The Oxfordshire Record Society.
General Editor:—J. HAUTENVILLE COPE, F.R.Hist.S.

THE MANORS AND ADVOWSON OF GREAT ROLLRIGHT.

OXFORDSHIRE RECORD SOCIETY SERIES.—VOLUME IX.

Oxfordshire Record Society.

THE MANORS AND ADVOWSON OF GREAT ROLLRIGHT,

BY

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"Brasenose College Monographs X & XIII."

&c.

Issued for the Society,

1927.

DEDICATION.

To

The Memory

of

One who during her nine years' residence

in

Great Rollright

gained the affectionate regard

of

the children of that parish.

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INTRODUCTION.

This little book, however valueless to the world, has been of great value to me. After a long period of ill-health, when all historical work had practically ceased, the study of local and collegiate history suddenly served its purpose and restored old interests. '*The Manors and Advowson of Great Rollright*' has, therefore, been to me a real pleasure; and though, I scarcely expect it to be such to any of my readers, it may possibly suggest to some that in local research they may find mental relaxation and even reinvigoration.

For many years I had heard of the Rollright Stones and of Great and Little Rollright; and I had known that at the former village there was a piece of Brasenose College property the gift of the Episcopal founder. Beyond these elementary facts I knew nothing, until, by chance, I came to be the tenant of a house belonging to the College situated in Great Rollright on the high ridge that may be said to form an outlying spur of the Cotswolds. Then it was that I began to take some interest in the village where I found myself, and, as health permitted, the interest increased, until I was led to look into its past history.

I was, at once, met with the difficulty that no one had ever ploughed even a small portion of the ground before. There was no 'History' of any kind to be found, so that for every fact and statement I have felt obliged to give a reference. The first controversial point with which I had to deal was that Brasenose College claimed the Lordship of *the* Manor of Great Rollright and that the late Major A. C. Hall did the same. I knew that the College had long claimed this, dating its rights back to mediaeval times, when the 'Prior and Canons' of Cold Norton (of whom the 'Principal and Scholars' of Brasenose College are in Great Rollright the legal representatives),

exercised manorial rights, and held manorial courts from time to time. I was well aware that the College, as evidence of its right, had held a Court Baron according to ancient custom in 1908; I, therefore, felt almost sure that the College was *the* Lord of *the* Manor. I was, then, somewhat surprised when the late Major A. C. Hall, very kindly, lent me, for my perusal, certain Court Rolls, dating from 1655 to 1764, which seemed to show that his predecessors had been Lords of *the* Manor of Great Rollright. I was also a little startled to find that Mr. I. S. Leadam, in his account of the early days of Brasenose College, showed that its property at Great Rollright was under a '*superior manor*,' held, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the family of Hungerford as mesne-tenants of the Earl of Stafford. The shock would have been greater than it was had I not already a suspicion of the real truth.

It is my object in these brief notes to show, what I consider, the truth, or, in other words, four things. First, that Great Rollright has, probably more than most villages of its size, a good deal of political, social and manorial history, apart from the archaeological interest attached to the Stones,[1] (which by the way, are not in this parish); secondly, that there is no such thing as *the* Lord of *the* manor of Great Rollright; but *two* Lords of *two* (formerly *three*) entirely distinct manors[2]; thirdly, that Mr. I. S. Leadam was incorrect in stating that the Hungerfords held the manor from the Earl of Stafford, for the manor owned by the Hungerfords was distinct from the manor held by the Earl of Stafford and granted to the Priory of Cold Norton; and fourthly, to put on record the story of the advowson of Great Rollright, and to sketch, (for it is nothing more), the lives of the rectors of this humble little parish in the North Oxford

[1] For details of some of the historical references to these Stones readers should see T. H. Ravenhill, '*The Rollright Stones and The Men who erected Them.*'

[2] Since writing the above I have found an uncalendared document amongst the B.N.C. Muniments, dated 1726, on which there is a note stating this fact. It is curious that all knowledge of it should have been entirely lost for so many years.

Downs. I trust that, however barren the narrative, I have, at any rate, fulfilled these objects and desires.

Before I close I should like to say how deeply grateful I am to the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College who, directly and indirectly, have helped me enormously in my researches, and by most generous financial support have made their publication possible. I need hardly say, perhaps, that my happy hunting ground has been the College Muniment Room. I must also thank very sincerely Mr. Falconer Madan, formerly Bodley's Librarian, for the great care and trouble he has taken, wherever necessary, in extending the mediaeval abbreviations of the documents quoted. At the same time I should like to state how much I owe to Mr. J. P. Gilson, Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, the Rev. H. E. Salter, the real historian of all that is connected with Oxfordshire, Dr. S. Holbrooke, formerly rector of the parish, the late Major A. C. Hall, owner of *one* of the Manors in Great Rollright, Mr. St. John Brooks, Mrs. Cope, and my daughter, my indefatigable secretary. All of them have assisted me, either by supplying actual material, or, by giving me valuable advice. I must, also, acknowledge my indebtedness to the Brasenose Calendar of Great Rollright documents made by the late Mr. Hurst, without which I could never have accomplished, however sketchily, my task. Although, on various pages, I offer suggestions of complete disagreement, they are in no sense put forward in a carping spirit, for no one knows, better than I do, how impossible this brief history would have been without that admirable Calendar ; and all references to size of parchments and to seals are taken directly from that monumental record of Brasenose documents.

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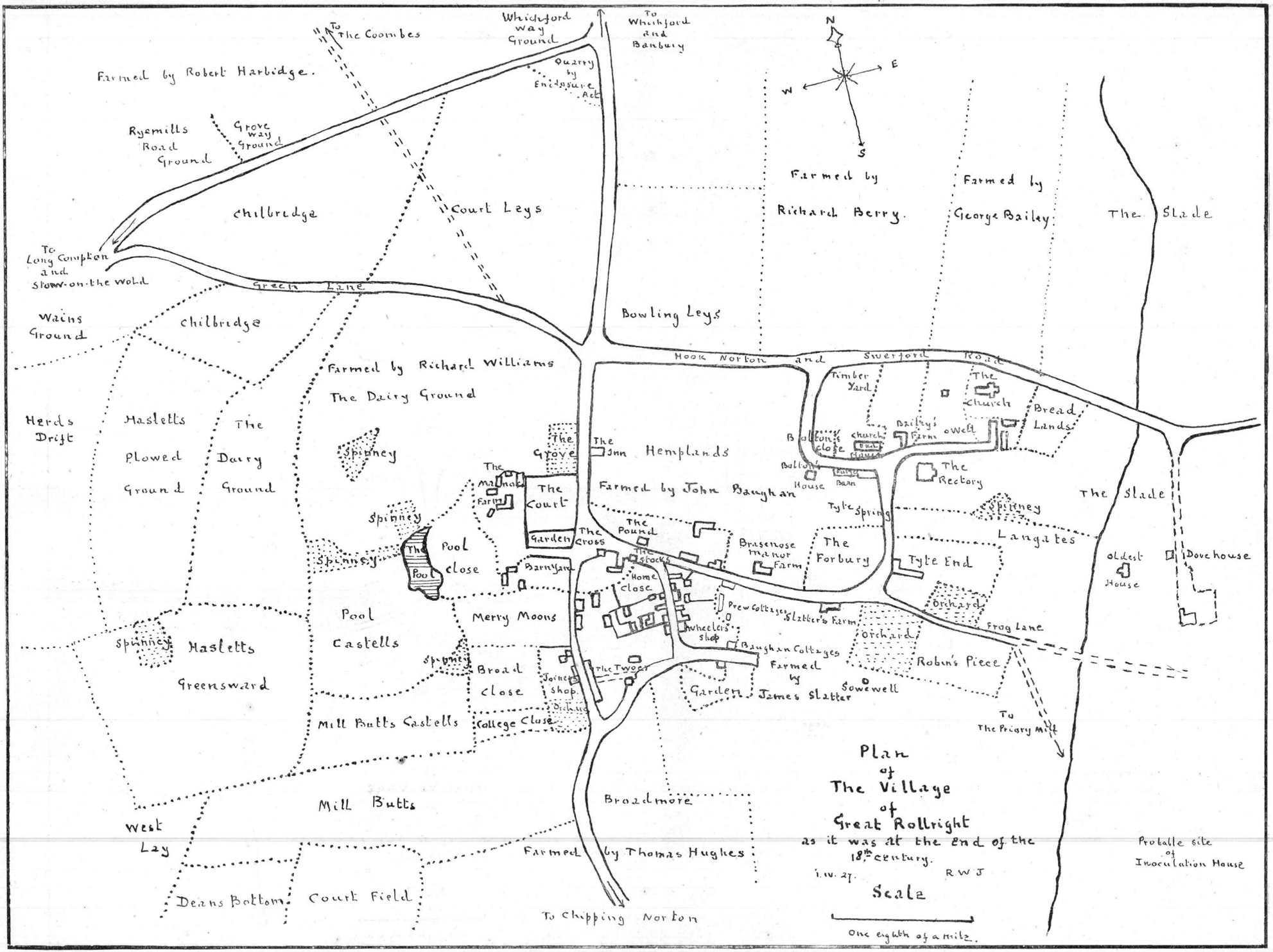

Plan of The Village of Great Rollright as it was at the end of the 18th century.
Scale
One eighth of a mile.
Probable site of Inoculation House
N
E
S
W
To The Coombes
Whichford Way Ground
To Whichford and Banbury
Quarry by Enclosure Act
Farmed by Robert Harbidge.
Ryemills Road Ground
Grove way Ground
Chilbridge
Court Leys
Farmed by Richard Berry.
Farmed by George Bailey
The Slade
To Long Compton and Stow-on-the Wold
Green Lane
Wains Ground
Chilbridge
Bowling Leys
Hook Norton and Swerford Road
Farmed by Richard Williams
The Dairy Ground
Herds Drift
Hasletts Plowed Ground
The Dairy Ground
Spinney
The Grove
The Inn
Hemplands
Timber Yard
The Church
Bread Lands
Bolton's close
Church
Bailey's Farm
Well
Bolton's House
Barn
The Rectory
The Slade
The Malmoe Farm
The Court
Farmed by John Baughan
Tyte Spring
Spinney
Langates
Spinney
The Pool
Pool close
Garden
The Cross
The Pound
The Stocks
Brasenose Manor Farm
The Forbury
Tyte End
Oldest House
Dovehouse
Barn Yard
Home close
Prew Cottages
Slatter's Farm
Orchard
Frog Lane
Pool Castells
Merry Moons
Wheelers shop
Baughan Cottages
Orchard
Spinney
Hasletts Greensward
Spinney
Broad close
Joiners shop
The Twoer
Farmed by James Slatter
Robin's Piece
Sowewell
Garden
Orchard
Mill Butts Castells
College Close
To The Priory Mill
Mill Butts
Broadmore
West Lay
Farmed by Thomas Hughes
Deans Bottom
Court Field
To Chipping Norton

CHAPTER I.

The Early History of the Manorial Inhabitants.

> "Methinks it were a happy life,
> To be no better than a homely swain."
> *Shakespeare.*

How far the present site of Great Rollright was really populated previous to, and during, the Roman occupation, is difficult to say, for there are no Roman remains such as those found in the neighbourhood at Great Tew, at Steeple Aston[1] and at Wigginton.[2] There must, however, have been inhabitants where now the village stands, as is proved by the Roman coins found, on several occasions, when the soil has been turned. It is probable, therefore, that soon after the conquest of this part of Oxfordshire by Aulus Plautius,[3] settlers came to take over what had been the land of the Dobuni.[4] Possibly a settlement at Rollright was not made so quickly as elsewhere, for no Roman road runs very close to the village[5]; but the presence of coins is one more instance of every part of the country bearing some trace of its former Roman masters; and it is only reasonable to infer "that this region was by no means a desert in the centuries preceding and following the Christian era."[6]

The Roman period is dark, but the years from 410 to 620 are darker still, not only in the history of Great Rollright but in the history of the kingdom. The period may well be called "the two lost centuries of Britain." It is, however, natural to suppose that, apart from the great towns, the Anglo-Saxons

[1] *Survey of Great Britain and Ireland*, IV., p. 212. Roman remains were found in the camp at Chastleton by the Fellows of the Antiquarian Society in 1878 and Celto-Romano pottery, bronze ornaments and glass have been discovered near the Kingham Hill Homes.

[2] Brabant, *Oxfordshire*. p. 34.

[3] 43 A.D.

[4] Some early writers call these people the 'Boduni.'

[5] Evans, '*Folklore*,' March, 1895, says 'The road, which by the monument itself (the Rollrich Stones), marks the boundary between Oxfordshire and Warwickshire, is . . . in its origin an old British trackway of great antiquity, and it has been suggested, (Beesley, *Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archæological Society* Vol. I.), that at an earlier period this trackway marked the confines of the Dobuni and the Cornavii, whose territory extended at least into the Avon valley.'

[6] W. Warde-Fowler, *Kingham Old and New*, p. 6.

settled where others had settled before.[1] The Romano-British had prepared the ground, and, although the vast forest of Wychwood[2] may have reached almost to the open and wild heath or moorland of Rollright, the slopes of the hillside, both to the north and south of the ridge on which the village is perched, would, no doubt, have been partially reclaimed. The earliest settlers were almost certainly Hwiccas,[3] and as such, must have shuddered at the news of the onrush of the heathen King Penda in 626, as he came tearing south with his wild untameable horde of infidels to attack the King of Wessex. His force passed a little to the west of Rollright and, probably, used the Fosse Way as a means of communication. Though the village, presumably for this reason, escaped any horrors of war, the inhabitants would hear that Cwichem of Wessex had been defeated utterly at Cirencester.[4] Nor were they free from warlike alarms sixty years later when at Burford, in 688, Ethelbald suffered defeat at the hands of Cuthred of Mercia. As far as such a thing were possible, in a barbarous age, peace now reigned until the inroads of the Danes began. News would gradually filter through, first of coast raids, then talk of the rough Norsemen actually settling along the coast, and later of their advance south and west. Some of the stories of the victories of Alfred would float by means of gossip, to the village, until, at last, the place would be agog when the news of the coming of the Danish force to their very gates was brought by some terrified yokel in 914. Friends and relatives of the Rollright folk were probably slain at Hook Norton, and the country side was given over to plunder and rapine.[5]

Another century and a half passed before war again desolated Oxfordshire, when the eastern side of the county suffered much at the time of the Norman Conquest. William, Duke of Normandy, after his failure to take London at Southwark Bridge, instituted a policy of terrorization, and crossing the Thames at Wallingford, swept with fire and sword through

[1] *Cf.* Seebohm, *English Village Community*, p. 436.

[2] *Cf.* Evans, *ut supra.*

[3] Green, *Making of England*, p. 130. Wychwood means the wood of the Hwiccas (Arch. Journ. XIX., pp. 51–52) and as Whichford is one of the nearest villages to Great Rollright it may be surmised that the Hwiccan settlers also left their name here ; but there is no early reference to this. It may be that this is the ford of the road from Which, i.e. Droitwich, or in other words, this place marks the point where the old Saltway crossed the Stour. For salt being brought to Rollright, *vide* p. 52.

[4] Sir James Ramsay, *Foundations of England* I., p. 184, says ' It is not too much to suppose that the incorporation of the Hwiccas of Gloucestershire . . . with Mercia dates from this treaty.'

[5] *Saxon Chronicle*, edit. 1822, pp. 130–1.

Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire. There is, however, no reason to suppose that his force penetrated as far north-west as Great Rollright; nor is there any evidence that the people understood the trouble. It may be presumed that some of the men were called up as members of the Mercian fyrd, but being under the control of Edwin[1] and Morkere, the Northern Earls, took little or no part in attempting to save England from the foreign yoke. They soon found that strange masters were placed over them. Their land was given to three Normans,[2] Robert de Statford, or Stafford, and the King's ministers, Robert, son of Turstin, and William.[3] From that time onwards they began to learn what it was to have a Norman ruler in place of a Saxon lord.[4] The village was divided into three distinct manors,[5] but the total population[6] must have been very small,[7] and their surroundings poor and mean.[8]

The servile population of Great Rollright had, in years to come, many different landlords[9]; the most important, and the most visible, being the priory of Cold Norton, founded in that age of monastic revival, between 1148 and 1158.[10] Thus they had all the advantages of living near[11] to a monastery[12]; their children were educated, their legal troubles were heard with sympathy, their bodies received far greater care from men who were skilled in the craft of medicine,[13] and, no doubt, their souls were tended with solicitude. It was, indeed, well for them to have consolations, for the reign of Stephen was a period of anarchy and turbulence, and at their very door, at Swerford,

[1] Edwin was lord of Hook Norton immediately before the Conquest.
[2] *Domesday Book.* [3] See Chapter IV.
[4] According to William of Malmesbury (III., p. 245) the change was very much for the better.
[5] O.H.S. XLIX., p. xxxv.
[6] For the population of Oxfordshire see Kirtland, *Memorials of Chipping Norton*, p. 3, and the more correct estimate in Ballard, *The Domesday Inquest*, p. 264.
[7] It is very difficult to judge population at this period. Thirty-seven persons are mentioned in the Domesday record of Great Rollright. If these were multiplied by five there would be a population of 185.
[8] *Cf.* Ballard, *ut supra*, p. 260. [9] See Chapter IV.
[10] Salter, *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 96. [11] Two miles away.
[12] The earliest deed in direct relation to Great Rollright or Rowlandrie is a grant of land about 1170 to the Priory of Cold Norton, *vide* B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 9.
[13] The Priory absorbed 'the hospital of the brothers of the hospital at Oxford,' *vide* B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 54. There are several references in the Cold Norton documents preserved in Brasenose College to doctors in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, e.g. 'Robert the doctor' (B.N.C. Mun., Cold Norton 3); 'John the doctor' (Ibid. 5, 8 and 12); 'Henry the doctor' (Ibid. 10 and 12); 'William Bullin *medicus*' (Ibid. 14); and another 'Henry the doctor' about 1330 (Ibid. 25).

was one of those *castella adulterina*, from which wild bands would issue from time to time to raid the country, burn, plunder, and carry off men's wives.[1] Meantime that portion of Great Rollright, which had been held successively by Aluric[2] and by different members of the house of D'Oilli,[3] had passed into the hands of the Chesney family, the head of which, William, had his chief property at Deddington, where there was a castle or stronghold until the reign of John. William Chesney " was one of those who found their opportunity in the disturbances of Stephen's reign, and from 1142 to 1154 seems to have been in supreme command in Oxfordshire."[4] He would, thus, no doubt, afford suitable protection to his people at Great Rollright, either, from the aggressions of the baron at Swerford, or from the more powerful baron, William Fitzalan, at Chipping Norton.

It is from the reign of Henry II. that occasional glimpses may be got into the lives of the people of Great Rollright ; and from this date, there are brief references to their names and in some cases to their occupations. Thus contemporary documents reveal the names[5] of freeholders and villeins, hunters and travellers, cooks, butlers and porters, millers, tailors, drapers and shoemakers, seneschals, castellans, jailers and bailiffs, reeves and husbandmen, and even debtors and murderers.

One of the earliest families known bears the name of Rollright, the first member recorded being Bernard.[6] This clearly shows that a place name attached to a Christian name does not necessarily mean that a man had left his native village and gone elsewhere. It is not unreasonable to imagine that Bernard was the relative of Adam de Rollright whose son Nicholas lived in the reign of King John.[7] Bernard apparently

[1] The castle at Swerford was destroyed by Henry II.'s order to rase the *castella adulterina*.

[2] The first mesne tenant of Robert de Statford. Mr. J. H. Round, in *Vic. County Hist. Hampshire* I., pp. 427–8, seems to suggest that the English holders were mainly entirely dispossessed. This does not appear to have been the case with Aluric and he, therefore, resembles the Englishmen in Lancashire as shown by Mr. W. Farrer in *Vic. County Hist. Lancashire* I., p. 283.

[3] See Chapter IV.

[4] O.H.S. XLIX., pp. 415, 416. In 1141 William Chesney took part in the siege of Winchester and was director of military operations in Oxfordshire in 1145. His father was Roger, and his brother Robert, Bishop of Lincoln 1147–66.

[5] The names of the lords of the manors are not mentioned here as they were often, if not usually, non-resident. Only occasionally are the names of the clergy given because a complete list will be found in Chapter VI.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 7. [7] Ibid. 37.

had two sons, Alan de 'Rollendrit'[1] or 'Rollend'[2] and William.[3] Alan was the father of a numerous progeny. His first son was called Alan[4]; another was probably Ralf de 'Rollendrit,' mentioned in the earliest documents possessed by Brasenose College[5]; while two others, William and Walter, are definitely stated to be his sons in the Egerton Charter.[6] Another son, Galfridus, or Geoffrey, appears continually as a witness in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John,[7] Besides these, Alan had a daughter Agnes, who married presumably a relative, Henry[8] son of Nicholas,[9] and who had two sons Roger and John[10] in the reign of Henry III. Galfridus had a son, Robert,[11] and his son Walter flourished in the early years of the thirteenth century.[12] Walter's immediate successor was John de 'Rollendrith' who witnessed a charter about the same period.[13] In 1279 there is mention of Walter of 'Rollendrith' but it is probable from the context that he was dead.[14] It is not clear whether his wife Alice was still alive[15]; but it is quite certain that his son William, now sometimes called '*ad fontem*' or Atwell,[16] was flourishing, and his later appellation was continued by one Robert, at the end of the thirteenth century.[17] A 'Walter [son of] Edward' of 'Rollandr Magna' was alive in the reign of Edward II., and continued well into the reign of Edward III.[18]; while his successor, Hugo de 'Rollandrit,' is referred to in a case before the archdeacon of Oxford in 1346.[19] It may be that the name Rollright had by this time

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 7.

[2] Egerton Charter, British Museum. I am indebted for this to Mr. J. P. Gilson, Keeper of the Manuscripts at the British Museum.

[3] Ibid.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 7. [5] Ibid. 1, 3.

[6] Egerton Charter, see p. 69.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 28; Egerton Charter; Dugdale Monasticon VI. Pt. I., pp. 420–21. This Galfridus, between 1190–1200, acted as the 'Champion' of his lord, William de Dunthrop 'pro duello quodam' and was rewarded with half a hide, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Dunthrop 1.

[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10, 29. [9] Ibid. 6.

[10] Ibid. 6, 10. In No. 10 Mr. Hurst reads 'Henricus' as 'Humric,' but the charters if taken together prove that the word is 'Henricus.'

[11] Ibid. 27.

[12] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 105. [13] Ibid., p. 140.

[14] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10, 25, 30.

[15] Ibid. 25. [16] Ibid.

[17] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, p. 314.

[18] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 35.

[19] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 54. It is not likely that he was any relation of 'Willelmus de Magna Rollyndrith' (Kennett, *Parochial Antiquities*) who was the perpetual vicar of Elsfield as early as 1281, and certainly as late as 18 January, 1295–6, when a scheme for the future regulation of the vicarage of Elsfield was drawn up, and in which he is spoken of as 'de magna Rollyndritht,' (O.H.S. XXXI., p. 184).

become the surname of a definite family, though there is no other reference to the name until 1449 when there is mention of William 'Rollerithe' as a juryman.[1] Certainly during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a well established family of this name in the village.[2]

The second family of early times was that of Vassella, or Vessele. Hugo de Vassella the first of this house is referred to as possessing a garden in Great Rollright towards the end of the reign of Henry II.[3]; and he also acted as a witness with his brother William about the same time.[4] It is hardly likely that the Hugo de la Vessele, mentioned about 1253, could be the same man[5]; but the second Hugo was alive in 1279, though a man of the same name living in 1300 would undoubtedly be a descendant.[6] A relative, possibly the father of the second Hugo, named John Vessele or Wesele[7] lived in 1185,[8] and with his brother Thomas witnessed a charter, together with two other members of the family called Richard and Ralph.[9] There was a second John de Vessele who lived before 1249,[10] and as late as 1253[11]; but after the beginning of the fourteenth century there is no further reference to this family.

Less important than either the Rollrights or the Vesseles were three men living in 1185 and the names of whom are mentioned once only. Rodbert Wis, occupied a house belonging to Juliana de Parles, Walter Heler, held a '*cruefta*,' and John Yiand [?] was, presumably with other lands as well, the holder of half an acre.[8] Contemporary with these were William, son of Jocelin,[12] Ralph the miller,[13] the lord's butler Avenel,[14] Hugh the cook[15] and William the deacon, the second parson that can be found in the long list of village clerics, and who drew up the grant of Juliana de Parles to Juliana, wife of Thurstan Despencer.[16] The name of John the doctor possibly shows that the village was not without medical care, but probably refers to a resident at the Priory and not in Great Rollright. There can, however, be little doubt that William

[1] O.H.S. LI., p. 43.
[2] I have reason to think that the family disappeared for ever in the village in 1791.
[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 2, 4, 40.
[4] Egerton Charter, *ut supra.*
[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 15, 22.
[6] Ibid. 38.
[7] Ibid. 28.
[8] Egerton Charter, *ut supra.*
[9] Ibid.
[10] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 16, 27.
[11] Ibid. 17.
[12] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 4.
[13] Ibid. 4.
[14] Ibid. 1.
[15] Ibid. 6.
[16] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 105, and Egerton Charter, *ut supra.*

Blunt[1] was certainly an inhabitant at that time; and about 1189, one may surmise that Ivo was a rent paying tenant of "j. cotlandam cum omnibus pert[inenciis] pro qua reddidit singulis annis ijs."[2] It is also reasonable to suppose, from documentary evidence, that Nicholas son of Eue lived about the same period,[3] and with him were his brothers Walter and Angod, the latter having a son Henry.[4] The Alricus of the late twelfth century, was obviously a villein, for, he is spoken of in one of Juliana de Parles' charters, as "cum ipso Ailrico & catallis suis et pueris suis omnibus faciendo inde forense servicium predicte I [Julianæ] et heredibus suis."[5]

During the reign of John there is the first reference to the family of Frankelein, a name which denotes a family on "the middle rungs of the social ladder,"[6] and may be taken literally to mean a freeholder. The form of the name[7] in this case is Anglo-French.[8] The first of the family was William Frankelein but at the same time there was Roger "le franchlat,"[9] or "Frankelen" or "Franckelan," the latter being still alive in 1249.[10] Of this family, Walter de "Frankeleyn,"[11] flourished between 1240 and 1260; while Robert "Frankeleyne" or "Franckelan" appears in 1279 and was certainly alive in 1300.[12] He was succeeded by John "Frankeleyn" who lived in 1318.[13]

The records also show that names were not only taken from the place, or from the social position of the holder, but from some object of nature in the village itself. Thus in the thirteenth century there was the family connected with the

[1] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 105.
[2] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 239.
[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 37, 40. The dates attributed to these residents are not those suggested in the Calendar by Mr. Hurst, but those that appear to me to be correct from internal evidence. Any difference of opinion as to the dates is dealt with in footnotes in later chapters and reasons are given.
[4] Egerton Charter, *ut supra*.
[5] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 238.
[6] Weekley, *The Romance of Names*.
[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 11.
[8] *Cf.* Scott, *Ivanhoe*.
"How call you your *franklin*, Prior Aylmer?"
"Cedric" answered the Prior, "Cedric the Saxon."
[9] B.N.C. Mun. 27. Roger le freman of 'Rollendricht' is mentioned as a witness of a grant of a messuage and lands at Bradstone c. 1220–30, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Bradstone 4.; *cf.* also Bradstone 15.
[10] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 6, 17, 29.
[11] Ibid. 15, 33. Walter le freman of Rollendricht is a witness of a grant of a messuage and lands at Bradstone, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Bradstone 4.
[12] Ibid. 22, 38.
[13] Ibid. The Church Registers show that this family continued in the village until 1626.

brook.[1] About 1230 the first member of the family attests a grant in alms under the name of Robert de Broc.[2] In 1239 Walter de la Broc was a tithe-payer to the abbey of Eynsham[3]; and possibly he is the same Walter "Biondebroc" or "Biham de Broc,"[4] [i.e. beyond the brook], who served as a witness in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. If so, his descendant was, no doubt, the Robert Biyondebroc[5] who is mentioned in 1279 and 1280. There is no reason to think that this man is any other than Robert Biendebroke who was a tithe-payer to Eynsham in November 1286.[6]

About 1239 Robert de Crofts[7] held part of a virgate in the village, the other portion being held by Riche "dust."[8] Less than ten years later a list of the tithe payers to Eynsham Abbey was drawn up, and the document states:—"Decime pertinentes ad abbaciam de Eynesham, de una hyda terre in Magna Rollendriht: Walterus de la le Broc [*sic*] tenet unam uirgatam terre & dimidiam: Ingram filius domine tenet unam uirgatam terre & dimidiam de eodem tenemento; Hugo the Hore dimidiam uirgatam terre: Canonici de Northone dimidiam uirgatam: Iohannes le Tayelur iiii. acras."[9] One surmises, of these residents, that John the Tailor made the clothes of the villagers and had not time from his needle and thread to cultivate more than four acres. His contemporaries were, Baldwin the miller,[10] Abraham the cook,[11] Richard the porter[11] and John the cleric[11] (who was certainly alive in 1253), Hathewi, a 'virgatarius,'[11] Walter the draper[12] and John de Hal.[13]

The next family to appear with a definite surname was that of Hunter, to use a modern term. The name first appears

[1] Presumably the little unnamed stream in the valley to the south of the village.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10.

[3] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 5.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 18, 24.

[5] Ibid. 12, 20, 23. I have shown elsewhere that Mr. Hurst has made an error in dating Rollright 12. It cannot be 1230; it must be after 1254, and it may be as late as 1280.

[6] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 324.

[7] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 5.

[8] According to B.N.C. Mun. Chipping Norton 2x, there was a Riche of 'Rollandrie' who had a son Alexander, who, in about 1260 sold to the Priory of 'Kaldenorton' his house nearest to the gate of Chipping Norton Castle and the house of Teiha the daughter of Luke.

[9] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 5.

[10] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 40. [11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid 39. From other documents of the Priory of Cold Norton it may be suspected that Walter the Draper was possibly an inhabitant of Chipping Norton and not of Great Rollright.

[13] Ibid.

about 1212, in the person, of Richard le venatere or le veneur,[1] and again in about 1240, when Henry le veneur, is mentioned with his son Henry.[2] They may have been manorial huntsmen who hunted down the buck to take each year to Winchcombe Abbey,[3] or hunters *par excellence* and so earned their soubriquet. Some relative of theirs is to be found in John le Hunte,[4] who flourished in the reign of Edward II.

Another inhabitant during the reign of Henry III., was an unfortunate '*nativus*,' Walter, son of Helias, who, being merely the lord's chattel, was sold with all his progeny and goods.[5] About the same time, or before, William de Pantele,[6] the loyal brother of Thurstan Despencer, together with Thomas the jailer[7] appear as village landholders or residents, and with them, though a few years later, may be numbered John and Robert le Riche.[8]

The best source, however, for the inhabitants of Great Rollright in mediaeval times is the valuable record of '*The Hundred Rolls*' of 1279. From these it is possible to obtain almost a complete list, and what is equally important, definite statements as to what they held and in the case of the villeins what services[9] they owed to their lords. On the Despencer manor there were two forms of service. The first is illustrated in the case of Ralph de Tewe. The Roll says that :—" Radulphus de Tiwe tenet unam virgatam operabilem et debet inter festum Sancti Michaelis & gulam autumpni [i.e. Aug. 1] octoginta [et] unum opera & valent tres solidos quatuor denarios [et] obolum precium operis obolate & debet falcare per unum diem & valet tres obolos quia habebit unam fessulam liberam precii oboli & debet unam aruram que valet tres obolos & debet tres affra que valent sex denarios. Item debet falcare

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10, 29. There was a Siward Venator who was tenant in chief in 1086 at Chadlington; as this was only a few miles away some member of the family may have migrated to Great Rollright.

[2] Ibid. 53.

[3] See p. 79.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, 46.

[5] Ibid. 17, see p. 106. It has been suggested that this man was a slave, i.e. *servus*, but that class, as distinct from that of the villeins, disappeared in the records of the thirteenth century. *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor*, p. 332. For the lord's power *cf.* Glanville, *Tractatus de Legibus* (1780) v.c. 5, p. 74. *Cf.* also *Social England* (edit. 1893) I., p. 372, where it states that Henry I. in 1102 ordained 'That there should be no more buying and selling of men used in England which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been kine or oxen.'

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 15.

[7] Ibid. 15.

[8] Ibid. 23, 25, *vide ut supra*, p. 5.

[9] *Cf.* Neilson, *Customary Rents*, pp. 21, 68, 98; *Custumals of Battle Abbey*, p. 30.

per tres dies & valent quatuor denarios [et] obolum ultra feodum quod habebit & debet levare fenum per duos dies & valet unum denarium & debet levare & tondere oves & valet obolum & debet unum cariagium ad fenum [levandum] & valet duos denarios et debet inter gulam autumpni & festum Sancti Michaelis duodeviginti opera que valent duos solidos tres denarios. Et debet quatuor precarias in autumpno & valent octo denarios quia [sunt] sine poutragia & debet duas precarias ad poutragiam que valent quatuor denarios ultra poutragiam & debet tres gallinas & unum gallum ad natale [Domini] & valent quatuor denarios & debet duodecim denarios de annuo redditu & debet talliare ad [voluntatem domini]."[1]

The following tenants held the same amount of land by the same service, Alice de Wyccheford, William son of John, Hugo le Riche, Robert son of John, Walter son of Henry, William Alpein, Walter Ireys, John Sely, Henry de Edlestrop, Walter Lambert,[2] William Lambert, Edith at the Oven, William son of Alice, Lucas son of Richard, William le Barcur,[3] Laurence Messor,[4] William Swein, Walter le Child, another William Alpein, Robert the Knith,[5] Walter Messor, and Richard son of Alexander. The second form of villein tenure was that illustrated by the holding of Robert Lambert. He held " unum cottagium & sex acras terre reddendo per annum quatuor solidos duos denarios & debet tenere carucam domini per totum annum si dominus voluerit & erit quietus de toto redditu suo & habebit illam carucam quam tenet quolibet die Sabbati operabilis per annum & debet talliare ad voluntatem domini."[6] The villeins who had this kind of holding, and paid this form of service, were Hugo Sorel,[7] Robert, son of Walter, John Genereth, John le Brune and Hugo le Bartur. In the Rolls the cottars follow the villeins, Juliana Wycchard, Juliana Malle, Alice de Wychull, Julian the widow of Walter, had one cottage each at the will of the lord,[8] Adam de Despencer, and paid a rent of two shillings per annum. Alice la Russe, however, seems to have had a distinctly inferior abode, as although numbered with the other cottars, her rent was only 1s. per annum. On

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Falconer Madan for this extended version of the tenure in the Hundred Rolls.

[2] From the Anglo-Saxon Landbeorht.

[3] Possibly '*the Shepherd.*'

[4] This name denotes '*head of the reapers.*'

[5] Possibly '*the Servant.*'

[6] I am indebted once again to Mr. Falconer Madan for this full version.

[7] *Cf.* Weekley, *ut supra*, pp. 215–16.

[8] *Cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I. ; *cf.* Bracton, *De Legibus Angliae*, f. 207.

the same manor there were fourteen freeholders. The extent of their holdings varied very considerably, and only three seem to have been bound to suit of court. John de Weston,[1] 'tenet sex virgatas terre cum pertinenciis reddendo per annum quatuor solidos & duodeviginti denarios de hidagio & debet sectam curie de tribus septimanis in tres septimanas.'[2]

Richard de Burchville was a miller, for, as well as a half virgate, he held a mill, and paid for the two 20s. and suit of court. Hugo was also a miller, but though he had the same amount of land he paid no service and his rent was only 10s. per annum. The already mentioned Hugo de la Vessele held four virgates paying the nominal sum of 1s. per annum for all. Robert the Frankelein and William Smale held one virgate each; while Robert Bercar held half a virgate and owed suit to the court. Edward the clerk, William Dovie, Walter Gamel, Margaret,[3] and the widow of Robert Venator all held cottages. Although not a resident, among these freeholders should be numbered, the Prior of Cold Norton who held one virgate paying an annual rent of 9d. Besides these there were other freeholders with a different form of tenure. Hugo de Oddingesels[4] held five virgates "in liberum maritagium," and these were sublet to Symon de Sybbeford, Walter de Fonte,[5] Robert de Fonte,[5] John de Stanley and Thomas Dernehus.

The village residents within the manor of the family of de Parles were distinctly fewer in number. As shown elsewhere the subtenant of William de Parles was Roger Burd or Burt.[6] He held two hides in demesne "ex dimissione" of William de Parles, on the tenure of a fourth part of a knight's fee.[7] There were only four villeins on this estate holding by the same services as the already mentioned Robert de Tewe. They were Robert Ive, Ralph Carter, Henry de Hastings and William "in Angul." The four cottagers were Juliana Lenemey, Edith, William Bercar, and Juliana Gegges. Within this manor the Prior of Cold Norton held fourteen virgates,

[1] This man witnessed several documents in the late thirteenth century, now in the possession of Brasenose College.

[2] Again I am indebted for the lengthened version to Mr. Falconer Madan.

[3] See p. 12.

[4] See p. 71.

[5] Really members of the Rollright family, *ut supra*.

[6] See p. 59.

[7] *Cf.* Feet of Fines 9 Ed. I., File 284/22, No. 115. I am indebted to Mr. St. John Brooks for this information. John de Parles was to have and to hold after the death of Roger Burd for ever one messuage and two carucates held by Roger, with warranty against all men and against Eustace, son of William de Parles, and Joan his mother and their heirs. In settling this matter, when the action was between Nicholas, Baron of Stafford and John de Parles John gave to Nicholas eight sparrow hawkes of one year old.

John de Weston held two, Alice Beatrix held a cottage and an acre, Alice the daughter of " Eley " held two virgates, at the rent of one pound of cinnamon valued 1d., and William de " Swereford "[1] held three acres at the same rent.[2]

Thanks to Bertrand Blunt, or le Blund, the rector, some of these names, and some others have been preserved in a document drawn up by him on 5 November, 1286, when tithes were paid to Eynsham Abbey not only by the already mentioned Robert " Biendebroke," but also by Margareta "*filia domini*," "*Edwardus clericus*," who was presumably the curate, Walter de la Welle, and Adam "*molendinarius*" who worked the mill, and in partnership with Hugo, held half a virgate of land.[3]

In the last decade of the thirteenth century the free tenants, that are to be found, were Nicholas le Whyte,[4] Walter Everard, John son of William " le Baratore," and William le Bakere[5]; the latter being still alive in 1324.[6] The third of these four was, no doubt, a relative of Richard " Baretour," who flourished in 1316.[7] The villeins in 1299, were John le Furno, John son of Robert, Ralph son of Simon, and John son of Hugh. It is not quite clear whether Hugh le Rutherherde was a villein proper, possibly he was of the status of a "*bordarius*" of earlier times. But Alice, daughter of Robert was almost certainly a '*neife*' or female villein. It is impossible to assign an actual social status to Maud, daughter of Robert Atte Welle,[8] or to Alice de Wydehulle,[9] or to Cicely, daughter of Robert the reeve, though the latter would almost certainly be of the servile class.[10]

At the beginning of the reign of Edward II., there were in the village, Hugh, son of John le Sartour, who from his name was evidently the village tailor,[11] and, one, John Brun, who, in

[1] The Rolls show about 66 householders or nearly double the number of Domesday Book. This would mean a total population of 330 at 5 per household. The present average in Great Rollright is under 4 per household. The population therefore may have been anything between 264 and 330.

[2] Hundred Rolls II., pp. 727–8.

[3] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 324.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 35.

[5] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, pp. 313–14.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 46, 51.

[7] Ibid. 46.

[8] She was probably a member of the already mentioned family of Rollright, *ut supra*.

[9] It should be noticed that the reeve of Little Rollright in 1325 was Nicholas de Wydehull, *vide* O.H.S. LI., p. xi.

[10] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, pp. 313–14. *Cf.* Round, *Vic. Cty. Hist. Hereford* I., p. 287.

[11] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 44.

1308, had the misfortune to slay *John* de Sutton. On June 28th of that year letters were sent to the Sheriff to liberate him from his imprisonment at Oxford on bail until the first assize.[1] It seems very doubtful whether this order was carried out as it was repeated on 20 April, 1310.[2] One is tempted to speculate how and why John Brun committed the crime, but such speculation is vain, and all that is known is that, on 14 May, 1310, after being tried before Randolph and Pugeys, the justices of gaol-delivery, a free pardon was granted to " John Brun of Rollondrith " for the death of *Adam* de Sutton, having killed him in self defence.[3] Had John Brun, after his narrow escape, continued to live in Rollright for the next ten years he would have known John Sle,[4] who resided there before 1320, and possibly Richard le Persoun,[5] though it is a little uncertain whether he was an actual resident. Besides these two, there were in 1324, Roger son of Guy, John Gilbert, John the seneschal[6] on the manor of Sir John Haudlo,[7] Ralph the castellan and William de Natgrove,[8] the last of whom was alive in 1332,[9] Galfridus Coser was the bailiff and John le suitor [sutor] was the shoemaker in that year, but the trade of a fellow villager John " bonye "[10] is undiscoverable.

By 1348 the mill[11] was held by William Gamage,[12] son of Nicholas, and who, in turn, was succeeded by his son Nicholas.[13] The latter had daughters only, who may, or may not, have lived in Great Rollright in their youth, and were called Margery, Joan and Elizabeth.[14] These daughters married respectively John Billyng, Hugh Arthur and John son of Hugh. They seem to have survived until the fifteenth century and if they ever resided in or visited the village, may have known John

[1] Cal. Close Rolls, 1307–1313, p. 40. [2] Ibid.
[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1307–13, p. 226.
[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 48.
[5] Ibid. 46. [6] Ibid. 51.
[7] See Chapter IV.
[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 30. [9] Ibid. 51.
[10] Ibid. There was an Edward ' Bonny ' son of Richard Bonny buried in Great Rollright on 22 July, 1610 (*vide* Church Burial Reg.).
[11] This would probably be what is now known as the Priory Mill. It is quite likely, however, that the mills so frequently referred to were not the old type of the overshot water-mill but windmills. The scarcity of water and the breezy heights of Great Rollright would certainly favour this view. Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle mentions a mill in the twelfth century which sounds like a windmill and certainly they existed as early as 1320 in different parts of England.
[12] Cal. Inq. Post Mort., II. p. 130. He died Feb. 32 Ed. III.
[13] He died Feb. 33 Ed. III.
[14] Cal. Close Rolls, 1360–64, p. 1. Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313–17, p. 384. Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 174. It is almost certain that Nicholas Gamage and his daughters never actually resided in Great Rollright.

The Manor houses of Great Rollright, besides being dwellings,[1] would also serve by the reign of Edward I., as places for the holding of the courts[2] where the "villagers, bond and free, had to report themselves and tell tales one of another."[3] If the lord of each manor was not present his steward[4] sat in the court in his place. The house of the priest would be the next most important, and this may have been on the site of the present rectory, if he did not live, as in some cases, in a chamber over the porch of the church.[5] It should be remembered, that "through his endowment with a common holding the priest was a regular member of the village community, and it is only natural that he was made to appear as one of its representatives on all occasions when it was called up for police, judicial or administrative duties."[6] The tenants and villeins would have their houses along the way leading from the church to the Chipping Norton road and behind each would be a yard, garden or backside.[7]

Far more important, however, was the land of the manor and the method of its tillage. The system of agriculture from Anglo-Saxon times to the middle of the eighteenth century changed very little, though "Any theory that would paint all England as plotted out for proprietary and agricultural purposes in accordance with a single pattern would be of all theories the least probable."[8] The *demesne* land of the lord would be the ground immediately surrounding the manor house, and tilled under the superintendence of the lord or his bailiff. Such land is shown in Domesday Book for all three manors : for the de Parles manor in 1212,[9] and for the Despencer manor

[1] Court House Farm now represents the old court-house of the Brasenose College manor as distinct from the Manor house representing the manor of Mr. J. A. Hall.

[2] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 94, says concerning the period of Domesday Book 'The term *curia* is in use but it seems always to signify a physical object, the lord's house, or the courtyard around it, never an institution or tribunal.' In the reign of Edward I. the word 'court' is used in this sense on the Despencer manor in Great Rollright, and in the map of 1794, the enclosed land immediately outside the manor-house is called the 'Court.'

[3] Pollock and Maitland, *The History of English Law* I., p. 568.

[4] *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor*, p. 364, *cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* I., p. 580. The duties of a steward or seneschal are best explained in *Fleta* edited by Selden in 1647. Lovers of Shakespeare will remember that Malvolio was Olivia's seneschal.

[5] See Chapter VI.

[6] Vinogradoff, *Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 374.

[7] This is an old term for croft. *Cf.* W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 32.

[8] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 366.

[9] Testa de Neville.

in the central portion of the reign of Edward I.[1] It is probable that this method also existed on the Stafford manor when held by the Brabazons, and let to Sir John Snotescombe, in 1299[2]; but otherwise in the early days of the Great Rollright manors there is little or no documentary evidence of the working of the *demesne*. Outside the *demesne* were the *arable* lands held by the tenants in the common fields, divided by balks[3] into strips which were scattered so that no particular tenant was supposed to have any advantage. In these fields the lords and the priest would also have strips. After harvest the cattle were turned out,[4] or, to use the older expression, 'turned up,' to feed on the stubble.[5] Besides this there was common *pasture* as shown in the words of a document, about 1260, "pro communi pastura de Cumbe[6] in Rollendriche"[7]; but each tenant was restricted or *stinted* in the number of cattle he might turn out.[8] *Meadow-land* was either distributed,[9] or belonged to the lord, and was let out to tenants at a fixed rate which could only be paid by the more well to do. This was also the case with the *closes* consisting of definitely marked off patches let separately. The lord would have several of these,[10] and the better class tenants one or two. In some manors there would be *forest*, and, in nearly all, certainly in the three at Great Rollright, there was what was called *waste*. This consisted of land which was not regarded as sufficiently fertile for cultivation, but on which *some* of the inhabitants had the rights of *turbary* or turf cutting, and *estovers* or fuel and litter collecting.[11] Thus certain of the commoners had the right of cutting furze

[1] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, pp. 313–14.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 36.

[3] Maine, *Village Communities*, p. 89. For the origin of this word 'balk' *cf.* Seebohm, *ut supra*, p. 382.

[4] This right was limited and not necessarily open to all the inhabitants.

[5] Before the introduction of machinery hand-cut stubble was often knee-deep. This made excellent manure when it rotted, and in living memory afforded splendid cover for partridges, but it was a great waste of straw.

[6] The Coombes are now divided into two parts: the one belonging to Brasenose College, the other to Mr. J. A. Hall.

[7] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 425.

[8] *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor*, p. 181, and Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 76.

[9] A few miles from Great Rollright 'the Yarnton meadows are still distributed according to immemorial custom,' *cf.* Vinogradoff, *Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 287.

[10] Compare the 'Pool Close' now called the 'Pond Close' at Great Rollright.

[11] Williams, *Rights of Commons*, pp. 186–7. *Cf.* W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of our land*, p. 245, 'The commons were not common property, but the subject of a privilege which had to be paid for.' *Cf.* with regard to estovers W. H. R. Curtler, *ut supra*, p. 257.

and bushes on Rollright Heath,[1] and Westfield Leys.[2] The waste also served as a rough pasture for the "commonable cattle *levant* and *couchant*" of every freehold tenant in respect of "his freehold tenement anciently arable."[3] The different divisions in the Manors were all named. Fortunately one of the earliest documents concerning Great Rollright has preserved some of these names. Thus in the later part of the twelfth century there were the sections, Merwell, Hedwell, Debedene, Gverdleftei, Flexcumbe and Mercumbe.[4] Another document of about the same date, and certainly between 1170 and 1185,[5] contains the names Berenhulle, Lodersled,[6] Fenikfurlong,[7] Stodfold, Heilricamore, Patrikesfearn, Areslada,[8] under-the-street-at-Stonstret,[9] Hothullmore, and Hegmeda.[10] Baldwin de Parles, about 1180, mentions a portion called Suthull.[11] About 1190 there was a meadow in Withecombe[12] to be held in perpetual ferm, and at the same period there is a reference to an area called Trembergh[13]. At the beginning of the thirteenth

[1] Compensation was given for the loss of this right at the time of the Enclosure Award, 1776. It had always been carefully restricted in the Court Rolls. With regard to this right of turbary there is a somewhat curious Royal Letter Patent in B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 106. It was issued in May, 1640, and notice is given to Wm. Sheppard, Knt., Wm. Bradley, Wm. Horsman, Wm. Freeman, John Kerry, Wm. Carter, Richard Hull, Wm. Hilton and 'several claimants to turbary for fuel and thorns on the lands of the Principal and Scholars of Brasenose College.' 'It has been shown to us that the tenants and farmers have enjoyed the possession of the above rights for the space of 20 years.' The King [Charles I.] considered their claim and on condition [how like him] of their raising £300 upon their lands, cattle and goods for his use, will assure them 'peaceful possession of their rights.' This parchment (13 by 4½) is sealed with a large Royal yellow seal.

