their memories of the morris, and this book illustrates both the value and the limitations of this early 'oral history' technique.

It seems a pity to quibble about the misspelling of Ascott under Wychwood, but the anomaly is particularly and immediately obvious on the front cover. It must be emphasised that the early twentieth-century revival of morris dancing is not included in this book, so that the absence of such well-known local exponents as Reginald Tiddy is deliberate, and not an oversight.

THE COTSWOLDS, *Anthea Jones*. Published by Phillimore, 1994, at £19.95.

This book presents fifteen hundred years of written record from the Anglo-Saxons to the Second World War. There have been dramatic changes, sweeping away the monasteries which owned half the land of the Cotswolds, sweeping away the common fields which covered large areas, and in the twentieth century removing men, oxen and horses from the farming scene. The ancient pattern of small villages and market towns, manor houses and churches and open, airy upland remains. In twelve chapters, the book describes the establishment of manor and parish, the powerful influence of the gentry and of the parson on village communities and their open fields, the founding of market towns, the wool trade, wool churches, the building of village farmhouses and cottages, the disappearance of the Cotswold peasant, the transformation of village parson to gentleman, and manor farm to gentleman's residence. The introduction summarises these themes and the book seeks to encourage exploration of this very English countryside.

This is a pre-publication notice: it is hoped that this exciting new study will be reviewed fully in next year's journal.

MARGARET WARE

Other Publications in Print

The Second Wychwoods Album **Now £2.50**
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A selection of 80 photographs illustrating life in Milton, Shipton and neighbouring villages, with emphasis on the impact of two World Wars.

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Wychwoods History, Number 7 (1992) **£3.00**
Origins of Shipton Minster Church (John Blair). The Groves Family of Milton, Pt 1; Early Days at Shipton; Ridge and Furrow; Henry Mills, Vicar of Shipton 1593-1641; Death by Misadventure; The Milton Murder; A Cottage on the Waste.

Wychwoods History, Number 8 (1993) **£3.00**
Royal Observer Corps, Shipton; Base-born in Shipton; The Groves Family of Milton, Pt 2; Milton Church - Architect's Plan; An Anglo-Saxon Charter for Shipton? Field-walking a Romano-British site above Shipton; Vital Satistics: Shipton Parish Registers.

The above may be obtained from the Editor, Dr Margaret Ware, Monks Gate, Shipton under Wychwood, Chipping Norton, Oxon OX7 6BA (telephone (0993) 830494). P&P is 75p for the first book plus 30p for each additional book. Cheques payable to Wychwoods Local History Society.

The Wychwoods Local History Society meets once a month from September through to May. Meetings usually alternate between the village halls at Shipton and Milton. Current membership is £4 for an individual and £6 for a couple or overseas member, which includes a copy of *Wychwoods History* when published. Further details can be obtained from the Secretary, Wendy Pearse, Littlecott, Honeydale Farm, Shipton under Wychwood, Chipping Norton, Oxon OX7 6BJ (telephone Shipton under Wychwood (0993) 831023).

Further copies and back numbers of *Wychwoods History* may be obtained from the Editor, Dr Margaret Ware, Monks Gate, Shipton under Wychwood, Chipping Norton, Oxon OX7 6BA (telephone (0993) 830494). Postage and packing is 75p for the first copy and 30p for each additional copy. Cheques payable to Wychwoods Local History Society. See inside for full list of publications in print.

Cover illustration: *Outside W.H. Rawlins' motor and cycle shop, The Green, Milton under Wychwood, probably the first garage established in the Wychwoods. From left, Walter Henry Rawlins, Nell Rawlins, Janet Ridley and Reginald Jason Bradley - taken c. 1916. The car is a model-T Ford.*

ISBN 0 9523406 0 7

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