[2] For the word 'leys' *cf.* W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, pp. 68, 69, and Lennard, *Rural Northamptonshire* in Vol. V. *Oxford Social and Legal Studies*, pp. 57, 60. West field Leys is now known as West Lay.

[3] Williams, *ut supra*, p. 41.

[4] Egerton Charter, *ut supra*.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright I.

[6] The termination here is no doubt the same as the modern form slade. 'Slade is an open hollow where the water collects to form a runlet.' *Cf.* W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 16. There is just such a grass-field near to Cardwell Farm at the present day.

[7] This term 'furlong' still survives.

[8] This must be the same as 'Hareslat' mentioned in B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 4, and 'Hareslada' in Ibid. 48. See p. 21.

[9] In B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 3, this is described 'in the-lower-way-at-Stonewell.'

[10] Eggmede is mentioned in another document of Juliana Parles between 1190–1200. *Cf.* O.H.S. XXXI., p. 239.

[11] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 4. This is probably the same as Suthhulle in the Egerton Charter, *ut supra*, and 'Suthull in Colemede' mentioned about 1330 in B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 48.

[12] Ibid. 6.

[13] Dugdale, *ut supra*, p. 421.

century there was Wintercombe,[1] and twenty-five years later "West field,"[2] on "Pushil" reaching to "Hudenhill."[3] Hugo de la "Wesele" evidently had a meadow in "Smokacre on the west of the Murebroc" in 1240.[4] Some seventy years after this, documents record "Hornmede,"[5] the "Deanehull,"[6] "Lyncroft"[7] and "Genehulle"[8]; and a few years after "Cossewellemor"[9] and "Winterhill,"[10] which is also referred to as "Winterhulle."[11] It is curious that in these names there is no reference to 'le Buttes'[12] or the blunted strips in the common fields as opposed to the gores or sharpened ends,[13] for the word still occurs in field names at Great Rollright, such as Mill Butts on the west of the Chipping Norton road, but no mediaeval reference to these has at present been found.

The old rudimentary two or three field system, whereby all the lands outside the demesne, the forest, and the waste, were divided annually, prevailed. According to the agricultural method of the time each portion would be suffered in turn to lie fallow and, if a three field system, the two remaining portions would be distributed amongst the cultivators who were obliged, "not through the personality of the lord . . . . . but through chosen or customary representatives of a community,"[14] each on his own share, to grow a certain kind of crops. This system, with slight modifications, lasted generation after generation in Great Rollright, and dating back as it did to a period long before the Conquest,[15] it is interesting to find it reproduced in the Court Rolls of the eighteenth century. In fact it might be said that before the Enclosure Award of 1776 the methods of the people of Great Rollright were those of their Anglo-Saxon forefathers.[16]

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 37.

[2] Ibid. 46. West field is mentioned in a document of 1316 and remained till the beginning of the ninteenth century.

[3] Ibid. 11.

[4] Ibid. 39.

[5] Ibid. 49.

[6] Ibid. 45.

[7] Ibid. 41.

[8] Ibid. 35.

[9] Ibid. 48.

[10] Ibid. 42.

[11] Ibid. 38.

[12] *Cf.* Seebohm, *ut supra* p. 6. These *Buttes* must not be confused with the *Butts* that were directed to be made in every township by Act of Parliament in 1466. Every inhabitant was to practise archery there on all Sundays and holy days under a penalty of a halfpenny for every omission. *Cf.* the Statutes of 1512 and 1542.

[13] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II. *Cf.* W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 21.

[14] *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor*, p. 361.

[15] Ibid., p. 365.

[16] It has been suggested to me that in one of the early documents there is, possibly, evidence of the two-field system, *vide ut supra*. The three-field system is fully explained in *Social England* II. (edit. 1894), p. 95. For little change in the rustic's condition from the middle of the thirteenth to the beginning of the nineteenth century, *vide* Thorold Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, p. 84, and W. H. R. Curtler, *ut supra*, p. 45.

Before illustrating the persistence of this ancient system from the Court Rolls of later days it would be well to notice how the holdings of the tenants of Brasenose College, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were scattered all over the parish of Great Rollright. It would be inexpedient, if not impossible, to give copies of all the terriers of land now in the possession of the College, although these are, in many cases, of considerable interest and of great value, as retaining the field names of the period. Only five properties, therefore, have been selected for consideration.[1] The terrier of "the farme," in 1630, contains 28 items, some of which consist of as many as a score of pieces of land. The terrier of this property, when held by Sir Robert Sheppard, in 1686, had 38 items; under Sir William Sheppard, in 1713, it is described under 53 items; and in a terrier of Lady Sheppard,[2] of the same year, there are 40 items. The extent of this estate was practically the same as those held by Edmund Rowlright *alias* Fuller, and by George Gardiner, but in their terriers, both of the year 1662, there are, in the first case 119 items, and in the second 120. The property held by Elizabeth Brent, widow of Roger Brent, in 1616, consisted of no fewer than 126 items; and when a new tenant, in the person of Elizabeth Hobday, made her terrier, on 20 October 1627, there were 125. The College authorities were wide enough awake to see the discrepancy and placed a note on the terrier to call attention to it. The land held by John "Pillesbury" was considerably less than that held by Widow Brent, and his terrier of 1655 only shows 88 items. From these examples it is clear that each tenant must have had a very widely distributed holding and an immense amount of time must have been wasted by labourers "in travelling to many dispersed pieces of land from one end of a parish to another."[3]

A fairly complete list of the names of roads and of fields may be discovered from these documents. It is evident from several, that the modern road to Oxford was not the route of the seventeenth century. The "Oxford way" was approached by "Sandway" on the east of the village and the west of Rollright Heath Farm, and so across to Chapel House and on to the main Oxford and Birmingham road at that point. The "Norton Waye," or "Chipping Norton Waye," is often referred to as having a piece of land lying alongside, and this

[1] A complete example has been given in Appendix D.

[2] Her initials are on an old stable in the Coombes.

[3] Arthur Young, *View of the Agriculture of Oxfordshire*, p. 100. *Cf.* Seebohm, *ut supra*, p. 15.

ran over what is sometimes called " the brock " the " Small brook," and once, " Over Norton brook."[1] The " drove-way " is frequently mentioned as a boundary of land, and so also " Brailes-weye,"[2] " Whichford way,"[3] " Aishway," " Broadway," " Millway,"[4] the " Stow " road, and, once, " Fremongers way." The names of the closes and fields are very numerous and their spelling extremely various. The " Forbury "[5] occurs in 1630 as " ffersbery," and " ffersberry " ; in 1667 as " ffarbery " ; in 1716 as " forbury " ; and again with the same spelling in 1759. The " Areslada," of Plantagenet times,[6] is found in the terriers as " Hareslade " in 1662 ; in 1686 as " harslets," and " Hareslade " once again in 1747. This seems to be the only case of a field name, otherwise than that of " Forbury," surviving from the twelfth to the eighteenth century. There were two other slades before the Enclosure Act, " Church slade " and " lusteslade " or " Luchslade " or " loslad " ; but in modern times there is only one, " the Slade," on the eastern side of the church, and the western side of Cardwell Farm. It is possible that the " Debedene " of about 1180[7] or the " Deanhulle " of about 1300 are the forerunners of the " Dean quarr " of 1630, or the " deans quarry " and " Deans Bottom " of 1713, the latter name still surviving. The term " tite "[8] first appears in a document drawn up by Richard Rowlright early in the seventeenth century[9] ; the " tite-close " is mentioned in 1662[10] ; " Tite End " is the modern preservation of the word.[11] " Common furlong " appears in nearly all the terriers, but " Mayne furlong " only seems to have been noted in 1616 and 1627. " Cubut furlong " is mentioned fairly frequently, as, also, " Mead hades," " Crurklred hades " or " Cruked hades " or " Crooked hades," the latter form being not unknown to-day. This is also the case with " heard's Drift," " Court leas " or " leys," " Keckshill," " East and West,"[12] " Mill butts close," " Castells,"

[1] The Over Norton Common field reached roughly to this brook which runs in the valley on the south.

[2] This is now a lane running on the north-west of Rollright Heath Farm and to the south of Berry Field Farm.

[3] This refers to the footpath and not to the road. The path crosses a field which is still (1917) called Whichford Way Ground.

[4] The way to the Priory Mill.

[5] See p. 63.

[6] See p. 18.

[7] See p. 63.

[8] See p. 177.

[9] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 93.

[10] Ibid. 121.

[11] See Appendix D, footnote.

[12] This is frequently called Pike Ground because of its being near to the turnpike.

" Shelswell " or " Chelswell "[1] " Shillbridge " or " Chillbridge," " Wain furlong,"[2] " Oat furlong," " Pigaker " or " Piggacre,"[3] " hangeinge landes " or " hangland corner," " hemplande," and " broadmore " or " broadmoor."[4] The following, however, that were familiar to every inhabitant of Great Rollright two hundred years ago, have now disappeared: " Longwainborowe," or " Longrainborough," " Robin peese furlong " or " Robin peast furlong " or " Robin pease,"[5] " Mithefurlong " or " Mith furlong," " Newbery ground," " Stint furlong " or " picked stint furlong," " Pryorye peece," " Beaniell " or " Beanhill," " Beaneleyes," " Great hoole " or " Greate hole " or " Great Hold," " Aylesbury ford," " Heath Cross Hedge," " Dunrop mead," " hervil," " Cheesecake," " bakers corner," " Neither Sands " or " Nether Sands," " Middlesands," " oversands," " under ashe," or " under aishe," " hawkswell," " Ladywell," " water furrowes," " Short Stoney," " long stoney," " Pegnell," " Kedleye bottom," or " Kitlig bottom," and " Kitligbush," " homeland," " homerfurlong," " Longlands," " Cockle furlong," " Sowewell Close " and " Sowewell Hill,"[6] " Streete Close," " ffewell," " Lotte meadow," " Plower acre," " Sweet mowe," " summer eaten ground," " Grey flege," " Rain Close," " Whiteleys," " Mortar pitts," and " Long piece."[7] Probably the most curiously named of all the fields is mentioned in the terrier of William Sheppard in 1667. There he records that on the land held by him from Brasenose College there were " certaine inclosed pasture grounds called *roomes*."[8] Such then are some of the numerous sectional names[9] in which the tenants of both manors alike had their widely dispersed strips.

Having thus stated the scattered character of the holdings in Great Rollright, it is possible to turn to the Court Rolls of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to see something of the methods of agriculture then employed. The Court Roll of

[1] Bounded on the north-west by Brailes way.
[2] Sometimes called Hall's Ground.
[3] South of Shelswell.
[4] On the south side of the village adjoining the Chipping Norton Road.
[5] There is (1917) a Robin Close on the south of Frog Lane.
[6] There is still a lane called ' Sowewell Lane ' and a flow of water called Sowewell.
[7] This may be what is now called Long Meadow.
[8] Wright, *Dialect Dictionary* Vol. V., p. 1219, gives ' a farm ; a portion of land ; a possession.' Apparently the word was common in Scotland.
[9] Most of the terriers from which these names have been taken are not calendared, but are kept in a cupboard in the Upper Bursary marked ' Court Rolls and Terriers.'

1655[1] deals mostly with copyholders and those who held from the Lord of one of the manors by 'fealty suite of Court.' It hardly touches questions of agriculture except where the jury "prsent that Mr. Sheppard[2] Lord of this manor hath five yard land in Roleright and by that means hath five swathes belonging to the said five yard land in a place there called the swathes.[3] It is agreed by the Homage at this Court that the said grounds called the Swathes shall be Stoned out and marked that every man may have his Swath in that place accordinge to the proportion of land that belongs to them and this is to be done before Christmas next upon payne of ijs. a man for every man that shall be absent to be forfeited to the Lord."

In the later Rolls there is more of the agricultural methods then in use. These are clearly shown in the Roll of 1727.[4] "It is ordered and agreed that the quarter called Wittlim [?] quarter[5] shall be mounded[6] every proprietor to mound his own land on or before the Third day of May next everyone making default to forfeit 2s. 6d.

Item "It is ordered and agreed that all the Greensord Sladds[7] and hades[8] in the comon fields sown with corn shall be hayned[9] at Lady Day and the Cows comon Meadow and Great hole[10] at St. Mathias everyone making default to pay 2s. 6d.

[1] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall. A full copy of this roll is given in Chapter IV.

[2] William Sheppard (b. 1633), brother of the more celebrated Fleetwood Sheppard.

[3] See Wright, *Dialect Dictionary*, V., p. 870.

[4] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[5] I cannot account for this name, as a Terrier of the Glebe made in 1759, gives the names of the Quarters as Westfield, Town Quarter, Blackland Quarter and Keckshill. The Roll of 1764 refers also to 'Blackland quarter' and 'Toun quarter'; but I have found no other reference to 'Wittlim' quarter. This reference to quarters shews that Rollright, desiring an improvement in agriculture, had, by this time changed from a three-field to a four-field system. The change was common about 1750. *Vide* W. H. R. Curtler, *ut supra*, p. 67.

[6] A mound is still the old word in Great Rollright for a hedge or fence.

[7] 'Greensord' is the village pronunciation of 'Greensward.' There is still one field of this name on Mr. J. A. Hall's property, 'Haslett's Greensward.'

[8] W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 21, says 'the *headlands*, *hadelands* or *hades* on which the plough turned at the end of its journey over the furlong abutting on the ridges at right angles.' *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Society in the Eleventh Century*, p. 279. He shows that the term headland is of great antiquity as it may be found in a charter of Edgar, 960. *Cf.* Wright, *Dialect Dictionary* III., p. 10. Drayton used the word in the verse.

'The thicke and well growne fogge doth matt my smoother shades
And on the lower Leas, as on the higher Hades
The dainty Clover grows (of grass the onely silke)
That makes each Udder strout abundantly with milke.'

[9] Wright, *ut supra*, III., p. 19.

[10] See a reference to this in the Terrier Appendix. D.

Item " It is ordered and agreed that the Stubbles in the field shall be broke and eat by sheep and cows at such time as the major part of the Jury shall agree upon everyone refusing to comply to forfeit 5s. The forman of the Jury giving proper and timely notice to the rest of the jury to meet for that purpose or otherwise the forman to forfeit 6s. 8d. And everyone of the jurymen neglecting to appear to forfeit such for default 5s.

Item " It is ordered and agreed that the cows comon shall not be brooke with sheep till All Saints day everyone making default to pay 2s. 6d.

Item " Whereas there has been kept heretofore three cows to a yardland and that severall persons have sold some of their Cows comons and kept their lands. Now it is ordered and agreed that where there has been Three cows kept they shall be reduced to Two and if any person shall happen to have but One cow comon he shall pay 2s. 8d. and Two Cow comons 5s. 4d. and in the same proportion for all odd Numbers of comons not reduced [?] by this order. Such money to be applyed for and towards paying of a Haywards[1] wages or for the general benefit of the Toun as the jury or the Major part of them shall think fitt.

Item " It is ordered and agreed that the comon fields shall be trenched [?] in such parts and at such times and in such manner as the jury or the Major part of them shall agree and direct the same to be done by the yardland everyone refusing or neglecting to pay his Share toward to the same to forfeit for every yardland Two Shillings.

Item " It is ordered and agreed that every person shall forfeit for every Cow he shall have over his right of comon 5s. and for every sheep 6s.[2]

[1] The duties of a Hayward are defined as early as the '*Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*' c. 1000 A.D. For the duties of a thirteenth century Hayward, *vide Fleta*, edited by Selden in 1647.

[2] From early times the pasturing of sheep was one of the main industries of the village. In 1260 Eynsham Abbey contracted that their tenants' wool should only be sold to Roger Hareng (*vide* O.H.S. XLIX, p. 251). It is probable that the abbot got part of his income from Great Rollright wool. In 1270 a tenth was levied on the income and there is the entry. 'Habet ..... apud Rolendrist magnam iii. sol decima iii. d.' (Ibid., p. 15). The sheep of the district in which Great Rollright is situated reached the height of their fame in the fifteenth century. The rising trade of Witney increased the demands for local wool and by the end of the sixteenth century the Witney industry was famous and fortunes were made in blankets. (*vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., and, Whitmore-Jones, *History of Chastleton House*, p. 12). That the woollen industry in the neighbourhood of Great Rollright continued is evidenced by a seventeenth century reference in the archives of Chipping Norton to a 'Wool way' which ran from Great Rollright *via* Walk Farm Lane, passed the back of Chapel House into Swing-Swang Lane and then crossing the London Road to Chalford and probably on to Charlbury (*vide* Kirtland, *ut supra*, pp. 25–6.)

Item "It is ordered and agreed that no landholder shall lett any Sheep comons to any fforeighner from or after [*illegible*] till Christmas following everyone making default to pay for every Sheep comon soe Lett 1s. And if any person have not Sheep of his own at All Saints nor till Christmas the comoners who shall Stock use or Enjoy ye said Sheep comons shall pay to such person 1s. 3d. p. those he might have kept and so proportionately for every greater or lesser quantity the same to be raised and paid by the yardland of such persons soe using and enjoying the sd. comons throught the field being reduced from thirty-four to thirty and so now used Two lambs from May day [?] to Martinmas being allowed and agreed to goe and be accounted for one Sheep.

Item "Wee order and agree (that no person) shall hitch or bait any of his horses in any of his hidgeways Ways or in the Wheat field Barley field or drove ways till the same is Rid everyone making default to forfeit 5s. Except the horses any landholder shall ride to carry out provision for his workmen and reapers which he shall and may during such time as he or his workmen shall be at worke nere such Roads Hytch or bait on such Road but not longer."[1]

Many difficulties must have arisen in turning out beasts in common and these were to a certain extent remedied by the jury meeting on an appointed day some years at the church and some at the Cross,[2] to set out the boundaries and to hear all grievances.

In 1728 the lord of this manor[3] has to complain of the action of the commoners and his statement shows roughly the position of the cow-common. "Whereas Liberty has been given to go from the Comon Street being the Road to Chipping Norton by Mr. Sheppard's Gardenwall and through his yard and Close called poole close[4] and Castells[5] into the Cow Comon and the other Comons and the Meadow lying on the South

[1] There are further restrictions about horse-hitching in the Rolls of 1728. For horse-hitching as far back as the fifteenth century, *cf. Hist. MSS. Com. Middleton MSS.*, p. 106.

[2] This may mean the same place, for a few yards from the Church porch are the remains of a very large Stone Cross. It is, however, obvious from a record of the thirteenth century that there was a cross in the village itself and this cross may be the one referred to here. In fact the triangular piece of grass opposite the Manor gates is to this day (1917), always spoken of as 'The Cross,' although there is no sign of any masonry there.

[3] William Sheppard, b. 1687–8, matric. Hart Hall, Oxford, 1704–5, d. 1742.

[4] See footnote, p. 76.

[5] The name Castells is still used for these fields, *e.g.* Pool Castells and Mill Butt Castells. In the map of 1794 the word is spelt Cartells.

West of Castells and whereas the mounds have very often been broke down and Servall paths and Ways made whereas one path would be sufficient. Now we do order and agree That if any person Comoner Landholder or other persons shall wilfully fling up the said mounds and make more ways than one to go from or through the Ground aforesaid to the said Comons he she or they so Offending shall forfeit and pay for every Default Two shillings and Sixpence." This should be read in conjunction with the Roll of 1733,[1] which again roughly shows the position of the Common Fields. "Whereas by an agreement or order made at Long Compton the last court there held the Landowners of Long Compton have agreed to make a mound wall from Rolright Combs corner to the hedge at the Road leading from the King Stones to Banbury wee doe give consent and agree to make Mound good that divides Rolright ffield and the said Long Compton ffield[2] from the Square or stretch of the said wall to Little Rolright Grounds by the Road side. And the said Little Rolright grounds corner to continue the bridle Gate and maintain the same at the publick expense for the passage in the usuall way there The same to be done by the first day of May next provided that the Landowners or Inhabitants of Long Compton make and sett up a Cart Gate in the said Banbury Road and maintain and keep the same in good repaire everyone being of the breach of this order to forfeit Ten Shillings." To preserve the mounds and fences must have been very important, but it was equally necessary to devise some scheme to prevent the cattle of one man when in the common fields goring the cattle of another. For this purpose, in 1729,[3] the jury "do order and agree that every person shall knob his her and their Cows on the Hornes before they herd in the pasture and if any Knobb shall come of [*sic*] it shall be Knobbed in three days under the penalty of 1s. ; and this order is repeated in 1764.[4] Pigs had also to be restricted. In 1731,[4] the inhabitants were not to turn out more "piggs" after harvest than the number they usually kept in the summer ; and, in 1732,[4] all the jury except two were fined for letting their pigs wander "in the ffield," so they ordered "and agreed that no one shall have or suffer his or her piggs willfully to go

[1] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[2] The map of 1794 shows the Long Compton Common Field still existing. Its eastern boundary was the hedge up from the Coombe to the wood on the Stow road. Mr. Gale in '*Orchard Songs*,' pp. 6, 7, has described the view of Long Compton from this road admirably.

[3] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[4] Ibid.

out on the comons or ffeilds unless rung as they ought to be that is to say Great piggs Double rung and the Small piggs Single rung everyone to forfeit for each pig fourpence." In 1735[1] pigs are not to be turned out until the harvest is ended; and in 1764[1] there is a further order as to how pigs were to be "rung." Human beings as well as animals could do damage, and for this reason the gleaners were restricted in 1731.[1] "We order and agree that there shall be no Leasers[2] goe into the wheat ffield till reaping is generally begun everyone making Default to fforfeit 2s. 6d. We order and agree that no out Town person shall be permitted to Lease in the Common ffields."

In very early times, as already stated, the cultivators were bound to sow certain kinds of crops.[3] The rigid and hardfast rule still continued in the eighteenth century. On 20 October, 1732,[4] the jury ordered "that the ffurlongs hereinafter mentioned shall next Barley seed time be sown with Grass seed by the proprietors of the lands there. That is to say, the ffurlong called Braylesway furlong, But furlong and Lower Cockley [?] ffurlong." The jury then order that if in "Drove way ffurlong" the proprietor thinks fit to "sow his Land with Saint ffoyin[5] He she or they shall have the Liberty of hayning or Keeping the same from being Eate with Cattle the first winter Season." In 1733[6] "cinque-foyle" is to be sown on "Harry hill above the Lyme-Kiln"[7]; and in 1734[8] it is ordered that this is to be mounded on or before November 14th. In 1747[9] a considerable stride is made in agriculture when field

[1] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[2] This old Oxfordshire word is still in common use at Great Rollright.

[3] *Cf.* Nasse, *Agricultural Community*, p. 42.

[4] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[5] Arthur Young, *Survey of Oxfordshire*, p. 191, praises the Oxford farmers for their use of sainfoin. Its cultivation at Great Rollright was probably taken up soon after its introduction by John Hastings of Daylesford in 1652. His daughter 'Mrs. Honore Hastings of Dalsford Wigorn' was married in Rollright Church to 'Mr. John Bray, of Fifield, Oxon,' on 24 Aug., 1669, *vide* Great Rollright Marriage Registers.

[6] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[7] Lime Kiln farm is in the extreme south of the parish. The Kiln is still there. On 11 June, 1774, there appeared in *Jackson's Oxford Journal* a rather quaint advertisement:—Public notice is hereby given, that there is a new Lime Kiln built in the Parish of Great Rollright, where Gentlemen, Ladies and others, may be supplied with as good Lime as any in the Parish, and burnt with Furze. All those who are so obliging as to favour him with their custom may either take it at the Kiln, or have any quantity, that is worth while to set out for with a Team, delivered at their own Homes, on making reasonable allowance for Carriage, by their humble servant, John Bradley, June 10, 1774.

[8] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[9] Ibid.

grown Turnips are introduced into the village. In that year the jury agreed "to sow Turnips at the further side of West field[1] so far as the neighbours think fitt;" and they also allowed the proprietors of "Hare Slade[2] to sow Turnips to break with sheep." The sowing with cinque-foyle[3] and the breaking with sheep show that the jurymen of Great Rollright had at least an elementary knowledge of the science of manuring. They seem to have understood that the nitrogenous matter obtained in both cases passed into the tissue of the plant and served to enrich the soil when sown with future cereals. Some such encouragement was highly necessary as the soil at Great Rollright is mainly sandy stonebrash, and is thus a poor soil with a somewhat bad reputation.[4]

Besides illustrating the agricultural life of the village the Rolls show how the Court ruled the people. Thus for example there is one instance of the fixing of prices in 1764.[5] "We do order and agree that no person shall give more than one shilling and sixpence for the cutting of an Hundred of Bushes under the penalty of Ten shillings for every offence." On another occasion,[6] the jury presented "John Bradley for loping an Elm-tree growing on the waste against his house belonging to the Lord of this manor and amerce him for the same . . . 6d." This same man and his mother were called before the Court in 1728,[7] and again in 1729,[8] because they would persist in making a "Gapp" "between their Close and Mr. John Norgroves[9] and going through the same contrary to an order of the last Court, Whereby they have forfeited 20s." Apparently, as in ancient times, it was easier to order a fine than to extract it.

[1] See footnote, p. 23.

[2] See footnote, p. 101.

[3] Hemp was also grown in the fields now called Hemplands and Little Hemplands. Hemp was so much in demand in the eighteenth century that Dr. Johnson wrote :—

'Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.'

This name Hemplands is not confined to Great Rollright. In the *Grafton Survey* of 1526, there is a holding of 20 poles of 'Hemplande,' *cf.* Lennard, *ut supra*, p. 71. The first reference to the name in Great Rollright, that I have been able to find, is in a Terrier of 1616, 'on yeard in the hemplande,' *vide* B.N.C. Mun. uncalendared.

[4] Orr, *Agriculture in Oxfordshire*, p. 187.

[5] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[6] 1729.

[7] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[8] Ibid.

[9] A relative of Elizabeth Norgrove, who married Richard Berry in 1673, and died in 1712.

Thus John Bavins,[1] Robert Sheldon and William Goodwin were presented and fined for building cottages on the waste in 1728; nothing is said about them again until 1731, when Beavans (*sic*) Birmingham and Goodwin were ordered to pay fines for the same offence. They evidently did not do so for they were presented in 1732, 1733, and in 1739, when one, Timothy Stevens[2] was added to the list of malefactors. By 1747 a new Lord of this manor appeared in the person of John Pollard Esquire,[3] but the prosecution of the four still continued "for cottages erected on the wast contrary to Law." By 1764, when Mr. John Carter Pollard had succeeded to Mr. John Pollard's estates, the four must have been aged men but they were still presented for "continuing cottages erected on the wast contrary to the Law." Unfortunately this form of record ceases at this date, so it impossible to know the end of the story. One surmises that the four would have the laugh on their side.

These curious relics of a communal system[4] which dated back so far, and which had in detail, changed so little from century to century, were finally swept away by the passing in 1775 of an Act[5] "for Dividing and Inclosing the Open and Common Fields, Common Meadows, Common Pastures, Commonable Closes, Common Grounds, Heath and Waste Grounds within the Manor and Parish of Great Rolewright in

[1] This man's name is an example of how names may change in spelling. The Rolls show him as Bavins, Beavans, Bevins and Bevans. The name of Goodwin in a suit roll of the period is spelt, as pronounced by the villagers, *Gudin*. The name Birmingham is always spelt the same in the rolls, but in the Registers there are numerous forms—even *Brommagem*. As late as the nineteenth century these variations are not uncommon. One of the Churchwardens, in 1851, spells his name Seargant, in 1853 it is Sargant, in 1855 it is Sargent, and in 1856 Sarjent. In 1910, when Richard Widdowes died, at the age of 104, there was difficulty as to his name. He had always been known as Withers, but the baptismal register of his native place showed Widdowes and this was engraved on his tomb. In October, 1917, one villager had a name that was spelt by herself indifferently in three ways. If it was allowable for Raleigh, Shakespeare and Pepys perhaps there is no harm in a twentieth century villager having the same idiosyncrasy.

[2] Timothy Stevens was a stone-mason and appears as a tenant of Brasenose College on 1 October, 1726, when he tenanted the house lately occupied by John Watson who was also a mason. Stevens again became lessee of the same house on 1 October, 1733. But in 1740, he seems to have given up occupation as the house was let to George Bayley 'yeoman' and again in 1747 and 1754. *Vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 157, 167, 171, 180, 186, 187.

[3] See Chapter IV.

[4] *Cf.* Seebohm, *ut supra*, p. 439.

[5] Knowing that this Act was to be brought forward, the College went on progress to Great Rollright on 12 January, 1775, 'to view ye old Inclosure.' They were away from Oxford for two days and the expenses were £3 3s. 4d. *Vide* B.N.C. Mun. Bursars' Accounts. Money.

the County of Oxford."[1] By this Act the Manor and Parish were stated to " contain Seventy Yard-Lands and some odd Lands and certain Lammas, Harvest or other Closes commonable at Certain Times or Seasons in the Year. The Rector, James Parker, had certain Glebe Lands reputed one Yard Land,"[2] and two Yard Lands were held by Trustees for the Poor,[3] and for the repair of the Bells. The Principal and Scholars of Brasenose College, " John Carter Pollard Esquire, George Bailey, Richard Berry, Thomas West, Elias Harris, John Sly, John Hall, the said James Parker as Lessee of the College, and several other Persons " were " seized or possessed of or otherwise intitled unto the remaining sixty seven Yard Lands," etc., and whereas the Properties " of the several Proprietors " do " lie intermixed, and it would be advantageous to the several Persons interested therein if the same were divided and inclosed " an act was passed for this purpose. The Commissioners were Francis Burton of Aynho, Thomas Browne of Cowley, and John Watts of Sulgrave. The Lands were surveyed, disputes were settled, roads were set out including two private roads to the Coombes, one for John Carter Pollard and his tenants, the other for the Principal and Scholars or Brasenose College and their tenants. There was also an allotment not exceeding three acres for the public " Stone and gravel Pits," " and shall be for ever used and enjoyed by all the Proprietors of Land," in the Parish. The rector received an allotment in lieu of tithe " saving always unto the said James Parker and his Successors, Rectors as aforesaid, all Mortuaries[4] Easter Offerings and Surplice Fees due and payable to the said Rector." The Trustees for the Charity also received an allotment in lieu of the two yard-lands, the fields now being on the west side of the New Road to Long Compton. As to the other Proprietors the Act stated that the Commissioners[5] " shall

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, 195.

[2] This does not mean all the rectory lands, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 191.

[3] This is the Prew and Baughan Charity.

[4] See p. 36.

[5] The Bursars' Account Book of this period shows that the College was evidently interested in this question of Enclosure. There are the following entries :—

1774	To Rollwright, The Bursar, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Jephcoat	4	5	0
	Mr. Jephcoat's Bill	3	13	6
	Journey of Expresses to Rollwright	1	15	3
1776	Journey to Rolewright	1	18	0
	Attending Commissioners at Rolewright	2	13	8
	Journey to Rollewright		10	3
	Do.		11	4

allot all the Residue of the Common Fields, Common Meadows, Common Pastures, Common Ground," etc. " unto and amongst the said Principal and Scholars and their Lessees, the said John Carter Pollard and the several other Persons, who at the time of making such Allotments shall be intitled to, or interested in the said Lands and Grounds in Proportion to their respective estates, Interests, Properties and Rights of Common therein." These allotments were to be in full satisfaction for former rights and all rights of Common were to cease after the publication of the Award. " Provided always . . . . That nothing in this Act contained shall prejudice, lessen or defeat the Right Title or Interest of any Lord or Lords of any Manor or Manors within the Jurisdiction and Liberties whereof the said Open and Common Fields " etc. " are lying . . . . But that every such Lord or Lords . . . . shall and may . . . . hold and enjoy all Royalties, Privileges, Perquisites and other Profits and Jurisdictions of or belonging to the said Manor or Manors."[1]

[1] So much has been said and written about the iniquity of Enclosures, that the words of W. H. R. Curtler, *ut supra*, p. 158, should be remembered. He says ' The settlement of such innumerable claims as the commissioners were called upon to decide opened up an immense field for individual dissatisfaction and grumbling, of which we may be certain full use was made by all those who fancied themselves wronged. No doubt some were wronged, but we may be quite certain that a far greater number falsely imagined they were.' Again, he says, p. 245, ' Few will have any sympathy with those who represent English landowners as engaged in a long Machiavellian plot to deprive the poor man of his land, for such a charge shows ignorance both of history and of the character of Englishmen.'

CHAPTER III.

The Political and Social History of the Manors.

"There is no change in the patient land
That has bred us everyone."—*Kipling.*

On the whole, century after century, the ordinary villagers' lives were placid ones. Sometimes wars and the rumours of wars would be discussed, but for the most part the sparse population of Great Rollright would tend their sheep and sow and reap their crops with little knowledge of what was going on in the outside world.

Occasional visits from the members of the D'Oilli family, under the first Norman Kings, or from William de Chesney, under Stephen, or from the de Parles and Despencers, under the Plantagenets, would no doubt bring some excitement into the humdrum life of the people. It may even be presumed that the capture of Richard I. was not unknown for when his ransom was collected between 1194–95, 'nullo exempto'[1] 'Rolandrut' had to raise the sum of 10s.[2] And so, too, in 1196 and in 1199, when money was collected 'per Vicecomitem' for the expedition to Normandy, 'Rolondrich' paid the same sum.[3] It is almost certain that news of the battle of Northampton would be eagerly sought by the Rollright villagers, for after it, in October, 1265, one of their lords, Adam Despencer, was declared an enemy of King Henry III.[4] The appearance of new lords on two of the manors during the reign of Edward I.,[5]

[1] J. F. Baldwin in '*The Scutage and Knight Service in England*' shows that scutage from the early years of the thirteenth century came to be a tax pure and simple, and that *no exemption* was granted.
[2] *Liber Rubeus* I., p. 84.
[3] Ibid., pp. 100, 124, *cf.* p. 176.
[4] Cal. Charter Rolls II., pp. 56–57, *vide* p. 72.
[5] *vide* Chapter IV.

together with the change in the local courts and the appointment of new stewards, and all that that would mean to the rural mind, must have been excitement enough. It is possible that a few of the people may have heard of the trouble between Edward II. and his barons, and may have known, that late in August, 1312, the Earl of Pembroke brought the King's favourite Gaveston from the north, into their own neighbourhood, and having lodged him in the house of the vicar at Deddington went off to visit his Countess then residing at Bampton-in-the-Bush[1]; but the exceptionally wet summers of 1315 and of 1316, which brought about an almost total failure of crops, would be of far greater interest to all at Rollright; and the older members of the village would compare them with the scarcity years 1256–8.

It is hardly likely that the tenants in Great Rollright would ever hear of the death, at Tonbridge, of the chief Lord of one of the manors, Ralph, Earl of Stafford, in 1370. Perchance the rector, as an educated man, would do so, and would know of him as the hero of many a fight, including Crecy, Calais and Poictiers. But living as they did in North Oxfordshire, the villagers could not fail to have some knowledge of the trouble between Richard II. and his barons, for the King's favourite, Vere, was Earl of Oxford, and was in their midst. When the storm really burst, Vere came down from Cotswold to meet his foes, on a cold December day, at Radcot Bridge, having gathered men in this neighbourhood and amongst them there may have been a few hotheads from Great Rollright.

This struggle of the Appellants against the royal favourites, must be regarded as foreshadowing the time when England was to be desolated by the Wars of the Roses; and, something of the armies that took part in the conflict were seen by Great Rollright men. On 22 February, 1461, Edward, Earl of March, now claiming to be the King, reached Chipping Norton in his rapid march from the victorious field of Mortimer's Cross; and here he was met by the discomforted Warwick, who marched from St. Albans by vile cross country roads and "in the worst days of a February which was long remembered for its rains and inundations."[2] But after all the doings of the feudal lords could have been of little interest to the humble folk of Great Rollright. At this time the population, men, women and

[1] Tout, *Political History of England* (pub. Longmans) III., p. 250.
[2] Oman, *Warwick*, p. 70.

children, could not have been more than 200,[1] and to them, the wet spring of 1461 was far more serious, and of far greater interest, than whether Henry VI. or Edward IV. were king of England.

The death of Prior John Wootton, at Cold Norton in 1496,[2] was more important than the death of Richard III. at Bosworth eleven years before, though the natural corollary of the latter, the confiscation of the neighbouring estates of Chastleton, and the attainder of their owner Sir William Catesby, would arouse arguments and disputes.[3] When Cold Norton Priory lapsed to the Crown, Henry VII. rewarded Sir Richard Empson,[4] for his dastardly practices, with a grant of the monastic lands and buildings. But even here Empson could not be fair and play the game, and contrary to the law, allowed the buildings to decay, and converted, according to the illegal methods of the times, some of the arable to pasture.[5] Empson was deprived, and the Priory lands passed into other hands.[6] The system, however, had been started in the neighbourhood and much ruin was caused in Great Rollright by similar schemes, as is shown by the records of 1517.[7] Information is given that owing to the heartless conduct of absentee landlords and tenants alike the arable had gone to waste[8] and tenements were ruined. In one tenancy held by William Derby of John Reyse, six persons had been deprived

[1] There were about 42 houses in Great Rollright as computed from the Pentecostals of the year 1481. These Pentecostals were roughly a farthing per house and Great Rollright was estimated at 10½d., *vide* O.H.S. XLIX, p. 428. If the estimate of 1279 (p. 12) were correct the village must have declined. It is possible that the Black Death and frequent recurrence of plague had something to do with this.

[2] This meant the suppression of the Priory as there were no canons left to elect a new prior.

[3] William Catesby was Richard III.'s chief minister with Radcliffe and Lovel.

[4] Sir Richard Empson's connection with this neighbourhood was through his daughter Elizabeth, who married George Catesby the son of the attainted William. The estates of Chastleton had been restored to George in 1496. Elizabeth Catesby afterwards married Sir Thomas Lucy.

[5] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 55. Mr. I. S. Leadam says 'this was an offence punishable, not by forfeiture of the freehold, but of half the resulting profits. Except therefore by the sheer force of superior rapacity, it is unknown by what process Henry VII. compelled Empson to relinquish his prey.'

[6] *Vide* Chapter IV.

[7] I. S. Leadam, *The Domesday of Enclosure*, pp. 335, 383.

[8] A petition to parliament in the reign of Henry VII. said 'Sheep and cattle drove out Christian labourers'; and the Ballad of *Now-a-Dayes*, published about 1520, contains the lines:

'Great men makyth now-a-dayes
A shepecote in the churche.'

of their homes ; in another, held by John Ashfield,[1] of Sir John Hungerford,[2] seven were homeless ; and in a third again held by Ashfield there were no houses for sixteen who might well have lived there.

Such then was the state of affairs early in the reign of Henry VIII. We do not know the names of the persons who suffered but there are records that show the names of eight of the inhabitants at this time. The first is that of James Batersby, rector, who died in 1522, and whose memory is preserved by the small, but fine, brass on the north wall of the chancel.[3] The next two are shown by the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, William Dyngley ' rector ' with an income of £16 13s. 4d. a year, and George Gillott, who is described as a ' farmer.'[4] The fourth name is that of John Hudson, the curate, who apparently acted for the rector in 1526,[5] for what looks like the small sum of £5 6s. 8d., but as it was 6s. 8d. more than the income of the Principal of Brasenose College,[6] at the time, it could not have been so paltry as it appears. The Bursars' Rolls[7] of the same year show the names of two other Rollright residents.

" Onerantur duo Bursarii de precio post mortem Rici Bold de Rollandright ut de forens . . . . . ix.

Et eciam duo Bursarii onerantur de precio cuiusdam

[1] It is said that the nave of Chipping Norton church was rebuilt at the cost of John Ashfield, c. 1485. Kirtland, *ut supra*, p. 33, speaks of a brass in Chipping Norton church to the memory of ' John Ashefyeld, Esq., 1507, and wife Margaret with 4 sons 1 daughter and Holy Trinity.' The Johannes Asshefeld of 1517 was probably his son. A brass to the memory of John Ashefield, 1522, is in old Heythrop church. Humfrey Asshefeld was in 1536 granted a lease of Bruerne abbey for thirty years, and in the same year rented from Brasenose College ' Firma Manerij de Rollewrygth predicta cum omnibus terris pratis et pasturis eidem pertinentibus ' as shown by the *Valor* of 1547. It appears that the head of the Asshefeld family lived at ' Hetherope.' Humfrey had a son called Richard who is described in the *Visitations of Oxfordshire* as of ' Great Rowlright.' He married Alice Court, widow of Edmund Peyton. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Elizabeth Brydges married John Ashefelde of ' Rowlrich,' and afterwards married George Turvyle of ' Rowlerighte ' (*vide Visitations of Oxfordshire*, pp. 201, 220). In 1552 an Edmund Ashefield was employed in Oxfordshire with others as a commissioner to make inventories of Church goods (*vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon*, II.). A Mary Asshfield was buried at Great Rollright on 20 November, 1564 (*vide* Church Burial Register).

[2] *Vide* Chapter IV.

[3] Mr. J. P. Gilson kindly informs me that there is a copy of this in the British Museum. Add. MS. 32490 Y. 22.

[4] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, T.R.H. VIII., II., p. 181.

[5] O.H.S. LXIII., p. 263.

[6] B.N.C. Mon. X., p. 39.

[7] B.N.C. Bursars' Rolls C. for the year 1526–7.

mortuarii uxoris Willi Bothe de Rollandright ut de forens . . . . " [?][1]

But more important still were John Prew and John Baughan who gave and granted two messuages and two yardlands in Great Rollright to trustees. The income from these was to be bestowed in deeds of charity by the Churchwardens. Many generations of Great Rollright men and women have had good cause to remember the names of these two benefactors.[2]

In the reign of Edward VI. the people in Great Rollright, like others in North Oxfordshire, felt the effects of the wave of rebellion that spread over this part of the kingdom. The year 1549 was one of unrest both in the eastern counties for economic, and in the western, for religious reasons. The cry that roused the people of Devon and Cornwall—' Give us back our Mass'—seems to have been the same cry in North Oxfordshire. In the summer of that year,[3] Lord Grey of Wilton, with 1,500 horse and foot, including Italian mercenaries, was ordered to reduce both Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Before he could finish his work, however, the more serious rising in the West had started and he had to hurry off, so that, on July 1, he ordered seventeen gentlemen and the High Sheriff to execute " 13 traitorous persons," including the Vicars of Chipping Norton and Bloxham, who were condemned to be hanged from their own church towers. It is not known for certain whether this was carried out, " but it is most probable that they were executed, as a letter to Bullinger, dated 17 Aug., 1549, states ' The Oxfordshire Papists are at last reduced to order, many of them having been apprehended and some gibbeted and their heads fastened to the walls.' "[4] If the vicar of Chipping Norton really was hanged from the church tower

[1] Concerning this Mr. I. S. Leadam in his '*Notes on the Bursars' Rolls*,' preserved in Brasenose College Library, says, that these two references are evidences of copyhold tenure. ' Mortuaries . . . . are a sort of ecclesiastical heriots being a customary gift claimed and due to the minister in many parishes on the death of any of his parishioners, *vide* Blackstone, *Commentaries* Bk. iv., Pt. ii., ch. iii. ;' *cf.* Cox., *The Parish Registers of England.* That the mortuary system was a constant source of friction, *vide* G. C. Coulton, *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, p. 348.

[2] *Charity Commissioners Report*, p. 114. It should be noted, that on 17 June, 1635, Richard Rollewright *alias* Fuller and three others were ordered by the Commissioners of Charitable Uses, before September 29, to enfeoff William Shepherd (Sheppard) and five others, of the Prew and Baughan charity premises so that proper use be made of them.

[3] Dixon, *History of the Church of England* III., pp. 67–8. *Cf.* also Foxe, *Book of Martyrs* II., pt. 2, p. 17.

[4] Ballard, *Notes on the History of Chipping Norton*, p. 40. There are wonderful traditions of the vicar still haunting the roof of the Church, so I have been told, but hearsay is not evidence,

it must have been a ghastly sight for those villagers of Great Rollright who walked into the town on market days.

It has only been possible to find four names of the inhabitants of the village in Edward's reign. The first is that of Thomas Corke who then held a tenement, a close, a "fedyngs" and some arable land and pasture in "Grete Roland Ryght." The second occurs in the same document, and is that of John Bruarne, who had been a yeoman in "co. Leycestie," and leased the above tenement and lands for 30 years at 14s. per annum from Brasenose College on 4 December, 1551.[1] The two others have been found in the Vice-Principal's Register.[2] Under the date 4 Dec., 1550, there is the note "concessum est per principalem et sex socios seniores richardo bothe[3] occupare tenementum nostrum in roldewhryght nuper in tenuria thomae kirie[4] ad spacium 30 annorum ea tamen lege ut per duos integros annos post hanc concessionem sequentos, dictus richardus nihil ex hac tenura sibi vindicet." Two names are also found in the reign of Queen Mary. Thomas Asshebroke[5] of Oxford, clerk, rented from Brasenose College on 20 November, 1556, a tenement, one mease, one fosse [?], four yard lands and four closes now occupied by Richard "handes"[6] for thirty years at 26s. 8d. per annum "Yevin the daiye and yere above wryten."[7]

At the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, on 1 February 1559–60,[8] Thomas Phelps became a tenant of a messuage and four yard lands, and a few months after Edmund Perkinson held the same amount of land, which he continued to do in 1567,[9] and as late as 1613.[10] In the second year of Elizabeth, Edward

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 70. The document is a parchment (11¼ by 8½) and is signed Ihon Bruarne, *cf.* B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register A 71. 'Concessum est Joanis Bruarne uti tenemento nostro in rolderehe nunc in tenura cuiusdam Cooke [or Corke] ad spacium 30 annorum.' This name Cooke, or Corke, also occurs in Principal Yate's Register, p. 439.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Probably a relative of the William Bothe mentioned in the Bursars' Rolls of 1526.

[4] The name of Thomas Kerry is mentioned as a tenant in Principal Yate's Register, p. 459. The Church Registers show that this family continued in Great Rollright until 1654. The last member was 'Widdow' Kerry, buried on December 28 of that year. The name is spelt Kirie, Kerye, Kyrye, Chire, Kerrie, Kyrie, Kyrrye and Kerry.

[5] This is hardly likely to be the Thomas Ashebroke who was an Ogle Scholar of Brasenose College in October 1556. *Vide* B.N.C. Register, p. 24.

[6] *Vide* p. 14 and *cf.* Principal Yate, Register, f. 459.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 71. The document is a parchment (22¾ by 10½) *cf.* the Vice-Principal's Register A. 72b. 'Concessum est Thomae Ashebroke scholastico de Oxon ut utatur tenemento nostro in Rollanryght cum suis pertinentibus in comitatu Oxon nunc in tenura cuiusdam Rychardi Handes ad terminum triginta annorum sub conditionibus in indenturis exprimendis.'

[8] Principal Yate, Register, f. 460. [9] Ibid., f. 461. [10] Ibid., f. 479.

Mayde,[1] of Culverdin, co. Bucks, and Agnes his wife, leased from the College, on June 10, the mease or tenement in " Roulandwright Magna," now in the tenure of Jone Kyrie[2] widow, " after the death surrendery forfeiture " or marriage of Jone for " threttye yeres," the rent to be " threttyne shilling and fourpence." The best beast was claimed as an " herryot " at death, surrender or sale.[3] Jone Kyrie apparently did not marry again[4]; nor did she leave the village when her house was occupied by Edward Mayde, for, on 14 May, 1566, she leased from the College the house called " Hewys "[5] with one close and two and a half acres of arable for thirty years at 45s. per annum. If the house needed repair she was to do it; but the College would allow her " great timber," if required, and she had permission to " plashe the hedges and shrede or lopp " trees at a reasonable period of the year.[6]

With the advent of the year 1560 all doubts as to the names of the inhabitants disappear, for in that year the Registers begin; and from that time onwards a complete list of inhabitants can be traced. From 1563 the family of Berry can be found at regular intervals to the present time; in 1573 there

[1] The actual consent of the College was given on 6 June, 1560. The Vice-Principal's Register A. 74b. states 'concessum est Edwardo Mayde de Culverdey[n]e in comitatu Buck, ut utatur tenemento nostro in Rollandright nunc in tenura Joannae Kyrrye viduae sub conditionibus in indentura exprimendis.'

[2] *vide supra.*

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 72. The document is a parchment (13¾ by 9½).

[4] She was buried at Great Rollright on 17 May, 1569, *vide* Church Burial Register.

[5] The next reference to 'Hewys' is a lease on 30 September, 1593, when taken by Mathew 'Galamor' of 'Rolandwright' shepherd, his father being William Galamore. The rent he paid was 2s. 8d. and 3 pecks of good wheat and one bushel and one peck of malt (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 81). On 24 May, 1627, Edith 'Galamour' widow of Mathew, released 'Hewis' (Ibid. 96). This was Mathew's second wife. His first was Fraunces Fearnes (Church Marriage Register, 1614). On 7 July, 1632, 22 December, 1645, and on 1 October, 1656, Symon Baughan or Baffin of 'Great Rowlandwright' '*white tawyer*' leased 'Hewis' (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 101, 112, 119), and in 1656 is described as the collector of quit rents for Brasenose College. (Principal's *Fine Book*, 1650–1705). On 20 April 1708, the house was let to John Osbaldestone and Sarah his wife (Ibid. 141). The seal on this parchment (25 by 17) is of some interest. Mr. Hurst described it incorrectly in the Calendar, but the seal obviously bears the arms of the Osbaldestone family. The Osbaldestones were not new comers, for their daughter, Frances, was born in Great Rollright, and baptised, 7 March, 1707–8 (*vide* Church Baptismal Register). In 1710 (*Fine Book* in Upper Bursary of Brasenose College) it was decided that John Osbaldestone need not pay a fine on the renewal of his lease because he was the collector for the College of the quit rents at Great Rollright. The family continued to be tenants, for on 10 October, 1718, the house, now called 'Lewis House,' was leased for 21 years, for the same rent as in 1593, to Sir William Osbaldestone of Chadlington, Bart., and Sarah his wife (Ibid. 150). This is the last reference to this house that I have been able to find.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 73.

is the first reference to " Richard Rowleright *alias* Fouler,"[1] a name which continues in that form to the end of the eighteenth century. The Sheppards, who had purchased the Hungerford manor at Great Rollright in 1583, first appear in the Registers in 1610. This family seems to have been the most important in the village for one hundred and sixty years. Besides these there are the Baileys, the Barretts, the Baughans, the Beckets, the Birminghams, the Brewsters, the Carters, the Cowlings, the Fairbrothers, the Gilks', the Halls,[2] the Harbidges, the Hulls, the Slatters, the Spilsburys, the Tidmarshes, and many others, appearing from time to time. Some of these families are still represented but some have disappeared.

Great Rollright was not to escape entirely the excitement of the Civil War. Few parts of England were free from the coming and going of armies during those sad years of internecine conflict, between 1642 and 1651. The battle of Edgehill, on Sunday, 23 October, 1642, took place a little too far off to have much interest for the people of this village. The farmers, however, who frequented Banbury market would know something of it, and of the surrender of Banbury and Broughton Castles.[3] The first actual sight[4] that the villagers

[1] This family probably dates back to the reign of Henry II. On 15 January, 1616, a Terrier was 'seene veiwed and alowed' by 10 witnesses of the land held by Richard 'Rowlright' containing four leys near 'ffrog lane,' see p. 177. (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 93). In 1639 Edmund 'Rolwright' (born January, 1594–5, died July, 1674), was allowed a Terrier by 7 witnesses containing 147 items (Ibid. 105). The same was drawn up in 1652 (Ibid. 115). On May 12 of that year Edmund leased from Brasenose College the tenement etc. lately occupied by Richard 'Rowleright' (Ibid. 116). Ten years later there was another Terrier containing 152 items (Ibid. 121). On 27 January, 1666, Richard 'Rowleright *alias* ffuller' yeoman leases the same tenements as his predecessors (Ibid. 124). On 18 July, 1681, the same man entered into a 21 years' tenancy of the same (Ibid. 132). His son was another Edmund 'Rolewright,' who took over the same lease, on 29 April, 1710 (Ibid. 142). Edmund's brother Robert leased the land from the College on 1 April, 1717 (Ibid. 148). There was a renewal to Robert and Alice his wife on 1 April, 1724 (Ibid. 154). By 1 April, 1731, Alice was a widow and made a new lease for herself signing it 'Ales Rolwright' (Ibid. 162). Alice seems to have married again, one Samuel White, so that, William Hiccocks of Byfield and John Rollright of Little Woolford, lease the tenement now in the hands of Samuel White and Alice his wife, in the interests of Robert Rowlright's son Robert. This young man came to a bad end, for when 21 years of age, in August, 1746, he murdered his bastard child (Ibid. 178). The Church Burial Register states that Robert Rollright 'executed at Oxon was buried Aug. 21, 1746.' The Rollright family ceased to be tenants of the College from this time.

[2] Not the family of the present owner of the Manor.

[3] E. A. Walford, *Edgehill*, p. 33.

[4] Before the Great Rebellion started a royal soldier died in Great Rollright. Owing to the usual slipshod method of keeping the Registers in the seventeenth century the soldier's death is recorded in the Marriage Register. The entry states, 'John Forde a soldger employed in his Majesties service under ye command of William Legge at Yorke having license being sick from his commander at Yorke, Oct. 23, 1640, to return to his wife and friends who dwell in Glocestershire beyond the Bath was buried at Rolewright, Januarie 16, 1640,' i.e. 1641.

had of the armies, was on 2 September 1643, when Essex marched along the main road from Banbury to Chipping Norton, leaving the village one and a half miles to the north west. He proceeded from Chipping Norton to Stow-on-the-Wold, crossing the Evenlode at Adlestrop, and from Stow to Gloucester. During a part of the way he had a harassing time from Prince Rupert, who, hanging on his flanks in the Cotswolds, did him serious harm.[1] It was probably one of these soldiers, Cattell by name, who, having been wounded, took refuge at Great Rollright and died there. He was buried on 19 October, 1643.[2] The next year, on June 5, Essex again marched through the neighbourhood quartering his army for a short time at Chipping Norton.[3] This year the war was brought home to the villagers by the death of their squire, William Sheppard,[4] the father of the more celebrated Fleetwood. When and where William Sheppard was killed is not known. The Church Burial Register states that he was "slaine by one of the King's souldgers"[5]; whereas another version of the story is that he was killed by one of the King's servants (*satellitibus*).[6] At least it is certain that he was buried at Great Rollright on October 2.[7] Soon after this there must have been an engagement in the neighbourhood, for on December 18, 'Two of ye King's Souldgers slaine by the Parliament's Souldgers were buried.'[8] The last incident of the wars as far as Great Rollright is concerned, is to be found in a brief reference, on 5 July, 1646, in the Burial Register, to the interment of a Somerset soldier.[9] How he came to Great Rollright, and how and when he was injured, will now never be known for certain. One surmises that he may have been wounded, when the silver-haired Sir Jacob Astley made his last gallant stand at Stow-on-the-Wold, on

[1] Gardiner, *History of the Civil War*, Vol. I., p. 204.

[2] Church Burial Register, 'Cattell a souldger was buried October 19,' 1643.

[3] Gardiner, *ut supra*.

[4] William Sheppard was born January, 1610–11, and matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1628.

[5] Mrs. Henderson's remark in *Three Centuries in North Oxfordshire*, p. 24, about the owner of Rollright returning in 1645 as a fugitive is thus impossible. The 'owner' of Rollright in that year was William Sheppard born 1633, so that he would be only twelve years old at the time.

[6] *Alumni Oxoniensis*. Where this occurred I have not been able to ascertain. The King was not at Oxford at this time. On 1 September he defeated Essex at Lostwithiel and it took him to 27 October to reach Newbury on his return from the west. Sheppard may have been killed in Cornwall and his body brought by slow journeys to his old home. But it is unknown.

[7] Church Burial Register.

[8] Ibid.

[9] 'Lieutenant Farwell a Sommerset gentleman was buried July 5.'

March 20. It is possible that as a wounded refugee he reached the village and lingered on for three months and then died. From this time onwards the villagers once more gave their attention to agriculture, and visited, at regular intervals, the markets at Banbury, Bloxham and Chipping Norton.

During the reign of Charles II., Court scandal would afford gossip for the people of Great Rollright, for it would leak out from the servants' hall at the house of William Sheppard. This old house is supposed to have been by the side of the present Manor.[1] It was here that Fleetwood Sheppard, the second son of the ill-fated William, was born on 1 January, 1634–5.[2] His mother was Mary Dormer,[3] the sister of Peter Dormer,[4] who married Fleetwood's aunt, Anne.[5] Fleetwood at the age of sixteen was sent to Oxford and matriculated on 19 November, 1651, at Magdalen Hall, but soon migrated to Christ Church,[6] owing to the influence of the Carnarvon family, to whom he was related through his mother. The Dean of Christ Church was Dr. Edward Reynolds, who had been substituted for Dr. Samuel Fell after his deprivation, by the Parliamentary Visitors in April, 1648.[7] From his subsequent career it is clear that Fleetwood did not imbibe any Puritanical leanings from the head of his college, although little or nothing is known of his Oxford life. He took his Bachelor's degree on 10 May, 1654, and his Master's on 11 June, 1657. It may, however, be imagined that he was by no means a nonentity in University circles, as Anthony Wood, in describing the funeral of Dr. William Creed at Oxford, on 19 July, 1663, says, that all the Doctors and Masters of Arts of the University followed the " corps to the Schooles where entring the Divinity Schoole, Mr. Fletwod Shepheard of Xt. Ch. made an oration in the respondents' seet."[8]

It must have been soon after this that Fleetwood Sheppard became a courtier at Whitehall, and hail-fellow-well-met with

[1] This was told me by Miss Edith Berry the last remaining member of the family in Great Rollright. The late Major A. C. Hall informed me that ancient foundations of considerable size and an old fireplace were found in the bank on the north east side of the present house.

[2] Church Baptismal Register.

[3] Mary and Peter Dormer were the children of Sir Fleetwood Dormer of Grange, Bucks. For the Dormer family *vide* O.H.S. XIX., pp. 408–9, and the Gentleman's Magazine 1820, Pt. I., pp. 9–11 ; 1828, Pt. II., pp. 203–4.

[4] Church Marriage Register.

[5] Church Baptismal and Marriage Registers. She was baptized 20 June, 1612, and married 3 May, 1637.

[6] *Alumni Oxoniensis.*

[7] Clark, *Colleges of Oxford*, p. 314.

[8] O.H.S. XIX., p. 484.

the numerous rakes and rips who disgraced the court of the 'Merrie Monarch.' It is owing to his actions during this period of his life that a satirical Latin epitaph describes him as "a votary of Apollo, Bacchus and Venus."[1] His particular friend, was Charles Sackville, who was created Earl of Middlesex in 1675, and succeeded as Earl of Dorset two years later. Sackville served under the Duke of York at sea, and was undoubtedly a man of some parts as he was employed on various missions; but he was the special favourite of the King, and became notorious for his boisterous and indecorous frolics. How he enjoyed coming to Great Rollright manor-house with the brother of its owner,[2] it is difficult to imagine, but come he did. Probably the two came to enjoy the sport of fox-hunting[3]; but Fleetwood's companions would almost certainly have shocked his brother William and his wife Katharine.[4] As to his brothers and sisters,[5] they were all dead by this time, except his brother Dormer, who was ten years his junior, and who afterwards acted as his executor.[6]

It must not be supposed, however, that Fleetwood Sheppard and his riotous[7] companion were entirely without intellectual interests, for Anthony Wood definitely tells us of their visiting the celebrated antiquary, Ralph Sheldon. Wood says that he had "some acquaintance with Charles, Lord Buckhurst, when he was Earl of Middlesex; at which time he would come with Fleetwood Shepheard to Great Rowlright in Oxfordshire and thence 3 miles[8] beyond, to Weston in the parish of Long Compton to visit Mr. Sheldon where he found A.W. and discoursed very seriously with him."[9] Sheppard seems to have had remarkable literary abilities. "He satirized in verse contemporary follies, and acquired considerable reputation as a critic and a wit. In 1678 Thomas Rymer

[1] Gentleman's Magazine, 1778.

[2] William Sheppard, b. 8 September, 1633, *vide* Church Baptismal Register.

[3] Whether this Mr. William Sheppard kept hounds at this time is unknown; but there is clear proof that his grandson, William (b. 1682, d. 1742) did so. In the Church Burial Register there is the entry of 'Daniell James, Huntsman to Will. Sheppard, Esq., March 13, 1726–7.'

[4] Mentioned several times as the mother of his younger children in the Baptismal Register.

[5] His brothers were John b. 1636, Euseby b. 1637, Dormer b. 1644, his sisters Mary b. 1637, and Margaret b. 1640, *vide* Church Register.

[6] D.N.B.

[7] O.H.S. XIX., p. 476.

[8] These were the old British miles and not the measurement of 1760 yards per mile, which had not yet been introduced as a *customary* mile, although for many years a *statute* mile. *Vide* Sir H. G. Fordham, *Studies in Carto-Bibliography*, p. 26.

[9] O.H.S. XIX., p. 477.

addressed to him in the form of a letter his critical essay on '*The Tragedies of the last Ages.*' "[1] Rochester evidently thought highly of him for he credited his poetic compositions with " fluent style and coherent thought."[2]

About this time Sheppard was appointed steward of the household of Nell Gwynn, and such were the different customs of the day, that the University of Cambridge gorgeously entertained that celebrated courtesan. On 16 October, 1678, Wood writes " the King returned from Newmarket to London. Some dayes before which Nell Guin and Fleetw. Sheperd were entertained by certaine scholars at Cambridge (either by the Vice-Chancellor or proctors) and had verses presented to her."[3] Three years later Sheppard went for a short visit to France, and the same immortal Oxford gossip writes, " Nov. 19, 1681, Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Weston was in towne, and he told me that the Earl of Dorset, Sir Cyr[il] Wyche, Mr. Vaughan, the Earl of Carbury's son, and Fleetwood Sheppard went last Michaelmas to Parys to visit Henry Savill the English ambassador there—where at this time they were enjoying themselves, talking blasphemy and atheisme, drinking and perhaps that which is worse."[4] Wood again refers to him, on 26 April, 1683, when he says " New's letter at Shorts saith that Mr. Pindar one of the six clerks in Chancery will resigne by reason of age ; that Mr. Fleetwood Shephearde is to succeede."[5]

Soon after the death of Charles II. Sheppard's friend, Dorset, could not endure the tyranny of James II., and became an ardent supporter of the Prince of Orange. Fleetwood Sheppard was also no favourite of James, and followed Dorset's example, retired from court to Copt Hall, where he wrote a satirical '*Explanation of King James' Declaration,*' which was reprinted in 1693. In 1690 he is said to have had a court post as usher, and apparently had lodgings in Whitehall. Wood hints at further promotion when he writes " April 25, 1694, about 6 in the morn died Sir Thomas Duppe, usher of the black rod and will be succeeded by Mr. Fleetwood Shepheard."[6] Wood was right, for Sheppard was appointed that very day and

[1] D.N.B. LII., p. 58.
[2] Ibid., p. 59.
[3] O.H.S. XXI., p. 420.
[4] Ibid., p. 559.
[5] O.H.S. XL., p. 44. Sheppard had been acting as tutor to Nell Gwynn's son, the Earl of Burford.
[6] Ibid., p. 451. The Sheppard armes were 'Azure on a chevron or between 3 fleurs-de-lis argent three estoiles gules.' The crest was 'a ram passant argent attired or between two branches of laurel vert.' *Vide Visitations of Oxfordshire,* 1634, p. 315.

was knighted the next morning. At this period he was the friend of Prior, who received generous patronage from the Earl of Dorset,[1] and it is easy to imagine that the poet's wit and grace would appeal to the courtier. Fleetwood Sheppard's death took place, on 24 August, 1698,[2] and he was buried[3] by Robert Cocks, the rector, on September 6, at Great Rollright.[4]

The neighbourhood of Great Rollright must have been wild and bleak[5] in those days, for a great deal of the country was still nothing more than an extensive heath or moor. As years went by, however, the village evidently increased considerably. As in several other Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire villages, the houses in Great Rollright, seem to have run away from the church which was probably the site of the original settlement.[6] Thus the church stands to the extreme north-east of the village, the largest house, the present manor, is to the north-west, and the villagers' houses straggle between the two with a tendency to stretch down hill to the south.[7]

[1] Dorset was also the patron of Wycherley and Dryden while Sheppard first recognized Prior's promise ; *vide* D.N.B. LII., p. 59.

[2] O.H.S. II., p. 393.

[3] Hearne, on 22 January, 1707, records Fleetwood Sheppard's epitaph upon himself (O.H.S. II., p. 319). ' O vos, qui de salute vestra securi estis, Orate pro anima | Miserrimi Peccatoris *Fleet*: *Sheppard* | Etiamnum viventis, | & ubicunque est peccantis, | Qui fide exigua, & tamen spe impudentissima | Optat et exspectat, quam non meruit | Felicem Resurrectionem. Anno religionis & libertatis nostrae restitutae tertio | Rerum potientibus | Fortissimo *Wilhelmo*, & formosissima *Maria*.' |

[4] Church Burial Register. Eight days later his eldest nephew, Sir Robert Sheppard was also buried. Fleetwood Sheppard's grave is not the one in the belfry-tower. That is the grave of an infant Fleetwood Sheppard, b. 1727, d. 1728. In the *Annual Register*, Sept., 1768, p. 175, there is a very curious error. It is stated ' There is now living at his seat in Essex Sir Fleetwood Sheppard (a friend of the late celebrated Mr. Prior) who is in perfect health, though at the age of 120 years.'

[5] Great Rollright is often spoken of as bleak even now. This is hardly true as the country-side is well covered with trees, though it stands on a somewhat exposed ridge about 700 feet above sea-level. The winter storms are, certainly, on occasions, very severe. In 1772 the winter was intensely cold in this district and so also in 1794. In 1814 the snow drifts are said to have been 8 ft. deep. Great Rollright was visited with a bitter winter in 1830, and with ' the Crimean Frost ' of 1855. It suffered like the rest of the Midlands the great storm of 18 January, 1881. The winters of 1888 and 1895 were particularly cold ; and the village also experienced the terrible storms of 25 April, 1908, and of 28 March, 1916. On the last two occasions the drifts were considerable, varying from six to twelve feet. The winter 1916–17 was very prolonged ; between 10 December, 1916 and 13 April, 1917, snow was visible on 98 days. Agricultural work was much delayed and in certain instances shrubs and bushes were killed, mainly by a bad frost in March. On 17 January, 1918, the snow on the level where there was no drift was over 15 inches deep.

[6] Gomme. *Village Community*, p. 128 sqq.

[7] W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 16, explains this tendency of a village to desert its church in a material sense.

Probably the oldest house in Great Rollright is that on the west of Cardwell Farm. It is a typical seventeenth century Cotswold building with stone-mullioned windows topped by drip-stones. There is a somewhat remarkable projection on the west, containing the old stairway. On the east of the house, is an ancient dove-house, dating from a period, at least, contemporary with that of the house itself, and may, possibly, be older still. Another dwelling[1] of some antiquity is the farm house on the eastern edge of the Chipping Norton road. It is very massively built, one of the walls being five feet in thickness. The present dwelling-house attached to the smithy is also at least two hundred years old, and was formerly a long farm house with barns and stables on the north. The cottage at the south-east entrance of the " Twoer,"[2] although its exterior has been very much modernized, is said to be of great age. It has not been possible to find any other houses now in existence that were built previous to the year 1725. In that year, Richard Berry[3] and Anne his wife, built Church End House,[4] on the north side of the village. The next oldest house is in the High Street and was built by " C.W.M. " in 1728, and adjoining this is another house built in 1752 by " F.G.E. " About 1776, what have of recent years been called the Prew and Baughan cottages, were converted into several tenements as an investment for the Charity[5] ; and in the next year, one " J.B. " built a cottage[6] on the north side of Hemplands. A good many of the cottages must have been built about this time, as several of them are shown on the map of 1794. Judging from the exterior, two of the oldest, are *Brasenose Cottage* and the cottage on the west of the rectory. The two cottages adjoining the latter are modern, although they have the appearance of antiquity, as they were converted about 1850, by Mr. John Berry,[7] from a long barn, formerly used for faggots and furse. Between

[1] Owned by Mr. J. W. Hughes.

[2] This means a narrow way between two walls. *Cf.* Marshall, *Account of Church Enstone*, where the word is spelt ' Ture.'

[3] Richard Berry (1674–1738–9) Anne Berry (1693–1763). Their eldest child Elizabeth was born in 1718. Their tombstones are still (1917) to be seen in the churchyard.

[4] This was enlarged by Richard Berry (1804–1882), in 1877, and after it passed into the hands of Brasenose College was considerably improved in 1916. It was here that she, to the memory of whom this book is dedicated, lived for nine years ; and here she died on 23 July, 1925. She was buried on the north east side of the Great Rollright churchyard.

[5] *Charity Commissioners Report.* The old name for the group of cottages where Prew cottages stand is still in use, *viz.* : ' *The Workhouse Yard.*'

[6] This was John Bolton after whom the present vegetable garden of Church End House was named and known for many years as ' *Bolton's Close.*'

[7] John Berry (1775–1858).

1848 and 1852 the present rectory was erected[1]; and between 1899 and 1902 the Manor house was practically rebuilt by the late Major A. C. Hall.

That there were other houses in Great Rollright, at one time, is clearly to be seen from the remains of foundations. In Hemplands, on the north-west side of the footpath, and in the Dairy Ground there must have been extensive buildings. In the field to the south-west of the church some cottages stood to within living memory. Along the east and west road of the village, where now stand model cottages built by the late Mr. W. H. Hall in 1882, there used to be a much larger number of poor cottages.[2] It was here on the south, at the corner of the road opposite to the present smithy, that there stood the old stocks, and, from the map of 1794, it may be suspected that the village Pound was on the north, the old enclosure being still preserved.

It is not only from the disappearance of buildings that a steady decline in the population during the last eighty years may be inferred, but, such decline may be proved from the Census returns. For the nineteenth century they are as follows :—[3]

1801	1811	1821	1831[4]	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901[5]
403	362	419	438	459	445	410	371	388	349	318.

It must not be supposed that the decline in population was due to any unhealthiness in the village. This is far from the case.[6] Like all other places at the end of the eighteenth century Great Rollright suffered from small-pox to a slight extent. The first mention of it in the neighbourhood is an advertisement in the *Oxford Journal* in 1779,[7] in which Mr. Mackarness,[8] of Chipping Norton, stated that he had a "house called Gilkes's

[1] See Chapter VI.

[2] This was told to me by Mr. Dormer, who, for many years, was the schoolmaster in the village.

[3] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 219. The total rates raised in Great Rollright, in 1803, were £557 13s. 10d. The rate in the pound was 4s. 6d.

[4] Ibid. Mr. Minchin states that 67 persons emigrated from Great Rollright to America in 1830.

[5] At the end of 1917 owing to the number of men serving in His Majesty's Forces the population was about 280; there were 90 houses in the parish, of these 87 were tenanted, and the rectory, one farm house and one cottage were empty.

[6] There is no sign in the Registers of Tudor and Stuart times of any outbreak of bubonic plague which is rather curious as Oxford suffered much. In 1614 there must have been some form of epidemic, as there are 13 burials recorded, whereas the average for fifty years previous was under 2 per annum.

[7] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, p. 101.

[8] This man was, presumably, the son of John Mackarness who was an apothecary in Chipping Norton in the early eighteenth century.

near Great Rollright built purposely for inoculation." This[1] must have been a kind of nursing home which was probably very necessary after the somewhat primitive inoculation of those times. Such a house, however, could only be for the well to do, and the poorer classes would have to suffer the disease, and be carried to the pest-house, there to live or die under the most haphazard treatment. It cannot be said that Great Rollright was severely stricken. The first victim was 'an out town man,' Thomas Wain of Whichford, and was buried at Great Rollright on 22 October, 1784. There is no other case, until 16 December, 1786, when Benjamin Insten[?] died in the 'pest-house' and was buried in the churchyard. The extent of the disease was, however, not great, for in 15 years out of 98 deaths, there were only 19 from small-pox. From the year 1802 onwards there seem to have been no cases recorded.[2] Throughout the nineteenth century the health of the village was excellent, and this still continued in the twentieth century. From 1908 to 1910 the ages of those buried were respectively 75, 82, 70, 83, 104,[3] 76, 70, 73, 78, 1 and 49.[4] In 1913 there were no deaths at all; in 1914 there were 5, in 1915, 2, in 1916 only 1; and in 1917 there were 3.[5]

In modern times the bereaved may feel assured that the bodies of those who are laid to rest in that quiet churchyard on the hill remain unmolested. But this was not always the case. In the third decade of the nineteenth century body-snatching became a common crime. How often it was perpetrated in this village will never be known, but an entry in the Burial Register shows that it happened at least once. In 1830 William Hopes was buried, on February 17, aged 77 years. The following note is added: "N.B. The Body was stolen and sent to London on the Sunday morning next following." No doubt the miscreants placed the body in a

[1] There is still a field near Duck End called 'Inoculation Field.' I imagine that this was the site of this nursing home. The oldest of the villagers refers to this house as the 'pest-house.' It was destroyed about sixty years ago.

[2] There is no evidence that Great Rollright suffered at all from the awful outbreak of cholera that raged in Oxford and Oxfordshire.

[3] Richard Widdowes, buried in 1910. When this old man was 103 he quavered two old folk songs to Mr. C. Sharp. The same year he told Mr. Montague Rendall that he still managed to get to church but that he had given up gardening when he reached the age of 100. He was an inveterate and very heavy smoker to the day of his death.

[4] From the Church Burial Register.

[5] One of these was due to an accident. Mr. Tidmarsh in trying to save his sheep-dog was run over on the Railway line.

box and early on Sunday drove to meet the coach at Chapel House,[1] on which, unknown to the passengers, the ghastly burden was carried to the capital for dissection.[2]

Village life, a century or more ago, shows the same ups and downs in worldly wealth as village life to-day. Some farmers flourished then as now. One farmer, at any rate, in Great Rollright must have been very prosperous if we are to judge from a notice in the *Oxford Journal*, for 2 April, 1791. It is there stated that, " At the sale of the Breeding Stock of the late Mr. Robert Fowler, of Rollright, in this county, which began on Tuesday last, there were indisputably more people assembled than have ever before been collected on a like occasion ; some aver not less than Six Thousand. The first three Lots (three young Bulls) fetched the amazing sum of Six Hundred and Twenty Guineas."[3] But about the same time that the executors of Mr. Fowler were receiving these large sums, it must be remembered that poverty was so rife that Gilbert's Act had to be passed in 1782,[4] followed, soon after, by the mischievous and mistaken, so-called, ' Speenhamland Act " in 1795. By Gilbert's Act numerous workhouses were set up in different parts, and the first reference to these in the Rollright Registers is on 22 April, 1786, when Dorothy Dumbleton[5] was brought " from the workhouse," to be buried at Great Rollright.

The truth is that the life of the ordinary labourer, was at this time hard and rough even though he were assisted from the Poor Rates. An anonymous writer in 1794 states that in Oxfordshire the day-labourers " were worse off than any part of the community, besides their wages being much less in proportion."[6] The Rollright labourer's cottage often consisted of only two rooms in which, generally a large family was brought up. The lower windows in many cases were built so

[1] The celebrated Inn at Chapel House, once belonging to Brasenose College, was about two miles by road from Great Rollright. It was here that Dr. Johnson in 1776 delivered his famous panegyric on inns. Mr. Evans in *Highways and Byways of Oxford and the Cotswolds*, p. 382, has given an excellent account of it. It was here too that Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, were entertained by Captain Whitmore-Jones of Chastleton in 1831.

[2] I have been informed that the grave was on the left hand side of the path near to the porch.

[3] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, p. 255.

[4] The first modern Workhouse Act had been 1723.

[5] There were numerous Dumbletons in the eighteenth century in Great Rollright. Their names are to be found not only in the Registers but also in the Court Rolls.

[6] Quoted in Orr's *Agriculture of Oxfordshire*, p. 152.

as not to open,[1] and fresh air was excluded rather than welcomed. Besides these unhealthy surroundings, the last decade of the eighteenth century, was a time of great scarcity owing to bad seasons ; and in the early nineteenth century wages were very low,[2] food was dear, and bread almost prohibitive in price considering the wages paid.[3] The average wage, in 1790, was 7s. 9d. a week ; in 1803, 10s. 9d. At the end of the eighteenth century there were no potatoes in the cottage gardens, though, by 1813, both potatoes and cabbages began to appear but not on any great scale.[4] At this date the wages of labourers in Great Rollright, averaged from 10s. to 12s. a week ; while a plough boy earned about 3s.[5] ; and small boys, of seven, earned a few pence for frightening rooks from the crops. The boys could always add a little to their weekly earnings by receiving from the Churchwardens certain sums for keeping down vermin. There are numerous references to this in the 'Accounts,' between 1802 and 1816. Thus in 1803 they paid for "Sparrows Urchins,[6] snakes[7] etc. at different times 18s. 1d." Sometimes 'Hickles,'[8] and pole-cats (now long extinct), were killed, and the customary sum paid for the latter was 6*d*. a piece. But these small sums, disbursed by the Parish, would make very little difference to the family ; and it is not to be wondered at that the Great Rollright men were deeply interested in the destruction of threshing machines, which they thought would take away their labour and deprive them even of the miserable wage that they earned.[9] There were two outbreaks of this kind of rioting in 1830, one at Chipping Norton, and the other at Banbury.[10] At this time agricultural depression was very acute ; and landlords, farmers and labourers all suffered. In

[1] There were one or two cottages like this in Great Rollright even in 1917.

[2] Arthur Young, *ut supra*, p. 72.

[3] Ibid., p. 191, gives the following prices for 1809 :—9d. per quartern loaf, 1s. 3d. per lb. of butter ; 8d. per lb. of beef ; 7d. per lb. of mutton ; 1s. 2d. per cwt. of coal. The ordinary cottage rents varied considerably and were between £1 and £3, including taxes, per annum.

[4] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, p. 176.

[5] Ibid., pp. 177–8. The Churchwardens' Account Book at Great Rollright shows that between 1830 and 1839 unskilled labour was paid 1s. 8d. a day. In 1843 it was 2s. ; but in 1852 it had dropped to 1s. 6d. According to W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, in 1850 10s. to 12s. per week was still the outside wage in the district. *Cf. Vic. Cty. Hist Oxon* II., pp. 207–9.

[6] Hedgehogs.

[7] There were a certain number of adders about in the summer of 1917.

[8] Hickle or Hockle was the old name for Woodpecker. These birds are still very common in Great Rollright.

[9] It is interesting to remember that these machines were very primitive and only thrashed between five and eight quarters of corn a day. A modern machine thrashes between thirty and fifty quarters.

[10] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, p. 171.

1835 the depression in Great Rollright was so extreme that the landowners were obliged to assist their tenant-farmers by a return of 15 % of the rents.[1] The general unrest of the county must have been felt in the village when Joseph Arch addressed the Oxfordshire Agricultural Labourers, at Milton-under-Wychwood, on 10 July, 1872. The highest pitch of excitement,[2] however, was reached in 1873, when sixteen women of the neighbourhood were arrested and brought for trial to Chipping Norton for resisting non-union labourers at Ascot-under-Wychwood. To the fury of the people they were sentenced to a short term of imprisonment instead of having the option of a fine.[3] The result was that there were many attempts at rescue and the women had to be removed under guard to Oxford gaol.[4] From this time onwards the financial position of the Great Rollright labourer improved a little, for public opinion began, very slowly, to make itself felt. In 1902 the average wage was 12s. a week[5]; in 1907 it was 14s. 11d.[6]; by 1914 it had risen still further; and in 1917 a minimum wage was fixed.[7]

The loneliness[8] and isolation of Great Rollright must have been one of the many causes that brought about the decline in population. A well-known writer, some years ago, attributed the general rural exodus to the "fascination of the gas lamp," and it is most probable that when the railway came,[9] this

[1] Rent book of Mr. Hall's agent, kindly supplied by the late Major A. C. Hall.

[2] Mr. J. W. Hughes of Great Rollright informed me that there was tremendous excitement throughout the country side. He was then a mere boy but the whole affair impressed itself vividly upon his memory.

[3] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, pp. 179–181.

[4] W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, pp. 72–73.

[5] Mrs. Henderson, *ut supra*, p. 181.

[6] *Report of an Enquiry into the Earnings and Hours of Labour, Col.* 5, 460 (1910).

[7] In 1916 odd labour for a man was 4½d. an hour; boys under 14 in holiday time received for a day's work from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., 9d.; boys between 14 and 15 for full time received 7s. to 8s. weekly; a boy of 16 could earn 12s. to 16s.

[8] The roads round Great Rollright even now are peculiarly lonely. It must have been worse a hundred years ago. What is now the main road to Chipping Norton on the south side of the railway, was in 1809 a deeply cut and solitary lane, known as Clay Lane, and here, on December 18, one Samuel Mason was murdered, by whom it is unknown. *Cf.* Church Burial Register.

[9] The first hint of a railway is in a letter of Keziah Slatter to the Bursar, 15 Dec., 1864. 'Rev. Sir, I am verry sorry to hear that application is intended to be made to parliment in the ensuing sessions for the railway on[e] through 2 arable fields and the dairy fieald and the other through the small meadow at the bottom of the small estate, which will spoil it verry much.' Another tenant, W. Fletcher, wrote on 20 July, 1865, that he did not know that 'the Banbury and Northampton Co.' intended to make a line through College property. *Vide* B.N.C. Mun. New Series 159.

"fascination" came with it. As long as the old coaches rumbled by, two miles away, on their route from Stratford to Oxford,[1] *via* Chapel House, there was little likelihood of great change, but when the railway rattled through from Worcester to Oxford, *via* Kingham (formerly Chipping Norton Junction), although nine miles distant, some of the more adventurous villagers would gradually drift away. This line, known first as "the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton Railway" was opened in 1852.[2] It was not until 1887 that Great Rollright actually had a railway passing through that part of the parish that lies in the valley. In that year the Great Western Railway Company opened the single line between Banbury and Chipping Norton.[3] By this time Banbury was becoming of some importance because of the iron works, and Birmingham and London were now made within easy reach. Like the rest of the Oxfordshire villages Great Rollright began to go down hill. It remains to be seen whether any further legislative acts in favour of Agriculture, or of Small Holdings, like those of 1907, 1908 and 1917, will ever restore it to the numbers of the days of the old Corn Law *régime*.[4]

[1] This road originally ran from Long Compton, *via* Little Rollright, to Chapel House. The present main road from Long Compton is known as the New Road and was engineered about ninety years ago to help the coaches when coaching was on the decline.

[2] It is said to have been badly managed and the initials O.W.W. caused it to be known as the 'Old Worse and Worse.'

[3] Several years later the Great Western Railway consented to make 'Rollright Halt,' after Mr. J. W. Hughes had given the land for a road and siding, and the other landowners had subscribed towards the cost.

[4] It should be noted that in 1921 the population was 298 and in 1927, about 268.

CHAPTER IV.

The Three Manors of Great Rollright.

'It often happened that the township included one or more manors.'—*Hone.*

It is impossible to go back in the history of land ownership in Great Rollright beyond the time of Domesday Book. The references to the village in that stupendous record may be translated as follows:—"Robert de Statford .... holds five hides and one virgate of land in Rollendri; there is land for six ploughs. Now there are in the demesne two ploughs and five slaves; nine villeins[1] with one bordar have four ploughs. There are fifty acres of meadow, and fifty acres of pasture. It was in the reign of King Edward, afterwards, and is now worth one hundred shillings. Aluric held it freely ... Robert, son of Turstin holds five hides and one virgate of land of the King in Rollendri; there is land for six ploughs. Now there is in demesne one plough and there are two slaves; seven villeins with five bordars have three ploughs and a half. There are fifty acres of meadow and fifty acres of pasture, and three pack-horse loads of salt at Wich [Droitwich].[2] It was and is still valued at one hundred shillings ... William holds of the King in Rollandri majore four hides and a half; there is land for five ploughs. Now there are in demesne two ploughs and five villeins with three bordars have two ploughs. There are twenty acres of meadow. It was and is still valued at three pounds."[3]

It is clear then that in 1086 the village of Great Rollright was not one connected whole, but three distinct manors,[4]

[1] Seebohm in *English Village Community*, p. 89 sqq., shows that he regards the villeins of Domesday Book as peasants subject to personal servitude. But Vinogradoff in his *Origin of the Manor*, p. 340, says 'the *villani* and *bordarii* of Domesday ... were the tenants of holdings of diverse standing in the township, irrespectively of legal condition.' Petit-Dutaillis, *Studies Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, p. 21, says, 'In a general way at least, the *villein of Domesday* is a free man, a descendant of the ceorl, the twyhynd-man.'

[2] Ballard, *ut supra*, p. 182, shows that among the other appurtenances ... were *salinae* or salt works ... at Droitwich ... and other 'wiches' .... the toll was two pence a load.

[3] Trans. of Domesday Book, ff. 158a., 160b., edit 1783.

[4] O.H.S. XLIX. p. xxxv.

belonging respectively to Robert de Statford or Stafford, and to the two ministers of William the Conqueror, Robert, son of Turstin, and William, whose other designation is lost for ever. The subsequent story of each of these manors is to be told separately.

PART I.

The Manor of Robert de Statford.

Immediately before the Conquest, a manor in Great Rollright had been held by one, Aluric,[1] a fairly large landowner in Oxfordshire, but after the Conquest this property was granted to William's follower Robert de Statford,[2] who, in turn, subinfeudated its previous owner Aluric. This manor passed to Robert d'Oilli[3] who had already over forty manors in the county.[4] No doubt some of these possessions came to him through his wife, who was a daughter of Edward the Confessor's cupbearer,[5] Wigod the Saxon, of Wallingford.[6] The whole of Aluric's holding, including Chastleton, Stonesfield and Rollright then passed to Nigel D'Oilli[7]; but in later years, William Chesney[8] not only supplanted Henry D'Oilli at Watlington and at the Castle at Oxford, but also at Great Rollright[9]; and perhaps the meaning of Henry D'Oilli's exchange, about 1154, of "quinque uirgatarum terre quas pater meus illis dederat in Magna Rollendrida,"[10] and the confirmation of the grant, about 1175, of "totam terram quam eis dedit in Oxonia in escambium pro terra de Rollendrith,"[11] is, that Henry D'Oilli "granted property in Oxford because he had lost the manor,"[12] he had held there. Whatever the exact details may have been the de Stafford manor had, in fact, passed to William Chesney (de Chainai). It is still uncertain in what year this took place, but in 1166 "Willelmus de Chainai tenet feodum j. militis," in Great Rollright of

[1] Mowat, *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday*, p. 15.
[2] O.H.S. XLIX., p. xxxv.
[3] Ibid., p. 74.
[4] *Survey of Great Britain and Ireland* IV., p. 213. Robert d'Oilli was appointed '*Constabularius*' at Oxford soon after the Conquest and built the castle about 1071.
[5] Headlam, *Oxford*, p. 36.
[6] Wigod after 1066 was Lord of the manor of Hook Norton. D'Oilli through his wife became lord of the manor of Cestreton or Cestitone or Chastleton. This would no doubt account for his interest in the neighbourhood.
[7] O.H.S. XLIX., p. xxxv.
[8] See p. 32.
[9] O.H.S. XLIX., p. xxxv.
[10] Ibid., p. 78.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., p. xxxv.

Robert de Stafford, "cujus dimidiam tenet Baldewinus et de Baldwino tenet Paganus, frater ejus, medietatem."[1] Baldwin and Payn de Parles were the first of a house destined to hold the Stafford manor for more than a century.

The family of de Parles, either through piety and generosity, or because of necessity, alienated a large part of the property. This process of alienation began between 1170 and 1180 when Baldwin, with his wife Juliana, made a grant[2] to the Church of St. John's Hospital of Norton and the Canons there in pure and perpetual "helemosina,"[3] free from all service, with the consent of their heirs, of fifteen acres of their demesne in "rollendrit," scattered in different fields, together with "duas acras prati cum pastura ducentarum ovium et sex boum et duarum vacarum et viginti porcorum." The scattered acres are enumerated. There were to be four acres in "Berenhulle," one acre in "lodresleda" two and a half in "fenik furlunga" and at the "head" of the same, one and a half acres. In "Stodfolda" one and a half acres; in "heilricamora" two acres; in "Patrikes fearn" three acres; in "Aresleda'[4] four acres, and at its "head" three acres; in the lower-way-at-Stonwell[5] five acres, in the "ide" upon "hothullmore" two and a half acres, and in "Hegmeda"[6] two acres of meadow. This interesting and important document, being really the oldest[7] possessed by Brasenose College, with regard to Great Rollright, was witnessed by certain men whose names are closely connected with the neighbourhood. They were Walter "decanus" of Cercehull,[8] Alexander "decanus" of Suereford,[9] Walter de Corneu,[10] Henry de la Noers,[11] Pagan de Chadel,[12] John ferebraz, Pagan de Parle[s] Avenell the butler, Galfridus

[1] *Liber Rubeus* (Rolls Series), p. 265. It is of interest to notice that the Robert de Stafford of that day had 60 'feoda de veteri feffamento,' but only, according to the *Liber Rubeus*, p. 368, 'tria maneria tenet . . . in manu sua.'

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 3. This parchment (7 by 5) had two seals; there is one broken large white one of early wax; but no trace of the other.

[3] *Cf.* Petit-Dutaillis, *ut supra*, p. 56, where he explains tenure in *frank-almoin*, or *in liberam elemosinam*.

[4] See p. 21. [5] See p. 18. [6] See p. 18.

[7] Mr. Hurst who made an admirable Calendar of the College Muniments some twenty years ago placed this as No. 3; but it is obvious that Rollright 1 is practically a reassertion of Rollright 3, and therefore later. No. 2 must also be later as Juliana de Parles speaks of 'her' demesne and 'her' heirs and Baldwin is not mentioned.

[8] Churchill.

[9] Swerford.

[10] Cornwell.

[11] For this family *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Bucks.* II. and *cf.* Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 160, where they are mentioned as lords of the manor of Churchill.

[12] Chadlington.

son of Alan,[1] Ralf de Roll., Amauric Gilbert son of Walter, Ralf son of Walter, Walter de Sause,[2] Stephen de punsold,[3] William de Parles, Michael de [eilesbury] "et multis aliis." This grant was confirmed,[4] presumably, shortly after, by Baldwin's brother, Payn and Alice his wife, who are ready, if the Canons lose the property, to grant an equivalent out of their demesne. But Payn went further than this,[5] for about 1180, he granted his houses and half a hide of land at "Rollendriht," which had formerly belonged to his father, to Robert Parvus to hold in fee for 4s. per annum, payable in two moieties. At the same time he allowed the rights of pasture to Robert's beasts, as his own, on the lord's land except on the meadows and cornfields.[6]

About this date, at any rate not later than 1185, Baldwin and Juliana made another grant "in ppetua elemosina" to "ecclie Sci Johes de Nor" [nibbled], consisting of ten and a half acres, divided between the fields known as "Suthulla" and "Hareslada" and "sub strata"[7] which extends towards [xxx].[8] The grant of his uncle was confirmed by William de Parles, (probably) the son of Payn, shortly after.[9] In the meantime Baldwin de Parles, somewhere between 1170 and

[1] See p. 5.

[2] See p. 69.

[3] Stephen de Punsold married Aeliza de Grai (*cf.* O.H.S. XLIX., p. 100). He came from Cornwell and as late as 1239 that village is called 'Cornwell Punsholt.'

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 9. Mr. Hurst has dated this 'c. 1210.' This is, I think, an error. From the wording and the witnesses it must be immediately after Rollright 3. The parchment (7½ by 4) although very brown is beautifully written. There is a good white gilded seal of a knight on horseback. the figure of the warrior being unusually narrow. The witnesses were almost all the same as Rollright 3.

[5] Ibid. 34. Mr. Hurst has again, in my opinion, given a wrong date, *viz.*, 1285, whereas it is probably a century before.

[6] The seal attached to this document is a massive red circular one with the design of a knight on horseback. The legend is clearly SIGILLUM PAGANI DE PARLES. The witnesses were William de Cais xxx Remy Tacerdote [?] de Dadintone, Jordan de Clinton, William de Estford, Ralf de Cais xx William son of Roger, John de Langetot, Alan de Staford, Ralf Murdac, William de Dunestrop, Hugo le Butler, Roger son of Hugh, Alan de Rollendrich, Baldwin de Parles, Fulcon Ti Rel, Philip son of William, William Noyers, Robert son of Marc, Roger the cook, Adam dispensator, Robert dispensator, xxx John Mander, Robert the clerk.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 4. The parchment (5 by 2½) has four holes in it, and the seal has gone. The witnesses were:—Alexander the chaplain, Walter de Cercella, Ralf le Fenner de Cercella, William son of Jocelin, Alan de Rollendrict, Ralf de Molendino, Hugo de Vassella, Gerard de Cercella and John 'ad puteum' [at well].

[8] Here unfortunately there is a hole in the parchment.

[9] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 5. The witnesses are much the same as Rollright 3.

1185, renounced the world and entered the monastery of Cold Norton,[1] leaving his wife "Juliana, filia Foche Tirell"[2] to manage the property. She did so by alienating large slices in all directions.[3] One of these grants was again to the Priory at Cold Norton. It consisted of one "mesuagium in dominio meo in Rollendrie, cum curtillagio[4] . . . scilicet domum illam que furnillum meum fuit apud gardinum Hugonis de Vassella."[5] The curtilage was to the west, and there was a way in and out by the wall on the east. There is also a clause in the grant stating that if anywhere in "Rollendrie" there is a house with curtilage, delivered up to her of the same value as the one granted, she will give it to the Church of St. John's hospital of Norton and "the canons serving God there," provided the above named house is restored to her whole.[6] After 1185 Juliana seems to have had complete control,[7] though acting with the consent of her sons, Walter[8] and Hugh.[9]

John, son of Walter de Parles, succeeded to the manor in Great Rollright, in the year 1212.[10] In the "Inquisitiones de Honoribus Eschaetis aliquo Tempore, Factae Anno xiij. Regis Johannis, de servitiis militum eorundem," the Stafford manor, held by de Parles, is mentioned under the title of "Honor Henrici de Staforde" and is classified as "Rollendrid, tres partes"[11]; and at the same time it is said that "Johannes de Parles tenet in eadem (i.e. Magna Rollendr.) dimidium feodum

[1] Ibid. 1, 'pro Salute mariti mei Baldwini de Parles qui ibi habitum religionis suscepit.' This meant 'civil death' *cf.* Glanville, XIII. 5, 6.

[2] Generally spelt Fulk Tirell. In Rollright 34, there is a witness Fulcon Ti Rel, one would imagine this to be the father of Juliana. The period of the document would suit this suggestion.

[3] See p. 102.

[4] A yard adjoining the house, *cf.* Jordan, *Parochial History of Enstone*, p. 261.

[5] See p. 106.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 2. The parchment (8½ by 5) is sealed with a white seal faced with yellow. The design consists of a roughly engraved bird. On the seal is the legend . . . . LLUM IULIANE TIREL. The witnesses were Walter 'decanus' of Cercell, Alexander 'decanus' of Swerford, Henry de Noers, Stephen de punsold, Pagan de Chadel, Walter de Chadel, Galfridus son of Alan, Walter de Corneu.

[7] O.H.S. XLIX. Dugdale, *ut supra.*

[8] Note that Juliana and Walter her heir confirm a gift in 1188 and also about 1190, *vide* O.H.S. XXVIII., p. 237.

[9] When Juliana sold land to the Despencers it was with the consent of her sons Walter and Hugh, *see* p. 68. *Cf.* Egerton Charter, *ut supra.*

[10] See p. 111.

[11] *Liber Rubeus* (Rolls Series) II., p. 613. Mr. H. E. Salter kindly suggests that 'tres partes' is an error for 'tertiam partem.'

militis de feodo de Stafford "[1]; while in 1235 or 1236 he is said to have paid as an aid " de feodo dimidii militis in Rollendrith viijs. xjd."[2]; but nothing more is known of him or the property during this period.

John de Parles was unfortunate in his son William. When this man succeeded to the property is unknown, but it is certain, that it was before 1272.[3] He married Johanna, the daughter and co-heiress of Eustachius de Watford, who, after the death of her father brought him considerable estates, which he might have lived to enjoy, had he not committed a crime and suffered the death-penalty in 1279. The inquest states that he was seised of " Rolandryte magna terr' &c.,"[4] and against his name is the ominous word "*felo.*" It is difficult, in fact impossible, to piece together the complete story of this man. At least it is known that on 21 November, 1275, an order was sent to the treasurer and barons of the Exchequer, after taking security from William de Parles for payment on the quinzaine[5] of Easter next of £34 demanded by them from him by summons of the Exchequer, to release, until the said term, their demands against him on that account.[6] This, no doubt, would be his share of the reliefs due to the King, because in the same year, he, together with his wife Joan or Johanna, and his sisters-in-law, Mary Burnaby and Elena of Watford, having done homage received with others their portions of the inheritance of Eustachius.[7] On 6 September, 1277, William de Parles was still, apparently, a loyal subject and was assessed for service in the King's army in Wales at 10 marks,[8] a fourth part of a Knight's fee.[9] Then evidently

[1] Testa de Neville, p. 105. On p. 102 under the heading 'Feodum de Stafford' there are the words 'Johnes de parles ten' in Magna Rollendr. dimidiam feodi militis de feodo Staff.'

[2] Ibid., p. 112. *Cf. Book of Fees*, p. 447. John de Parles had to pay this because the magnates of the Realm had granted an aid for the dowry of Henry III.'s sister Isobel when she married Frederic II., Emperor of the Romans.

[3] The Hundred Rolls II., p. 116, show that he received a grant from the King during the reign of Henry III., and it is not likely that he would have done so had his father been alive.

[4] Cal. Gen. II., pp. 236–7.

[5] The Quindene or Quinzaine was a fortnight after the feast. *Vide* R. L. Poole, *Mediæval Reckonings of Time.*

[6] Cal. Fines I., p. 62.

[7] Ibid., p. 68. It is satisfactory to find (Cal. Feudal Aids IV., pp. 24, 441, 444), that their heirs, Eustace Burnaby and John de Parles each hold part of Watford in 1316, and Nicholas Burnaby and Walter de Parles do the same in 1346. For further information concerning the families of Burnaby and de Parles *vide* Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire.*

[8] Cal. Fines I., p. 86.

[9] His land in Great Rollright is assessed at the same in 1279. *Vide* The Hundred Rolls II., p. 728.

followed the catastrophe, for in 7 Ed. I. (1279) " Willelmus de Parles suspensus,"[1] or according to a much later version, " William ke fit felonye par le quele yl fut pendu."[2]

For sometime the cause of this capital punishment seemed likely to evade discovery, and even now the solution can only be hypothetical. It is, however, quite clear that William de Parles not only had interests in Oxfordshire and in Hertfordshire, but also in Staffordshire. Here he held, in 1276, the hundred of " Offelowe " by a charter from King Henry III.[3]; and here it seems he behaved in a very high-handed, arbitrary and illegal manner. He may have been driven to this by the fact that as early as 1271[4] and 1272[5] he was deeply indebted to the Jews of Northampton, and possibly hoped to restore his shattered fortunes at the expense of others. Whatever the cause, however, he made use of his position and took from Hugo de Alveschurch " persona de Huneswith unum palfridum & duos boves contra voluntatem suam." But his evil deeds did not stop at this for Henry de Pirie was deprived of forty shillings and " unum bovem quem detinet contra vadum & plegios per potestatem."[6] At the same time, this masterful tyrant, " cepit de Willo de Birches unam marcam argenti per potestatem officii sui "; and, " cepit de Gilbo de Hofchote duas marcas et dimidiam eodem modo."[7] It can, therefore, only be surmised that from such accusations of theft, for they were nothing else, William de Parles was finally brought to trial and suffered the extreme penalty of the law. Whether he really was guilty of the charges brought against him, or whether his accusers were actuated by malice, must for ever remain a mystery. That he was possibly innocent may be gathered from a petition to Parliament in 1290,[8] when " Pueri Willelmi de Parles, qui injuste fuit suspensus prout postea per confessionem aliorum liquebat petunt quod Rex eis gratiam faciat de terris patris sui." Unfortunately these " pueri,"

[1] Cal. Gen. I., p. 289.
[2] Year Book, 20–21 Ed. I.
[3] The Hundred Rolls II., p. 116.
[4] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1266–72, p. 650.
[5] Jewish Hist. Soc., Cal. of Plea Rolls, p. 278, records " William de Parles and his pledges are in mercy for default of prosecution of a plea of unlawful detinue of gage for which he brought writ against Genta, widow of Sadekin of Northampton." The Jews of this town were evidently notorious. Stow says that 'The Jewes at Northampton crucified a Christian boy upon Good Friday [1278], but did not thoroughly kill him, for the which fact, manie Jewes at London, after Easter, were drawned at horse tailes and hanged.'
[6] Hundred Rolls II., p. 117.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Rolls of Parliament I., p. 51.

John and Eustace,[1] did not find the King particularly gracious, for they received the technical curt reply, " Rex nichil facere potest."[2]

Immediately after William de Parles' execution the whole question of his holding had to be examined. The inquisitors had to find " utrum tenuerit duas carucatas terrae in Rolandright de Johanne de Parles." They next had to consider " utrum idem Johannes fuerit in seisina homagii prefati Willielmi ; et si praedictus Willielmus ante feloniam quam fecit pro qua suspensus fuit dictas duas carucatas terrae Rogero de Burd[3] ad vitam suam dimisit ; et si idem Willielmus postmodum ante eandem feloniam factam Eustachium de Parles de predicta terra &c. feoffaverit : et si idem Eustachius se falso et per collusionem praefati Rogeri post feloniam illam factam, in fraudem et praejudicium juris praefati Johannis et domini Regis confinxerit feoffatum." It is satisfactory to find that the inquisitors at the Inquest of this year, 1279, were able to give most reassuring answers to these serious charges. They stated on oath " quod praedictus Willielmus de Parles " did hold the aforesaid two carucates of land of the aforesaid John " per servitium unius denarii per annum et quod idem Johannes fuit in seisina homagii " of William de Parles and that he before the felony leased the two carucates to Roger Burd for his life " pro decem marcis inde annuatim percipiendis. Et quod idem Willielmus nunquam praefatum Eustachium de praedicta terra una cum redditu praedicto inde annuatim usque ad terminum vitae praefati Rogeri percipiendo feoffavit, nec unquam redditum inde percepit. Et quod idem Eustachius falso . . . praejudicium juris domini Regis et praefati Johannis confinxit de feoffari et non per collusionem inter ipsum et praefatum Rogerium."[4] The matter, however, was not to end here and at a fresh inquest, held in the next year, the jury stated on oath " quod predictae duae carucatae terrae cum pertinentiis [in Rollendrith] tenentur de praefato Johanne [de Parles] per homagium suum et pro uno denario annui redditus." They also said that Eustace had no seisin " percipiendi firmam ejusdem terrae juxta feoffamentum praefati Willielmi sibi inde factum," and that " nullus alius recepit firmam praedictae terrae in vita praedicti

[1] John and Eustace de Parles were imprisoned in the Tower in 1293 but this had nothing to do with their interests at Great Rollright. *Vide* Rolls of Parliament I., p. 95.

[2] Rolls of Parliament I., p. 51.

[3] *Cf. Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 201, and The Hundred Rolls II., p. 728.

[4] Cal. Gen. I., p. 289.

Willielmi. Et quod dominus Rex recepit praedictam firmam anno proximo " after William's execution for felony.[1] " Et quod praedictus Johannes recepit praedictam firmam post annum praedictum."[2] The fact that John was allowed to receive the " ferm " was no doubt due to an order from Edward I. to the sheriff of Oxford. The King, writing from Devizes, rehearsed the whole question and stated that during the year the ten marks paid by Robert Burd had been received by the sheriff. The King then ordered the sheriff to pay these to John de Parles until the quinzaine of Easter next " so that the King may then cause them to be resumed into his own hands and may cause justice to be done to any persons claiming right in the said lands."[3] What the exact settlement was will now never be known, but evidently for the moment John de Parles was still left in possession of lands at Great Rollright.

It may be safe to assume that after the disaster in the de Parles family the heir was ready to come to an agreement with another mesne-tenant who should hold under the Earls of Stafford, and such tenant was ultimately found in the person of the famous lawyer Roger de Brabazon. At this time he was making rapid progress in his profession. In 1287 he was justice of the itinerant pleas of the forest in Lancashire. He became Chief Justice in 1295,[4] and member of the King's Council in 1307,[5] holding both offices until 1316 ; at the same time he was the possessor of many estates in Lincolnshire,[6] Leicestershire[7] and Oxfordshire.[8]

On 18 November, 1280, " Ego Johannes de Parles dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Rogero le Brabanzon decem libratas terre cum pertinentiis in Magna Roullandrith videlicet omnes terras et tenementa cum omnibus eis pertinentibus que," John de Parles had, or might have, " in predicta villa et in dominicis " ; all the rents and services of freemen, all wards, reliefs and escheats, all villeins with rights of service, all liberties and customs, and indeed, all things appertaining to the manor for ever, ' Habendum et

[1] Cal. Inq. Misc., p. 253. Where it says that two carucates of William de Parles have been for a year and a quinzaine and more in the King's hands.
[2] Cal. Gen. I., p. 297. *Cf.* also Inq. Misc., p. 345.
[3] Cal. Close Rolls, 1279–88, p. 2. Dated Dec. 19, 1279.
[4] D.N.B. VI., p. 137.
[5] Cal. Fine Rolls I., p. 559. His wife was named Beatrice *vide* Cal. Gen. II., p. 461. For the family of Brabazon *vide* Nichols, *Leicestershire* II., p. 171. And for Roger, in particular, *cf.* Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, I., pp. 79–83.
[6] Cal. Fine Rolls I., p. 320.
[7] Cal. Inq. V., No. 548.
[8] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1302–3, p. 161.

tenendum de me et heredibus meis.' Roger Brabazon was to pay to the ' Baron ' of Stafford and his " heirs in my barony of Stafford 5 marcs " in two halves, one at Easter and the other at Michaelmas,[1] on behalf of John de Parles and his heirs.

Nicholas, ' Baron ' of Stafford took further precautions to secure the title of Roger Brabazon, for on 12 September, 1281, he obtained a quit claim from Eustace, son of William de Parles, to all his rights and title to lands or tenements in the village of " Roulandricht " so that neither I, Eustace, nor my heirs will ever lay claim[2] to the same." John de Parles also took care to protect himself against Nicholas de Stafford, as, in the November of the same year, he obtained a quit claim to the rent of 5 marcs which he had hitherto paid de Stafford " pro terris et tenementis que de me tenuit in Magna Roulanndritht." This document also states that it was "ad instantiam meam " (i.e. of Nicholas) that ' idem Johannes ' made over his lands to " Roger le Brabanson."[3] This is followed on November 29, by a final grant from de Stafford to " Roger le Brabazon " of " omnes terras et tenementa cum omnibus eis pernentibus que idem Rogerus habet in magna Roudlandricht de dono Johannis de Parles " to hold from him (de Stafford) and his heirs as half a knight's fee, " pro omni seruicio."[4] This Roger de Brabazon continued to do, for in 1302, he is stated to hold " in eodem manerio [Rollright] duas hidatas terre pro dimidio feodi militis."[5] He also acquired, on 1 March, 1307, one of the attributes of a lord of a manor when he was granted a free warren on all his demesne land at Great " Rodlanrich "[6]; and in 1316, he is described as one of the three lords of the three manors in " Rolandright " and Bradstone.[7]

Roger Brabazon may have held the lands at the time of his death,[8] which took place in 1317[9]; but it is hardly likely, as

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 26. The grant was given at London 18 November, 9 Ed. I. The witnesses are not of local interest. The seal is a small one on a double green silk cord of 9 inches in length and has the design of a lion passant holding some letters difficult to decipher.

[2] Ibid. 31. The parchment (10 by 4½) was drawn up at Northampton. The witnesses are not of local interest.

[3] Ibid. 32. The parchment (9 by 3½) was sealed with a medium sized dark broken seal the design being that of a classic figure and there is the inscription VADO PER EGRE.

[4] Ibid. 33. Given at London. The witnesses are not of local interest. The seal is sewn up in a cloth bag.

[5] Cal. Pat. Rolls.

[6] Cal. Charter Rolls.

[7] Feudal Aids IV., pp. 161 and 166. ' In isto rotulo continentur omnia hundreda comitatus predicti et quorum sunt, et quot burgi et ville sunt in quolibet hundredorum illorum et qui sunt domini eorundem. Villa de Rolandright cum Bradeneston. Dominus rex, Rogerus Brabazon, Prior de Coldnorton.

[8] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 8.

[9] D.N.B. VI., p. 137.

almost certainly, he had passed them over to his brother John Brabazon[1] at some earlier date. It is evident that there was some little doubt about the matter as shown by the inquest held, at "Cheping Norton," before John of Croxford, the sub-escheator of the King, on St. Martin's day, 1318. The jury then swore that sometime before his death, Roger de "Brabazoun" gave all his lands in Rollright to Master John "Brabazoun," and that he in turn gave them to William[2] and his heirs. They also stated that Roger, about six weeks before his demise, quit-claimed to everything in the interest of William and his heirs without any reservation, and that this, being the case, the King had no claim on this estate at Roger's death.[3] The actual grant from Roger to John is in existence, the only difficulty is, to find an exact date for its execution.[4] "Roger de Brabanzon de Moseleye" grants to "John le Brabanzon" my brother "Manerium meum de Rollandrith et omnes terras et tenementa mea que habui in predicta villa" without exception. John is to have them for his life, and at Roger's death, to hold of the capital lord [Stafford] of that fee. During Roger's life John is to pay him 13lbs. of silver annually in two moieties and to fulfil all usual services and dues.[5] One would certainly imagine that the arrangement had been entered upon previous to 1299, because in the July of that year, "on the Sunday after the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin" "John de Snotescombe miles"[6] and "Johanna la dispensere"[7] his wife, sealed a bond stating that 'when John le Brabazoun yielded to us and granted all his lands and tenements in Great "rollendrich" co. Oxon for the term of his life for £10 of the "sterlynges" to be paid to him yearly at the two feasts, we by the tenor of these presents have bound ourselves, all our

[1] John Brabazon was a cleric and rector of the church of Wolstanton.

[2] William was a brother of Roger and John.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 47. On this document there are eight small and rather imperfect seals. The twelve jurators were, Richard Aleyn, Reginald Linham, Richard de Cornwelle, William Basset, William de Brome, Robert le Mazoun, Richard Coumbe, Walter Edward [of Rollright], William de la Thurne, John Stacey, John Frankeleyn and John de Hervile. The name Mazoun is curious but there was a 'Radulphus le Masoun' among the jurators of Chadlington in 1346. It is almost certain, from '*Coroners' Inquests in London*' to mean simply 'the Mason.' In the Inquests the word is fairly common.

[4] In the Calendar of College Muniments it is dated 1270, which is obviously wrong as being ten years before Roger himself obtained possession.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 19.

[6] This is Sir John Lovel of Snoscombe, Northants. He was alive at any rate as late as 1316. *Vide* Feudal Aids II., p. 273.

[7] She was the widow of Adam Despencer whose dowry is mentioned on p. 76.

lands and tenements in " Rollandrich " to whosoever hands they come and all our goods moveable and immoveable to the distraining power of the said John le Brabazoun for our lives to give full and entire satisfaction to him'.[1]

John Brabazon also acquired lands in smaller amounts from some of his neighbours. Nicholas le Blound of Stackesden[2] made an exchange of land with " Johannes le Brabazon de Mousel " [Moseley] at what date it is now impossible to ascertain.[3] Nicholas granted a " placea " with its pertinencies " in villa de magna Rollondrith jacentem juxta Le forthebiri "[4] of the aforesaid John to have and to hold for ever. " Praeterea dicto eidem Johanni duos solidatos . . . . redditus pro quodam mesuagio et duabus virgatis terrae in villa et campis de Rollendrith," together with all wardships, reliefs, escheats and heriots belonging thereto in exchange for a certain messuage and two virgates of land in the village and fields of " Rollendrich."[5] Nicholas le Whyte of " Rolandright " makes several small grants to John and his brother William. The first of these consisted of half an acre in " Genehulle " with all belongings appertaining by paying to the Lord of the fee[6] the necessary services.[7] A little later the same man granted to John and William half an acre in the Lyncroft.[8] Again, on 12 April, 1310, Nicholas let half an acre of meadow in the " Deanehulle "[9]

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 36. This parchment (9 by 3) has two seals; the first, three fesses nebulée, a bend; and there is part of the legend IOHN xxxxx VOLA; the second is too damaged to be deciphered.

[2] In Feet of Fines, 22 Ed. I., File 188/12, No. 10, thanks to Mr. St. John Brooks, I find that Joan, daughter of Hugh de la Vasshele of Magna Rollendright, and Alice his wife, recognize the right of Nicholas le Blund to 2 messuages and 2 virgates of land in Great Rollright.

[3] It is again obvious that it could not be the date suggested in the College Calendar, *viz.* c. 1270; it must have been ten, fifteen or even thirty years later than that. Mousel, Mousele or Moseley was the headquarters of the Brabazon family.

[4] This is another form of ' Forbury ' see p. 64.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 20. The witnesses on this parchment (10 by $4\frac{1}{2}$) are Roger de Noweres, Nicholas Brown de Churchehull, John de Weston, Robert de Ascote, Richard Douile [D'oilli] de Chadelington, John de Honiton, in the same, and John le Hunte de Rollondrith. The seal is a round white one of poor impression.

[6] This land was evidently in one of the two other manors.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 35. The witnesses on this parchment ($9\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$) are Robert de Leuknore, John de Mirye, Thomas Golafre, Edmund de Dene, Richard Aleyn, Edward de Rollandr. magna, John Hervile. The seal is dark green and small. The design is a bird with spread wings and an inscription, which is not clear.

[8] Ibid. 41. The witnesses on this parchment (9 by $3\frac{3}{4}$) are not interesting except Walter Edward of ' Rollandryght Magna.' The seal is much the same as in No. 35 but rather more of the inscription is visible. + HOWILL [A] [?] IOHIS.

[9] *Cf.* Weekley, *ut supra*, p. 98.

in Rollandright to Master John "Brabanzon," who is here described as 'rector,' but this must not be taken to mean rector of Great Rollright,[1] but of Wolstanton. And finally Nicholas granted a meadow "belonging to the two virgates of his land lying in Hornmede" to John Brabazon.[2] The exact date of this transaction is not known.[3] There was one other from whom John and William Brabazon received land *viz.*:— William le Baker[4] of Great "Rollandrich," who, in 1316, granted one arable acre in Westfield by paying to the lord[5] the services due.[6] Another grantor, but, in this case to William only, was Richard de persones [? le Persoun] of "Rollunderyth Magna," who gave up all his right, title and claim in one messuage in the "forburye"[7]; also, in one virgate of land with all appertaining lying in the fields of "Rollundrich." This was given at "Rollunderith Magna" on the Sunday next after the feast of St. John Post-Latin in 6 Ed. III. (6 May, 1332.)[8]

Soon after this it looks as if the family of Brabazon ceased

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 45. The witnesses on this parchment (9 by 3) are not of any particular interest.

[2] Ibid. 49. The witnesses on this parchment (7½ by 3) are Robert de Lokenorreri, Eustace le Brown and Walter son of Edward of 'Rollenduright magna.'

[3] Mr. Hurst suggests c. 1320.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 46. The witnesses on this parchment (10 by 4) are John de Heronnville, Walter Edward [de Rollright], Alan le Smale, John le Honte [le Hunte], Richard le Persoun [*cf.* Rollright 51], Simon, son of Richard and Richard Baretour [see p. 12].

[5] This would be in the manor of Despencer, at this time held by the Burnells.

[6] This was given on the Festival of St. Thomas the Apostle.

[7] This word is of interest as it is, now almost, but not quite, extinct. It is still found in the 'Forbury Gardens' at Reading. According to Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* II., p. 453, it means an open space near the Town Wall. This could hardly be the case at Great Rollright where there never was a Town Wall. Is it not more likely to have been in its origin, what is referred to by Vinogradoff, *Society in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 389–90? He writes 'The township fold seems to have played a great part in the arrangement of Danish villages [*byer*]. The *forta* was a necessary feature of those founded on free-soil; this was a large green in the middle of the township where the cattle were congregated at night and from which they started for the pasturage in the morning.' It should, however, be noticed that in *Berkshire Charters*, Dr. G. B. Grundy (1925), says that the A.S. '*forburh*' means a forecourt or vestibule, and that 'Forbury' as applied to lands means land just outside a village or town. At some period this 'Forbury' must have been inclosed, and with the rest of the Cold Norton property passed to Brasenose College. The 'Forbury' is shown on a rough plan of 1716, adjacent to the main homestead or 'farme' belonging to the College. It then measured 4 ac., 1 rood, 20 poles. It is in 1917 the same shape and size and called by the same name.

[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 51. The witnesses on this parchment (8 by 4) are Galfridus Coser, bailiff, Walter Edward [de Rollright] John le Suitor [? Sutor], John Bonye and William de Slategrove [? Nategrove or Notgrove].

to hold a manor in Great Rollright for, at the inquest held at "Cheping Norton" in 1346, it was stated that "Radulphus de Stafford tenet in eadem villa (Rollendrizt Mangnam [*sic*]) di. f. de domini rege quod [Rogerus vel Johannes] Brabason quondam tenuit."[1] Thus the manor that had been held by mesne-tenants since the Conquest had reverted to the family of the original tenant-in-chief. Owing to the evidence of later years this seeming reversion is, however, somewhat doubtful though the final result substantiated it. In any case,[2] a fresh grant was made when, in 1370, Ralph, Earl of Stafford with Margaret his wife gave the whole of his manor of "Magna Roulondrygh" "in comitatu Oxon. cum omnibus suis juribus et pertinentiis, adeo plene et integre sicut illud in manu nostra habuimus et tenuimus sine aliquo retenemento" to the prior and Canons of Coldnorton "ad inveniendum duos canonicos capellanos [sibi] et successoribus suis perpetuo praesentandos in ecclesia prioratus praedicti, in certa capella per nos ibidem ordinanda et construenda pro animabus supradictis celebraturos: habendum et tenendum praedictis priori et canonicis et successoribus suis ex causa praedicta, de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta imperpetuum. Et nos vero praedictus Radulphus et haeredes nostri dictum manerium de Magna Roulondrygh, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, praedictis priori et canonicis et successoribus suis contra omnes gentes warantizabimus et defendemus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic cartae nostrae indentatae sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus, Hugone de Stafford filio et haerede nostro; Richardo de Stafford fratre nostro, Johanne de Peyto, consanquineo nostro, militibus; Willielmo de Peyto, Johanne de Harynton, Roberto de Wythulle, et multis aliis. Dat. . . . quinto decimo die mensis Decembris, anno regni regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum quadragesimo quarto."[3] If any further proof were needed of this gift there are the two contemporary records,

> "Radulphus comes Stafford' Pro Priore & Conventu de Coldnorton, Roulandrygh Magna manerium."[4]

and

> "Radulphus comes Stafford dat quinque marcas pro licencia danda priori & conventui de Coldnorton. Manerium de Roulandrygh cum pertinenciis tenendum ad manum mortuam."[5]

[1] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 184.
[2] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 57, *cf. Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II.
[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 51. Dugdale, *ut supra*, pp. 420–21.
[4] Cal. Inq. Post Mort., 44 Ed. III., vol. II., p. 130.
[5] Ro. 39, *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, Vol. II., p. 313.

It is somewhat remarkable that in the licence in mortmain dated 1 May, 44 Ed. III. [1370] granted to Ralph, Earl of Stafford to assign "manerium de Magna Rowlandryght" to the Priory there is the statement that the manor "de nobis non tenetur." Mr. I. S. Leadam[1] therefore assumed that it was held of a mesne-lord, though no such proof existed in any other statement that had been found when he wrote.[2] And he also affirmed that this is borne out by the usual clause "salvis tamen capitalibus dominis feodi illius serviciis inde debitis et consuetis."[3] But it is more likely that this clause refers to the King,[4] and any royal service which the Earl might have been liable for, had he not thus protected himself. The right of claiming these ancient services was not forgotten and any change was always carefully recorded, as seen in the "*Inquisicio capta apud Banbury xx die Maii anno regni regis Henrici sexti*," where it is stated, "Prior de Coldenorton tenet in puram elemosinam certas terras et tenementa in Rollundright predicta que nuper fuerunt Radulphi Staff' per servicium dimidii feodi militis."[5] There can be little doubt that the Staffords took every possible legal precaution to make the grant sure and certain. On 15 December, 1370, Ralph appointed his relatives, William de Peyto, and John de Peyto Knt., his seneschall, to give seisin of a manor in Great "Roulondryghta" to the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton[6]; and on 8 November 1372, Hugo, Earl of Stafford confirmed the grant made by his father.[7] This extreme care, however, might have proved unavailing. The Brabazon family once again appeared upon the scene and evidently claimed the manor, because on the 10 of October, in the first year of Richard II. (1377) a *writ praecipe*[8] was issued from Westminster to the Sheriff of

[1] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 67.

[2] Since Mr. Leadam wrote I have found an uncalendared document that may prove that the Brabazons still 'made certain claims to the manor.'

[3] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 67.

[4] *Copies of Evidences* (c. 1681) certainly gives this impression, and it seems as if Principal Yate took this view. A further study of the licence in mortmain (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 54) confirms this view.

[5] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 188. The collection of a subsidy in 1428.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, 57, 58.

[7] Ibid. 59. This parchment (13 by 8½) is sealed with a circular seal consisting of a shield hung from a two-branched tree, a chevron on ground sable diapered. There is the legend SIGILLUM HUGONIS COM[ITIS STA]FFORDIE.

[8] This writ was a peremptory command ordering the sheriff to send some particular cause to be tried in the King's court and thus removing it from the jurisdiction of the local courts. *Cf.* Magna Carta, cl. 34, where its use was limited.

Oxfordshire, who, " at once and without delay," was to see that the manor in " Rollendrit " was restored by the Prior of Cold Norton to John " Brabazoun " of " Rosshenden " or to his heirs, and if the Prior " took no steps " he was " to appear before our justices at Westminster within the octave of St. Martin."[1] Presumably the Prior did " take steps " and won his case, for, on the 18 of May, 1378, John Brabazon, son and heir of William Brabazon of " Russheden " remits and relaxes and renounces for himself and his heirs to the lord Robert de Enstan, prior of Cold Norton, and to the canons of the same and their successors all rights and claims which he had or may have in the manor in Great " Bollyndryth " (*sic*).[2] From this time for a century and a quarter the Stafford manor in Great Rollright continued in the undisputed possession of the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton.[3]

PART II.

The Manor of Robert, son of Turstin.

As far as English history is concerned Turstin, a Norman Seigneur, may be said to have been the founder of the Despencer family, whose name was a corruption of the title " dispensator,"[4] by which office they held their lands in petty serjeanty directly from the Crown. Turstin the First had two sons, Robert and

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 61 (6 by 3).

[2] Rollright 61 presented very great difficulties until I was fortunate enough to find this uncalendared parchment which is now calendared. The quit claim of John Brabazon completed the *writ præcipe*. This document is of particular interest as it is sealed with a perfect seal of Cold Norton Priory. I was delighted to find this, though by pure accident. I recognized it from the description, by the Rev. H. E. Salter, in *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., of a rather later seal on an Osney Charter in the Bodleian Library. If it is fair to judge from the seal, the Priory buildings were of fine proportions, having a good square castellated tower with two very slender turrets at the end of each transept. Apparently this seal, very rightly in the possession of Brasenose College, is the oldest known seal of Cold Norton Priory. I recall, with pleasure, that the late Principal, Dr. C. B. Heberden, was very much interested in the discovery.

[3] *Vide* Chapter V.

[4] This family probably acted as dispensator on Christmas, Easter day and Whit Sunday. This was certainly their tenure for the manor of Leckhampton, co. Glos,

Urse d'Abetot[1]; and the former, according to Dugdale, had a son William. If this were so then Simon Dispensator must have been Robert's grandson, but Dugdale is almost certainly wrong, and it is more likely that William and Simon were brothers, and not father and son. The first evidence of this family's connection with Great Rollright after the record, already given, in Domesday Book, is to be found in the Egerton Charter,[2] recently added to the MSS. in the British Museum. Here again is the house of de Parles which played such an important part in the story of the Stafford manor. The charter has been dated by Eyton at about 1185, and as Baldwin de Parles is mentioned, it cannot be later than that. It contains a grant 'by Juliana wife of Baldwin de Perles [Parles] and Walter her heir and Hugh her son, to Juliana, wife of "Turstin filius Simonis,"[3] of half a hide of land in "Magna Rollend" which appertains to the house which Rodbert Wis held, and six acres of demesne in one field and six in another, *viz.* at the "*cruefta*" of Walter Heler four acres and a half, and at Merwel one acre, and next the land of John Yiand [?] at Hedwell half an acre, and in another field le efdland [(?) heofdland or headland] on Suthhulle, and in Debedene half an acre, and an acre and a half which extends into Debedene and at Gverdleftei half an acre, and next Flexcumbe an acre and a half and an acre and a half which extends on to Mercumbe, and an acre of meadow next the meadow of Dom. Turstin: to hold from us and our heirs in fee and inheritance at a rent of 12d. at Michaelmas. For this grant Turstin 'filius Simonis,' and Juliana, his wife, have given to Juliana, wife of Baldwin de Perles, 6 marks of silver and 10 sh., and to Walter her heir, half a mark and to Hugh 12d. and besides "*quoddam pallium de scharlet*" of the value of 3 marks. And if the aforesaid Juliana or her successors shall be unable to warrant the aforesaid land, they shall pay in the same bill and in the same fee and for the same service another half-hide of the value of the

[1] Round, *Feudal England*, p. 175. There is a controversy whether Robert Dispensator was a relative of the family of Marmion. Round, *ut supra*, p. 194, says 'it is a problem as yet unsolved.'

[2] Egerton Charter, British Museum, *ut supra*.

[3] The fact that this charter definitely says that Thurstan was the son of Simon disproves the idea suggested in the *Complete Peerage* IV., p. 287, that Thurstan was the son of Hugh *Dispensator Regis* in 1105. It is probable, however, that Thurstan's grandfather was another Thurstan, *Dispensator* to William II., and that Hugh, who was undoubtedly this man's son, was brother to Simon. For the relationship of Thurstan and Hugh, *cf. Chron. Abingdon*, (Rolls Series) II. pp. 37, 125–7, 159.

former before she had been disseised.[1] It is evident, therefore that Juliana de Parles did not confine her grants to the purchase of spiritual welfare for herself and her successors, but in this case, there must have been some feminine temptation in that "*pallium de scharlet*" which led her to alienate so large a slice of her manorial possessions.

Soon after Juliana's grant, Turstin the Second, son of Simon, made a grant of land to William his brother. It consisted of half a hide of land "in villa de Rollendricht" with all appertaining, and was obviously a feudal reward for William's service and homage,[2] and he in return was to pay the purely nominal rent of 6d. each Michaelmas. The half hide was made up from one virgate which "Hathewi" held, and from another which had been held by Baldwin the miller and which was now held by the grantor and Fulco Tirell.[3] The witnesses to the grant are of interest. They were Almaric[4] and Thomas[5] sons of Turstin, Walter de Stantune,[6] William son of Simon,[7] John de Crupet, Ralf the chaplain,[8] William de Orderne,[9] John de backington, John the Steward, Peter de Hereford, John de la Vessele,[10] Hugo de la Vessele,[11] Galfridus son of Alan,[12] Walter son of William, Nicholas[13] son of Eue, Abraham the cook, Richard the porter, John the clerk and Felix the chaplain.[14]

[1] Egerton Charter, *ut supra*. The witnesses to this valuable document were, Ralph Boterel, Gilbert Morin, Paganus de Perles, William de Perles, Alan de Rollend', Hugh de la Vessele, Galfridus filius Alani, William filius Alani, Walter filius Alani, William filius Bernardi, William fr[ater], John de la Vessele and Thomas his brother, Walter filius Turstini, Richard des Logis [?], Robert filius Willelmi and Walter his brother, Nocholaus filius Ade, Richard de la Uessele, Ralph de la Uessele, Henricus de Perles, Sanson filius Walteri, William de Orderne, Abraam Hugo le cras, Ralph filius Warin, Hugh Cosin, Henry filius Angod, Angod filius Eue, Walter his brother, Robert le Wallis, William de Stantune, Walter de Solers, Roger de Solers, Maurice de Stantune, Peter de Stantune, Milo de Stantune, Walter de Stantune, William the deacon who made this Charter. Eyton says for 'Turstinus filius Simonis' 1166–1185, for 'Walter filius Turstini' 1185. The charter is endorsed 'Roulendryt.'

[2] For the ceremony of homage see a very interesting account in Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law* I., p. 278.

[3] This gives a clue to the date of the grant. Mr. Hurst suggests c. 1300, but there was no Turstin or Thurstan son of Simon then. Fulco Tirell was the father of Juliana de Parles who was a woman of full age with a grown-up son in 1188. This grant therefore cannot be much, if any, later than this date.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 8 shows this man to be living about 1200.

[5] Thomas Dispensator was rector of Great Rollright in 1184.

[6] *Cf.* the Egerton Charter.

[7] The brother of Turstin.

[8] Ralph dispensator.

[9] *Cf.* the Egerton Charter.

[10] A man of this name flourished about 1200.

[11] A man of this name flourished about 1190.

[12] Galfridus witnessed many documents between 1180 and 1216.

[13] *Cf.* Angod son of Eue in the Egerton Charter.

[14] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 40. This parchment ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$) has a seal on a double green silk cord about 2 in. diameter. The legend is SIGILLUM DISPENSATORIS REGI.

seized by the Crown. Hugh's son John married Emma,[1] and they had a son John who married Isabel, the latter being alive in November, 1380.[2] Their son "Joh'es Dadyngselles, Chivaler," died in 1404, seized of "Rowlandright quinque virgat' terr'."[3] Whether this land reverted to the Burnells as successors of the Despencers is still conjectural.

About the time that Thurstan Despencer made the grant to Gerard de "Oddynseles," he married one, Lucy,[4] who was the mother of his son Adam.[5] Thurstan survived for some years after the birth of his child,and died shortly before 3 September, 1249,[6] leaving his heir a minor. The estates were therefore placed in the custody of Adomar [Aylmer] de Lezignian [Lusignan], half-brother of King Henry III.[7] The boy was almost immediately married, as on 12 September, 1249, there was a grant to Paulinus Peyvre, "for a fine of 100 marks of the Marriage of the son and heir of Thurstan le Despencer."[8] By 1252 Adam was of age and received from the King a grant[9] of a free warren on his lands at Great "Rollendricht," and a weekly market on Fridays at the manor, together with a yearly fair there on the vigil, the feast and the morrow of St. Andrew.[10]

Up to this time it would appear that Adam Despencer was in the good graces of the King, and loyally fulfilled his feudal service when summoned on 18 July, 1257; but dark times were coming for England, and after the Baronial Revolution of 1258, Adam seems to have thrown in his lot with Simon de Montfort. As a follower of the great baron he fought at Northampton in April, 1264. Here he was made prisoner by

[1] Cal. Inq. Ed. I. VIII., pp. 3–4.
[2] Cal. Close Rolls, 1377–81, p. 419.
[3] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. III., p. 295.
[4] Cal. Charter Rolls III., p. ii.
[5] Ibid. It also says that Adam's wife was Lucy; but this was his first wife as Joan under Edward I. has the dowry. *Cf. Inspeximus* on Charter Roll 29 Ed. I., memb. 7.
[6] Patent Rolls, 33 H. III., memb. 3.
[7] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1247–58, p. 47, and Kennett, *ut supra*, I., p. 414.
[8] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1247–58, p. 47, *cf.* p. 54, Nov. 4, where there is a reference to a writ '*de intendendo*' to the tenant of the land late of Thurstan le Despencer in favour of Paulinus Peyvre who has made fine with Aylmer de Lesignan for the keeping thereof which keeping the King had given to the said Aylmer. These rights of wardship and marriage in a tenure of petty serjeanty, of course, contradict Bracton, who says 'Since such services are not done for the King's army or the defence of the country, no marriage or wardship is due therefrom to the chief lord, any more than from socage.' But judicial decisions of the Middle Ages were against Bracton. The heir, however, is not to be married below his rank. *Cf.* Magna Carta, cl. 6.
[9] Cal. Charter Rolls I., p. 414.
[10] *Cf.* Hone, *Manor and Manorial Records*, pp. 94, 95, 121.

Roger de Mortimer,[1] who, on June 4, was ordered to bring him "to the King in London."[2] How long he remained a captive is difficult to say but he does not seem to have taken any part at Evesham in August, 1265. It was in this battle that his party suffered defeat and, as their leader was slain, Henry III. seized the opportunity of revenging himself upon his enemies and rewarding his friends. On 26 October of that year, he issued from Canterbury the notice of a "gift for his good service to Roger de Leyburn of all the lands in England late of Adam le Despencer," and of other manors of other men, all "being enemies of the King and adherents of Simon de Monte Forti, sometime Earl of Leicester."[3] This confiscation, as far as the lands of Despencer were concerned, was not permanent. On several occasions in 1266 Adam Despencer was given safe conduct to come to the King's court provided that he stood his trial.[4] On 25 June, 1267, a remission was published "of the King's indignation and rancour of mind towards" him[5]; and four days later he obtained full pardon, and redeemed his lands including his manor at Great Rollright, for £500.[6] It is not surprising, therefore, to find him once again in possession of the advowson of Great Rollright in 1269[7]; and being declared ten years later, as lord of the manor "de Magna Bollendr' cum pertinenciis de Domino Rege in capite per serjaunciam ut sit dispensator Domini Regis cum advocacione ecclesie ejusdam manerii, sed nesciunt quo warranto. Et tenet in eodem manerio in dominico suo tres hidatas terre, quarum quelibet, valet per annum xl. solidos."[8] In 1284 he is entered in an Aid Roll as holding "in Magna Rollendret j.f.m. de rege i.c."[9] Already in May, 1277,[10] and in May and August, 1282,[11] and in May, 1283,[12] he had been called to military service in Wales.[13] In the last year he was summoned by writ, directed to "Ade le Despencer," to the

[1] Patent Rolls, 48 H. III., p. 1, memb. 13d.
[2] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1258–66, p. 359.
[3] Cal. Charter Rolls II., pp. 56–57.
[4] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1258–66, pp. 555, 578, 620, 634, 643, 669.
[5] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1266–72, p. 145.
[6] Ibid., p. 188.
[7] See p. 141.
[8] Hundred Rolls II., p. 727.
[9] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 160.
[10] This was Edward's first Welsh campaign concluded by the Treaty of Aberconway.
[11] This was on the occasion of the Welsh revolt which led to Edward's second Welsh campaign.
[12] This was the period of the subjection of Gwynedd. In the October of this year David of Wales was executed.
[13] Parliamentary Writs I., pp. 194, 223, 225.

Parliament at Shrewsbury on the morrow of St. Michael,[1] the chief business of the Assembly being the trial of the traitor, murderer and blasphemer David last Cymric Prince of Wales.[2] Once again Despencer was called on military service, in July, 1287, when he had to appear with horses and arms at a military council at Gloucester.[3] This was the occasion of the raising of a great army against the formidable rebellion of Rhys, son of Meredith, "the loyalist lord of the vale of Tavy, who resented the authority of the justice of Carmarthen over his patrimony."[4]

The only connection of Adam Despencer with Great Rollright, during this period, seems to have been to make certain grants of land. The first of these was to his daughter, Margaret,[5] the widow of Fulco de Rycote,[6] who acquired three messuages and four virgates in "Rollendrith," at some unknown date in the reign of Edward I. Unfortunately Adam, like his father Thurstan, failed to obtain a licence for this alienation, so that in the reign of Edward II., Margaret was called to account. In 1311, however, "Margar' que fuit uxor Fulconis de Rycote finem fecit cum R. per quinq marcas pro quibusdam terris in Rollandrich que de Rege tenuit in capite, etc."[7]; and on March 1, received a royal pardon from Berwick-on-Tweed, but was obliged to restore the lands.[8] The second of the grantees was more fortunate. Nicholas Gamage and Eleanor his wife, had about the same time as Margaret of Rycote, acquired from Adam "le Despenser tenant-in-chief" of Edward I., 40s. of rent in "Roulandrith," "to hold to them and their heirs." Again Adam Despencer had failed to procure a licence, and as Nicholas Gamage was dead, Eleanor his wife fell into the clutches of the law. But on 1 February, 1316, she was granted a pardon being ordered to pay a fine of 50s. and restore the land.[9] A week later, however, she had licence to grant 40s. of rent in Great Rollright, held in chief, to William de Gamage and his heirs on payment of another fine

[1] Parliamentary Writs I., p. 15.
[2] Tout, *ut supra* III., p. 165.
[3] Parliamentary Writs I., p. 250.
[4] Tout, *ut supra*, p. 168.
[5] Cal. Inq. VI., p. 78.
[6] For Fulco de Rycote *cf.* Cal. Feudal Aids IV., pp. 154, 172. It is clear that Fulco, in another part of Oxfordshire, was a neighbour of, and co-lord with, the Despencers of 'Villa de Hasele Magna cum Hasele Parva, Lachford, Ruycote Magna et Ruycote Parva.' His son was born 16 Nov. 23 Ed. I., *vide* Cal. Inq. VI., p. 78. Fulco de Rycote, senior, died 22 January 30 Ed. I. (1302), *vide* Cal. Inq. IV., p. 46. He is shown to have been a very negligent coroner in the Hundred Rolls II., p. 33.
[7] Ro. 19, *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium* I., p. 180.
[8] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1307–13, p. 335.
[9] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1313–17, p. 384.

of 50s.[1]; so that it may be presumed that the restoration of the land was never carried out. Eleanor's heir, William, remained a tenant-in-chief in Great Rollright by the service of one twentieth of a knight's fee,[2] until his death in 1359, when he is stated to have been seised in "Roulandright Magna" of "unum molendinum & 2 virgat' terre, &c."[3] He was succeeded by his son Nicholas who was forty years of age at the time.[4] He had property in Wezebury, as well as in "Rollyndrith," though when he died in 1360, there is the simple reference "Rollendrych un' mess' & 2 virgat' terr' &c."[5] His heirs were evidently his three daughters, and when an aid was collected for the marriage of Blanche, daughter of Henry IV., to Ludwig of Bavaria, in 1402, the sheriff of Oxford stated "Et onerantur de xijd. de eodem auxilio contingente xx^{am}. partem j. feodi militis pro j. mesuagio et ij. virgatis terre ij. acris [et] dimidio prati et uno molendino in Rollyngdright que Johannes Billyng et Margeria, uxor ejus, una [pars], Hugo Arthur et Johanna, uxor ejus altera [pars], Johannes filius Hugonis et Elizabetha uxoris [*sic*] ejus, tercia [pars], filiarum et heredum Nicolai Bamache [Gamache or Gamage] tenuerunt de predicto domino Edwardo tercio pro quibus dederunt v.s. sicut continetur (in memorandis de anno xxxvij. predicti regis Edwardi tercii in rotulo de releviis ex parte rememoratoris predicti)."[6] As in the case of Thurstan's grants one can only conjecture that these lands ultimately reverted to the manor.

These two alienations to Margaret de Rycote and to the family of Gamage are the only ones recorded as made by Adam Despencer. As, already stated, it is impossible to assign[7]

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1313–17, p. 385. Cal. Inq. ad quod Damnum, p. 241, 'Alianora de Gomage lic. feoffandi Rowlandright maner, and 40s. redds. Oxon.'

[2] Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 678.

[3] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. II., p. 134. But note that No. 424, Cal. Inq. Post Mort., X., Ed. III., says a messuage and two carucates of the King by serjeanty of holding a towel to wipe the King's hands.

[4] Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 678.

[5] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. II., p. 212.

[6] Cal. Feudal Aids 1284–1431, IV., p. 174.

[7] The evidence in Cal. Inq. VI., p. 114, concerning the birthday of Fulk son of Fulk of Rycote, seems extremely good. For different reasons a dozen men swear that he was born on 16 November 23 Ed. I. (1295), but this is very extraordinary as one of them says that he 'was with Sir Adam le Despencer, ... when a messenger came from her with news that she had a son, and he went with the said Adam to Rucote to see him.' It should be noted concerning Adam le Despencer that in the Cal. Inq., p. 158, the writ of *diem clausit extremum* is issued to Malcolm de Harlege 19 June 23 Ed. 1., and the writ of *plenius certiorari de feodis*, is issued to the same escheator 28 Aug. 23 Ed. I. How then could Adam go from Ewelme to Rycote on 16 Nov. 23 Ed. I. ?

an exact date,[1] but as Adam was dead earlier than 18 June, 1295,[2] they must have been made before then. His son Almaricus, over thirty years of age, was declared his heir[3]; and his wife, Joan or Johanna, was to have as her dowry one third of Adam's manor in Great Rollright,[4] including amongst other things an 'aquarium'[5] without the close of the 'court.'[6] The manor itself was taken into the King's hands "because Philip Burnel lately deceased entered [upon it] without the King's licence."[7] On 27 November 26 Ed. I. [1297][8] "the King commanded the Sheriff of Oxford to assign to the said Joan, who had taken her oath not to marry without the King's licence,[9] her dower of the manor of Rolandrith, which the said Adam held of the King by serjeanty."[10] The King had committed the manor to Henry de Thistleden for £20 yearly,[11] and had ordered him to send the assignment, when made, to be enrolled in Chancery; and on 24 October, 1299, a discharge was given him for one third of the "*ferm*" of the manor in "Rolendrith." Evidently, however, the assignment went astray, for on 22 January, 1306, Henry de Thistleden "asserted that he had assigned the said dower, and prays remedy because 30 marks for three years after the said assignment are exacted of him as if he had not assigned the said dower."[12] The King, therefore, still adhering to his charge, said that "although the assignment was not returned unto the said Chancery," he was willing "to spare his carelessness this time," and ordered "the escheator to inquire whether the said Henry made the said assignment or not."[13] Fortunately for the peace of

[1] As 'Margareta filia domini' was a tithe payer in 1286 [see p. 12.] it might be presumed that the grant had been made as early as that year. It is possible that the 'Margaret' of the Hundred Rolls [see p. 11] was the daughter of Adam Despencer. If so, then the grant was at least as early as 1279.

[2] Cal. Gen. II., p. 499, and Cal. Inq. III., p. 157, *vide* Cal. Close Rolls II., p. 418, where it is shown that Joan is to have 40 days use (*quarantanam*) of her husband's goods and chattels if they have been taken into the King's hands since death. This is dated 21 July, 1295.

[3] Cal. Gen. II. See p. 78.

[4] Ibid., pp. 723, 769.

[5] This looks very much like the 'Pool' or 'Pond' in the grounds of the present manor. It is half an acre in extent and there is no other sheet of water in the village.

[6] Cal. Inq. IV., No. 394.

[7] Ibid., p. 269. See p. .

[8] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, p. 138.

[9] *Vide* Magna Carta, 1215, cl. 8.

[10] Cal. Inq. IV., p. 269.

[11] Ibid., p. 281.

[12] Ibid., p. 269.

[13] Ibid.

mind of Henry de Thistleden, the escheator rapidly found, on February 15, of the same year, that " the said Henry assigned to the said Joan her dower of the said manor [in Rolandrith] on Tuesday after the conversion of St. Paul " 26 Ed. I. [1298].[1] After all these difficulties it is satisfactory to find exactly how the manor was assigned on 30 July, 1299. One third of the manor is extended at £6 13s. 4d.[1] ; and the sheriff's assignment is as follows[2] :—" A third of the chief messuage wherein there is an old broken barn [*grangia*] and a broken cow-house,[3] and a third of the garden of the chief messuage, which third of the chief messuage is 12d. yearly. There is also assigned to her a fishpond, called ' Wayer ' worth 6d. yearly.[4] Also there are assigned to her the rents and services of Walter Everard, John son of William le Barator[5] and William le Bakere, free tenants, whose rents are worth 8s. 7½d. yearly. Also there is assigned to her the rent of William le Baretur who holds a virgate of land for life for 10s. yearly and also the virgate when it falls in is assigned to her. There are also assigned to her John de Furno, John son of Robert, Ralph son of Simon, and John son of Hugh each of whom holds in villeinage a virgate of land, and each virgate is worth yearly in services and customs 8s. 6d. And there are assigned to her, Hugh le Ruther-herde, and Alice daughter of Robert, each of whom holds half a virgate of land and each half virgate is worth 4s. 3d. yearly. There are also assigned to her the rents of Maud, daughter of Robert atte Welle, who holds a cottage for 2s. yearly, and of Robert Atte Welle, Alice de Wydihull, Cicely daughter of Robert the reeve, of the cottages whose rents are worth 6s. 0½d. yearly. There are also assigned to her from the arable land in each field a third of each *cultura*, and 140 acres of land in number are assigned to her each acre being worth 2½d. yearly. There are also assigned to her 7 acres of mowable meadow each acre being worth 3s. 6d. yearly. There is also assigned to her a third of all the pasture or the third head of the beasts, if she wished to have them, in the pasture of the manor, and it is worth 4s. 6d. yearly. Also the pleas and perquisites of the court of the dower assigned to her are worth 4s. 6d. yearly.

[1] Cal. Close Rolls, 1296–1302, p. 281.

[2] Ibid., pp. 313–14.

[3] In the Cal. Inq. IV., No. 394, these are described as ' an old grange and an ox-house,' their dilapidated state is not referred to.

[4] This is the ' *aquarium* ' already mentioned. Is ' wayer ' the correct reading ? I have been told that ' wayse ' is the old East Anglian form for ' pool.' Could this be the same word ?

[5] One who quarrels or is always ready to fight.

Total of the dower £6 13s. 4d." How long Joan lived to enjoy this dower is not known, but she was certainly dead before 25 June, 1309. Some time before this, as has already been said, she married again,[1] when she must have lost her dowry. In any case either at marriage, or at death, the manor ceased to be in the hands of any member of the Despencer family.

Although, because of the law,[2] Joan Despencer had a third of the manor held by her husband, as a dower, there is no doubt, that the Despencer property passed before 1293,[3] into the greedy hands of Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who owned with this manor at Great Rollright 82 manors in different parts of England.[4]

When and why this transference of property was made long remained undiscoverable. It appears, however, that Adam Despencer must have been, towards the end of his life in somewhat straitened circumstances. It is possible that he never recovered from the huge fine he had to pay for the ransom of his lands in 1267.[5] Certainly he is found to be in debt, on 19 May, 1290, to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Chancellor, and although it is only for the small sum of ten marks a levy is to be made, in default, on his lands and chattels in the county of (*blank*).[6] If these facts are taken into consideration, in them there may be found the solution of the conveyance, for before his death Adam sold,[7] amongst other property, the manor and advowson of Great Rollright to his late creditor, the celebrated, but avaricious, Robert Burnell.[8]

It is quite certain that when Robert Burnell died, he was seized of the manor of 'Rolendright,'[9] and that he held this of the King in chief by serjeanty[10] of serving the King in his

[1] See p. 62.

[2] *Cf.* First reissue of Magna Carta, 1216, cl. 7.

[3] The order, however, to the escheator of this side of Trent to take into the King's hands the lands of the late Adam le Despencer, deceased, tenant-in-chief, was not issued until 18 June, 1295, *vide* Cal. Fine Rolls I., p. 354. The son of Adam, 'Amaury,' was to have the lands of his late father saving the dower of Joan, wife of Adam, by an order of 6 August, 1295, *vide* Ibid., p. 355. It is evident that he never received the lands in Great Rollright because they had been sold before the death of his father.

[4] Mr. I. S. Leadam (B.N.C. Mon. IX.) has made the mistake of regarding this manor of the Despencers, afterwards of the Burnells and Hungerfords, as the same manor as that of the Earls of Stafford. See p. viii.

[5] See p. 72.

[6] Cal. Close Rolls II., p. 130.

[7] *Complete Peerage* IV., p. 288.

[8] The D.N.B. has much to say as to Burnell's greed.

[9] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. I., p. 115.

[10] Cal. Inq. Ed. I., III., No. 65, p. 48. *Cf.* Petit-Dutaillis, *ut supra*, p. 57.

spence, [in dispensa sua].[1] He died "die Sabbati proximo ante festum Apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno regni regis Edwardi vicesimo apud Berewik,"[2] or, as another account has it, meaning the same day, "die Sabbati proxima ante festum Omnium Sanctorum."[3] This manor now held by the Burnells was by no means free from certain customs and dues. Every year, at the feast of St. Kenelm (July 17), a buck worth 5s. had to be sent to the abbot of Winchcombe. Hunted and slain in the confines of Wychwood the buck would be taken by the servants of the manor along the old track to the road to Moreton and thence, via Bourton-on-the-hill, over the heights that shelter the ancient town of Broadway, and so on to Winchcombe Abbey. In those days of rough roads the journey to the Abbey and back would take the best part of a week. Besides this obligation, however, there were certain financial payments, as the already mentioned 10s., to Hugh de "Oddinggesel," 6s. 8d., to John Hereville[4] and 3s., to "John Brabasun."[5] The last payment shows that the holder of the Burnell manor also held land within the jurisdiction of the Brabazons,[6] and acknowledged it by a monetary due.

The Bishop was succeeded by his nephew Philip,[7] who married Maud, the daughter of Richard Fitzalan, the Earl of Arundel, and Lord of Chipping Norton. Philip never really enjoyed "Roulondrithe maner'" nor the patronage of the "Roullenderhit ecclie,"[8] for it should be carefully noted,[9] that he died "die Sabbati post festum nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistae anno [regni regis Edwardi] 22" [1294].[10] His heir was his son Edward, who married Aliva or Aline, the eldest daughter of Hugh Despencer, Earl of Winchester, at some date after 3 May, 1302.[11] When Edward's father died

[1] Spence is still the north-country word for pantry, and is used by Tennyson in the sense of refectory in '*The Talking Oak*,' l. 47.

[2] Cal. Chart. Rolls II., p. 426. [3] Cal. Gen. II., p. 464.

[4] John Hereville held six virgates at Swerford. *Vide* Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 160.

[5] Cal. Inq. Ed. I., III., No. 194, p. 120. [6] See p. 17.

[7] *Complete Peerage* II., p. 434. This Philip is described as lord of Condover, Holgate, Acton Burnell, etc., co. Salop, and of Little Rissington, co. Gloucester. His widow, Maud, married without licence Simon de Crihetot. *Cf.* Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307–19, p. 283.

[8] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. I., p. 120. [9] See p. 81.

[10] Cal. Gen. II., p. 490.

[11] *Complete Peerage* II., p. 434. *Cf.* also *Ancient Deeds* A. 6278, where there is a grant by the Bishop of Durham to Sir Hugh Despencer for 1000 marks, of the marriage of Edward son and heir of Philip Burnell, for the purpose of marrying him to Aline, Sir Hugh's eldest daughter. Aline long survived her husband; and as his widow was appointed Constable of Conway Castle on 30 January, 1325–6; and died shortly before 28 November 1353.

he was a minor, and still was under age in 1302–3, when it is stated that " Heres Philippi Burnel, infra etatem in custodia domini regis, tenet manerium de Rollendrych Mangna [*sic*]."[1] During this minority the guardian of the manor for the King was a neighbouring landowner, John Dymoke,[2] who seems to have been a trustworthy agent, and carefully superintended the upkeep of the estate. On 8 June, 1314, an order was sent to Hugh le Despencer, keeper of the forest beyond Trent, to deliver to Dymoke at " Rolyndright," four oaks fit for timber and eight cart-loads of branches [virgarum] from the wood of Cornbury within the forest of " Whicchewode " to repair the houses of the manor.[3] In the mean time Edward had seisin of his lands, having proved his age on 6 December, 1307. He served in the Scottish wars between 1311–14, and was summoned[4] to Parliament from 19 December, 1311, to 24 October, 1314, by writs directed to *Edwardo Burnell*, whereby he is held to have become Lord Burnell.[5] He died at Thurning, Norfolk,[6] without offspring on a date previous to 1 September, 1315[7]; and was succeeded by his sister Maud, who, in 1316 was 25 years of age, and had been married to Lord Lovel,[8] and was now married to her second husband, Sir John Haudlo,[9] the owner of very large estates in Oxfordshire, and who, in

[1] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 160.

[2] The Dymoke family, famous as the King's champions, had at this time land at Hook Norton. They had also a small property in Great Rollright, which, thanks to Mr. St. John Brooks, I find is referred to in (*a*) Feet of Fines 28 Ed. I., File 188/12, No. 61, where John Dymmok and Felicia his wife recognise the right of Walter son of Edward de Rollenhight to 2 messuages and 4 acres; (*b*) Feet of Fines 28 Ed. I., File 285/25, No. 253, when Peter son of John de Weston holds for life from John Dymok, 1 carucate in Rollendrith and after his death to John and Felicia Dymmok and the heirs of Felicia. (*c*) Feet of Fines 7 Ed. II., File 189/14, No. 118, where John de Herovile and Julian his wife recognise the rights of John son of Henry Dymmok and Felicia his wife to 1 messuage, 5 virgates of land, 30 acres of meadow and four marks rent in Hogenorton and Magna Rollendright. *Cf.* also Feet of Fines 35 Ed. III., File 190/21, No. 56, and Cal. Inq. Post Mort. IV., pp. 65, 255, 266.

[3] Cal. Close Rolls, 1313–18, p. 59.

[4] *Complete Peerage* II., p. 434.

[5] There is some doubt as to whether these early writs of summons did, in fact, create any peerage title.

[6] *The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII., p. 183.

[7] Inq. Post Mort. 9 Ed. II. dated Sept. 1. On his death any Barony which may be supposed to have been created became extinct.

[8] Cal. Inq. V., p. 390.

[9] In Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 488, this man's name is said to be Haudlo or de Hadlowe. The *Complete Peerage* II., p. 435, adopts the spelling Haudlo; but the ordinary spelling found in Oxfordshire documents is Handlo.

right of his wife claimed the manor of the Burnells in Great Rollright.[1]

Sir John Haudlo and his wife, evidently, had some difficulty in establishing this claim. The Crown authorities, it would seem, had got thoroughly confused as to the ownership of this manor in Great Rollright, and an attempt was made to clear up the difficulties on 28 May, 1317, when an order was sent from the Council at Westminster to "Master John Walewayn" the escheator of "this side of Trent," containing a sketch of the history of the position of affairs. "The King, [Edward II.], wishing to be certified into which of his progenitors' hands the manor of Rolandrith came, and for what causes, and when it came into his hands, ordered the treasurer and the barons of the Exchequer to examine the rolls and memoranda of the Exchequer concerning the same; and they certified him that Thurstan le Despenser[2] held 100s. of land in Great Rolandrith yearly of the late King, [Edward I.], by the serjeanty of being his despencer, and that Philip Burnel, nephew and heir of Robert Burnel, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, held the same land, but it was not known by what warrant he held it, whereupon Philip, then present in the late King's Exchequer, on the 2nd day after the close of Easter, in the 22nd year of his reign [1294], being put to reason as to what warrant[3] he entered the serjeanty without the late King's licence, said, that he had many writings and muniments whereof he had not full notice, and he knew not, whether he ought to have warranty or not of the late King thereby; and he prayed day to shew any deed or other warrant[4] that he might have concerning the entry upon the said land; and afterwards he came not[5] in a month from Easter following

[1] Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 142, 16 Ed. III., there is the entry, 'Quod Johannes de Haudlo et Matilda uxor ejus soror et haeres Edwardi filij et haeredis Philippi Burnell teneant manerium de Rollandrich in comitatibus Oxon' et Berks [?] de Rege in capite per servicium serjantiae serviendo Regi in dispensatoria sua vel per serjanciam dispensatam in Magna Rolandrich.' Anthony Wood speaks of him as holding certain 'mannours' including one at 'Rollendrycht'; but gives an erroneous date, *vide* O.H.S. XVII., p. 469, *cf.* Kennett, *ut supra* I., pp. 531–2 and II., p. 166. Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 164, says that Sir John Haudlo was one of the lords of 'Hoggenorton cum Swereford et Suthrop,' and Cal. Patent Rolls, 1322–24, pp. 162–169, records other manors at Pedynton, Muswell, Bechele, Edynton and Chadelynton.

[2] The officials of the Exchequer were evidently ignorant of the facts. Thurstan never held of the 'late' King, i.e. Edward I., for he died in 1249. They meant of course Adam le Despencer.

[3] The writ '*quo warranto*' was first issued in 1278.

[4] One might suspect Philip of having practically no warrant, and that he was really concealing that 'the claim had been jumped,' except for the fact that the *Complete Peerage* IV. says that the manor had been sold.

[5] This is not surprising as he had been dead for about nine months. *Vide ut supra.*

[1295], the day assigned to him, nor exhibited any warrant, whereupon the sheriff of Oxford and Berks was ordered to take the aforesaid land into the late King's hands ; as John de Haudlo who married Matilda, sister and heiress of Edward Burnel, son and heir of the aforesaid Philip, and the said Matilda have prayed the King to restore the manor to them as her right and inheritance, and as it appears by the inquisition concerning the said bishop's lands returned into the late King's Chancery, that the bishop was seised of the manor at his death in his demesne as of fee, and that he held of the late King by the service of the serjeanty of serving him in his spence [*dispensa*], and that the abovesaid Philip was his nephew and heir and of full age, whereupon the late King, on the 25 January in the 21 year of his reign [1293], took Philip's homage[1] for all the lands that the said bishop, his uncle, held in chief and restored the same to him and ordered Malculm de Harlegh, escheator of this side Trent to cause Philip to have seisin thereof upon his finding security for his relief : the King [Edward II.], now orders[2] the escheator to cause the said John and Matilda to have seisin of the manor aforesaid, as he has taken John's fealty for the same."[3]

Even when Sir John Haudlo got the property,[4] he does not appear to have been a very popular lord of the manor. On 2 June, 1322, there was a commission of *oyer and terminer* to certain judges, on complaint of Sir John, stating that diverse men entered his manors in different parts of Oxfordshire, including " Rollyndryght," and drove away his horses, cattle and sheep and committed many trespasses. If the violence of the age[5] were forgotten one might be astonished to find two reverent ecclesiastics amongst this gang of roughs, one of whom, was Roger de Solers " parson of the church of Rollyndright."[6] The trouble evidently continued, for there

[1] Nevertheless there were doubts about this claim after this for as shown above he had to appear to vouch to warranty in 22nd year of the reign.

[2] Cal. Close Rolls, 1313–18, p. 411.

[3] According to the Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307–19, p. 271, the escheator was ordered to make the delivery ' John having done fealty,' on 16 February, 1316.

[4] As to the tenancy by which Sir John Haudlo held the property *cf.* Bracton lib. II., cap. 30., fol. 437b.

[5] About this time England was full of riotous outlaws, *vide* Bright, *History of England* I., p. 195. Commissions of trailbaston were issued 33 Ed. I. (1304–5) to cope with this violence. *Vide* Jeudwine, *Tort, Crime and Police in Mediaeval Britain*, p. 151. If we are to believe Roger Bacon, the conduct of Roger de Solers is not surprising. He said ' country priests recite the church services (of which they understood little or nothing) like brute beasts,' *vide* G. C. Coulton, *ut supra*, p. 260.

[6] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1322–24, p. 162.

was another commission, on 1 July, 1323, to the same judges to take proceedings against most of the same men, but de Solers was not included. On this occasion the attacks were still more violent, and " Rollyndright " manor, like the others, had the gates, doors and windows broken, the house was entered, treasure chests were rifled, and horses, mares, oxen, sheep, *and even swans* were driven away.[1]

It is interesting to notice, that as early as 24 August, 1324, the manorial jurisdictions in Great Rollright were interwoven and obviously confused. In " *A Memorandum of a Court Proceeding* " of that date,[2] there is the statement that the Prior of Cold Norton came to the Court of Sir John " Hawlo " at " Rollend Magna " on" Thursday before the feast of St. Lawrence " 18 Ed. II., " et ostendit cartam suam coram Johanne Payn Senescallo et carta sua allocata fuit " and he was put in possession of a certain " ox " for a heriot by distraint, and the " ox " " by the warrant of the Steward and of the Court[3] was adjudicated and delivered " to the Prior.[4] The alienation of different small portions of land, from time to time, by freeholders in one manor to the owner of another must have caused innumerable complexities with regard to manorial rights. The Prior would find himself liable to attend the court of Haudlo, because of some patch within this jurisdiction, and it is most likely though nowhere stated, that Sir John would find himself equally liable for a similar reason, to attend the court of the holder of the Stafford manor.[5]

Whether Sir John and his wife Maud had any offspring before 1323 must remain a mystery ; but, certainly about that year, their son Nicholas was born.[6] If Nicholas were the eldest child, it would be from the date of his birth, that Sir

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1322–24, p. 169, *vide*, O.H.S. LXXI., pp. 44–45.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 50. A parchment (6 by 3).

[3] The jurators of the Court were, Roger son of Guido, Walter Edward (of Rollright) William le Baker, William of Nategrove, John Gilebert. The court was held in the presence of Ralph the Castellan.

[4] Another document deals with Homage and Service (Rollright 48). Mr. Hurst dates this c. 1320, but as there was no ' Dominus de Burnell ' at that time it must refer to Nicholas Burnell after 1346. The document shows that Burnell had the right of taking fines from those whose services he had in Hareslade, Cossewellmor and Suthull. At the same time the prior of Cold Norton had 12 acres of land and 3 acres of meadow lying on Suthull in Colemede, by right of inheritance from which he had fines. But the document goes on to state that Burnell has the centre half of that meadow and one acre of meadow lately that of John Sle.

[5] Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* I., p. 573, say ' Very often a lord of a manor who had a court of his own was bound to do suit at *his* lord's court.'

[6] Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 489, states that Nicholas was 23 and more in the year 1346.

John would establish his title to Maud's possessions by the *curtesy of England*[1]; and it is possible to imagine him, according to the custom of the time, outside his wife's chamber at the hour of birth, listening for the wail which must be audible within the four walls,[2] and which would inform him that he had acquired "*his curtesy.*"[3] This somewhat curious right arose from the idea that "the law of England" was "a courteous law."[4] It gave to the husband very liberal rights,[5] and, in this case would enable Sir John for his life to exclude John Lovel, the son of Maud by her first marriage, presuming Sir John survived her. The fact that Sir John paid fealty for the manor of Great Rollright before February, 1316, or in other words, at a date long before Maud had given birth to the child essential to the creation of the *curtesy*, does not affect the question. Certainly Blackstone[6] holds that before the wife had issue, the husband and the wife must do homage together; but Glanville asserts that a woman never does, at any time, any such thing, and that when an heiress marries—not when she has issue—her husband is bound to do homage. Sir John Haudlo, therefore, in paying fealty to the King, in 1316, was only carrying out the law as interpreted by the oldest representative of English feudal theory and as upheld by modern authorities.[7] For this reason the payment of fealty on behalf of his wife must not be regarded as an act by which he acquired rights as against those of his wife, previous to the establishment of the *curtesy* in or about 1323.

Sir John's mind evidently ran on the question of succession, and he must have considered carefully how he could best arrange his family settlements. No doubt he, or his legal advisers, knew something of the 'mystic awe' that surrounded "the 'fine' or, to give it its full name the 'final concord' levied in the King's court."[8] He knew that it had become almost a sacred thing, and that its sanctity was upheld by

[1] Reeves, *History of English Law* I., p. 298, writes 'Bracton says, the husband should have the land if he married a woman *habentem haereditatem, vel maritagium, vel aliquam terram ex causa donationis.* . . . He agrees likewise with Glanville, that the second husband was equally intitled with the first.'

[2] *Cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* II., p. 415.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 414.

[5] Reeves, *ut supra* I., p. 299, writes 'The tenant *per legem Angliae* was to have all incidents that happened, whether in service, wards, reliefs or the like during his life.'

[6] Blackstone, *Comm.* II., p. 126.

[7] Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* II., p. 412.

[8] Ibid., p. 94.

lawyers at all costs. He knew, too, that a final concord was briefly and roughly a conveyance of land, though in form a compromise of an action.[1] Long before this time it had been stated in Parliament,[2] that "in this realm there is neither provided nor devised a greater or more solemn assurance, nor one through which a man may have a more secure estate, nor can he produce more solemn testimony to prove the existence of that estate than a fine levied in the court of our lord the King."[3] The lawyers of the reigns of Edward II. and Edward III. were well aware that the origin of the final concord had been to end real litigation; but, from the reign of Henry II., it had been most frequently used in cases of collusive litigation in which a pretended compromise was made. The obvious danger of enfeoffing another with land and receiving it back again for life, was that the enfeoffee might turn out to be dishonest. To overcome this difficulty, Sir John Haudlo fell back upon the employment of ecclesiastics, partly because their profession should have been a guarantee of good faith, and partly because they could have no heirs of their body. Sir John did not enfeoff these of all the land that had come to him through his wife, for in the case of Sparkeford,[4] the heir in 1346 was declared to be "John Lovel son and heir of the said Maude."[5]

From the very moment, however, that Sir John had been obliged by Edward II. to pay fealty, he was determined to arrange some form of settlement by which a large part of the property of his wife Maud should pass to his son by his second marriage, if he should have one. Thus, on 13 July, 1316, a licence, for which a fine would be paid to the King, was issued to "Sir John de Haudlo and Matilda [Maud] his wife to grant to whomsoever they will all the manors lands and tenements held by them in chief of her inheritance; and for the feoffee to regrant the same to them and the heirs male of their bodies with remainder to her right heirs."[6] It is practically impossible to trace the story of these transactions. Many important documents may have been lost; some of the arrangements may have been purely verbal; but from the documentary evidence that remains it may be concluded that Sir John was playing for safety, and that although there was no male

[1] Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* II., p. 94.
[2] In the case of Thomas Weyland, 1291.
[3] Quoted by Holdsworth, *History of English Law* III., p. 206.
[4] Of this property Sir John is declared definitely to be the holder at the time of death 'by the curtesy of England.'
[5] Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 495. [6] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313–17, p. 509.

heir of their bodies as yet, he was prepared for such an eventuality. There is no reason for thinking that Sir John, at the moment, proceeded any further, for there is nothing to show that he did enfeoff anyone 'whomsoever.' But the matter was only in abeyance. Early in 1319, Sir John, probably, left England, for the time being, in the company of the grey-headed Sir Hugh Despencer, now Earl of Winchester, and went 'on the service of the King' into Spain.[1] It is not at all clear when he returned, but it must have been either in 1321 or 1322.[2] If the latter, his affairs were undoubtedly administered by letters of attorney, because, on 4 July, 1321, another step was taken in the complicated story of settlement. On that day a licence was granted for "Sir John de Haudlo and Matilda his wife to enfeoff Robert de Haudlo, clerk, of the manor of Rollyndryght co. Oxford and of the advowson of the church, held in chief .... and for the said Robert to regrant the same to the said John de Haudlo and Matilda and the heirs male of their bodies with remainder to the right heirs of the said Matilda."[3] This is a distinct advance, but there is no evidence that Sir John did more than obtain the licence and pay the fine. If he had carried out the enfeoffment and become the tenant-in-tail he would not have had to take the steps that he did on a later occasion.[4] Possibly the fact that Sir John had to accompany the Earl of Winchester to Yorkshire in August, 1322,[5] when Bruce was devastating the northern counties,[6] put the matter out of his mind. In fact the disgrace, disaster and despair of the precipitate flight from Byland, in October, were quite enough to drive any private affairs out of the mind of anyone. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that there is no proof of this enfeoffment unless, as he had no heir at this time, Sir John had not as yet established his *curtesy* tenure. On the other hand, it is conceivable that his son Nicholas was born within twelve months of his return from Spain, and the immediate necessity, as far as Sir John personally, was concerned, did not appear so pressing. The possibility of the death of his wife was, however, always present, and the most natural solution, when considered with the

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1317–21, p. 262.
[2] Ibid., 1321–24, p. 43.
[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1317–21, p. 601. This is also to be found in the Feet of Fines 16 Ed. II., File 189/16, No. 37, for which I am indebted to Mr. St. John Brooks.
[4] *Vide infra.*
[5] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321–24, p. 187.
[6] Tout, *ut supra* III., p. 284.

circumstances, was that a transfer of the property would be made as soon as could be. This took place in 1323, when John and Maud were to have and to hold the manor and advowson, which were to pass to their heirs male, and failing them to the right heirs of Maud.[1]

As years went by, however, it is clear that Sir John was determined to make everything safe for himself and for his son Nicholas. In the previous licences Maud was an actual party, but in 1339 she was not, either because it was presumed that she would confess her assent to her husband's act, in open court at the time of the final concord[2]; or because, as she had been a party before, she might rightly be regarded as a party now, and no confession in court would be necessary If it is agreed that she was dead, which she may have been, and which she certainly was in 1341,[3] then the presumption that her previous acquiescence contained in the licences was sufficient must be accepted. In any case, on 12 July, 1339, Sir John obtained a licence by which he could enfeoff Geoffrey de Scardeburgh, parson of the church of Onebury,[4] and Thomas Asselote, parson of the church of 'Woolstanton,' of the advowson and manor, amongst other places, of Rollendright, and by which they could regrant the same to him for life with remainder to his son Nicholas and Mary his wife[5] and the heirs of Nicholas.[6] Having obtained this licence the parties brought their case to the court, and armed with "*the writ original*,"[7] there compromised, taking care to acquire the requisite permission of the court in the presence of four justices,[8] to whom they stated the terms of their compact. That this was so, is shown by the Inquest on the property of Sir John Haudlo when he died, on 8 August, 1346.[9] He was then declared to have held for his life the manor of 'Roulandriht," by the grant of Geoffrey Scardeburgh and Thomas Asselote by *fine levied* in the King's court, 14 Ed. III. (1341),[10] with the reversion as above, of the

[1] Feet of Fines 18 Ed. II., File 189/16, No. 76, thanks to Mr. St. John Brooks.
[2] Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* II., p. 409.
[3] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1340–43, p. 194.
[4] This place was one of the estates of Maud, *vide* Parliamentary Writs.
[5] It is clear from *Complete Peerage* II., p. 435, that it is not known who 'Mary' was.
[6] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1338–40, p. 302.
[7] Reeves, *History of English Law* II., p. 225.
[8] *Modus Levandi Fines*, Stat. of Realm I., p. 214.
[9] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. II., p. 130.
[10] Compare Feet of Fines 14 Ed. III., File 287/40, No. 276, for which I am indebted to Mr. St. John Brooks.

King-in-chief, by service of a ninth part of a knight's fee.[1] The jurators, at the Inquest, declared that " Edmund, son of Richard de Haudlo son of the said John, aged 7 years and more is his next heir in blood "[2]; but this seems almost irrelevant, as sometime before, the Final Concord had been concluded in the King's Court in the interest of the child of Sir John and of his second wife, Maud Burnell. It is difficult to understand, however, why an exemplification of the writ of 1321, should be enrolled in the Patent Rolls in 1342. The solution may be, that a year and a day having elapsed[3] since the Final Concord, the exemplication is intended as evidence of the fine having been paid long years before.[4]

Whatever view may have been taken by the local jurators, the law was on the side of Nicholas; and John de Alvetone, escheator, was ordered, in October, 1346, to give him the manor of " Roulandright," which is again stated to be held in chief for the ninth part of a knight's fee.[5] The King is said to have taken the fealty of Nicholas, and given him respite for his homage,[6] until his sovereign's return to England.[7] The assertion as to the service is rather remarkable because it would be natural to expect a reference to petty serjeanty by which the Despencers and Burnells had formerly held, and also because in the inquest before John Dymoke and others, for the collection of a fortieth from each knight's fee, on the occasion of the knighting of the Black Prince in 1346, it was stated " Nicholaus B(urnell) tenet in Rollandrizt Mangnam [*sic*] pro di. f. de domino rege i.c. de herede Philippi Burnell."[8] This shows that Nicholas had assumed his mother's name as early as 1346, whereas, Dugdale says it was not until 22 Ed. III. (1348).[9] As already shown he must have been of age some

[1] Cal. Inq. VIII., p. 493.

[2] Ibid., p. 489. *Cf. Vic. Cty. Hist. Bucks.* IV., p. 12.

[3] Reeves, *ut supra*, p. 225, says ' A fine is so high a bar . . . and of so strong a nature that it concludes not only parties and privies thereto and their heirs, but all other people of the world being of full age . . . and within the four seas at the time of the fine levied, if they make not the claim of their action on the foot of the fine within a year and a day.'

[4] Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1340–43, p. 416.

[5] Cal. Close Rolls, 1346–9, p. 113.

[6] Ibid.

[7] From the middle of October, 1346, to August, 1347, King Edward III. was out of England. Tout, *ut supra*, III., pp. 365–6. It is obvious from this that Nicholas would not be called on for his homage until, at the earliest, the late summer or the beginning of autumn 1347.

[8] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 184.

[9] Dugdale, *Baronage* II., pp. 61, 62, 206; *Complete Peerage* II., p. 435. But as early as 1341 another son of Maud, who was by that year dead, is spoken of as Thomas Burnell. *Vide* Cal. Patent Rolls, 1340–3, p. 194.

time before this date, and was, therefore, regarded of sufficient years to be a Knight in chivalry in the wars in France. He was summoned to Parliament from 25 November, 1350, to 7 January, 1382–3, by writs directed to "Nicolas Burnell," whereby he is held to have become Lord Burnell.[1] He was thus a member of that "estate of the baronage" which "was constituted and defined by the exercise of the royal prerogative in issuing the writ of summons."[2] "Nick'us Burnell Ch'r," died on 19 January, 6 Ric. II. (1382–3),[3] seised of "Rollondrigh Magna maner' et advoc' ecclie."[4]

The heir of Nicholas Burnell was his son Hugh, who was thirty-six years of age when his father died[5]; and was evidently a man of very considerable importance. At first he was much in favour with Richard II. and came to be regarded as one of his evil counsellors; so that for a time when Richard was under the control of the Appellants he was banished from Court. But on the King recovering his power he was given a grant of sixpence a day from the Exchequer in compensation for his losses. By 1399[6] he had won popular support, and changing sides, with many other lords, was deputed to receive from the King in the Tower his resignation of the Crown.[7] This, no doubt, brought him into the good favour of Henry IV. by whom he was nominated Knight of the Garter about 1406. At this time he was known as Lord Burnell, and was summoned to Parliament from 30 August, 1383, to 21 October, 1420, taking his seat, at least occasionally, as is proved by the Rolls of Parliament.[8] He married, first Joyce granddaughter of Sir John Botetourt, Knt., and secondly Philippe, daughter of Michael de la Pole, and granddaughter of Hugh Earl of Stafford. As far as can be ascertained there were no children by the first marriage and only one son, Edward, by the second.

Lord Hugh's son Edward married Alice, or Alienora, the daughter of Lord Strang. He was killed fighting gallantly at Agincourt on 25 October, 1415,[9] thus predeceasing his father, who as "Dominus de Holgate and Weolegh," holding

[1] *Complete Peerage* II., p. 435.
[2] Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution* I., p. 173.
[3] Dugdale, *ut supra.*
[4] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. III., p. 46.
[5] For legal proofs of age *vide Eng. Hist Review* XXII., p. 101.
[6] Bridges, *Antiquities of Northamptonshire* II., p. 36.
[7] Walsingham, *Hist. Ang.* (*Rolls Series*).
[8] *Complete Peerage* II., p. 435.
[9] Ibid. *The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII., p. 173, tells a very different story. It says that Sir Edward Burnell died 23 Sept., the feast of St. Tecla the Virgin, 1415.

" Roulongright maner' cum advocacione eccliae ibm,"[1] died on 27 November, 1420, and was buried at Hales Abbey.[2] His successor in the Great Rollright property was his granddaughter, the youngest child of Edward Burnell, Margerie or Margaret, who married shortly before 8 November, 1416,[3] Edmund Hungerford, son of Walter Hungerford first Baron Hungerford,[4] and grandson of Sir Thomas Hungerford,[5] the Speaker of the House of Commons. Edmund, like his father-in-law, gained some notoriety as a warrior, and was knighted[6] after the battle of Verneuil, which was almost a second Agincourt, in August, 1424. His wife Margaret was referred to, in the Inquest at Banbury, in 1428, as " Heres Nicolai Burnell immediate [etc.] certa terras et tenementa in Rollunright Magna que nuper fuerunt predicti Nicolai per servicium dimidii feodi militis "[7]; while he himself, is called " Dominus de Burnell," in a Feudal Aid of the same year.[8] Practically nothing is known of the history of their manor in Great Rollright during their lordship except the fact that, one, John Goylyn was a manorial tenant,[9] previous to 1485. His mother was named Agnes and his wife Margaret. He had two sons, John, who was aged eleven years, and Thomas, who was rather younger. Before his death, on 25 July, 1485, he appointed Richard Croft, John Asby, Robert Tristhropp and William Hye,[10] to look after the interests of his heirs and assigns in, amongst other property, " a messuage, a tenement and 10 virgates of land in Rollandright aforesaid worth 20s. held of the heirs of Edmund Hungerford Knt. service unknown."[11] From this it is obvious that Edmund was already dead,[12]

[1] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. IV., p. 56.

[2] *Complete Peerage, ut supra.* At his death the Barony according to modern usage fell into abeyance. For a long and complicated story as to the inheritance of his other property *vide The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII., pp. 167–185.

[3] *Complete Peerage* II., pp. 435–6. On the death of her grandfather she was aged eleven years.

[4] Died 1449. The marriage is said to have cost Sir Walter, £1,000, *vide The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII., p. 172.

[5] Died 1398.

[6] Metcalfe, *Book of Knights*, p. 1.

[7] Cal. Feudal Aids IV., p. 188.

[8] *Complete Peerage* Vol. II., p. 436.

[9] He also held from the Priory of Cold Norton, see p. .

[10] There is no reason to think that any of the persons mentioned were residents in Great Rollright.

[11] Cal. Inq. Hen. VII. I., No. 46, p. 20.

[12] Edmund Hungerford died either on 26 March or 26 May, 1484, *vide The Ancestor*, Vol. VIII., p. 181.

but his wife Margaret lived until 30 March, 1486.[1] Her heir was Thomas Hungerford, who was over thirty years of age when he succeeded[2] to the manor of "Rowlond Ryght," which was said to be worth 5 marks. There is then the statement that William Lovell Knt., Lord Lovell, Burnell and Holand, granted the above mentioned manor to Edmund and Margery and the heirs of their bodies "to hold of him and his heirs by fealty only."[3] At first sight this is a somewhat problematic assertion; but the solution must be sought in the original conveyance of Sir John Haudlo to his 'trustees.' The manor was, after the failure of the heirs male of the bodies of Sir John Haudlo and Matilda to revert to the 'right heirs' of Matilda. These would be the male descendants of herself and of her first husband Sir John Lovel. According to the evidence, his great-great-great-grandson, instead of claiming the property for himself, was willing to grant it under a form of feudal tenure to his very distant relative Margery and her husband Edmund.

At the end of the fifteenth century, the lordship of the manor in Great Rollright, passed to Sir John Hungerford,[4] who died in 1524, and after that date to Anthony Hungerford his heir, and he in turn was succeeded by Edmund, who married Ursula, but who ceased to be the lord in 1583.[5] It was during this period that Brasenose College, as the successor of the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton, annually paid to the Hungerfords the sum of 4s., "pro redditu quieto exeunte de terris et tenementis in Rollandright"[6]; and the *Valor* of 1547 shows the same in the words "Consimili Reditu Annuatim Soluto Anthonio Hungerford milit: exeunte de Manerio et terris predictis per Annum iiijs." The Bursars' Roll proves the payment of the same in the words, "Et eciam Antonii Hungre-
iiijs.
ford militis pro terris et tenementis nostris in Rollandright

[1] Cal. Inq. Hen. VII. I., No. 137, p. 55. She was buried at Down Ampney, Gloucs. Edmund Hungerford was living on 21 Aug., 1482, as he appointed to the rectory that year. According to Jackson's edition of Aubrey's, *Collections of Wiltshire*, p. 412, he died in 1484.

[2] Cal. Inq. H. VII., No. 137, p. 55.

[3] Ibid., *cf.* Bridges, *ut supra* II., p. 382.

[4] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 68. In the Bursars' Roll of 1524 there is the statement that the four shillings are paid to the 'heir' of Sir John; the next year the payment is made to Sir Anthony. For an account of this Sir Anthony Hungerford, *vide* D.N.B.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 78.

[6] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 68.

magna."[1] "The '*redditus quietus*,' so called because the tenant goes quit and free of all other services,"[2] pointed, according to Mr. I. S. Leadam, to a "*superior manor*, as being at that time in the hands of the Hungerfords," and, he says, "consistently with this the *Valor* of 1547 speaks of this as a '*redditus resolutus*' issuing '*de Manerio.*'"[3] But Mr. Leadam was quite certain that the Stafford manor, that had been granted to the Priory of Cold Norton in 1370, was held by a mesne-tenant; and as he seems to have been unaware of any other manor, he found in the Hungerfords the holders of a manor that, as shown by the Court Roll of 1450, had, as a matter of fact, long been in the hands of the Priory. It was a natural mistake to make, for without going into the history of Great Rollright long before any portion of it belonged to Brasenose College, it would not be easy for anyone to know that there was more than one manor in that place. The superiority of the Hungerfords was a superiority only over *certain* lands of Brasenose College in the village lying within their manorial jurisdiction. This intermixture of property was very common; and was especially referred to in later years, and used as a main plea for an Act of Enclosure, by means of which, in the eighteenth century, the College authorities and the predecessors of Mr. J. A. Hall mutually exchanged patches of land scattered in the different fields within the two manors, and so permanently concentrated their different estates and manorial jurisdictions.

In 1583 the Hungerford manor in "Great Rowleright *al.* Rowlandright co. Oxon" contained 20 messuages, 10 cottages, 200 tofts, one dovecote, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, 500 acres of land, 500 of meadow, 1000 of pasture, 30 of wood, 500 of brier and furse, 200 of moor and 10s. rents.[4] All this, together with the advowson of the church,[5] was sold by Edmund Hungerford to William Sheppard in the spring of 1583 for the sum of £320. For the next 160 years the Sheppard family was the largest

[1] Bursars' Roll M'mas., 1545—M'mas., 1546. On examining the Bursars' Rolls at the end of the sixteenth century I find that in 25 Eliz. (1582–3) the College paid for two years to the Hungerfords 4s. and after that for a few years there is the entry 'Nihil'; but that ceased before the end of Elizabeth's reign.

[2] Spelman, *Glossary*, Blackstone *Commentaries* II., p. 42.

[3] B.N.C. Mon. IX., pp. 67–68, Mr. Leadam says that in the *Valor* the Bursars use the phrase 'Redditus resolutus' of any rent paid to a manor distinguishing it as issuing 'de terris et tenementis' or 'de manerio.'

[4] This extraordinary enumeration was merely legal verbiage in common use at this date; the acreage shown was nonsensical, and was far in excess of the total area of the parish of Great Rollright.

[5] See Chapter VI.

landowner in Great Rollright. This is partially proved by the exemplification[1] given above, and partly by the proportions shown in the Estreate of 16 Car. I. for the taxing of the two last of the four subsidies granted to the King by Parliament, given below :—

" Rowlright Magna.

	pts.	£	s.	d.
On William Sheppard,[2] Esq.,	in lande VI.	II.	VIII.	
Jonathan Cobb, Esq.,	in lande	I.	VIII.	
Edmund Rowlewright *alias* Fuller[3]	in lande I.		VIII.	
William Carter	in lande I.		VIII.	
William Freeman	in lande I.		VIII.	
Dr. Samual Radcliffe[4]	in lande III.		XXIV.	
		£VI.	IVs.	

R.J."[5]

When William Sheppard purchased the manor from Edmund Hungerford he also acquired the ancient manorial rights of that manor. These rights continued to be held by his descendants as is shown from the Court Roll of 1655.[6]

MANNOR OF ROLERIGHT.[7] The Court Baron of William Sheppard, Esquire, held for the said mannor in and upon the twenty-fifth day of July in the yeare of our Lord One thousand six hundred and fifty five before Edward Bagshaw Esquire Steward there.

[1] Exemplification of recovery 15 days from Easter 25 Eliz. (1583) 'by Will. Sheppard gent., from Edmund Hungerford esq. Anthony Hungerford esq. and John Hungerford gent. of the manor of Great Rowleright.' British Museum, Add. Ch. 40,084. For this I am much indebted to Mr. J. P. Gilson, Keeper of the Manuscripts.

[2] This is the William Sheppard who was killed in 1644, see p. 40.

[3] In the preamble 'Edmond Rowelewright *alias* Fuller' is 'appointed High Collector for ye levying collecting and paying of the sums of money herein specified due to his Majestie.' This Edmond 'Rowelewright' together with George Gardiner, and Jo Baughan were all tenants of Brasenose College. They were all subscribers to the new chapel on 20 April, 1658. *Cf.* B.N.C. Mon. IV., p. 61.

[4] Dr. Samuel Radcliffe is entered as Principal of Brasenose College.

[5] R. J. was probably Rice-Jones, Esq., 'of the King's Magistrates, Commissioner assigned among others for the taxing of the two last of the four entire subsidies,' etc.

[6] Court Roll of the late Major A. C. Hall.

[7] This gives a false impression ; it should read 'A Mannor in Roleright.'

ESSOIN Edmund ffuller,[1] jun. } jur. Richard Berry[5] } jur.
HOMAG' Robert Baughan John Wilkins[6]
William Charter[2] William Berry[7]
Richard Cox John Witt[8]
Thomas Beckett[3] John Baughan[9]
Richard Hull[4]

Who being charged upon their oathes Doe p'sent that [*blank*] Kerry widdowe[10] a Copyholder of this mannor Dyed since the last Court and held of the Lord of this mannor During her life a messuage and two yardland in Roleright by ffealty suite of Court and the yearly rent of xvijs. viijd. Whereby copyhold estate is nowe by her Death fallen into the hands of the Lord.

Item They p'sent that William ffreeman[11] a Copy holder of this mannor held of the Lord of this mannor a messuage and certeyne Lands in Roleright During his naturall life by ffealty suite of Court and the yearly rent of xxis. and is Dead[12] since the last court and that by his Death the said Copyhold estate is fallen into the hands of the Lord.

Item They p'sent that William Hilton a Copyholder of this mannor who held a messuage and halfe a yardland in Roleright During his naturall life by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of vs. is dead since the last court and that [*blank*] Hilton widdowe his late wife Did thereupon enter upon the said Copyhold as for her widdowes estate to the Custome of the said mannor that she is lately Dead[13] and that upon both their deaths All the said Copyhold estate is fallen into the hands of the lord.

[1] Edmund Fuller *alias* Rowleright.
[2] This is the same as William Carter 'yeoman' who was buried Oct. 31, 1638.
[3] Thomas Becket was buried Aug. 26, 1674.
[4] Richard Hull was buried June 15, 1673.
[5] Richard Berry, 'yeoman' was buried April 1, 1658.
[6] John Wilkins was buried July 10, 1670.
[7] I cannot classify this William Berry.
[8] John 'Witte' was buried June 13, 1685.
[9] John Baughan or Baffin was buried Sept. 20, 1668.
[10] See p. 37. Widow Kerry was buried Dec. 28, 1654.
[11] This man was a member of an old Rollright family. According to the *Visitations of Oxfordshire*, 1574, p. 150, 'Johanne daughter of John Freeman of Rowlandright in com. Oxon,' married Richard Calcott. William Freeman was a relative of the Berry family as his sister [?] Elizabeth Freeman married Richard 'Berrie' or Berry in 1635.
[12] William Freeman 'husbandman' was buried June 1, 1654.
[13] Margery Hilton, widow, was buried October 12, 1652.

Item They p'sent that William Charter [Carter] holdeth by Copy of Court Roll of the Lord of this mannor a messuage and three yard land in Roleright By ffealty suite of Court and the yearly rent of xxs. who Came into Court and Did his ffealty to the Lord and produced his Copy for the said land and desired it might be entered in the Rolls of the Court.

Item They p'sent that Richard Hull holdeth by Copy of Court Roll of the Lord of this mannor a messuage and three yardland in Roleright aforesaid By ffealty suite of Court and the yearly rent of xxs. who came into Court and Did his ffealty to the Lord and produced his Copy for the said land and desired it might be entered in the Rolls of the Court.

Item They p'sent that John Wilkins holdeth by Copy of Court Roll of the Lord of this mannor a messuage with the appurtenances in Roleright aforesaid by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of vis. viijd. who came into Court and Did his ffealty to the Lord and produced his Copy for the said messuage and desired it might be entered in the Rolls of the Court.

Item They p'sent that Daniel Greenwood,[1] Dr. of Divinity and the ffellowes of Brasen-nose Colledge in Oxford hold of the Lord of this mannor Certeyne[2] lands in Roleright aforesaid By ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of iiijs. jd.[3]

[1] Daniel Greenwood, Principal of Brasenose College, 1648–60; created D.D. 24 July, 1649; Vice-Chancellor, 1650–2. Died January 29, 1673–4, aged 71; buried at Steeple Aston.

[2] It is very important to notice this word 'certeyne.' The properties, as already stated, were much intermixed until 1776. Brasenose College for example, before that date had land in Wain's Furlong which by the Award went entirely to John Carter Pollard, Esq., the College receiving an equivalent elsewhere. It is probable that Wain's Furlong was always within the manor inherited by Mr. Carter Pollard. The lordship therefore of this manor was only a lordship over a small portion of the property of Brasenose College.

[3] There are numerous other references to this in the Court rolls possessed by the late Major A. C. Hall. (*a*) Court Leet and Baron of William Sheppard Oct. 23, 1733. Thomas Mander, Gentleman Steward there. 'We present that Robert Shippen, Doctor in Divinity and principle [*sic*] of Brazen Nose Colledge in Oxon and the ffellows of the same Colledge hold of the Lord of this manor certaine lands in Rolright aforesaid by suite of Court and the yearly rent of four shillings and one penny.' (*b*) The same statement is made on 1 October, 1734. (*c*) Court Baron of John Carter Pollard Esquire, 8 November, 1747. George Eddowes, Gentleman Steward there. 'We present that the Principall and ffellows of Brazen Nose College in the University of Oxford do hold of the Lord of this Manor certain Lands in Roleright by fealty suit of Court and the yearly rent of four Shillings and one penny.' (*d*) Court Leet and Court Baron of John Carter Pollard Esq., 26 April, 1764. John Miller, Gent. Steward there. 'ffirst We present that the Principal and ffellowes of Brazen Nose College in Oxford hold of the Lord of this manor certain Lands in Rollright aforesaid by ffealty suit of Court and the yearly Rent of ffour shillings and one penny.' For 4s. 1d. see p. 110.

Item They p'sent that William Lord holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of viijs. xd.

Item They p'sent that Thomas Warner[1] holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of viijs. iijd.

Item They p'sent that Richard Berry, William Taplin, Thomas Kerre and William Carter hold of the Lord of this mannor their severall lands in Roleright by ffealty and suite of Court onely.

Item They p'sent that William Carter holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearly rent of iiijs. jd.

Item They p'sent that Edmund ffuller *als* Roleright holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of jd.

Item They p'sent that Robert Baughan holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of ——ob.

Item They p'sent that Edward Warner[2] holdeth of the Lord of this mannor by ffealty suite of Court and the yearely rent of vijs. iijd.

Item They p'sent that Mr. Sheppard Lord of this mannor hath five yard land in Roleright and by that means had five swathes[3] belonging to the said five yard land in a place called the Swathes. It is agreed by the Homage at this Court that the said Ground called the Swathes shall be stoned out and marked that every man may have his Swath in that place according to the proportion of land that belongs to them and this is to be done before Christmas next upon payne of ij.s a man for every man that shall be absent to be forfeited to the Lord.

Att this Court Edmund ffuller, Robert Baughan, William Carter, Richard Hull and John Wilkins, tenants and freeholders of this mannor tooke their severall oathes of ffealty to the Lord.

examined by me
Edward Bagshawe Steward."[4]

[1] Thomas Warner was buried November 21, 1655.
[2] Edward Warner was buried April 4, 1661. [3] See p. 23.
[4] This Court Roll is endorsed on the back 'A Court Roll of the Monor [*sic*] of Rollright' and also 'A Court Roll of the mannor of Rollright.' 'This is the old Court Roll which I found dated, "July ye 26, 1655, held by one *Richard* Bagshawe."' A curious error!

The Sheppard family died out in September, 1742,[1] and their property passed to John Pollard by purchase.[2] In 1763 John Carter[3] was bequeathed this property by his cousin, Elizabeth Pollard, and thereupon took the name of Carter-Pollard.[4] This man never resided in Great Rollright although a trustee for the Prew and Baughan charity from 1764 to 1806.[5] During this period the property was let to different tenants. Before 1744, John Hall[6] rented 77 acres which on his death, were divided[7] between the two chief tenants Robert Harbidge, senior, and Richard Williams. The former held Coombe Farm and Rye Mills[8] (320 acres) by lease for sixteen years from Michaelmas, 1795; the latter held the Manor Farm (319 acres) on the same terms. Thomas Roberts, and William Avaris and Richard Beckett held certain cottage properties; while Richard and John Berry had a lifehold of about 76 acres and Henry Baughan had the same of nearly two acres. When John Carter-Pollard died, abroad, in 1806, he left his property to his nephew Mr. John Hall of Weston Colville, Cambridge.[9] He, however, never resided in Great Rollright; and during the nineteenth century the Manor was leased to John Berry (1775–1858), Richard Berry (1804–1882) and John Berry (1854–1889). No member of the present owner's family lived at Great Rollright until the late Major A. C. Hall[10] came into residence in 1898.

[1] William Sheppard b. 1687–8, died 1742. His three children were Elizabeth b. 1713, Jane b. 1714, d. 1723, Fleetwood b. 1727, d. 1728, *vide* Rollright Church Registers.

[2] The Court Roll of 1747 shows him to be in possession that year. Major A. C. Hall told me that the property was transferred by purchase.

[3] No relation of the Carters who appear in the Rolls and Registers.

[4] Kindly supplied by the late Major A. C. Hall. Mr. Carter-Pollard assumed the arms of the Pollard family at the same time.

[5] *Charity Commissioners Report* (1826), p. 114.

[6] No relation of the Hall family who owns the property at the present time.

[7] These tenants and their holdings are shown on the map of 1794.

[8] This does not denote a mill, but the name is derived from the family of Rymill. The first reference to the family is in a Court Roll of 1602, (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 84); and a Rymill was a resident in the village as late as 1825, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, New Series, 159.

[9] Mr. John Hall was grandson of Mr. Joseph Hall, of Skelton Castle, Yorkshire.

[10] Major A. C. Hall's grandmother was Charlotte, daughter and heiress of John Hall, *ut supra*. She married in 1825 Henry Robert Bullock, and their son, with a change of name, was William Henry Hall, of Six Mile Bottom, Cambridge. His son, Major A. C. Hall, married Favell Helen, daughter of Colonel Hugh Maurice Jones Mortimer, of Plas Newydd, co. Denbigh, 23 November, 1899. Their children are, John Alexander Hall, the present owner of the Despencer Manor, Hugh Bullock Hall, and Favell Elizabeth Gertrude Hall. Major A. C. Hall, having, during the Great War, served gallantly at the front, and having done, after a severe operation, good work in home defence and in organization of supplies, died 2 October, 1920. He was buried on the east side of Great Rollright churchyard. For his memorial in the church, *vide* Chap. VI.

PART III.

The Manor of William.

Baffling as the stories of the Stafford and Despencer manors have often been, their elucidation has proved simple in comparison with the story of the holding of William, which has defied all efforts of research. Mr. J. L. G. Mowat has suggested[1] that the five carucates held by Almaricus Despencer, at the beginning of the thirteenth century,[2] represent the manor of the elusive and intangible William. This, however, does not seem satisfactory, as this land, practically tallies with the original territory of the Despencer family in Domesday Book.[3] The four and a half hides of William are far more likely to be the fief of Ralph Mortimer mentioned in the *Testa de Neville.* In that invaluable record there are three statements concerning this fee, showing that the Despencers held it as mesne tenants. Thus there is the entry under " Nomina eorum qui tenent feoda militaria in comitatu Oxon' et de quibus ipsi tenent."

" Feoda Radulphi de Mortuo Mari
Thurstanus Dispensator tenet in Magna Rollendr' ix. partes feodi unius militis de feodo Radulphi de Mortuo Mari."[4]

Again under the subsection " Feoda que tenentur in capite de Rege " the record states :

" Magna Rollendr' Thurstanus Dispensator[5] tenet in eadem ix. partes feodi unius militis de Radulpho de Mortuo Mari."[6]

And finally there is the statement :

" De feodo Radulphi de Mortimer."

" De eodem de terra Thurstani Dispensarii de feodo unius militis una hida excepta in Rollendi xxiijs. iiijd."[7]

A previous Ralph Mortimer had held lands in Oxfordshire in

[1] J. L. G. Mowat, *Notes on the Oxfordshire Domesday*, p. 15.
[2] Testa de Neville, p. 120.
[3] See p. 52.
[4] Testa de Neville, p. 102.
[5] *The Book of Fees*, Pt. II., p. 827, says ' " Magna Rolendr' " Thurstanus Dispensator tenet in eadem ix. partes feodi unius militis de Radulfo de Mortuo Mari et idem Radulfus de rege in capite.' This was sent in to the authorities on the occasion of Henry III's expedition to Gascony in 1242, *vide* p. 637.
[6] Testa de Neville, p. 105.
[7] Ibid., p. 113.

1086,[1] amongst others, a small portion at Chidintone[2] under Earl William. It is not unlikely that the Mortimer family during the next century extended their holdings in the county and may have incorporated by purchase or inheritance the manor of William at Great Rollright, which was no great distance from their holding at Nether Kiddington.

The extent of the land owned by Mortimer at Great Rollright was, at first, something rather less, as shown above, than a knight's fee. The actual area of a knight's fee was, of course, a varying quantity of land, but if for ordinary purposes it was based upon the five hide unit then the original holding of William of four and a half hides would be slightly below the necessary amount to make up the fee. If a knight's fee of five hides was divided into tenths, four and a half hides would equal 9/10ths of a full fee, and such was the amount owned by Ralph Mortimer and held by Thurstan Despencer. There is, too, documentary evidence of the Despencer family holding these 9/10ths in later years. In the Hundred Rolls of 1279, under the heading "Magna Bollendr," (*sic*) Adam Despencer is not only said to hold the manor by petty serjeanty as dispensator to the King; but is also declared to hold eighteen virgates, that is the four and a half hides of Domesday Book, in the same manor, "de feodo de Scovil," the value being ten shillings per annum "quas tenet in dominico."[3] When the Despencer manor proper passed to the Burnells this holding evidently passed with it, for Edward Burnell "in custodia domini regis" is stated to have held in the manor of "Rollendrych," "octodecim virgatas terre de feodo de Schouile pro dimidio feodi militis," in 1302.[4] It is very difficult, however, to account for the fact that two years later the Mortimer fief had been restored to the persons of "Edmundus[5] de Mortuo Mari et Margaretta[6] uxor ejus," who are said to be seised of "Rolendrit unum feodum."[7] They seem to have sublet their possessions at Great Rollright to Alan la Zouche who held them by service of one knight's fee[8]; and, on 19 June, 1305, the escheator of Oxfordshire was ordered to deliver over to Margaret the widow of Edmund, certain fees including "a

[1] J. L. G. Mowat, *ut supra*. p. 7.
[2] Nether Kiddington.
[3] Hundred Rolls II., p. 727.
[4] Cal. Feudal Aids. IV., p. 160.
[5] 7th Baron Mortimer.
[6] She was Spanish and related to Queen Eleanor.
[7] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. I., p. 191.
[8] Cal. Inq. Ed. I. IV., No. 235, p. 163.

fee in Rolandrit co. Oxford which Alan [la Zouche] holds and which is extended at 100s. yearly."[1]

It is no easier to reconcile the holding of La Zouche with the statement, in 1316,[2] that the three lords of the manors of Great Rollright and Bradstone, were first the King, who was holding the Burnell, that is, the Despencer manor; secondly Roger Brabazon who was the mesne tenant of the Staffords; and thirdly the Prior of Cold Norton. One would expect, that as Stafford had not demised his manor, as yet, to the Priory, the third manor would be that of Mortimer unless, either, there were no manorial rights attached to the fee, or the manor had once again returned within the Despencer-Burnell manor then in the hands of the King; or that, which was certainly true, the Prior of Cold Norton was lord of the manor of Bradstone,[3] and was not a lord in Great Rollright. The first suggestion would seem to be the least improbable, as according to the Hundred Rolls, the eighteen virgates are stated to be within the same manor as that held by Adam Despencer. It is very evident, however, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that the Mortimers claimed superiority over the fief, for in 34 Ed. III. (1360–1) " Rogerus de Mortuo Mari "[4] had a fief at " Rolandriche,"[5] and that his great-great-grandson, another " Rogerus,"[6] claimed the " feodum pertinens ad honorem Wigemore " at " Rollandryght," and that it was " per comitem Stafford."[7] When his son " Edmundus de Mortuo Mari, Comes Marchiae,"[8] died in 3 Hen. VI. (1424–5) he also had at " Rollondryght, unum feodum."[9] The reference to the fee, being " per comitem Stafford," adds another great difficulty to the already tangled mass. It seems to show that the Staffords held under the Mortimers; but this would mean that the property of William had fallen into the hands of the Staffords, and that, therefore, either the bulk of the acreage in Great Rollright would be, after 1370, in the possession of the

[1] Cal. Close Rolls, 1302–7, p. 275. Alan la Zouche was Lord of Ashby de la Zouche in Leicestershire and was descended from the house of Brittany. He died without male issue in 7 Edw. II., *vide The Ancestor*, Vol. VII., p. 251. For the connection between the Stafford family and the Mortimers *vide* W. Money, *The History of Newbury*, p. 169. [2] See p. 61.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Bradstone, 12, 13, 14, 20.

[4] Second Earl of March. The first Earl (exec. 1330) had, for a time, been lord of Chipping Norton after Fitz-Alan had been executed in 1326.

[5] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. II., p. 225.

[6] Fourth Earl of March and second of Ulster.

[7] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. III., p. 236.

[8] Fifth Earl of March and third of Ulster.

[9] Cal. Inq. Post Mort. IV., p. 86. It should be noted that he died without issue.

Stafford legatees, the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton; or that the Staffords held land other than their main manor up to the reign of Henry VI. But against the first there is the fact that the largest possession in Great Rollright in later years was evidently not in the hands of the Priory; and against the second there is the argument that no proof of such holding has been discovered.

To whom, then did the third manor pass? The answer to this question must be regarded as hypothetical and more as a suggested solution than as a proved historic truth. It is clear from what has been said that the third manor, through the Mortimers was not always directly within the Despencer-Burnell-Hungerford lordship; but it would, also, seem that when Edmund Hungerford sold his freehold and manorial rights to William Sheppard in 1583, he parted with a parcel of land larger than the territory held by the founder of the Despencer manor in 1086. The land that he sold, therefore, is presumably the Despencer-Burnell-Hungerford manor combined with the William-Mortimer manor of earlier days.[1] These two manors, in their origin in Domesday Book, equalled roughly two-thirds of the territory in Great Rollright; the remaining one-third being the Stafford manor that passed through the hands of the Priory of Cold Norton and ultimately resided in those of the Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of Brasenose.

[1] It is, of course, possible that the territory of the third manor may be found elsewhere, though no manorial rights or courts can be traced throughout the centuries that have been viewed. The oldest house at Rollright, as already stated in Chapter III., is on the edge of the Slade, and contiguous to it is a *columbarium*, which is commonly associated with manorial privileges. This land in the late eighteenth century, so I have been informed, was held by a John or James Hall; in the mid nineteenth century it was owned by a Dr. Cardwell whose name is now attached to the whole farm. In later years it was in the possession of Mr. Arthur Berry who sold to the present owner, Mr. J. W. Hughes. He thereby very considerably extended the farm of his great grandfather, Mr. Thomas Hughes, who began to farm in Rollright about 1792, and was certainly doing so in 1794 as his name appears on the map of that year. The family had, from the early seventeenth century, been resident in Long Compton, but migrated to Rollright in the later part of the eighteenth century. It is conceivable then that either, what is now known as Cardwell Farm, or what was the land of Robert Fuller, who died in 1791, and which was almost certainly purchased by Mr. Thomas Hughes, is the relic of the third manor. No rights, however, appear to have been exercised; and the more likely solution of the mystery is that at some early date the manor of William was combined with the manor of Despencer-Burnell-Hungerford.

CHAPTER V.

Monastic and Collegiate Owners in Great Rollright.

"Served the poor, and built the cottage,
Raised the school and drain'd the fen."
Tennyson.

The story of the three manors in Great Rollright, having their beginnings in Domesday Book, has been traced; but for the further elucidation of their history it is necessary, to consider the monastic and collegiate holders of property in the village.

The earliest abbey to have territorial interests in this neighbourhood was that of Eynsham. Certainly as far back as 1070 the abbey had possessions in Little Rollright,[1] and these had been confirmed, in 1091,[2] by Bishop Remigius, and again by Henry I.,[3] Henry II.,[4] and Hugh of Lincoln.[5] In the twelfth century, however, the abbey came to possess a small portion of land in Great Rollright itself, with control over a part of the tithes[6] of the parish.[7] About 1180, Baldwin de Parles[8] granted seven acres to the abbey "de patrimonio nostro in villa de Rollendrith,"[9] and this, a little later, was confirmed by his wife, Juliana Tyrel and Walter de Parles his son and heir.[10] By this time the members of the de Parles house had another monastery, Cold Norton,[11] that absorbed all their pious instincts (and a good deal of their estates), and so Eynsham received no more from them. This particular piece of land is again referred to in 1275 when it was worth 3s. a year. It is rather remarkable that it is not mentioned in the Hundred Rolls of 1279, nor is there any subsequent reference to it.[12] But, though this was the last gift of the de Parles, between 1210 and 1223, the abbey had another slight increase

[1] O.H.S.LI., p. lxiv.
[2] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 34.
[3] Ibid., p. 36.
[4] O.H.S.LI., p. 157.
[5] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 46.
[6] Ibid., pp. 5–6.
[7] See Chapter VI.
[8] See Chapter IV., Pt. I.
[9] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 105.
[10] Ibid.
[11] See p. 56.
[12] O.H.S.LI., p. lxiv.

of property in the village, for Walter, son of Robert of Rollright, and grandson of Galfridus,[1] granted to it, " unam acram terre in uilla de Rollendrith."[2]

The actual territorial holding, therefore of Eynsham Abbey was very small, but the total extent of the tithe lands, in 1239, seems to have been one hide,[3] and this is roughly accounted for by the already mentioned,[4] Walter de la le Broc with one and a half virgates, Ingram, " filius domine," with the same, Hugo the Hore with half a virgate, and John le Tayllur with 4 acres.[5] In 1286 instead of three and a half virgates and four acres the abbey had tithe rights over four and a half virgates[6] and three acres.[7] This is borne out by the tithe record of Bertrand Blunt who shows that Robert Biendebroke held two virgates,[8] Margareta " filia domini " one virgate, Walter de Welle, Adam the Miller and the Prior of Cold Norton half a virgate each, and " Edwardus clericus " three acres.[9] The right of collecting these portions of the tithe probably continued until the Reformation, but little is known of this, and practically nothing of the abbey's land holding except for one reference, in 1318, when Eynsham is said to have " vna cultura[10] quatuor selionum sub Wythyhulle in campo de Magna Rolendryght & continet duas acras vnam rodam dimidiam rodam & quindecim perticas, & valet acra iid."[11]

Another abbey that had some small possessions in Great Rollright was that of Osney. Again there is the difficulty of obtaining an exact date for the first document possessed by Brasenose College referring to this.[12] It would seem reasonable

[1] See Chapter I.
[2] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 162.
[3] Ibid., p. 5.
[4] See Chapter I.
[5] This would account for 109 acres if the virgate is taken at 30 acres.
[6] O.H.S. LI., p. lxiii.
[7] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 324.
[8] Feet of Fines, 20 Ed. I., File 188/11, No. 98. I have to thank Mr. St. John Brooks, for informing me that Robert Byenthebroke of Magna Rollendright recognized the right of John de Bussistr, chaplain, to 1 messuage and 2 virgates in Great Rollright.
[9] Edward the clerk witnessed a quit-claim which according to Mr. Hurst was about 1280, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 25 ; see also Chapter VI.
[10] A field in tillage.
[11] O.H.S. LI., p. 29. Except for this reference the Extent refers to Little Rollright.
[12] Mr. Hurst has suggested 1180–90, but this is quite impossible. Alan of Rollright flourished in 1180. This is a grant by his grandson, John, the confirmation of the grant is by another grandson, Robert (Rollright 27). Mr. Hurst has failed to connect the two documents and dates the latter 1280. But as both are witnessed by Thurstan Despencer they are necessarily before his death in 1249.

however, to place it after 1240 and before 1249.[1] It is a grant made by John, son of Henry, to the convent of "Hoseneie," of half a virgate of land in Great "Rolandright," with a messuage and all the appurtenances without reservation. This messuage was that which Alan of Rolendricht gave to Henry, father of John and to Agnes his mother, Alan's daughter,[2] when they married, together with two acres similarly given, one of which lies near the road towards the Cross,[3] and the other near the meadow in Withecomb to be held in perpetual farm of him for the rent of 4d. payable on St. Andrew's day[4]; the service to the King being excepted.[5] It was apparently necessary for John's relative, Robert, son of Galfridus, and grandson of Alan, to confirm this. The document states that he confirmed to the abbot[6] all customs, easements, grants, deliveries and liberties which John, son of Henry made to them in the fields and bounds of Rollright. The compact was made firm and sure not only by giving Robert 3s., but also by the application of his seal.[7]

The next benefactor to Osney was William, now called "de Pantele."[8] He was the younger son of Simon le dispensator, and lived about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. He was, as already shown,[9] rewarded for his services by his brother, Thurstan the Elder, at an uncertain date, with a grant of half a hide of land. There is, in existence,

[1] The witnesses prove this.

[2] See Chapter I.

[3] This shows that there was a village cross as well as the great cross immediately outside the Church door. The triangle of grass by the Chipping Norton road is to this day (1917) called the 'Cross.'

[4] St. Andrew is the patron saint of Great Rollright Church.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 6. This parchment (6½ by 4) is witnessed by Turstan le dispensator, Adam despenser, Alexander the chaplain, Adam de Weston, John de la Wesele, Roger Frankelein, Robert de Hokenoton, Roger son of Henry, Philip de Hampton. The seal is white and roughly a fleurs-de-lis and contains the defaced legend xx xxx xxx RIGI.

[6] The term Abbot, and nothing else, is of course, confusing unless taken with B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 6. For some unknown reason Mr. Hurst has suggested Abbot of '*Reading*'; but this is as erroneous as his proposed date 1280. When Rollright 6, and 27, are taken together their date and their purpose are comparatively clear and simple.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 27. The witnesses on this parchment (6½ by 2½) are Turstan le (presumably 'dispensator' but at this point there is a hole), Alexander the chaplain, Adam de Weston, John de Wassele, Roger le franchlat, Robert de Hocnordon, Roger, son of (presumably 'Henry,' but here is another hole), and Philip de Hanton. The seal is white and probably contained the legend SI DE R[oberti Fil Galfridi].

[8] Does 'de Pantele' refer to Pauntley in Gloucestershire? This was a Clifford fee. Was the mother of William possibly a Clifford?

[9] See Chapter IV. Part II,

a confirmation of this grant which was probably drawn up between the years 1200 and 1210. 'Aumeric dispensarius' grants to William for "humagio et servitio suo dimidiam hidam terre in villa rolondrihct" which "Tristin" (Thurstan or Turstin) "filius Simonis pater meus ei donavit pro homagio et servitio suo tenendam de me et heredib[us] meis . . . annuatim reddendo ad festum sancti Mikael" for all services. "He wishes William to hold it honourably with all its pertinences and free customs."[1] A little later on, but how much later it is difficult to say,[2] William de Pantele, but now called "Panteleoga," granted this land to "Deo et Ecclesie Beate Marie de Osneia et canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus." He not only transferred the land in "Rollendricht," but also his body as a "purcatum."[3] The canons were to have all the belongings in houses, fields and meadows and the pasturage and all other things "ut ea habeant et teneant bene et in pace libere et quiete et integre reddendo inde annuatim sex denarios ad festum Sancti Michael Turstino Domino predicti feodi, . . . saluo seruicio Domini Regis."[4] Thurstan seems to have agreed to this grant, for a copy[5] made in the seventeenth century, states "Thurstan Dispensator concessit [etc.] Deo et ecclesiae beate Marie de Oseneia Dimidiam Hydam terre in Rollendright. Scilicet illam hydam quam Thurstanus avus meus Willelmo dedit pro homagio et pater meus Amauricus confirmavit Reddendo vjd."[6]

These lands of Pantele, Panteleoga or Panteley appear again in a document of 37 Hen. III. (1252–3). In this case Adam dispensator, son of Thurstan the Younger, grants and

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 8. The witnesses to this parchment (6 by 4) are John 'Winandarius,' Henry, son of Henry, Peter de Gloucester, Amauric the chamberlain, Hugh the cook, Adam de Greva, Walter de Milebridge and George tailur. The seal is light green and circular, fastened on a double cord four inches long. There is no design in the centre, but there is the legend SIGILLUM AMAURICI DISPENSATARII.

[2] Mr. Hurst has suggested 1280 but this would, in any case, be incorrect, if the year 1253 is to be taken as correct for Rollright 15. As Thurstan is to receive the rent it must be before 1249; and as it is witnessed by Galfridus son of Alan it is not likely to be later than 1220.

[3] Is this 'purcatum' a 'purgation'?

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 28. The witnesses to this parchment are Henry de Oyli, Hugh Pauper, Walter de Bayvel (possibly Bainel), Robert de Hokenorton, John de 'Cherletun,' Henry de Bertun, Galfridus son of Alan, John de la vessele. There were two seals, but one is lost, the other is white $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter; the legend is not clear.

[5] This 'copy' occurs in an old vellum bound manuscript volume entitled '*Copies of Evidences Belonging to Brasenose College.*' I surmise that this was made by Principal Yate (1660–81), before he made his splendid 'Register.'

[6] The witnesses given in the copy are 'Ada filio meo,' Alexander the chaplain, John de la vessele, Robert de Hokenorton, Adam de longebern, William de [?].

gives half a hide of land in " Rollendricht " to the Canons of Osney " there serving God " which " William of Panteley " conferred on them, with his body, " in free and perpetual alms." The description of the land and tenure is practically the same as before and the abbey is to pay 6d. at Michaelmas and the royal service[1] is excepted.[2] Adam's grant was confirmed shortly after by deed.[3] Another document showing a connection between Great Rollright and Osney Abbey is one that was drawn up by Thurstan, and, therefore, earlier than 1249.[4] Thurstan Dispensator sold[5] to the Church of the Blessed Mary of ' Oseneye ' "et Canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus " " Walter son of Helias " " nativum meum[6] cum omni progenie sua et cum omnibus catellis suis " " wheresoever they are upon my land " for 26s. This grant forms a kind of receipt, for Thurstan states concerning the 26s. " quos predicti Canonici michi dederunt."[7] This sale of a *nativus*, though occasionally taking place, was very rare : it was very seldom that a serf was severed from his tenement.[8]

The connection between Osney Abbey and the village was short lived, for Richard Apletree, abbot of Osney (1254–67), conveyed by grant the lands formerly held by " William de Panteleia " to Adam, the Prior of Cold Norton (c. 1260), together with half a virgate of land which the abbey possessed in Great " Rollenderith " from a gift of John, son of Henry,[9] with messuages and appurtenances which " Alanus de Rollendr'

[1] Service due to the King was a permanent burden upon the land, *cf.* Bracton, f. 36.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 15. The witnesses to this parchment (9½ by 4½) are Bardulph de Cesterton, Gilbert de la Hide, Walter Frankeleyn, Hugo de la Vessele, Michael the clerk, Thomas the jailer, William de Falley and Henry Purcell. The seal was green but is now missing.

[3] Ibid. 16. The witnesses to this parchment (10 by 4) are Ralph his [Adam's] brother, Adam [?] his brother, Alexander the chaplain, William de Rivera, Adam de longebern, John de la Vessele, Robert de Hokenorton. The seal was green but now missing.

[4] Mr. Hurst suggests about 1253, but this is four years after Thurstan's death.

[5] It is interesting to notice that this Rollright document is not the only one possessed by Brasenose College as to the sale and purchase of a serf. In B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 17, there is a parchment showing that Saveric de Walecot sold a '*nativus*,' to the Priory of Cold Norton in the thirteenth century.

[6] A villein exclusively of English birth.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 17. The witnesses to this parchment (5 by 2½) are Alexander the chaplain, Adam Dispensator, John the clerk, John de la Wessele, Roger Frankelan and Richard Valeyse. The seal is white of medium size and consists of a shield with a flower above. There is a long legend but the impression is poor.

[8] Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* I., p. 397, *cf.* also Hone, *ut supra*, p. 16.

[9] See p. 104.

dedit Henrico patrie meo cum Agnete matre mea filia sua in liberum maritagium." Cold Norton Priory is to be liable to the service and suit owing to the lord of the fee, *viz.* 6d. yearly at Michaelmas as before, and in addition 4d. has to be paid in the octave of the feast of St. Andrew to Walter Biham de Brock.[1]

A third monastic institution with territorial interests in Great Rollright, was the Convent of St. Frideswide at Oxford. This Convent must have received one virgate from an unknown source[2]; a second virgate was obtained from William of Warwick with the assent of his heirs in 1188, and this was confirmed by his son Godfrey Maismer,[3] and by Juliana de Parles[4] and Walter her heir.[5] The third virgate was conveyed by William Persun between 1190 and 1200, and held by him from St. Frideswide's Convent " pro j. libra cimini."[6] About the same time Juliana de Parles, again with the consent of her son Walter, granted " j. cotlandam cum omnibus pert. in " Rollright, and also conveyed an acre of meadow in 'Eggemede.'[7] It is reasonable to suppose that all these are referred to in the confirmation charter of King John to St. Frideswide's in 1199 which included " In Rollenricht iij. virgatas terre & j. cotland. cum pert. suis."[8] But, on the 27 October, 1248, the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide demised lands at Great Rollright to the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton, and the document contains the sweeping statement that the Convent made over " totam terram nostram quam habuimus in hamello in Rollendrich,"[9] together with land in Churchill. The Priory, however, had to pay a quit rent of 27s. 6d. per annum[10] " pro omni servicio et exaccione ad nos pertinenti."[11] This, according to Mr. I. S. Leadam, was a rent to a 'superior manor'[12] and the liability of paying it was taken over by Brasenose College, when,

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 18. The witnesses to this parchment ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$) are Bardulf de Cesterton, Hugo de Dunnistewe, Walter de Wahull, Knights, Thomas de Willemescot, Robert de Bradeneston, John de Westham [Weston?], Ralph de Dichelee. It is sealed with the capitular seal of Osney Abbey.

[2] The confirmation of King John speaks of three virgates.

[3] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 238.

[4] See Chapter IV., Pt. I.

[5] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 237.

[6] Ibid., p. 238.

[7] Ibid., p. 239.

[8] O.H.S. XXVIII., p. 43, *cf.* B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 68, and Dugdale, *Monasticon* II., p. 148.

[9] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 240; B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 14.

[10] *Taxatio E.P. Nicolai*, p. 45, shows that the Priory of Cold Norton had lands in Great Rollright in 1291; and there is the entry, 'Prior Sce Frithes-wyde h't in Rollendrit de Priore de Colde Norton in redd . . . . 1–6–8.'

[11] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 240.

[12] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 68.

in 1513, it received the estates of the Priory of Cold Norton.[1]

A priory of canons of the order of St. Augustine had been founded[2] at Cold or Cholde, or Chaulde[3] Norton late in the reign of Stephen or early in the reign of Henry II. An approximate date has been fixed between 1148 and 1158[4]; and the earliest deeds in the possession of Brasenose College in direct relation to "Rowlandrie" are grants of land to the Priory between 1170–80.[5] As has already been shown,[6] Juliana de Parles and her husband Baldwin granted lands at Great Rollright to the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton, and the gift was confirmed by Henry III., in 1228–9, in the words "ex dono Julianae filiae Fulconis Tyrel, quindecim acras terrae et duas acras prati in Rollendricht cum pastura ducentarum ovium[7] et sex bovum et duarum vaccarum et viginti porcorum."[8] Not to be outstripped in generosity Payn de Parles had also made an handsome gift of half a hide to Robert Parvus,[9] who was, probably, an early but unrecorded Prior. About this time Alan son of Bernard and his wife granted "Deo et Sancte Marie et Sancto Johanni apostolo & Euangeliste de Nortun dimidiam hydam terre in Rolledritha de meo dominio" with all its appurtenances for the souls of his father and mother, his ancestors, his wife, children and parents' families to hold of him and his heirs freely, quietly and honourably with all liberties in pasture and meadows, paying only the service and dues to the Lord the King.[10] Shortly after a small grant

[1] Mr. I. S. Leadam shows how, possibly, the quit-rent was reduced from 27s. 6d. to 27s. but does not show how it ceased altogether. St. Frideswide's as a convent was dissolved in 1522, but the payment went on long after that. In fact in the B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 72, there is a receipt from Christ Church dated 28 October, 1785, for £1 7s. for quit rent and 8d. for the collector. See p. 119 footnote.

[2] The probable foundress was 'Avelina domina de Norton,' who first married Alan Fitz Flaad and secondly Robert FitzWalter. She died before 1158.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 4. This word is in a deed dated 18 May, 1269; it is noticeable, however, that in the original charter there are the words 'domui hospitali de Frigida Nortone,' and in a deed of the reign of Edward I., there is mention of 'Domui Hosspitali Frigide Nortune' (Ibid. 5).

[4] *Cart. S. Peter Glouc.*, (Rolls Series) II., p. 46. Eyton, *Antiq. Shrop.* VII., p. 222. Round, *Peerage and Family History*, p. 129.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 143, *cf.* B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 9; see also p. 54.

[6] See p. 54.

[7] It was not unusual to measure pasture by the number of beasts it would support, *cf.* Domesday Book II., p. 53, and *Vic. Cty. Hist. Essex*, p. 373.

[8] Dugdale, *ut supra* VI., Pt. I., pp. 420–21, *cf.* Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, p. 425. [9] See p. 55.

[10] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 7. The witnesses to this parchment (7½ by 3) are Warin, parson of the church of Rollendrita, Norman, parson of the church of Suereford, Richard, parson of Eithrop, Baldwin de Parles, Pagan de Parles, Pagan de Tiwa, Maius de heitropa, Nicholas de Evenlode, Alan son of Alan, Galfridus son of Alan, and others. Seal nearly perfect.

was made by Galfridus, son of Alan " de Rollendricht unam acram terrae, juxta Trembergh."[1]

Throughout the thirteenth century there were other numerous grants of land in Great Rollright to the Priory. In or about 1225 William Bustin granted for the salvation of the souls of himself, of his ancestors and of his successors, an acre of arable land in pure and perpetual alms. One half of this acre was in " West field " on " Pushil " reaching to " Hudenhil " ; unfortunately where the other half lay is illegible.[2] Another grantor was Henry,[3] son of Nicholas of " Rollendriht." He had been a tenant for life of Walter de Parles.[4] The lease that proves this is in the possession of Brasenose College and states that Walter grants to Henry " for his homage and service " a virgate of land in " Rollendriht " " cum pertinenciis "[5] within and without the village. The virgate was that previously held by Robert de Croftes and " Riche dust " ; but in addition there was half of that messuage and croft which was held by Nicholas son of Eue. The rent was 4s. to be paid at the half year. There is, in conclusion, a clause made particularly interesting by subsequent events. Henry[6] is expressly told that he is not to give it, nor sell it to any religious body, so that the inheritance may be preserved to him and his heirs.[7] As in the case of so many of these documents it is well-nigh impossible to fix an exact date. Mr. Hurst

[1] Dugdale, *ut supra.*

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 11.

[3] See Chapter I.

[4] For a further reference to Walter de Parles see B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 16, in which Guido de Diva confirms to the canons an agreement between the canons and Walter de Parles ' as the charter thereof bears witness.'

[5] These words ' cum pertinenciis ' had a real meaning and comprised such rights of common as previous tenants of that tenement had enjoyed, *cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *ut supra* I., p. 611.

[6] This Henry is the same who married Agnes, daughter of Alan and sister of Galfridus. The latter granted to Henry half a virgate in ' Rollend magna ' also 2 acres, one in ' my tithing ' the other ' in the meadow of Wintercombe ' for ' half a pound of cummin ' per annum for all services to the grantor ; the service to the lord of the fee excepted (Rollright 37). The witnesses to this parchment (6½ by 3) are Alan son of Simon, Aymeric his son, Walter his son, and Thomas his son, William son of Alan, Henry de Tiwe, Nicholas son of Eue, Nicholas son of Adam, John le viader, William Purcel, William de Bradenestone, William de Dunthrop, William his son, Gilbert the clerk, Aumeric the clerk and John de la Vessele. The seal is broken, but was large and white.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 29. The witnesses to this parchment (5½ by 5) are Ralph the prior of Norton, Adam de langeberne, John de la Vessele, Richard de Swerford, Roger le Frankelein de Rollendrith, Walter de la Le Dicht [Ditchley] and Richard le veneur. The seal is rather large and light green in colour. The design is fleurs-de-lis. The legend S. WALTERI DE PARLES.

has suggested c. 1280; this, however, is far too late mainly for two reasons. In the first place it is well-known that Walter de Parles was sufficiently old in 1188 to give his consent to the transference of land. It is, therefore, unlikely that he was alive a century later. Besides it is known that his son John succeeded him in 1212 as proved by the Testa de Neville. Secondly the first witness is Ralph the Prior of Norton. Very little is known of this prior, but it is the fact that he was deposed in 1236, and he was not prior in April 1212,[1] so that this lease must be in the latter part of that year. These facts help considerably towards obtaining an approximate date for each of the next two documents both of which are connected with Henry, son of Nicholas of "Rollendrith."[2] The first is a confirmation of the grant of the same virgate and messuage with curtilage and croft. The rent is to be 1d. at Michaelmas, 2s. at Christmas and 2s. for all services.[3] Henry followed this by a quit-claim to all his right in half a hide of land in "Rollendrith" with messuage, croft and toft, viz. that which Pagan de Parles[4] gave to Robert the "Parvus,"[5] and confirmed by charter.[6]

About the same time,[7] Hugo de la "Vasseley" or Vessele, made a grant in alms to the Priory. It takes the form of an exchange, for Hugo gave one acre of arable in place of another acre of arable in the same field at Great Rollright.[8] Hugo

[1] O.H.S. XXXI., p. 50.

[2] Mr. Hurst suggested for the first 1340 and for the second 1280. It is not likely, however, from the context and from the witnesses that these grants are later than 1230.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 52. The witnesses on this parchment (10 by 4) are Thomas de Williamescote, Robert de Bradeneston, Ralph de Dicheleye, William de Colunce of little Ennestan, Walter biondebroc, Hugo la Vessele and Henry le veneur of Great 'Rollendrith.' The seal is green and vesica shaped; the legend + S. HENRICI NICHOL. For 4s. 1d. see p. 95.

[4] See Chapter II. Part I.

[5] Mr. Hurst has read this man's name once as Parvus and once as Prior; if the correct reading is 'Prior,' this Robert the 'Prior' must have lived before any of the priors in Mr. Salter's list, *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 97. The first Prior known is 'S,' now shown, thanks to Mr. St. John Brooks, to be 'Simon de Norton' from Feet of Fines Hy. III., File 187/3, No. 11.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 24. The witnesses on this parchment (10 by 4) are the same as on Rollright 52, *ut supra*. The seal is the same but all that is visible of the legend is HENRICI NICHOL.

[7] Mr. Hurst suggested c. 1360, but if it is right to assume that the grants of Henry, son of Nicholas, are before 1236, then the witnesses of this grant go to prove that it is about the same date.

[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 53. The witnesses on this parchment (6½ by 5), are John de Westone, Robert de Bradeneston, Walter le Frankeleyn, Henry le veneur, Henry his son and Nicholas. The seal of pink wax is broken. It is vesica shaped and has a lion rampant body striped. The inscription contains xUGxxxxVESSExx.

de la " Uessele " also yielded and quit claimed to all right in a " meadow which lies in length in Smokacre on the west of the Murebroc in the field of Great Rollendrich."[1]

Another grant in alms of Rollright land was made to the Priory of " frigide Nortone " after 1236, and about that date,[2] when Richard son of Gilbert " de Suereford et Juliana uxor mea," grant and confirm a virgate of land in " Rollindrhyt," *viz.* that which they held " de Willelmo de Parles filio Walteri de Parles cum omnibus pertinenciis " " anywhere situated," for the salvation of their souls and those of their ancestors, and of their successors. In return for holding it freely and in peace the canons were to pay one pound of cummin " ad festum Sancti Thome apostoli," saving the King's service.[3] There was evidently trouble about this land, for in 25 Hen. III. (1240–41), there was a Final Concord drawn up between Walter (de Wilton) the Prior of Cold Norton as complainant, and Richard de " Suerford " as defendant. The concord was made at Westminster before William of York '*praepositus*,' Henry of Bath, Roger of Thurkelby, Gilbert of Preston and others, through William de Leche and Richard concerning a virgate of land in " Rolendright." Richard and Juliana recognized the said to be the right of the Prior and his Church at " Nortun " as being given them by Richard and Julian [*sic*] in free and perpetual alms, paying a pound of cummin at the feast of St. Thomas the apostle. They warrant the land to the Priory ;

[1] Ibid. 39. Mr. Hurst suggested the date c. 1300 but it seems more likely to have been a grant by the same Hugo as in Rollright 53. The witnesses on this parchment (8½ by 2½), are Richard Wale, Adam Wale, William de Cor[n]well, Walter the draper, John de Weston, John de hal and William de Swerford. The seal is white, vesica shaped and consists of a tree.

[2] Mr. Hurst suggested about 1223, but taken in connection with Rollright 13 in which Walter de Wilton, Prior of Cold Norton, appears as complainant the later date seems more likely. Walter was appointed Prior in 1236, his name occurs in 1241 and he was no longer Prior in 1260, *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon* II., p. 97. Henry son of Nicholas was one of the witnesses to Rollright 10, and he was a grantor as shown about 1236. Certainly John de Parles was also a witness and he held the manor as early as 1212 ; but Bardulf de Cesterton and Gilbert de la Hide witnessed a document for Adam dispensator which must have been, as already shown, after Thurstan's death in 1249, and although they may have been witnesses in 1223 it is probable that they lived a little later.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10. The witnesses on this parchment (6½ by 3), are Nicholas de Noers, Bardulf de Cestertune, Gilbert de la hide, John de parles, Robert de Broc, Hyngelram, the clerk of ' Rollendrich,' Richard venatere, Walter son of Robert, William heir to Robert de Bradeneston, John de Cestertune, Henry son of Nicholas of ' Rollandrich ' and Roger son of Robert de Bradeneston. There are two green seals ; Juliana's consists of an inverted anchor ; while Richard's is a design of six points. SIGILL RICARDI FIL GILB.

and the Prior and his successors will make Richard and Juliana partakers of their prayers for ever.[1]

It was during the period that Walter de Wilton ruled the Priory that it obtained the Rollright property of the Abbey of Osney and of the Convent of St. Frideswide.[2] A piece of the property of the former had come to the Priory burdened with the rent of 4d. payable to Walter Biham de Brock.[3] Sometime after 1267[4] and probably between 1270–80,[5] "Robertus Biyondebroc de magna Rollendrith" quit claimed to the sum of 4d. annual rent which the "monastery of Mary and St. John, Apostle and Evangelist of Coldenorton" "et canonici ibidem Deo servientibus solebant annuatim reddere ad festum Sancti Andree apostoli et pro una dimidia uirgata terre arabilis in Campis de Rollendrith": for this the Canons gave him 4s. sterling of lawful money in earnest for ever.[6] Thus the Priory got rid of one of the tiresome quit-rents that had been a burden to it. Besides this, not later than 1279,[7] they strengthened their right to a small piece of property when "William ad fontem [or Atwell] son of Walter and Alicia of Rollendrich" quit-claimed to the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton all right which he might have in a messuage and two and a half acres of arable land, and half an acre of meadow in the fields of Great "Rollendrich," *viz.* those which the Prior and Canons of Cold Norton bought from the abbey of Osney.[8] The rent was 3s. and recoverable from the house of John le Rich in Great Rollright. It is evident that William "*ad fontem*"

[1] Ibid. 13. The parchment is 9 by 3½. Mr. St. John Brooks kindly shows the same as the Brasenose document, by an extract from the Feet of Fines 24 Hy. III., File 187/4, No. 42. It should be noted that there is a difference of one year in the date. [2] See pp. 107, 119.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 18, *vide ut supra.*

[4] It is known that Osney Abbey passed the property before the death of Abbot Richard in that year, see p. 106.

[5] Mr. Hurst placed this document about 1230. This could not be the case because the Priory of Cold Norton would not have to pay the 4*d.* to the family of 'Biendebroke' until after the transference from Osney, which as already shown must have been between 1254 and 1267. It is obvious from Rollright 12 that the Priory had paid the 4d. for some years; it seems to have become an established custom. Robert 'Biyondebroc' flourished about 1280 so that this document cannot be much later than 1290 and is certainly not earlier than 1267.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 12. The witnesses on this parchment (8 by 3) are Richard de Williamescote, John Golafre, Roger de Nowers, John de Westone, Elias de Foxcote, Wm. de Colunce, Hugo de ? [illegible]. There are traces of the seal having been a green one.

[7] Mr. Hurst suggested c. 1280. If this document is taken in conjunction with Rollright 30, which is its confirmation, it must have been drawn up before 1279 as in the latter document William de Parles is a witness and he was hanged that year. [8] See p. 106.

was to remain on as tenant, but the canons retained for themselves the rights of harvest work, heriots and customs. At the tenant's death Walter and Alice shall restore the buildings at their own expence, and at their death the lands shall return to the Canons without hindrance.[1] There can be no doubt that "William de Rollendrich, once the son of Walter," and grandson of Henry, was the same person as "William *ad fontem*" and that the same land is referred to in a quit-claim to "toto illo messuagio cum edificiis et duabus acris terre cum duabus rodis,"[2] which once belonged to the abbey of "Oseneye," and which is now to be held in perpetual alms by the Prior and Canons.[3]

It must have been about this time[4] that Robert de Swinbroc, or Swinbruc, or Swinebroc, a burgess of Oxford, granted a patch of land at Great Rollright to the Priory. This he had obtained from Robert of Great "'Rollund' 'the Frankelan.'" It consisted of an acre of arable "in the Westfield of Great Rollund upon Winterhulle." It was to be free of all services and suits of court for ever; the rent was a very interesting, but not uncommon one, of a rose[5] at the Nativity of St. John the Baptist.[6] It was this land that Robert de Swinebroc transferred to Cold Norton in pure and perpetual alms, a rose still being paid for all secular services.[7] According to the Hundred Rolls of 1279 the Priory of Cold Norton held within the bounds of Great Rollright, by that year, fifteen virgates.[8]

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 25. The witnesses on this parchment (10 by 4½) are John son of Nigel, John Golafre, Roger de Nowers, Richard de Williamscot, John de Weston, Hugo de la Vessele and Edward the clerk. The seal is green, vesica shaped and of medium size. The legend is MISERERE MEI DEUS.

[2] I suspect this land to be the same as that connected with the names of John, son of Henry, Henry himself, and his father-in-law Alan.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 30. The witnesses on this parchment (7 by 3) are Adam dispensator, William de Parles, John de Weston, Robert de Bradeneston, William de Colunces, William de Cornewell, William de Upton, Hugo de la Vessele and Eustace de Barra. The legend on a green seal is SIGILLUM WALTERI.

[4] Mr. Hurst suggested c. 1300, but as the Hospital of St. John at Oxford acquired in 1285 a house which *had belonged* to Robert Swinbrooke, or de Swinbroc, or Swinebroc, *vide* O.H.S. LXIX., pp. 32, 35, 41, 50, I prefer to think that this grant is at any rate previous to that date.

[5] This is one more illustration of Professor Vinogradoff's remark in *Society in the Eleventh Century*, pp. 241–2.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 38. The witnesses on this parchment (11¼ by 4½) are John de Weston, Robert de Caricia, Hugo de la Vessele, William le Shamale, Edward the clerk and John the son of Adam of Norton. The seal is white and vesica shaped and consists of a lamb and flag. All that remains of the legend is S. ROBERTxxx.

[7] Ibid. 42. The witnesses on this parchment (7 by 6) are not of particular interest. The seal is vesica shaped.

[8] Hundred Rolls II., p. 728.

The next grant to Cold Norton Priory was a somewhat curious one in the light of the fact that shortly after John de Parles made over all his manorial rights and lands to Roger Brabazon.[1] Brasenose College has in its possession a grant and quit-claim on the part of John de Parles to the Priory and " to Simon the Prior "[2] of " all his right and title " to the lands held of him[3] by Sir William de Parles " in villa de Bollendrich majori " to have and to hold with a manorial court and all pertinences. The Prior is to pay a rent of 100s. of fee farm at Christmas for all services etc.; and the Canons " shall receive and attend well to his messenger, when he comes with an attendant, to ask for the 100s." This document was drawn up before Christmas, 1279.[4]

At the same time John de Parles entered into a bond with " Simon the Prior and the Canons of Cold Norton " in two marks of good and lawful money recoverable from the lands and tenements which he had in Great " Rollendrich " at Christmas as above.[5] It might be thought that because of these two documents Cold Norton claimed the manorial rights of a part at least of the de Parles possessions in Great Rollright. But the de Parles transaction did not hold good, and John passed his property shortly after, as already shown, to Roger Brabazon. It is possible that the first grant was null and void owing to the Statute of Mortmain which received royal sanction on November 15th, in the very year de Parles had tried to make the transference to the Priory. It is reasonable to suppose that the Earl of Stafford stepped in according to the Statute " infra annum a tempore alienationis hujusmodi "[6] so as to prevent the King interfering and enfeoffing others. It may indeed have been for this cause that Nicholas de Stafford used the expression that it was 'ad instantiam meam' that the lands were made over to Roger Brabazon, and not on this occasion to the Priory.

[1] See p. 60.

[2] Simon de Rollesham elected 1264, died 1284, *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 97.

[3] See p. 60.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 22. The witnesses on this parchment (7 by 9) are John Golafre, Roger de Nodariis, Hugo le tailur, William le culuns, William de Cornewell, Hugo de la Vassele and Robert le franckeleyne. The seal is white and small.

[5] Ibid. 23. The witnesses on this parchment (8½ by 4½) are John Golafre, Roger de Nowers, William Coluns, William de Cor[n]well, Hugo de Chadelinton, Robert riche, John [son of] Adam of Norton, Hugo de la Uessele and Robert byendebroc of 'Rollendrich.'

[6] Stubbs, *Select Charters and Documents*, edit. 1913, p. 451.

The last territorial transaction concerning the Priory and land in the village previous to the great gift of the Earl of Stafford, was in July 1307. On the "feast of St. Mary Magdalene," Hugo xxx son of "John le Sartour of Rollendrych Magna" leased for his life, or that of his wife, whichsoever the Priory chose, a messuage and a virgate with all that appertained in Great "Rollandrich," the rent for the secular services of which was to be 10s.[1] There is an interesting clause added, in which Hugo states that after his death he did not desire any more rent to be paid to his heirs, but wished for himself and his wife that they may have the heriot which would then be due.[2]

In 1370, as already shown,[3] Ralph, Earl of Stafford, "et Margareta uxor nostra," "pro salute animae nostrae . . . et animarum parentum et amicorum et haeredum nostrum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, dedimus, concessimus . . . . priori et canonicis de Coldenorton . . . totum manerium nostrum de Magna Roulondright."[4] And so, by the end of the fourteenth century, except for the temporary set back in 1378,[5] the Priory may be said to have possessed a goodly slice of this parish. The first known tenant of the old Stafford manor, was John Hikkes of Long Compton, and in July, 1380, he, with William Wylcot and Thomas "Sclhouter" [Slaughter] the rector of Great "Rollandryght" entered into a bond with the Prior and Canons; at the same time the Prior and Canons grant to them that if John Hikkes holds the manor for his life, keeps the houses in good repair and pays the rent of £7 4s. 5d. according to the indenture,[6] the bond will be of no effect.[7]

The fact that the Priory let the land did not mean that the manorial rights were in any way alienated. Brasenose College has in its possession a Court Roll of the Priory dated "on the penultimate day" of August, 1450. It shows very distinctly the right of the Priory to hold a Court Baron in Great Rollright. It also proves that the Abbey of Eynsham still had some interests

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 44. The seal is a lean bird over its nest with a branch behind it. The apparent legend is xxxx COCATONE. The parchment is 9 by 1½.

[2] *Cf.* Vinogradoff, *Origin of the Manor*, p. 347.

[3] See p. 66.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 56.

[5] See p. 67.

[6] I presume that this has been destroyed or lost as it is not to be found in the B.N.C. Muniments.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 62. This parchment (9 by 3) was sealed at Cold Norton on the 'Monday of the feast of St. Jno. Bapt.' The seal is half red and half green and consists of R and branches,

in the village, for after the homage had been rendered by the tenants, the Abbot was presented as a defaulter and stated to be liable to fine. With him in the same category was Agnes Baghan (Baughan).[1] The jury then proceeded with "*Deposita*," showing that half of a certain wall of the rectory was on the lord's soil for a width of two feet and a length of sixteen. It was also shown that William Reve, Thomas Cole,[2] John Schitfeld, John Handes,[3] William Piper and William Dynte had their premises in a ruined condition. They were all ordered to mend these by the feast of St. Andrew, and if they failed, they were to be fined 6s. 8d. each. Thomas Cole was in still further disgrace because he had a "certain river-bank lying open"[4]; he was warned and given time in which to remedy this danger.[5] The name of only one other tenant of the Priory in the fifteenth century is known. Apparently John Goylyn, previous to 1485, had not only held lands from the Hungerford manor,[6] but had also held "a close called 'Weston's Orchard' and six virgates of land in Great 'Rolland-right' worth 13s. 4d." of the Prior of Cold Norton by the service of 4s. 4d.[7]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Priory of Cold Norton enjoyed endowments to the amount of £50 a year,[8] it evidently fell out of repute, and by 1496 its only inmate was John Wooton the Prior. When he died "die Sabbati proximo ante diem dominicam in Ramis Palmarum anno regni domini regis nunc vndecim,"[9] as no canon survived him, there was no capitular body to elect a new Prior.[10] The house became derelict, and after flourishing for three and a half centuries ceased to exist.[11] Henry VII. granted the Priory "et quadraginta acras terre

[1] See p. 14.

[2] The name of this family is still to be found in Great Rollright.

[3] See p. 14.

[4] There is so little surface water at Great Rollright that one speculates as to where this 'river' can have been. A very small stream forms the southern boundary of the parish; and a still smaller stream in the Coombes forms a portion of the northern boundary, but these are so small that they have no names on the large scale Ordnance Maps.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 64. The parchment is 8½ by 4.

[6] See p. 90.

[7] Cal. Inq. Hen. VII., I., No. 46, p. 20. Principal Yate in his *Register* f. 66, states that there was a document (undated) showing that the heirs of 'Goylins' paid the College iiiis. iiiid. thus proving that the heirs continued to hold thirty years after the death of John Goylyn, possibly later still.

[8] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 55.

[9] Dugdale, *Monasticon* VI., p. 420 (March 26, 1496). The *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 96, is in error when it says the Prior died in 1507.

[10] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 6.

[11] In the Chancery Proceedings of 1518 the date of the dissolution of the Priory was stated to have been March 6, 22 Hen. VII. (1507).

arrabilis in Coldnorton predicta" to "Ricardus Empson miles,"[1] and he, as already said,[2] suffered the buildings to decay and converted some arable into pasture. The result was that Henry VII. revoked the gift, and by a deed, dated 6 July 22 Hen. VII. (1507), granted all the lands of the dissolved Priory to Thomas Hobbys "Decano libere Capelle Regie beate Marie Virginis & sancti Stephani protomartyris infra Palacium Regis Westmonasterii et Canonicis ibidem."[3] Mr. Churton humorously remarks that what from Henry VII. was "free" was not always "gratuitous."[4] And certainly the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen's, Westminster,[5] paid well for the "free gift" as they handed over to the Crown the sum of £466 13s. 4d. The Dean and Canons immediately set about finding tenants for their new property, and on 12 November, 1508, they leased the estate of Great Rollright to "Edward Bulstrode, lately of Upton, co. Bucks, Knt., and Margaret his wife," "with all lands, meadows, pastures, feeding rights jointly and separately belonging to the manor beginning next Annunciation for twenty years," at a rent of £5 per annum payable in half-yearly instalments. Sir Edward and his wife entered into a bond for twenty marks and were joined in this by John Pette and Philip Corffe.[6] It is probable that this lease continued even though the ownership of the property changed hands almost immediately. The purchase of the Cold Norton property from the Crown was to prove no bad bargain for the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen's, for in six years time, on 14 March, 1513, they sold it to Bishop William Smyth for £766 13s. 4d.[7] Very shortly after, the entire possessions, corporeal and incorporeal, of the Priory of Cold Norton, including the lands at Great Rollright, were conveyed by Bishop William Smyth, the founder and benefactor, "to the Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of Brasenose."[8]

For want of evidence to the contrary it may be presumed that Sir Edward Bulstrode and his wife Margaret, continued as the tenants of the manor in Great Rollright until 1536. On May 4 of that year "Mathewe Smyth Pryncypall of the

[1] *Domesday of Enclosures*, p. 335.
[2] See Chapter III.
[3] B.N.C. Mun. Principal Yate's *Register*, f. 10.
[4] Churton, *Lives of the Founders of Brasenose College.*
[5] It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that St. Stephen's was entirely distinct from Westminster Abbey.
[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 65.
[7] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 59.
[8] B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 41. Compare the deed of enfeoffment dated 19 May, 1530.

Kyngs Hall & College of Brasen nose" and the "felawes" of the same "let to farm" to "Humfree Asshefeld[1] of Heytheroppe Esquire," the "maner" in Great "Rollandryght," the demesnes, lands, meadows, pastures and feedings for thirty years for the rent of £5 at the "towe" usual times. The lease then states that if "Asshefeld" is in arrears for two months he shall pay "in the name of a payne for non-payment" 6s. 8d. "*toties quoties*," and that the College may then enter and distrain for the rent, for the 6s. 8d., and for the costs. A clause is also inserted concerning repairs and fences and against "Wayst." The tenants on the manor are to pay all the "fifteenths" which shall be granted to royalty; and the said "enfees" shall entertain for "a day and a night once in the year" when the Principal and "sume of the felawes" with their servants visit the manor. "Humfree Asshefeld" is to stand "bound" in the "sume" of twenty marks if he does not perform his covenant.[2] On 27 February, 1547–8, John Hawarden became the second Principal of the College,[3] and a new lease was drawn up, and at a College meeting, on 28 January, 1548–9, "concessum est Magistro Humfrido Ashfeldo occupare tenementum in Wrolwight et alium vulgariter appellat bradston cum aliis pertinentiis etc."[4] As a result of this, exactly a week later, the College leased their manor in Great Rollright to "Humfrey Asshefylde of Hetheroppe." This lease[5] was for all practical purposes the same as the one drawn up in 1536. Humfrey Ashfield evidently remained a tenant of the College for a great many years, at least until 1568, if not longer. The rest of the College property in the village was let to Gilbert Wheeler for iiis. ivd., William Baughan for iijs.[6] and "diverse men" holding "per copia Rotulorum currie" at between four and five pounds.[7]

[1] See p. 35. Humphrey Asshefelde's father Anthony was a tenant of Cold Norton property as early as 1521, this is shown by the Bursars' Roll of that year. In a document in the Muniment Room, 'Dunthrop No. 20,' there is a statement that Humphrey married Anne and had no surviving male child. *Cf.* for a daughter, *Oxf. Rec. Soc.* 1920, p. 70.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 68. This parchment (25 by 8¼) is sealed with a very pretty seal HA and an ornament.

[3] B.N.C. Register I., p. 8.

[4] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register A. 69b. The lease is also mentioned in Principal Yate's *Register*.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 69. This parchment (19¾ by 7½) is sealed with an oval seal probably containing Ashfield's initials but these are not clear. There is, however, the word E.M.A.N.U.E.L.

[6] Bursars' Rolls 1562.

[7] In 1562 these rents were according to the Bursars' Rolls iiijl. xvjs. viijd., and in 1595 vl. os. viijd.

The actual value of the manor of Great Rollright is admirably shown by the *Valor* of 1547, when the gross total was £10 9s. 4d. The village of Great Rollright, as a matter of fact, only produced for the College £8 18s. 4d.,[1] clear, because from the £10 9s. 4d. had to be deducted the 4s. paid to the Hungerfords for the lands that fell within their manor,[2] and the 27s. paid to the Convent of St. Frideswide for the rights it had always had since the transference of "totam terram in hamello in Rollendrich."[3] Not only do these payments occur in the Bursars' Rolls as early as 1519 but, with regard to the latter, there are three documents in the Rollright section of the muniments in Brasenose College, that attest a payment to St. Frideswide's Convent, though not always the same sum. On 9 October, 1519, John Burton,[4] Prior of St. Frideswide "has received today" from Mathew Smith, the Principal of the Hall and College "of Braseynnose," and the fellows of the same, 27s. 6d. rents due by the College for one year for the lands, etc., at "Rolright."[5] The second document is a kind of receipt, dated 10 November, 1521, from John Burton "Prior of Seint fryswth," to "Master and fellowes off the Kyngs Colege off Brasynnose" for 27s. 6d. for a certain "anuyte goyng out off Rowleryght." This was signed by John Burton himself.[6] In the Bursars' Rolls for 1545–6, when Thomas Aleyn and Roger Goulburn were Bursars, there is the entry under expenditure :—

> "Et solutum Collegio Sancti [*sic*] Frideswyde pro redditibus quietis exeuntibus de Coldnorton predicto xxx viij° anno Regis predicti xxvijs."[7]

And in the *Valor* of 1547 there are the words :

> "Redditu Resoluto Annuatim soluto Collegio Sancti [*sic*] Frydeswide in Oxonia per Annum xxvijs."[8]

As Mr. I. S. Leadam has shown the fall from 27s. 6d. to 27s. is no doubt due to an indebtedness of the Convent to the College ;

[1] In 1440 the manor in Great Rollright brought in for the Priory of Cold Norton £5 per annum, *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II. It is possible that the Prior and Canons may sometimes have made a little more by holding Courts as already shown. Compare also B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 8.

[2] See p. 95.

[3] See p. 107.

[4] There is in existence in the Upper Bursary a very tattered Bursars' Roll of this year from which it is just possible to make out the payment.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 66. This parchment (8¼ by 2½) has a very poor seal. This payment to Saint 'ffrideswyde' for lands at 'Rollandright' is just legible in the Bursars' Roll for this year.

[6] Ibid., 67.

[7] B.N.C. Mon. IX., p. 182. [8] Ibid., p. 194.

this, too, will account for the owners of the St. Frideswide property being satisfied on 13 October, 1566,[1] with the much smaller sum of 16s. though in later years it rose again to 27s.[2]

There does not seem to have been any great change in the value of the manor in Great Rollright when leased on 10 April, 1568, to John Dormer of Steeple Barton, Oxon, Esquire, the lessors being the Principal, Thomas Blanchard, and the "Schollers" of Brasenose College. The estate is said to be in the tenure of "Humfrey Ashefeld esquyer," and at the expiration of his lease John Dormer is to be the tenant for thirty years paying his rent at the two usual periods.[3]

It must not be imagined that the manorial rights were granted to the lessee of the time being. The College authorities, even though there were tenants of their manor, still held manorial courts from time to time. The proof of this may be found, occasionally in the Vice-Principal's Register, and sometimes in the actual Court Rolls that have been preserved. Unfortunately many of the latter must have been destroyed, as they cannot now be discovered. Thus for example there is no Court Roll for the year 1583, but there is the entry in the Register "7 Sept., 1582" "unanimi consensu sex sociorum seniorum Mr. Richardus Harris principalis designatus est ad tenendam curiam in manerio nostro de Rowlandwright in comitatu Oxon, ante festum Omnium Animarum proximum."[4] This, however, does not appear to have been a convenient date so that there is the additional note, "Haec curia differtur eorundem consensu in tertium diem Martis proximum, Octob. 14 a° 1582."[5] Nearly six years elapsed before another court was held. On 4 November, 1588, "Principalis[6] et seniores assignaverunt curiam tenendam apud Rowlandwright in Com. Oxon. ante sextum

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 67.

[2] See p. 108, footnote.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 75. The seal on this parchment (20 by 13) is broken. For this lease see also Principal Yate *Register*, f. 462. In the Bursars' Account Book No. 1, there is a list of the Rollright tenants with their rents for the half year for 1582 as follows :—

'Ryc [Richard] Ashefeild	ls.
Anthony Hill	viis.
Roger Brent of Rowlandwright	xxs.
Mathew Galamore of Rowlandwright	iis.
George Hudeson of Rowlandwright	viijs.'

In the same year Ashefield pays a fine of "ls." and a certain Bayly, a member of a family long known in Rollright, pays xiiis. iiijd. On the origin and use of 'fines on renewal of leases,' *vide* W. H. R. Curtler, *ut supra*, p. 55.

[4] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register A. 75b.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Richard Harris.

diem Decembris per Principalem, Vice-principalem,[1] Bursariis,[2] et alios ut sibi placuerit seniores."[3] Thanks to the preservation of a Court Roll it is known that on 5 May, 1596, the College held a Court Baron on their manor in Great Rollright under Thomas Singleton the Principal, by means of John Hollyns their 'steward,' or, as he signs himself, 'seneschal.' From this document it is clear that among the Essoins, or "excused from attendance at the Court," were two free tenants, Elenora Wheeler[4] and Henry Baffynne[5] (Baughan). The Homage were twelve in number though they were not all of Rollright.

[1] Richard Dod.

[2] Thomas Singleton and Edward Hutchins.

[3] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register A. 55.

[4] From the Bursars' Rolls 1595–1624 it would have been natural to suppose that this name should be Alicia and not Elenora. The family was evidently of the gentry-class. In the Burial Registers the following occur :—Ursula Wheeler, 5 Feb., 1564; 'Jerom' Wheeler, 4 Feb., 1564; Gilbert Wheeler Gentl., 26 Dec., 1580; Younge Gilbert Wheeler, 18 March, 1581; Sarah Wheler, 7 Oct., 1589; John Wheler, 18 April, 1590; John Wheler ye sonne of Alexander Wheler, 2 August, 1602; Mrs. Elinor Wheler, widow, 22 March, 1615. In the Marriage Register there are :—Elenor Wheler married James Awmet, 10 January, 1573–4; Mr. John Wheler married Eleanor Raynsford, 12 November, 1576; Brigit Wheler married Thomas Shughrove, 22 Sept., 1578; Isabel Wheler married Anthonie Wandley, 19 January, 1578–9; Elizabeth Wheler married Ralphe Townsend, 24 April, 1587. In the Baptismal Register there are :—Elizabeth Wheler, 9 July, 1561; John and Elizabeth Wheler, 9 Feb., 1561–2; Ursula Wheler, 4 Feb., 1564; 'Jerome' Wheeler, 4 Feb., 1564; Gilbert Wheeler, 18 January, 1569; Alice Wheeler, 29 Sept., 1577; Gilbert Wheeler, 20 June, 1579; Elizabeth Wheeler, 21 January, 1580–1; Alexander Wheeler, 27 Dec., 1581; John Wheeler, 4 May, 1584; Sarah Wheler, 10 July, 1587; John Wheeler, son of Alexander Wheeler, 1 Oct., 1604; Elizabeth Wheler, 30 Dec., 1605. From an entry in the Registers I conclude that this family went to Great Tew in the early part of the seventeenth century. They had certainly ceased to be College tenants in 1625, when their holding was taken over by William Lord.

[5] The first College tenant of this name was William Baughan (buried 1577). He was succeeded by Jerome Baughan, buried 1595. The 'Henrie' Baughan mentioned in the Roll was buried 1 November, 1614. There was a John Baffin who with Edward Hill rented a house from the College on 6 July, 1619 (Rollright 94), and again on 20 November, 1627 (Ibid. 97). In 1627 Symon Baffin was the lessee of 'Hewis House,' see p. 38. On 22 Dec., 1645, Edward Hill, John Baffin and William Baffin became lessees from the College, and to the lease a letter is fastened (Ibid. 111) probably in the handwriting of William Carter 'Right Worly with the felowes this is to sertifie you that I desier that my kinsman William Baffin may be put in Lease and thus with my service remembered unto you I rest.

William Carter Edward Hill William Baffin.'

John and William Baffin enter into a fresh agreement with the College on 20 Dec., 1655 (Ibid. 118), and again on 30 May, 1667 (Ibid. 126). On 20 Dec., 1667, Samuel Baffin 'husbandman' also became a lessee (Ibid. 127). On 18 Dec., 1691, according to the Bursars' Account Book, Jo. Baughan paid an Heriot of 2s. 'due at his mother's death.' In 1789 William Baughan held from the College (Ibid. 203) and in 1794 Henry Baughan was a College tenant as shown by the map of that year.

The Rollright tenants were Henry Baffynne, Anthony Hill, George Hudesonne, John Hall, William Tretisse (?) and Mathew Galamore. Besides these there was one, John Seacole, from Mylton, and five, Thomas Iuyrome, Richard Tayler, John Newman, Richard Lovedream and Edward Chester, from Barford. They present that Elenora Wheeler, widow, held lands and tenements of the Lord of the Manor, had sworn fealty and resumed her holding at a rent of 3s. 4d., and that Henry Baffyn [Baughan] held land and a tenement of the Lord of the manor worth 3s. to be paid annually at Michaelmas. They also presented that Thomas Hawteyn's[1] house and buildings, commonly called 'The farme'[2] at "Roulwright" were tumbling down and required repairs. All Saints day is named before which the repairs must be done under penalty of 40s. They also present that the tenements of Henry Franckleyn and John Newman of Barford are similarly ruined, and they order that they shall be repaired by the same date under penalties in the first case of 10s. and in the second of 40s.[3]

The next court roll begins with these words :—

"MANERIUM DE ROWLWRIGHT IN COM OXON. Curia Baron[4] Thomae Singleton Doctoris Sacre theologie Principalis Aulae Regie et Collegii de Brasennose in Oxon et scolarium ejusdem manerij sui predicti ibidem tenta vicesimo nono Die Septembris Anno Regine Elizabeth Quadragesimo quarto (1602) per Ricardum Corstelowe Seneschalum ibidem."

The Roll then proceeds to state that two tenants, Alexander Wheeler and John Williams,[5] were excused being present. Among the free tenants were "Henry Braffynne" and "Barford men," but the latter were not mentioned by name. The Homage consisted of George Hudson, Edward Hill, Laurence

[1] In B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 76, there is a decree of the Court of Requests dated 27 June, 1582, in which Thomas Hawteyn is to continue to hold one messuage, one toft, 4 yardlands and 4 closes in Rowleright magna under a lease from John Hawarden (Principal 1547–8 to 1564–5). The document is vellum (20¼ by 14½) and the seal is of some interest. It is 3in. in diameter, circular in shape and contains the royal arms surmounted by a Queen's Crown and the letters E.R. On each side of the seal is a Leopard holding a single large leaf.

[2] Now (1917) known as 'Court House Farm.'

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 82. This is not a parchment but a paper document.

[4] Sir Edward Coke says 'a court baron is the chief prop and pillar of a manor,' *vide* Coke's *Copyholder*, p. xxi.

[5] Mr. Hurst makes a curious slip in the Calendar stating this name to be Abram Rymill.

Hitchman, Mathew Gallamor, Thomas Coard, John Newman, Richard Lovedream, Edward Chester and " ffrauncis "[1] Rymill, and all these were also the sworn jurators. As in 1596 they once again present Thomas ' Hawten ' as a defaulter in rent to the extent of 3s. 4d. ; and they order him to pay a penalty of 4s. before St. John the Baptist's day. Anthony Hill,[2] a tenant of this manor, holding one tenement and two and a half virgates is declared to have died,[3] and Johanna Hill,[4] his widow is said to be his executrix. Thomas Leare was stated to be a defaulter in rent, and George Hudson,[5] was presented for having his house in bad repair and was ordered to put it right before Michaelmas under a penalty of 20s. The Roll, which is a very short one, ends with the somewhat curious remark " Omnia bene apud Barford." The reason for the statement must be found in the fact that some of the jurators were Barford men.[6]

A College meeting was held on 17 April, 1605, and several College matters were discussed. The Vice-Principal,[7] after entering these in his Register, writes " eodem die et consensu [omnium] concessa erat potestas Mr.° principali[8] et Bursariis[9] tenendi curiam . . . apud Rowlright . . . in comitatu Oxon. et visitandi terras ibidem jacentes nec non vendendi arbores ut fert occasio."[10] If the absence of information is to be construed that no courts were held, it must be presumed that thirteen years elapsed before the Principal and Fellows again bestirred themselves to claim their rights. Unfortunately the Bursars' Account Books are missing for this period, so that it is not possible to trace by means of expences any bursarial journeys. It was not until 23 December, 1618, that " decretum est per

[1] This name is not ' Abram ' as suggested in the Calendar.

[2] Anthony Hill was a College tenant. B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 74, shows that on 12 December, 1566, the College leased a house to ' Richard Shepley of Byssiter ' together with a certain amount of arable land now occupied by Anthony Hill. See also Principal Yate, *Register*, f. 462.

[3] ' Anthonie Hill ' was buried in August, 1596. As his death is referred to in the Court Roll of 1602, it is almost certain proof that no court was held between 1596 and 1602. Just before the latter Court there is an entry in the Bursars' Account Book under date 12 January, 1602, that Anthony's son presented ' a coople ' of hens to the College.

[4] ' Joane ' Hill was buried on 6 March, 1606.

[5] George Hudson was Churchwarden, and was buried on 11 July, 1620.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 84. This parchment is 8 by 15. In the Bursars' Account Book there is an entry of the cost of this court ' for keeping courts and making up the roules at Cropreadie and Roulewright, xs.'

[7] John Pickering.

[8] Thomas Singleton.

[9] Geoffrey Parsevall and Richard Taylor.

[10] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register B. 18b.

6 seniores ut Dominus Principalis[1] cum seniore Bursario[2] .... progrediantur ad Rollwright et Cropredie in comitatu Oxon. ad habendas ibidem curias."[3]

For fourteen years from this date there is no actual documentary evidence that the College held a manorial court in Great Rollright. It is, probable, however, that the documents have been destroyed. At any rate it is almost certain that a court was held in 1632 as Gabriel Richardson, the Senior Bursar, records the following expenses :—

" Given att Mr. Goodwyns [the rector]	vis.
att goodman Rollwrights	iis. vjd.
for wyne att Woodstock	xviijd.
for horse hyre	iiijs.
To ye poore	iiijd."[4]

Ralph Richardson must have made the same journey for the same purpose on 12 March, 1635–6, for in his note book[5] there is " for horse hyre for myselfe 3 daies iiijs." This is followed by the entry " given att Goodman Rollwrights iis. vjd. " ; which looks as if the Bursar had possibly stayed at the house of Richard Rowlright *alias* Fuller. There are further notes of his expenditure on wine at Woodstock on his outward and return journey, and also " To Mr. Hollwey his fees keeping court xxs." This is fairly conclusive evidence that the College solicitor went with the bursar and acted as steward of the court. It is equally certain that a court was held on 20 September, 1647, as there is the entry " Layd out in our Joyrney to keepe courts at Cropredie and Rowlewright and in our return home, 08.11.00." On this occasion John Hopkins was the steward and was paid £1 10s. for his fees ; and at the Court he collected from Francis Brauglin [Baughan] a " reliefe " of 4d., and from " Brigit Baylie wife of John an Heriot " of 2s. 6d.[6]

Although there are no rolls preserved, it is clear that another court was held in the summer of 1654, as it was decided that such should be the case on May 10th,[7] and the expenses for doing so are entered in the accounts under May 29 in the words " The progresse to keepe Courts at Rowlwright and Cropredy 05.16.02."[8] On 8 July, 1658, there was another

[1] Samuel Radcliffe, Principal 1614–48.
[2] Ralph Richardson.
[3] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register B. 36b.
[4] A note-book kept in the Upper Bursary in Brasenose College.
[5] Bursars' Account Book. [6] Ibid.
[7] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register.
[8] Bursars' Account Book, *cf.* entry in Principals' *Fine Book*, 1650–1705.

order[1] to hold a court on August 10, after doing which the Fellows were to proceed to Cropredy and do the same there. The evidence of two courts in 1662 is that John Houghton, the Bursar, paid John Hopkins 15s. for " Keeping court at Rowleright,"[2] and in August the Principal, Mr. Church and Mr. Hopkins " view'd ye Coll. lands and kept courts at Rowlwright and Cropreadie."[3]

Had it not been for these references, in the absence of Court Rolls, it would have been by no means unnatural to presume that when the College in the seventeenth century let its manor in Great Rollright it also leased the lordship and that the lessee acted for the lord. This view has, indeed been taken ;[4] a study, however, of the foregoing documents and of the actual leases does not bear this out. In one of the leases it is expressly stated that the tenant must entertain the Principal and Scholars and Steward when they come to " Keepe court or Courts " in the village.[5] The lordship therefore remained with the College while the lands only were leased to various tenants. Thus on 16 December, 1620, the Principal and " Schollers " leased to George " Radclift "[6] of Thornhill, co. York, Esquire, the manor or " farme in Great Rowlandwright," for 21 years at the rent of £5 together with two quarters three bushells of wheat and three and a half quarters of barley " mault "[7] or the money value thereof. The tenant was to give entertainment to the College authorities on progress for two nights and a day. He was allowed to lop trees and " plash " hedges.[8] For reasons explained in Appendix C, there was a fresh lease drawn up on 30 October, 1628,[9] and again on 10 January, 1643.[10] On the same day as the latter there was a

[1] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register.

[2] Bursars' Account Book. [3] Ibid.

[4] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 9. Dr. A. J. Butler, was at the time he wrote this valuable monograph working under great pressure and was not able to verify all the documents in the possession of the College.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 109.

[6] George Radcliffe was presumably, a cousin of Principal S. Radcliffe. See Churton, *Life of Alexander Nowell*, p. 22.

[7] This would be of value in the celebrated Brasenose brewhouse.

[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 95. This parchment (24 by 11½) is sealed with a round seal, the design being a bull's head.

[9] Ibid. 98. About this period the sub-tenant of the ' farme ' was Henry Cornish as shown by an uncalendared Terrier of 1630, preserved in the Upper Bursary of Brasenose College.

[10] Ibid. 108. There is a document of this period (Ibid. 110) dated 7 July, 1644, which I do not understand. It merely states that Samuel ' Radcliff ' took ' out of the College Treasury to be paid Hugh Hopkins for all demands about Rollwright £25.' What story is contained here ? It should be noticed that Cold Norton 32, is endorsed with these words ' This rentall was shewed to John Hopkins at the time of his Examination 1 Oct., 1657.' I imagine from other references that John Hopkins was the College lawyer, and from a casual reference in other documents I understand that Hugh Hopkins was of Great Rollright.

lease of the manor to Richard Bull of the "Weeke" (*sic*), Headington, and in this lease it is stated that the fields, buildings, etc., in "Rowlandright" have lately been occupied by "John Shelton yeoman."[1] Richard Bull took the manor for 21 years at "the old accustomed rent"[2]; but on 21 June, 1651, William "Shephearde" of Barford St. Michael, Esquire "receives a 'grant of' the farme of Rowlandwright, demesne lands, houses, gardens, pastures, waters and water fishings,[3] late in the hands of William [?] Bull, Esq."[4] On 13 October, 1658, a fresh lease was drawn up between the Principal, Daniel Greenwood,[5] and William "Sheapard" and on this occasion William Sheppard entered into a bond for £60 to discharge the conditions of the lease.[6] Once again on 10 January, 1665, William Sheppard[7] became the lessee of the manor holding it from Principal Yate[8] and the Fellows,[9] his bond being for £40.[10] Two years later, on May 27, William Sheppard, now described as of Great "Rowleright," again made a fresh agreement by which he held the manor "late in the tenure of Richard Bull Esquire." In this lease there is a longer clause against alienation and the bond was for £50.[11] Apparently a fresh lease was drawn up on 23 September, 1674,

[1] The College had numerous other smaller tenants; thus in 1632 there is the entry in the Bursars' Account Book 'Rcd. Decmb. 4, from ye Lady Anne Cope vjs. viij.'; and on the fly leaf of the book Richard Berry and others are inserted as tenants. In 1652 there is the entry 'Layd out on the Rowleright tennants Aprill 21, 00.01.04; and in the same year Mr. Rowleright is entertained twice.

[2] Ibid. 109. This parchment (29 by 4¼) is signed Richard 'bull,' the impression of the seal is lost.

[3] One may wonder where these 'waters and water-fishings' were. Great Rollright is peculiarly devoid of any chance of exercising this form of sport.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 113. This document is signed 'William Sheppard.' The seal on this parchment (27¼ by 14½) is not pressed, *cf.* for William Sheppard B.N.C. Mon. IV., p. 46, where 'donavit quinque libras' to the Chapel and Library Fund.

[5] Daniel Greenwood was Principal 1648–1660.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 120. The parchment of the lease is 30½ by 15½, and that of the bond 9 by 7. There is a seal but there are only the faintest signs of the impression.

[7] In the Bursars' Account Book there is the entry for 12 January, 1666, 'ffor wine in hall, and for enter[tain]ing. after, Mr. Sheppard and 4 of his Company, 00.07.09.' Mr. 'Shepard' is again given wine on 22 Oct., 1674, and Mr. Robert 'Shepherd' has wine in College on 14 June, 1686.

[8] Thomas Yate had been Principal in 1648 and was restored in 1660. He remained Principal until 1681.

[9] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 123. The parchment (20¾ by 19¼) is sealed and signed.

[10] Ibid. The parchment is 9 by 5¾.

[11] Ibid. 125. The two parchments are respectively 24¼ by 21½ and 12 by 5½. The seal impression is very poor.

when William Sheppard again seals the necessary documents including a bond for £40.[1]

All this time there is absolute silence as to manorial courts ; but suddenly, on 14 October, 1682, the College authorities woke up to their duties, and the Vice-Principal[2] of the day records the fact that " The Principal[3] gave notice that he intended to visit the free school of Charlbury in the following week, and it was determined that at the same time a court should be held at Great Rollright by the Principal and six senior Fellows."[4] One can imagine that the head of the Sheppard family would be somewhat staggered by this invasion of Oxford dons, who, at this time, were looked upon by the country gentry with some suspicion as strange beings who spake strange tongues. Of course the statement of intention in the Vice-Principals' Register is no absolute proof that the invasion of Great Rollright was ever made at this date ; but fortunately an entry in the Bursars' Account Book for 19 October, 1682, proves the fact. The Accounts state :—

" Bursar Pincocke and Bursar Hatton their expenses on ye journey to visit Charlbury Schoole and to keep Court at Rowlwright.

Spent in Charlbury	00.06.00
Given to Mr. Sheapheards servts.	00.10.00
Hire for 3 Horses 2 dayes each at 2s. a day	00.12.00."[5]

Evidently all passed off well for the College leased the manor to Robert Sheppard under similar conditions to those recently accepted by his father.[6] Eight years later Robert Sheppard[7] had again to extend hospitality to the College authorities, for on 16 June, 1694, at a College meeting it was decided that a court should be held at Great Rollright once more.[8] And then after this effort the College, with regard to courts, went to sleep again for thirty-five years.

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 129. The seal impression on the lease is not clear but on the bond it is a shield with chevron bearing three estoiles between three fleurs-de-lis, crest a ram. These were the Sheppard arms, see p. 43.

[2] John Blackburne.

[3] John Meare was Principal 1681–1710.

[4] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register B. 124. The reason of the Principal's visit to Charlbury was that since 1675 the College was subject to a charge of £40 per annum for the Master of Charlbury School.

[5] Bursars' Account Books.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 135. The parchment (23 by 13) is sealed but the seal is very indistinct.

[7] The hospitality was not all on one side. The Bursars' Accounts show for 26 December, 1696, ' When Sr. Rob. Shepheard pd. his Arrears [£15 2s. 11d.] and dined with his friends, 0.16.8.'

[8] B.N.C. Vice-Principals' Register B. 146b.

The manor, however, continued to be leased at intervals. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, on 5 December, 1706, the College " letts to farm " to " Sir Robert Jenkinson of Walcott "[1] and " Sir Thomas Wheate of Glympton "[2] " in trust for the Lady Sheppard "[3] all that had been lately occupied by Richard Bull, Esquire, and since that by Sir Robert Sheppard, Knt., deceased,[4] for twenty-one years for the same rent as before.[5] But on the 1 April, 1714, there is a change. A new lease is drawn up between Principal Shippen[6] and the College of the one part, and Sir Thomas Wheate of Glympton only of the other. The lease and the rent are practically the same ; but there is a clause which gives special leave to alienate to Elizabeth Sheppard[7] and to her child or children. Sir Thomas Wheate took the lease " subject to the conditions of an agreement tripartite dated 9 March, 1686, i. Robert Sheppard, ii. Elizabeth Harris of Old Woodstock, iii. John Venn, D.D., Master of Balliol College and Vice-Chancellor.[8] Apparently unaffected by either of the foresaid leases William Sheppard of Great " Roleright " became lessee of the College manor on 1 October, 1718, and signed the lease " Will. Sheppard," at the same time entering into a bond of £100.[9] Seven years later he did the same[10] ; and again in 1732,[11] but this is for the last time as he died in 1742.

In the meantime the College at last realized that a right was being neglected ; and on 29 August, 1729, the Fellows " resolved that courts should be held at . . . Rowlwright . . . . in September or October."[12] The interest of the Fellows had

[1] Sir Robert Jenkinson of Walcot, co. Oxon., Bart., M.P. for the county of Oxford, eldest son of Sir Robert Jenkinson, second Baronet, died 1717.

[2] Sir Thomas Wheate son of Thomas Wheate, Esq., and Frances Jenkinson daughter of Sir Robert Jenkinson, first Baronet.

[3] *Fine Book*, 1706. Kept in the Upper Bursary, Brasenose College.

[4] Sir Robert Sheppard died September, 1698.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 140. This parchment (25 by 18) is signed by 'Ro. Jenkinson' and 'T. Wheate.' There are two seals, Mr. Hurst described the one a Fesse wavy between three stars, a small Latin Cross at fesse point (Jenkinson) ; the other, a Fesse dancette 3 garbs in chief (Wheate).

[6] Robert Shippen was Principal 1710–45.

[7] Elizabeth Sheppard was born 1713 and was the eldest daughter of William Sheppard (1687/8–1742).

[8] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 145. An interesting fact about this document is that it is neither signed nor sealed. The difficulties arising on this lease may have been the cause of the Vice-Principal's " journey to Rowlright 0.15.6."

[9] Ibid. 151. The lease is parchment 26½ by 22½ ; the bond is foolscap paper ; the seal is a monogram of several letters. Principal Cawley in one of his note-books states that by 1772 this system of bond had ceased.

[10] Ibid. 156. The seal is the coat of arms of the Sheppard family.

[11] Ibid. 166.

[12] B.N.C Vice-Principal's Register C.

evidently been aroused in this ancient procedure, and the resolution of the meeting in August was carried out on September 18th, as shown by a Court Roll " Copy " legally stamped with 2s. 3d. The court was under the superintendence of Francis Heywood as College Steward,[1] and the Roll records the fact that George " Bayly," a yeoman, came to the court and in the ancient form " took of the steward by a rod[2] as is the custom of the manor," one messuage and two virgates of land, vacant " by the natural death of John ' Bayly ' " for the lives of himself and of Richard " Busbey "[3] of " Ledwell in the parish of Sandford," to pay the rent of xvis. and a " Heriott " when it shall fall due.[4] The position of George " Bayley " was evidently not assured, for another court was held on 1 February, 1731–2, when Bayley, " Customary Tenant," surrendered through the deputy, " by a rod according to the custom of the manor," the holding mentioned above, and all his right claim and title to the same. He begged to know what was the lord's intention about these premises and asked to be readmitted. This was done on the same terms as before, his wife's life now being included.[5] For the same court there is a paper copy of the proceedings which states that William Rawlins was the deputy for Francis Heywood and that homage was paid to the lord only by the three tenants, John Baughan, Nathaniel Endoll and John Hall.[6] Another court was held on 12 March, 1732–3, and in this case only two tenants, Richard Berry and John Baughan paid homage. Much the same information concerning George " Bayly " is given in the Roll of this court but with the addition that

[1] The Homage at this court was very small. It was composed of Richard Berry, William Endoll and John ' Pilsbury.'

[2] For an explanation of this custom see Jordan, *History of Enstone*, p. 260. But the reader should also see a different view in Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, pp. 384–5.

[3] The family had for some time been tenants of the College in Great Rollright. On 15 April, 1675, William ' Busby ' of Overnorton was lessee of a tenement (Rollright 130); on 13 June, 1682, Nicholas ' Busby ' agreed to pay 17s. 9d. and 5 bushels and 1½ pecks of wheat and 7 bushells 1 peck of malt for a tenement mease, toft and 4 yardlands in the village (Ibid. 134). He entered upon a similar tenancy on 20 June, 1687 (Ibid. 136). On 29 June, 1704, Richard ' Haines ' of London, merchant, became the lessee of the same in trust for James ' Busby ' son of Nicholas and Hannah his wife (Ibid. 138). This parchment (25 by 19) is signed ' Richard Haynes,' the seal is a shield and mantling crescent, a bird volent, 3 crescents.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 159. This parchment (14 by 8) is ' per Francis Heywood Seneschal of the manor ' and is signed by Robert Shippen. A copy of this Court Roll is to be found at the back of the Ledger of Leases, Vol. III.

[5] Ibid. 160. This parchment (12 by 8) is ' signed by me Robert Shippen.'

[6] Ibid. 161. A copy of this Court Roll is to be found at the back of the Ledger of Leases, Vol. III.

the life of his son, George, is now also included.[1]

After the death of William Sheppard the College found a new tenant for their manor, on 1 January, 1745, in the person of " John Brown, D.D. and Master of Univ. Coll."[2] The same man entered into a similar lease on 2 October, 1752.[3] During this tenancy the College again asserted their lordship, as is proved by an interesting lease, dated 30 May, 1753. The document states that " The Principal and Scholars of the King's Hall and College of Brasenose, Lords of the manor of Great Rollright . . . by vertue of several Acts of Parliament . . . do nominate . . . the Right Honourable, George, Earl of Shrewsbury to be our Game-Keeper Of and within our said manor to kill game for our use and to take and seize all such Guns, Greyhounds, Setting Dogs and other dogs, fferetts . . . snares or Engines for the taking killing and destroying of Hares, Pheasants and Partridges or other game . . . and further to act and to do all and everything and things which belong to the office of a Game-Keeper pursuant to the directions of the said acts of Parliament during our will and pleasure ffor which this shall be his sufficient warrant."[4] The exercise of the rights of lordship by no means stopped here, for thanks to the preservation of a small and almost illegible bill, it is clear that the College held a court on 1 December, 1755, when payments were entered for the crier of the court, for post-chaises, postillions and for the cost of staying at the inn at Chipping Norton.[5] How many other courts were held about this time is not known, but in September, 1759, three of the Fellows went on progress to Great Rollright as is shown by the bill of the inn.[6]

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 165. The farmhouse held by the family of Bayley for so many generations is now (1917) the house known as '*Brasenose Cottage.*'

[2] Ibid., 173. This parchment (26½ by 19¼) is signed ' John Browne.'

[3] Ibid., 183. Dr. Brown did not lease the whole of the College property for in 1754 a Mr. Watkins is found to be a tenant of a considerable acreage in the Coombes, and, as usual, George Bailey is also a tenant. In addition, Richard Endoll, or ' Endols ' had ' Pig Close,' ' Pipers Close ' and 60 sheep commons and 4 cow commons. *Vide B.N.C. Valuation Books.*

[4] Ledger of Leases Vol. V., p. 119. and Principal Cawleys' Note-Book, pp. 30–3.

[5] B.N.C. Mun. Bursar-Estates, etc.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Bursar-Money. The Bursars' Account Books fail to prove any holdings of courts at this period, but they certainly show that the property was not forgotten by the College. Thus :—

1747	' The Principal's Journey to Rolright	0	10	4 '
1748	Mar. 15, ' Bursar's Journey to Rowlright and Ch. Norton	0	9	7 '
1755	' Mr. Principal and Mr. Walker [to] Rowlrwight	3	8	3 '
1757	' Journey to Rowlright	0	3	0 '
1759	' To visiting estates at Rowlwright	9	18	5 '

Ten years elapsed before the College made any effort to renew their ancient rights and privileges. By a peculiarly fortunate accident,[1] however, the copy of a Court Roll was found which proves the holding a court and begins with these words :—

"The Court Baron of the Rev. Francis Yarborough, D.D., Principal of the King's Hall and College of Brazen Nose in Oxford and the scholars of the same held within the said Manor [of Rollright] on Wednesday the Seventh day of June in the ninth year of the Reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., and in the year of our Lord 1769, before James Morrell Gent, Deputy Steward there."[2] From this magnificent flourish it might be imagined that James Morrell would have quite a lot to do in this court, but the fact was that by this time the old rights were on the decline. The ancient customs were, however, still rigidly observed and the 'Homage' was solemnly called and consisted of the following persons[3] :—Richard Humphreys, George Bayley, senr., George Bayley, junr., Richard Endoll, James Slatter,[4] John Bradley, Richard Berry and John Hall ; while the Bailiff was Joseph Becket. The jury presented that "four tenants were defaulters at the court" in homage, viz. Thomas Williams, Robert "Harbage," John Baughan and Edward Sommer ; but that the Lords[5] were pleased to excuse them, and they add the usual ingenuous conclusion "That all things wheare well."[6] It is, however, satisfactory to read this, because except for an unimportant court held by the steward, Williams Rawlins, on 17 April, 1775,[7] when George Bailey was again admitted by the rod, all questions of manorial jurisdiction remained

[1] I happened to open the Ledger of Leases at the wrong end.

[2] At the end of the Ledger of Leases, Vol. III.

[3] These names are spelt in many ways at different periods. I spell them as I find them at any particular date.

[4] On a rough slip of paper, I found a note that James Slatter, farmer, was buried May ye 22th [*sic*], 1816, aged sixty three. A certain Keziah Slatter was a tenant of the College up to 1870, and perhaps later, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, New Series, 461, and B.N.C. *Valuation Books*, where she is, somewhat curiously, called *Hezekiah* Slatter in 1866.

[5] The College authorities, or members of the Governing Body, and therefore plural.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 190. There is another version of this Roll at the end of the Ledger of Leases, Vol. III. Why it has been copied there is a mystery and, as it is at the end, and copied the reverse way of the book, it was found only by mere accident.

[7] At the end of the Ledger of Leases, Vol. III. See note above.

in abeyance[1] until Mr. Tench, the rector, was made " Deputy " of the manor on 22 October, 1811.[2] Evidently his duties did not entail the arrangement of dates for the holding of courts, as the next occasion was decided by a College meeting on 2 December, 1814 ; and it was fixed for " next spring."[3] Shortly after Mr. Tench resigned his post as deputy and wrote a letter to the College requesting the Principal and Fellows to appoint their tenant George Bailey in his place.[4]

With the dawn of the nineteenth century[5] modern times may be said to have come, and ancient customs and old manorial privileges were no longer regarded with the same reverence and respect. Nevertheless courts were occasionally held. On 3 June, 1825, it was " ordered that the Principal & Bursar be requested to hold a court as soon as may be convenient for the manor of Rollright, and to take such steps as they may deem expedient in support of the rights of the College in that manor."[6] But from this date until 1848 there is no evidence of any sort to show any exercise of manorial jurisdiction. On October 26, of that year, however, the Principal and Bursar are again empowered by the College to hold a court " at such times as they might deem convenient "[7] ; and the same order was issued on 1 November, 1849,[8] and on 22 January, 1852.[9] About four months later, on May 6, leave was given at a College meeting to put a new life in George Bailey's copyhold and the Bursar was authorised to hold a court if he thought it necessary.[10]

Between 1852 and 1917 it may be said that the old manorial privileges were dying rapidly but there were three final flickers. The first, in 1857, when the Principal and Bursar were given permission to hold a Court Baron[11] ; the second in 1885, when the last copyhold of the manor held by a very aged man called Capperton and a relative of the family of Bailey, came to an end by forfeiture to the College[12] ; and the third, in 1908,

[1] According to the Bursars' Account Books, on 12 January, 1771, a ' Journey [to] Rollwright ' cost 9s. 6d., but there is no statement to show for what purpose this journey was made.

[2] Principal's slips of the Vice-Principal's Register 585.

[3] Ibid. 654.

[4] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register for the years 1815 and 1817.

[5] Marshall, *Rural Economy of the West of England*, Vol. I., p. 22, as late as 1796, advocated the revival of manorial courts as ' the most natural guardians of the rights of the villagers, and the most prompt and efficient police of country parishes.'

[6] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register 1825. [7] Ibid. 1848.

[8] Ibid. 1849. [9] Ibid. 1852.

[10] Ibid. [11] Ibid. 1857.

[12] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 8.

when the Senior Fellow[1] and the Bursar[2] held a Court Baron[3] in order to assert the rights of the College,[4] the entire lordship of Great Rollright having been claimed by Major A. C. Hall on the one side, and by the College on the other. At the time, and up to 1917, the two disputants failed to see that each was the lord within his own manor and after the facts, already shown above, were explained to them they came to understand that there was no ground for dispute at all, and that the rights of each, well understood in previous generations, had become complicated and confused in a more prosaic age.

In concluding this account of the possessions of Brasenose College at Great Rollright it should be noted that not only did the real property of the College change[5] very considerably at the time of the Enclosure Act; but other changes have taken place since that period. In December, 1829, the College purchased two closes adjoining the Rector's orchard and garden[6]; and in the following February, after strong recommendation from the rector, Mr. Tench, Slatter's farm was bought.[7] A small exchange was made with the rector, Mr. J. Heathcote Brooks on 28 February, 1849[8]; a few acres were sold with the Cold Norton property in 1872 to Mr. Albert Brassey[9]; and in 1899 the College purchased from Mr. Richard Berry,[10] Church End Farm.[11] How long before 1725 the Berry family[12] had owned Church End Farm it is now impossible to say, but as in that year Richard Berry built the greater part of the present house it may be assumed that the farm was in their possession at that time and that they continued to hold it until its sale to Brasenose College.

[1] W. N. Stocker, Esq., M.A.

[2] A. J. Butler, Esq., D. Litt.

[3] The court was held in 'Court House Farm.' This was the manorial farm of the College from early times. It had often been leased by members of the Rollright *alias* Fuller family, but since 1796, the chief tenants have been Mr. Baughan, Mr. Richard Fletcher, Mr. William Fletcher, Mr. Mathews, and Mr. Benjamin Salmon, who died 3 July, 1927. *Vide* B.N.C. *Valuation Books*.

[4] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 9.

[5] In making this statement, I am afraid that I am obliged to differ from B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 9.

[6] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register 1829.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 212–218, 220–222. Although the Slatter family had their own small farm, they also were tenants of the College, in 1789 and 1796, for certain fields. *Vide* B.N.C. *Valuation Books*.

[8] Ibid., 225.

[9] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 8.

[10] Died at Headington, near Oxford, on 22 November, 1918.

[11] The College now owns about 646 acres in the parish of Great Rollright.

[12] The Berry family have long been established in Great Rollright. The following members have been found either in the Registers or in College

documents :—Thomas Beere (d. 1570) married 1563 Clement Bude (d. 1580); Doritie Birry married 1580 Thomas Wayght; Richard Beerie (d. 1650) married Margery (d. 1633); Richard Berry (born 1611, died 1650) married 1635 Elizabeth Freeman; Edward, born 1608; Ellenor, born 1620; Richard (born 1637, died 1732) married 1674 Elizabeth Norgrove (died 1712); Jane born 1640; William (born 1646) married 1682 Anne Gilks (died 1692 ?); James (born 1649, died 1703) married Jane; William (unknown date) married Jane; Richard (born 1674, died 1738–9) married Anne (died 1763); Elizabeth, born 1675; Freeman, born 1691, died 1741–2; Jane, born 1695; Elizabeth, born 1701; Elizabeth, born 1650; William, born 1656; Richard, born 1660; John, born 1663; Elizabeth, born 1718, died 1774; Richard, born 1720, died 1806; Sarah, born 1722, died 1734; John (born 1724–5, died 1807) married 1799 Katharine Osborn (died 1800); Mary, born 1728–9; Jane, married John Baughan at an unknown date; John (born 1775, died 1858) married 1801 Anne Cowling (died 1846); Sarah, born 1776; William (born 1777) married 1823 Elizabeth Castle; Mary Ann, born 1802; Sarah, born 1802; Richard (born 1804, died 1882) married Sarah (1811–1894); Elizabeth born 1806, died 1823; Jane, born 1808, died 1811; Anne, born 1811; John, born 1811 died 1825; Sarah, born 1813, died 1830; William born 1812; Elizabeth, born 1816, died 1817; Richard (died 1918) married Caroline (1861–1910); Elizabeth (born 1846, died 1877) married John Hodges; Mary Anne, born 1852, died 1873; John, born 1854, died 1889; Jane, born 1824; Elizabeth, born 1825; James, born 1827; John born 1828; Mary, born 1830; Matilda, born 1831; Elizabeth, born 1833; Richard, born 1837; John, died 1884; James, died 1887; Hugh Richard died 1915. Of the elder line there only remain to-day Miss Evelyn and Miss Edith Berry, the latter being the last of this family to reside in the village.

CHAPTER VI.

The Church, Advowson and Rectors of Great Rollright.

'These were merciful men whose righteousness hath not been forgotten.' *Ecclesiasticus*, xliv, 10.

The church of Great Rollright, except for its pews, is practically unspoilt, and its charming exterior is still the joy of the heart of the antiquary and of the architect. The gargoyles, the decorated finials of really good workmanship, and the highly ornamented string-course are indeed of considerable artistic merit. It is not surprising, therefore, that the lover of ecclesiastical art finds in the village church a gem, and views it, particularly from the South East, with feelings of admiration, for, as Skelton says, it "affords a chaste and beautiful example of Gothic architecture."[1]

The actual date of the church at Great Rollright is unknown. If it is to be assumed that the arches of the north and south doors are portions of the original structure, it is then obvious that part of the present church dates back to Norman times, and is not later than about 1200.[2] The north arch is plain and practically without decoration; but the south encloses a richly sculptured tympanum, a very fine example of beak-head mouldings and grotesque carving.[3] The main part of the church, the south arcade and the chancel are early English; the south aisle, and the porch which once had a parvise, are both late Decorated, and there are two very fine windows of the Decorated period showing transition to the Perpendicular. On the external side of the south aisle there is a corbel table presumably of fourteenth century workmanship containing a series of no less than forty-seven heads, either of monsters or persons; and, according to Mr. C. E. Keyser, 'most of the human heads are probably portraits of those . . . who contributed towards the restoration of the church in the middle of the fourteenth century.[4] The Chancel arch, the

[1] Skelton, *Antiquities of Oxfordshire.*

[2] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 8. Mr. Salter says 'It may be assumed that as a general rule any parish mentioned in the *Valor* of 1535, was in existence in 1200, at any rate in Oxfordshire.'

[3] *Vide* sketch in British Museum 37604 f. 437; and a full description by Mr. C. E. Keyser, F.S.A., in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Dec., 1919. [4] Ibid.

clerestory and the Tower are all Perpendicular, as indeed are the font (possibly fifteenth century) and the rood screen with its rich cornice of vine pattern.[1] Up to sixty-five years ago the latter may have been uncoloured; at least, the present high colouring, was, according to an old villager, the work of a curate[2] and his wife. The colour is, on the whole, effective and tones well with the altar beyond; nor is there any clash of colour with the stained glass of the windows,[3] which is simple, plain and soft, and peculiarly attractive for a village church.[4] Within the chancel buttress on the south side there seems to have been, in former years, an entry to the rood loft,[5] the blue and gilded canopy of which, is now, for some unknown reason, preserved by being fastened to the roof beams. The church contains two *piscinae* one by the altar,[6] the other, with ogee head and quatrefoil basin, where at one time there was a side altar in the south aisle. Opposite to the latter there is, on the north, an ancient niche that must formerly have contained a carved figure. On the north wall of the Chancel is the brass of James Batersby, rector,[7] who died in 1522; and along the front of the altar rails are small modern tile tablets commemorating the rectors of recent years. On the north wall there is a Portland stone memorial to those who fell in the Great War; and at the east end of the south aisle there is a marble memorial to Major A. C. Hall.

Little or nothing in the way of records exist to tell anything of the church as an edifice previous to 1802, and even after

[1] J. C. Cox, *Church Wardens' Accounts*, p. 175, says 'Roods and rood loft and screens . . . . . formed the most striking feature of our old parish churches both small and great.'

[2] This must have been Mr. W. C. Flint.

[3] Drawings of the church windows made in 1821 are in the British Museum 36373 f. 8b.

[4] In the sixteenth century one would imagine that there was some stained glass because in *the Visitation* of 1576 (p. 12), Richard Lee found in the parish church of 'Rolandryghte':—

I. 'Arg. a lion rampant Sa. crowned or within a bordure Az.

II. Sa. between two bars Arg. a mullet for a difference in chief three plates [Hungerford] impaling Arg. a lion rampant Sa. crowned Or. Burnell, Lord Burnell of Holgate, Salop.

III. Hungerford.'

In the elaborate window of the Decorated period at the west end of the south aisle there are some pieces of old glass, but not much more than fragments.

[5] This kind of stairway is clearly explained in F. A. Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediaeval England*, p. 56.

[6] In this there generally stands an old alms dish, brass on lead, representing the Annunciation and said to be of seventeenth century Dutch work.

[7] See the copy in the British Museum 32490 Y.22.

that date the information is very brief. New roof beams were inserted in 1814[1]; and some other restoration was done as shown by the accounts of the builder, John Stanbridge. In 1814 there is the entry[2] "May 24. Jno. Stanbridge's bill at the time the Timber was put in the Church .. .. 2.7.3"; or again in 1815, July 10, "Jno. Stanbridge's bill for Beer for workmen at the Church .. .. 2.0.6." In 1839 one of the bells was evidently recast at the total cost of £25 15s. 0d.[3] The next change was about 1852, when, the pews were inserted, probably with the very best intentions, but it can only be wished that the parish had waited until a period of better taste had dawned.[4] Another slight alteration took place about the same time, certainly not later than 1853, when the small northern gate at the west end of the church was constructed, with a new foot path cutting through that part of the church yard, in place of a gate in the western wall.[5] After this no changes were made until, in 1907, the family of Mr. Rendall had the lych-gate erected to his memory.[6] The same year the carved screen at the west end of the church was placed there as a memorial to Mr. Guest-Williams. And six years later Mr. J. W. Hughes gave a piece of land to enlarge the church yard. Beyond these meagre references there are no evidences as to the building of the church, no story as to the old stone-cross, and no history of the quiet churchyard in which generations of the Rollright people have been laid to rest.

Fortunately a little more is to be found concerning the ecclesiastics who officiated when this out of the way spot was on the edge of wild moorland. In the earliest days the priest was nominated by members of the family of Despencer, and not by any abbey, such as those of Godstow[7] or of Eynsham,[8] both of which received tithes from the village.

It is probable that Godstow Abbey held tithes in Great

[1] This was during the period that John Berry and James Slatter were Church Wardens, a fact recorded in immense letters on one of the beams.

[2] Church Wardens' Accounts 1802–1917, 1 volume.

[3] Ibid. There are six bells in all.

[4] From a plan, now kept in the vestry, it may be seen that seating accommodation was provided for 236 persons. The present accommodation is for about 150 at the most. This is another proof of the steady decline in population, and the present average attendance is far less than this.

[5] B.N.C. Ledger of Leases and B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, New Series 461.

[6] The initials of the nine sons and the date are carved in the side panels.

[7] Early English Text Society, *English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, p. 532.

[8] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 5.

Rollright from the time of its foundation in 1138; at any rate, from a period prior to the confirmation of Pope Eugenius III. in 1145; but this tithe right seems to have been lost or alienated before 1291, for there is no mention of it in the '*Taxatio*' of Pope Nicholas of that year. Its previous existence, however, is clearly shown by an interesting document of about 1184 which consists of :—

"An amycable composicion betweene the Abbesse[1] of Godestow and Thomas fitz Turstyne vpon the Tythes of the Demaynes of Rollendrith, &c." The document then goes on to state "The sentence of this friendly composicion is, that ther was a contrusie I–meved bitweene the Abbesse of Godestow and Thomas fitz Turstyn vpon the tythes of the demayn of Rollendrith; at the last hit was accorded in this wyse, yt is to sey that the forsaid Thomas and his successours shold pay to ye chirch of Godestow euy yere viijs. of the forsaid chirch of Rollendrith in the name of the forsaid tythes in the fest of seynt Mighell; so that is to say yat the chirch of Godestowe by the occasion of the forsaid rent should neu[er] have no chalenge of right in the forsaid chirch. This couenaunte confermed the forsaid Thomas with an othe bodely. And bothe he and his fadir Turstyne strengthed hit wt the putting to of the seale."[2]

The tithes collected by Eynsham from one hide in Rollright must have come from another part of the village and were definitely granted to that monastery[3] at the end of the reign of Henry I., or at the beginning of that of Stephen, and it was during the reign of the latter, or possibly, in the early years of Henry II. that Great Rollright as a whole compounded for Peter's Pence for the sum of 7s.[4]

The Thomas Despencer mentioned in the "*contrusie*"

[1] This abbess was Agnes who probably died in 1195 or 1196.

[2] *English Register of Godstow Nunnery, ut supra*, pp. 532–3.

[3] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 6. The charter of 1236 after enumerating the tithe-payers (see Chapter I.) states 'Iste decime ex antiquo fuerunt domini de Egnesham & possesse per tempora quinque regum & ipse qui eas dedit Egneshamie, dedit sex acras terre ecclesie sue de Magna Rollendriht ne contencio oriretur inter ipsas ecclesias. Et facte sunt v. mutaciones de mesuagio & de predicta terra postquam predicte decime date fuerunt Egneshamie.'

[4] Ibid. pp. 1 and 57. In 1239 the sum is said to be 8s. Each household possessing property worth thirty pence a year was to supply one silver penny towards the support of the Pope. According to Professor D. J. Medley, *English Constitutional History*, edit. 1894, p. 532 'From the beginning of the tenth century it became a regular tax of a penny on every hearth.' If we take 'hearth' as the equivalent of 'household' this would give between 1151–1173, 84 households in Great Rollright and at 5 per house a population of 420; or in 1239, 96 houses or a population of 480. Is this possible?

with the Abbess of Godstow is the earliest rector[1] that has been found for Great Rollright, and was, without doubt, appointed to the position by his father Turstin. Who appointed the next cleric is unknown. Certainly he is only called 'priest' and not 'rector,' and therefore may have been acting for Thomas.[2] There are only two references to him, and, as William the 'deacon,' he drew up a grant of Juliana de Parles about 1185,[3] and, as William the 'priest,' witnessed in 1189 a document concerning another gift of land.[4] We know nothing more of him, however, and, only, about the same concerning Warin,[5] "parson of the church of Rollandrita," at the end of the twelfth century, for he merely occurs as a witness of a deed which was also attested by Baldwin and Payn de Parles.[6]

It has been possible to find rather more concerning the history of the next rector. Ralf Despencer was a grandson of the already mentioned Turstin or Thurstan the Elder, and therefore a nephew of the late rector Thomas. His father was Almaric,[7] and his mother Amabil de Chesnai, daughter of Walter de Chesnai, who was nephew of that famous William de Chesnai,[8] once the holder of the Stafford manor in Great Rollright. It is almost certain that Ralf was appointed by his elder brother Thurstan, who was lord of the Despencer manor, during the earlier part of the reign of Henry III.[9] In the muniments of Magdalen College,[10] Ralf is stated to have been 'the parson' of Great Rollright about 1230, but this is a little too early. At this time many of the Oxfordshire rectors were absentees, resident vicars taking their duty at an annual stipend of five marks or sometimes £5.[11] Ralf Despencer was no exception and "obtained a papal dispensation in 1234, that though he was already rector of Ewelme,

[1] 'Our parochial churches were at first all rectories, possessed of the tithe, glebe and offerings.' *Vide* the introduction to A. Gibbons' edition of *Liber antiquus de Ordinationibus vicariarum tempore Hugonis de Wells.*

[2] It is probably correct to call Thomas 'rector' although some of the tithes went to the two abbeys.

[3] The Egerton Charter, *ut supra.*

[4] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 105.

[5] In the Egerton Charter, *ut supra*, there is Ralph 'filius Warin.' Did Warin, an ecclesiastic, have an acknowledged son? It is very probable as the *Enc. Brit.* Vol. V., p. 603, says 'the custom of open marriage among clergy . . . lingered . . in . . . England until the last few years of the 13th century.'

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 7.

[7] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon* II., p. 12. Mr. Salter says Almaric Despencer held six or eight knights' fees.

[8] See pp. 4, 32. [9] See Chapter IV. Part 2.

[10] Macray, *Muniments of Magdalen College*, p. 67.

[11] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 12.

(and apparently also Canon of Southwell), he might hold in addition the rectory of Great Rollright,"[1] because of his "good birth, high character and scholarship."[2] Ralf had no difficulty in finding a substitute, and it may be gathered from a document in the possession of Brasenose College that "Hyngelram clerk of Rollendrich" acted as Ralf's vicar and took his place in the village.[3]

Immediately after Ralf Despencer's appointment questions arose as to the tithes payable to Godstow, and there is,

> "A-nother Chart[er] of Turstan the Kyngis boteler confermyng to the mynchons of Godestowe the forsaid viijs.
>
> The sentence of this confirmacion is that Turstan the Kyng boteler of Englond wt the consent and wille of sr Raaf Boteler his brother and prson of the chirch of Rollendrith confermed with this his p'sent chart[er], to God & c'a and to the mynchons of Godestowe, the yifte of his aunce-t[ur]s yat is to sey, viijs., yerely the which they were I-would to take for ye tithe of his demayn of Rollendrith, that fro that tyme forth the said mynchons shold take frely quyetly and pesibly the said viijs. yerely of the said Raaf his brother and of his successors for eu[er]. And that co'firmacion and yifte of his aunceto[ur]s &c. The date in the yere of grace a Mlccxxxiiij. in the vigile of Seynt Andrew, at Godestowe."[4]

The same November there was,

> "A Chart[er] of Raaf Spenser p[er]son of the Chirch of Rollendrith confermyng the same viijs. &c.
>
> The sentence of this Chart[er] is that Raaf Spenser p'son of the chirch of Rollendrth wele knew and confermed wt this p'sent chart[er] to god & c. and to the mynchons of Godestowe there s'uyng god viijs. of rente the which they toke of hym, and of his auncet[ur]s of the chirch of Rollendrith they were I-wonyit to take eu[er]y yere in the name of a ferme, that is to sey, for the tythes of the demayn of sir Turstan the Kyngis boteler of Englond wherfor the same Raaf, by-hete and p'mysed by his feith to god and to our lady and to seynt Iohn Baptist of Godestowe and to the mynchons of the same place, the said

[1] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 12. Mr. Salter kindly tells me that had Great Rollright been a vicarage no dispensation would have been necessary; a man might hold a vicarage and a rectory, but not two vicarages or two rectories, except by dispensation.

[2] *Rolls of Bishop Hugh* II., p. 46. [3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 10.

[4] *English Register of Godstow Nunnery, ut supra,* p. 533.

viijs. yerely at Mighelmasse wt out ony wt holdyng and agayn-saiyng as his p'decessours had I-paid. And that this his recognycion and paiyng shold be sure & c."[1]

Ralf Despencer was an absent rector for about fourteen years. In 1248 a new rector, " Aumaricus del Brok," subdiaconus presentatus per G. Dispens' militem ad ecclesiam de Magna Rollendriht (etc.) in ea canonice rector institutus."[2] One would be inclined to imagine that this rector " Aumaricus del Brok " subdeacon, was a native of Great Rollright and a member of that family of Broc, Biham de Broc and Biyendebroc, that occurred so frequently in the documents of the thirteenth century. Whether a native born or not he must have become thoroughly conversant with Great Rollright, its people and their ways, after a rectorship that extended over twenty-one years.

On 21 September, 1269, Bertrand le Blunt[3] subdeacon was appointed to the living by Adam le Despenser,[4] then lord of one of the manors.[5] This Bertrand le Blunt or Blount, as already mentioned,[6] recorded the tithes of Rollright on 5 November, 1286, and made the following important assertions : —" Omnibus [&c.] Bertrandus le Blount, rector ecclesie de Roulandrithe Magna, salutem in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra, quod cum abbas & conuentus de Egnesham ab antiquo percepissent decimas de terris infrascriptis in Magna Roulandrithe, videlicet de duabus uirgatis terre, quas Robertus Biendebroke tenet, et una uirgata terre, quam Margareta filia domini tenet, et de tribus acris terre, quas Edwardus clericus[7] tenet, et de dimidia uirgata terre, quam Walterus de la Welle tenet, et de dimidia uirgata terre quam Adam molendinarius & Hugo socius eius tenent ad terminum vite, et de dimidia uirgata terre quam prior de Nortone colit ; que quidem decime ita sunt diuise, quod praedictus abbas & conuentus duas garbas perceperunt, & ego & predecessores mei terciam garbam, ac ego

[1] *English Register of Godstow Nunnery, ut supra,* p. 534.

[2] *Rotuli Roberti Grosseteste,* edit F. N. Davis, p. 492.

[3] It is extremely likely that he was the father of Nicholas le Blound or le Whyte, of the early fourteenth century, for as shown, celibacy was not enforced.

[4] Rector's list.

[5] If other evidence were wanting this shows that Adam, who had been deprived in 1265, was already restored in 1269. See p. 73.

[6] Chapter I. He was no doubt assisted in his clerical work by ' Edward the clerk.'

[7] It is probable that Bertrand le Blount was an absentee rector and that his work, like that of Ralf Despencer, was done by a curate or vicar. This would account for ' *Edwardus clericus* ' holding land in Great Rollright.

Bertrandus anno domini MCC octogesimo sexto predictum abbatem & conuentum spoliassem ; ex post facto aduertens me deliquisse, plenam restitucionem eis feci, in uigilia Sancti Leonardi, anno supradicto ; et obligo me sub pena quadraginta solidorum, quod nunquam eos de cetero inquietabo uel spoliabo predictis decimis, sic ab antiquo perceptis, saluo Michi & ecclesie mee & successoribus meis iure si quod michi uidetur competere, inpetitorio. In cuius rei testimonium, quia sigillum meum est incognitum, sigillum decani de Nortone, qui predicte interfuit restitucioni ad instanciam meam una cum sigillo meo presentibus est appensum. Datum apud Roulandrithe Parua[1] in uigilia sancti Leonardi anno domini supradicto."[2] Concerning these tithes it is said in 1291 "Porcio eiusdem abbatis in Magna Rollendrythe . . . dimidium marce."[3] Mr. Salter writes that "There is no mention of them in 1320, and by the lease of Little Rollright which was granted in 1435 the tenant was to take the tithes 'which pertain to the manor' : no doubt these were the tithes in Great Rollright, and in 1470 the tenant complains[4] that his portion of the tithe, worth 6s. 8d., was detained by the Rector (i.e. of Great Rollright[5])." But is it not a fact that the right of tithes was confirmed by the archbishop on 13 February, 1320[6] ; and that in the Extent of 'Rollandryght,'[7] in 1363, referring to Little Rollright there is the statement "Dominus habet quamdam porcionem decimarum in Magna Rollendryght & valent iiis. iiiid."[8] ?

Early in the year 1300 Bertrand le Blount died, and on October 8th, Roger de Assherugge or Asserigg,[9] a deacon, was presented to the church of "Rollandrigh," not by a member of the Despencer family, but by Edward I. himself, who was at that time holding the manor for a minor, Edward Burnell,[10] the manor having passed out of the hands of the Despencers.[11] Roger de "Asserigg's" tenure of office was very brief, and on 6 February, 1303–4 "Assherigg" went to Beby-by-Leicester, and, until 1342, "Rollandright" was administered by Roger

[1] The Abbot and Canons of Eynsham were lords of the manor of Little Rollright, *ut supra*.
[2] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 324.
[3] *Taxatio Ecclesiastico P. Nicolai* IV., ed. 1842.
[4] *Harleian Rolls* at the British Museum, G. 2.
[5] O.H.S. LI., p. lxiii.
[6] O.H.S. XLIX., p. 376.
[7] O.H.S. LI., pp. 56–62. [8] Ibid.
[9] Cal. Patent Rolls, Ed. I., 1292–1301, p. 538.
[10] For this right of a guardian *cf.* Bracton lib. VII., c. 9.
[11] See pp. 78–9. In any case the advowson passed from the Despencers to the Burnells ; *vide* Cal. Inq. III., p. 124.

de Solers, *clericus*.[1] The patron of this scandalously violent cleric was again Edward I., for Edward Burnell was still evidently a minor.[2] It was during this rectorship that a somewhat peculiar ecclesiastical court was held at Great Rollright, though apparently the questions at stake had nothing to do with the village. Why, indeed, the court was held in the village at all is not shown, but, at any rate, on 2 August 8 Edw. II. (1314) John de Trillawe held an inquisition on the Abbot and Convent of Osney as they were charged with appropriating to their house 2 virgates of land in Chesterton without the King's licence contrary to the Statute of Mortmain.[3] One cannot imagine that solemn ecclesiastical courts would be of any interest to the ruffianly rector, though seizure of land, or attacks upon it, might be nearer his heart, as already shown.[4] Nothing more, however, is known of this man, though it was during his period of office as rector, in 1340, that we obtain some slight information as to the value of the benefice, which was miserably small.[5] Two years later Roger de Solers ceased to trouble Sir John Haudlo or anyone else in this world.

Edward Burnell died childless, and the next patron of the living was his sister Maud and her husband. She had married first John Lovel,[6] and secondly Sir John Haudlo. The second marriage had been without royal consent and Haudlo had to pay £100 as a fine.[7] For many years, as already shown,[8] he held one of the manors in Great Rollright in right of his wife, and as lord was also the patron of the living, and so, on 9 June, 1342, appointed Simon Est de Pabenham as rector,[9] and he was instituted on 3 July. Simon exchanged on 28 February, 1352–3[10] with Richard de Wardynton priest, the patron then being Nicholas Burnell, Knt.[11]

Richard de Wardyngton died in the late autumn of 1361 ; and Nicholas, the son of Sir John Haudlo and Maud Burnell,

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, Ed. I., 1301–7.
[2] Cal. Inq. V., p. 585.
[3] Kennett, *ut supra*, I., p. 525.
[4] See p. 82.
[5] *Inquisitiones Nonarum.*
[6] See a very interesting account of this family in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1825, Pt. I., pp. 25, 30 ; *cf.* Cal. Inq. Ed. I. IV., No. 124.
[7] Dudgale, *ut supra*, *cf.* Kennett, *ut supra*, I. pp. 531–2 ; II., p. 166, and also O.H.S. XVII., p. 469. The marriage had taken place before 4 Dec. 1315, and Sir John was pardoned on 20 February, 1316, *vide* Cal. Fine Rolls, 1307–19, pp. 268 and 271. [8] See p. 80.
[9] Cal. Patent Rolls, 1340–43, p. 464.
[10] It is worthy of notice that a Simon Est was appointed '5 Non. Mart,' 1352, to the rectory of Collingtre, *vide* Bridges *Northamptonshire* I., p. 351.
[11] Rector's list.

again appointed a rector, on 4 January, 1361–2, in the person of Richard de Aston, *clericus*, who exchanged the living, on 28 April, 1366, with Richard de Hulle.[1] He died in 1369; and on July 26th Nicholas Burnell appointed Thomas Slaughter, priest, but the date of vacation of the living seems to be lost.[2] Slaughter, or Sclhouter was, at any rate, rector as late as 1 July, 1380, as he was a party to a bond with the Prior of Cold Norton on that date, and was described as the parson of Great "Rollandryght."[3] Presumably the date of Slaughter's vacation of the living was within a few months of the appointment of Nicholas Doubrygge. Of this man nothing at all is known except the fact that he exchanged the living with Richard Sloghter or Slaughter, incumbent of Covesgrave, on 27 July, 1416.[4] Hugh Burnell was now the patron having succeeded on the death of his father on 19 January, 1381–2.[5] Richard Slaughter lived but a short time to enjoy his rectory; and only one reference to him has been found in any of the records consulted. His name occurs in an acquittance from John Beyton of the Archdeaconry of Oxford stating that he has received of Dns. Christopher, the parson, for the Rev. Dns. William, Prior of Cold Norton,[6] 32s. the procuration and *sinodae* of the church of "Rollundryght Magna," by the hand of Dns. Richard Sloght xx [Slaughter] late rector of the church, which had been owing to the archdeacon of Oxford. Beyton now gave a discharge for this debt on 1 August, 1419.[7] Meantime, on 22 November, 1418, Thomas Barbour was nominated by Hugh Burnell.[8] It would seem that he got into some financial trouble, because, on 14 July, 1425, "Thomas Barbour parson of Rollyngrith" was granted a pardon for not appearing before the King's justices to answer Walter Savage touching a plea of debt of

[1] *Reg. of Bishop Bokingham* 'Permutatio inter Ric'um de Aston rectorem eccliae de Roulendryth de patronatu Nich Burnell vel d'ni de Holgot et Ric'um de Hulle rect. eccliae de Pickeford Cov. et Lichf. dioc., 4 Kalen Maii', 1366.

[2] Rector's list.

[3] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 62.

[4] Bridges, *ut supra* I., p. 287. Richard Slaughter had only been at Covesgrave a very short time as he was instituted 18 October, 1415.

[5] Dugdale, *ut supra*.

[6] This is William Islip, who is first mentioned as the Prior of Cold Norton, in 1417, *vide Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 96. How long he was Prior is difficult to say. A 'William' occurs both in 1427 and 1429, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton. He certainly was not Prior in 1441 as one, Richard, is Prior at that date, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Thenford 10.

[7] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 63.

[8] Rector's list.

40s.[1] After fourteen years service in Great Rollright Thomas Barbour exchanged in November, 1432, with John Lounde who also exchanged, on 2 October, 1435, with John Beke.[2]

By this time, and certainly since 1432, the patron was Edmund Hungerford, Knt., who had married the heiress, Margery, or Margaret Burnell, in 1415–6.[3] In1465, John Beke died, and Edmund Hungerford and Margaret his wife nominated Thomas Thelwall, priest, on 4 June ; but as he died almost immediately, John Lumbury was appointed, on 19 November, and remained rector until he exchanged, on 4 June, 1477, with Robert Voles who resigned the living in 1482.[4] On August 21 of that year Maurice Bartrem was appointed by Edmund Hungerford, Knt.[5] How long this man held the living has not been ascertained, but he had gone before 1522 because James Batersby was rector of the parish and died on the 26 May of that year.[6] It may be assumed that James Batersby was succeeded by William Dyngley who was rector in 1526,[7] and had as his curate John Hudson.[8] Probably Dyngley was rector of the parish for about thirty years ; in any case, on 19 March, 1557, William Osburne was appointed by Edmund Hungerford.[9] This rector lived till 1584–5 ; but on January 30th of that year, was succeeded by Nicholas Bayley[10] ; who,

[1] Cal. Patent Rolls, Henry VI., 1422–29, p. 253.

[2] Rector's list. There was a John Beke vicar of St. Michael's Oxford in 1422.

[3] *Vide* O.H.S. XXXVII., p. 93. She was the third daughter of Edward Burnell by Alice, daughter of Lord Strang or Strange ; her two sisters being Joyce and Catherine. Margaret's son was Thomas, who flourished c. 1486 ; and his son John died in 1524.

[4] Rector's list. [5] Ibid.

[6] The date of his death is stated on the brass in his memory, now on the north wall of the Chancel. He is shown as a priest in full vestments, holding the chalice and wafer ; and there is the following inscription below :—

Orate pro anima magistri Jacobi Batersby in
legibus Baccalarii rectoris huius Ecclesie qui
obiit xxvi° die Maii anno Domini millesimo VcXXII.
cuius anime propicietur Deus. Amen.

A certain William Dyngley or Dingley was incumbent of Oxenden Magna from 1516 to 1522. This may be Batersby's successor, *vide* Bridges, *ut supra* II., p. 56 ; *cf.* also Beesley, *History of Banbury*, p. 198. Mr. H. E. Salter has kindly told me that many of the incumbents in Oxfordshire at this time held two livings, *cf. Oxf. Archae. Soc. Rep.* 1916.

[7] *Valor. Ecc.* Hen. VIII., II., p. 181.

[8] O.H.S. LXIII., p 263.

[9] *Clerus Dio. Oxon. MS.* Bod. Lib.

[10] He was probably the progenitor of the family of Bayley who were farmers in Great Rollright and tenants of Brasenose College for many generations. The sons of the clergy seem to have become in many cases labourers, or at best, small yeomen farmers. 'The poor pay of the parish priest was a main cause of his illiteracy and inefficiency,' *vide* Sir Walter Raleigh in *Shakespeare's England* I., p. 59.

in turn was followed on June 16th, of the same year by John Pillesbury.[1] He died and was buried at Great Rollright on 7 March, 1598.[2] The following January, John Goodwin was "institut. in eccl. de Rowleright per mort. Joh'n Pilesbury ad pres. Rog. Brent."[3]

As has already been stated,[4] the property of the Hungerford family, together with the advowson of Great Rollright passed

[1] Rector's list.

[2] Church Burial Register. His family remained on in Great Rollright and may be traced for some generations by leases in Brasenose College Muniment Room. On 12 January, 1588–9 'Catherin Pillesburie' of Great 'Roulandwright' was lessee of a tenement which her father might make 'voyde' on payment of 6d. to the College (Rollright 74). This must have been a fictitious lease for Katherine, according to the Baptismal Register, was only baptized on 6 October, 1588. On 12 January, 1590, 'Katharin Pillesburye daughter of John Pillesburye, clerk of Great Roulandwright' leases that mease and two yardlands in 'Roulandright' lately in the tenure of Edward Mead (Mayde, p. 38) and before of Jone Kerry. The rent was 9s. and 2 bushells of wheat and four and a half bushells of 'maulte' or the market price thereof. Within sixteen years or the death of the tenant there was to be a 'Harriet' [heriot] of 'eghteene' shillings. The College would supply 'Mistress Pillesburye' with timber for repairs but she was not to fell or lop the trees already there, and had, in fact to plant, both ash and elm trees (Ibid. 80). On 12 December, 1599, the lessee was 'Joane Pillesburie' the widow of John. The College made this change of lessee 'for the better bringing up of the late rector's children.' It is interesting to notice as an example of the education of the time that the rector's widow was unable to write and had to make her mark. The seal to this document is also somewhat curious. It is oval in shape and represents a figure kneeling before the Virgin and Child (Ibid. 83). 'Joane Pyllesburie' enters upon a fresh lease, on 30 October, 1615 (Ibid. 92); and again, on 22 May, 1630, but this time it included her son John (Ibid. 100). By 29 June, 1640 'John Spilsbury' (bapt. 13 Feb., 1597–8) is the sole lessee. Joan was buried 5 Jan., 1641–2. There is a fresh lease on 1 May, 1655 (Ibid. 117). On 2 November, 1675, the lessees are 'John Pillesbury' senior and junior. The former cannot write but the latter (bapt. 25 Dec., 1639) signs his name, 'John Pilsbery' (Ibid. 131). This second John leases the same land on 20 January, 1682 (Ibid. 133); and again on 20 October, 1689, when he is described as 'husbandman'; but on this occasion he spells his name 'Pesbery' (Ibid. 137). He was buried 8 Feb., 1679–80. It must have been a son (bapt. 28 Oct., 1682) who took over the same land on 1 October, 1717, and he signs his name 'John Pilsbury' (Ibid. 147). The same man appears on 1 October, 1724 (Ibid. 155); on 1 October, 1731 (Ibid. 164); on 2 October, 1738 (Ibid. 170); and again on 30 May, 1745, when he conveyed one yardland in the common field to Margaret Pilsbury (Ibid. 174). In October, 1745, Abigail Goodwin became lessee of his tenement and he ceased to be a tenant of the College (Ibid. 175).

[3] *Oxford Instit. Books.*

[4] Chapter IV. Pt. 2.

to the family of Sheppard[1]; but they did not hold the latter for long, as on 8 November, 1583, William Sheppard of Apsley, Bucks, for the consideration of £240 sells, assigns and confirms to Roger Brent of "Greater Rowlerighte" all the "Patronage advowson nominacion and free dispocion of the parishe churche of Greate Rowlerighte alias Rowlandright." William Sheppard stated that he was lawfully seised of the same, but that there was an unexpired lease of the advowson and of some of the premises in the hands of Thomas "Shepard" his second son. It was agreed that a fresh deed should be drawn up if necessary within five years.[2]

It is clear from the appointment of Goodwin that Roger Brent was the patron in 1598[3]; and this was also the case, on 5 October, 1610, when a declaration concerning the advowson was made by "Roger Brent of Ascot, co. Warw." to Edward "Keate" of East Lockinge, Berks. In this document Roger Brent,[4] in consideration of a "marriadge" that is to be

[1] *Exemplification of Recovery*, British Museum, Add. ch. 40084. The following Sheppards occur in the Parish Registers :—

William Sheppard (died 1628) married Ann More of Whitchurch (died 1618). Their son William (died 1627) married Dorothy daughter of Sir John Osborne; and their daughter Sibell (died 1633). William and Dorothy had William (1610/1–1644) who married Mary Dormer, and his two sisters, Anne (1612–39) who married Peter Dormer, and Dorothy (bapt. 1614). William and Mary Dormer had William (1633–86) who married Katherine [?], Fleetwood (1634/5–98), John (bapt. 1636), Euseby (bapt. 1637) and buried as Eustice (1686); Mary (bapt. 1639); Margaret (1640–9); Dormer (bapt. 1644). William and Katherine had Robert (1666/7–98) who married Elizabeth, and who was a friend of Anthony Wood (*cf.* O.H.S. XXVI., p. 487); Frances (bapt. 1670); Elizabeth (bapt. 1675) who married Ed. Breuster in 1692; and Ann (died 1690). Robert and Elizabeth had, Robert (bapt. 1688); William (1687/8–1742) who married Ann (?) and Ann who married Joseph Beckett. William and Ann had, Elizabeth (bapt. 1713); Jane (1714–23); Fleetwood (1727–8). Ann and Joseph Beckett had, Mary (bapt. 1724); Sarah (bapt. 1726–7); Ann (bapt. 1729); Richard (bapt. 1731); Joseph (bapt. 1735). Besides these direct members of the family there was Edward Sheppard who married Mary Barton in 1618. They had a child Anne (bapt. 1621). And there was Ferdinando who married Maria Wincote in 1623, and their child was William (bapt. 1624). For other references to the family *vide Visitations of Warwickshire* (1582–3), p. 93. For the Dormer connexion with the Sheppards *vide Visitations of Buckinghamshire* (1624).

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 78. This parchment is signed by William Sheppard and sealed with a round seal, the design being WS. It should be noted that on the same day William 'Shepard' of Tyssen, Bucks, entered into a bond with Roger Brent for £300 for 'Keeping some covenants and payments.' No place is mentioned. What were these covenants? (Ibid. 77).

[3] When Roger Brent purchased the avowson as separate from the manor it ceased to be an advowson *appendant* and became an advowson *in gross*, *cf.* Blackstone ii, 22.

[4] Roger Brent had long been a tenant of the College. He is mentioned as paying xxs. rent for the half year in 1582 (see p. 120); and in 1602 the Bursars' Account Book No. 2, records 'Jan. 9, Mr. Brent of Roulwright' presented 'a coople of hens' to the College. He married first, Margaret daughter of Nicholas Toley, co. Warwick (O.H.S. XXI. and XXIV.) and secondly (B.N.C. Mun.) Katharine [?] The arms of the Brent family were, Gules a Wyverne argent.

solemnized between Robert Brent, his son and heir, and Christian "Keat,"[1] one of the daughters of Edward Keat, declared that the advowson of "Rowlright *alias* Rowlandright" was in his possession for his life and after him was to belong to his son.[2] After such a declaration as this it is a little surprising to find what happened; and it is impossible to refrain from doubting the absolute honesty of Roger Brent. Having obviously persuaded Edward Keat that he and his son were the owners of the advowson, on 8 April, 1613, the two convey the Rectory of Great Rollright to Brasenose College in consideration for an extension of a lease of College property at Cold Norton upon which at the date there were eight years to run.[3] Whether due to Brent's want of honesty, or to some other reason, there was difficulty about the matter and the College was caused expense,[4] which ultimately resulted in an agreement between the College on the one side, and Roger Brent and Katherine his wife, and Robert Brent and Christian[5] his wife, on the other, before the King's Court at Westminster in Trinity Term, 1614. It was there decided that the advowson of Great Rollright belonged to the Principal and Scholars of Brasenose College having been granted to them by Roger and Robert Brent. These two formally undertook to defend the College right against William "Shepard," Edmund Hungerford

[1] There is a difficulty about this marriage, for in O.H.S. XXIV., it is stated that Roger, son of Robert Brent, asserted that his mother was Christian 'Chamberlain'; and in the composition before the Parliamentary Commissioners 1649, she is referred to as 'Christian Chamberlain, relick of Robert Brent.' It would at any rate, seem clear that there was a Christian Chamberlain baptized at Great Rollright on 29 May, 1632. She was daughter of Thomas Chamberlain, who probably married Katherine, daughter of Robert Brent. The sister of Robert Brent was Elizabeth and she married William Dinwell. Their children were Charles (bapt. Sept., 1596); Brenta (bapt. June, 1601); and Elizabeth (bapt. Jan., 1606–7). Robert and Elizabeth were first cousins of the well-known Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, Oxford.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 87. This parchment (17 by 9½) is sealed with a small oval red seal of an antique head.

[3] B.N.C. Mon. VI., p. 48, and B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 88. This parchment (24 by 11¾) has two seals. One is quite clearly R.B.; the other is poor and broken, *cf.* also B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 49, in which the manor of Cold Norton is leased to 'Robert Brent of Thrupp in the parish of Cudlington [Kidlington],' on 26 May, 1613; *cf.* also O.H.S. XXIV.

[4] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 91. Barnard Pavis, Scrivener, charged £5 5s. 9d. for expenses on the advowson case on 4 November, 1614.

[5] A relative of Christian Brent, named Francis 'Keat,' entered into a bond concerning the conveyance of the patronage of the church of Great 'Rowlewright' on 7 July, 1629 (Rollright 99). *Cf.* B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 50, where Francis Keat is shown to be acting in trust for Katherine Brent daughter of Robert Brent lately deceased. This document is dated 17 July, 1629.

and Ursula his wife, and against their heirs, Arthur and John Hungerford.[1] The Brents acknowledged that when the transference was made they received £41[2] from the College.[3]

From this time onwards to the present day Brasenose College has been the patron of the living, and it is interesting to note that from the appointment of John Goodwin in 1598, until the resignation of Mr. Guest Williams in 1907, every rector of Great Rollright has been a Brasenose man, either as an undergraduate, or as a fellow, or as both.

John Goodwin matriculated at Brasenose College, then under the hot-tempered Principal, Richard Harris,[4] on 1 December, 1587. He was born in Oxfordshire, though a member of the Warwickshire family of Goodwin of Arlescoat in Warmington, and of Radway. His father was Robert Goodwin, Secretary to the Council in Ireland, and his mother Sarah Williams from Wales. His uncle Henry Goodwin must have been a man of great age, for he served as secretary to the Earls of Banbury in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.[5] John Goodwin was born in 1572, and was, therefore, fifteen years of age when he became a member of the College. He took his Bachelor of Arts degree on 28 January, 1590–1, and proceeded to his Master's degree on 6 May, 1594.[6] He was one of those who witnessed the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Oxford in 1592,[7] and he was fortunate enough to escape the bubonic plague which ravaged Oxford in 1593.[8] Two years later he became a Fellow of Lincoln College; but on 18 September, 1598, he resigned his fellowship owing to his appointment as rector of Great Rollright. This post he was destined

[1] For the descent of the Hungerfords see *Wiltshire Collections*, p. 412.

[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 90. The College does not seem to have had any ill-feeling towards the family of Brent, for, on 20 May, 1614, they leased to Elizabeth Brent of Ascot, co. Warw., the tenement with one mease, one toft, 'foure yardland' and four closes lately occupied by Roger Brent for 21 years for 17s. per annum together with 2½ bushells of wheat and 1 quarter 3 bushells of malt or their money value (Rollright 89). This Elizabeth Brent could not write and had to make her mark. This parchment (22 by 10¾) was sealed with a good small seal of a death's head and the words MEMENTO MORI.

[3] In the B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 53 it is shown in the lease of Cold Norton manor to Thomas Chamberlaine of Oddington, co. Gloucester, that Robert Brent had conveyed the advowson of Great Rollright to Brasenose College and Thomas Chamberlaine confirmed this 'so that the College may present their clerke at the next voiding and all future voidings of the same.'

[4] Wood, *Annals* II., pp. 202–3.

[5] *Visitations of Warwickshire*, p. 74.

[6] B.N.C. Register.

[7] Wood, *Annals* II., p. 250; *cf.* B.N.C. Bursars' Rolls 1592; *cf.* M.S. Rawl. D. 985, Bod. Lib.

[8] B.N.C. Mon. X. p. 46.

to fill for the astonishing period of nearly sixty-nine years.[1] He thus lived through the excitement of the Civil War, already mentioned,[2] bringing up his large family of thirteen children[3] as best he could on the small income of £16 9s. 4d.[4]; walking, no doubt, very carefully in the Commonwealth period, for there is nothing to show that he was deprived in 1653, or restored in 1660. A quiet unadventurous life it must have been; probably a happy one, until his wife died, in June, 1666. The old man, soon followed her to the grave, passing away at the ripe age of ninety-five, and was buried on 16 March, 1666–7.[5]

For five months the living remained unfilled; but, at last, on 27 August, 1667, the College appointed as Goodwin's successor, Ralph Rawson, a man who had suffered much at the hands of the supporters of the Commonwealth.[6] Ralph Rawson, Rouson, or Rowson was, like many other Brasenose men, a native of Cheshire. He matriculated on 27 November, 1634, at the age of seventeen.[7] Four years later he took his Bachelor's degree, and was elected a Founders' Fellow, on 11 July, 1642; and became a Master of Arts the next year.[8] He was, therefore at the University when Oxford became the focus of military excitement. "In the City and University all was in a state of hubbub. Town and Gown had to combine to work daily in digging trenches. From 6 a.m. to 11 a.m. and from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m., to the continuous roll of drums, the different College contingents toiled in making the loyal City as defensible as possible"[9]; and in this work, Rawson would be obliged to take part. Immediately before his election to his fellowship there were fifty-seven men in residence at Brasenose College, but owing to the undergraduates joining King or

[1] Great Rollright Burial Register. [2] See Chapter III.

[3] Great Rollright Baptismal Register. Maria, was baptized 1607 and married Ralph Wing or Wirge, of Witney, April, 1630; John was baptized 1608; Nathaniel was baptized Sept., 1609; Elizabeth was baptized February, 1610–1; Sarah was baptized Nov., 1612, and married Laurence White of 'Shipstone,' January, 1631–2; Timothy was baptized June, 1614; Hannah was baptized December, 1615; Samuel was baptized Oct., 1617; Thomas was baptized July, 1619; Lionell was baptized August, 1621; Anne was baptized July, 1633, and married Alexander Stocker June, 1646; Lidia was baptized January, 1625–6, and married William Walker June, 1646; Richard was baptized Nov., 1628, and married Frances [?].

[4] In a note-book of Principal Yate there is the entry for 1663 'Rectoria de Rowlright mag. in com. Oxon. 16.09.04.'

[5] Great Rollright Burial Register. During his rectorship the present sundial, dated 1658, was placed over the porch.

[6] Camden Soc., New Series, Vol. 29, p. 482.

[7] He was evidently something of a draughtsman for in the Bursars' Account book of the period there is the entry for the year 1638 'July Paid to Raph Rowson for his paines in writinge ye marginalls of ye Statute booke xvs.'

[8] B.N.C. Register. [9] *Oxford Magazine*, 6 Nov., 1914.

Parliament, and because the Colleges came to be filled with Court ladies and Court gallants, by 1644, there were only nine undergraduates left,[1] and their life "was utterly wasteful. Any form of study was entirely out of the question. The town was given over to riotous living, and the association of the members of the University with the reckless and swaggering cavalier soldiers proved demoralizing in every way."[2] All this must have been a great grief to Rawson, but he remained stedfastly loyal to his King, and when there was the Parliamentary Visitation of the University in 1648, he, with twelve others of the Fellows refused to submit. The Principal Radcliffe, though sixty-eight years of age, and in poor health,[3] had made a plucky fight against the Parliamentary Visitors; but on May 10th, the definite question was asked, 'Do you submit to this Visitation?' and those who refused were expelled.[4] Ralph Rawson was reinstated by the Commissioners on 21 August, 1660,[5] and was appointed Vice-Principal in 1662 and held that office for three years.[6] He acted as Senior Bursar between 1665 and 1666, and was Junior Bursar for the next year. He took his degree of Doctor of Divinity in April, 1668, and resigned his fellowship on 29 August of that year, having, as was customary, held it for exactly twelve months after his appointment to the rectory at Great Rollright.[7] He seems to have been a most excellent and self-sacrificing tutor and one of his pupils writes,[8] "I went down to Oxford and

[1] In this way the Civil War reduced numbers; it is perhaps worthy of comparison with the state of affairs in the Great War with Germany, when the College was reduced from 129 in Hilary Term, 1914, to 8 undergraduates and 2 bachelors in Hilary Term, 1918, *vide Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 14, 1919.

[2] *Oxford Magazine*, Nov. 6, 1914.

[3] B.N.C. Mon. XI., p. 30. Principal Radcliffe died 26 June, 1648.

[4] Ibid., p. 53.

[5] B.N.C. Mon. XII., p. 6.

[6] Ibid. and B.N.C. Mon. III., p. 22.

[7] B.N.C. Register.

[8] Dr. George Clarke. He matriculated on 15 December, 1675, so that the statement in his *Autobiography* is very extraordinary. Clarke would have been only about seven years old in 1667, and was not a member of the University for another eight years. It is very curious that he should have chosen Rawson as his tutor and given him such a good character if he had never had anything to do with him. The late Principal of Brasenose College, Dr. C. B. Heberden, kindly wrote to me saying 'The only possible solution of the difficulty, I can think of, is that Rawson may have continued to reside at Oxford after his appointment to Rollright, and have retained a tutorship; though he resigned his fellowship in 1668. This does not seem probable, and yet Clarke could hardly have made the mistake of asserting that Rawson was tutor when he had not been so.' Since writing the above, I have found in the Bursars' Accounts two statements that seem to show that Ralph Rawson *was* in residence in Brasenose both in 1673 and 1677. For the former year there is the entry in the Chamber rents 'The Chamber under Mr. Rawson.' And in the latter 'Mr. Rawson refuseth to pay for Clarke one halfe of his chamber rent.' The result was that Bursar Duckworth had to pay 12s. 6d. out of his own pocket.

entered myself at Brazen-nose College, under the tuition[1] of the Rev. Mr. Rawson, an old cavalier and admirable tutor. He used to read to us constantly twice a day, not excepting Sundays. I was the last pupil he took, and he left college to go to his parsonage of Rollright in about a year, much too soon for my advantage."[2]

When Rawson settled at Rollright he would miss his collegiate life and would not have many congenial friends in the village. There would, of course, be the Sheppards at their manor, and there were for a time (1679–1681) Sir Robert Barkham, Bart.[3] and the Lady 'Ester' his wife. Where they lived, however, has not been ascertained, and the only reference to them is in the Church Registers.

What sort of rectory Rawson found at Great Rollright it is only possible to guess from the words of the malicious, but industrious, Anthony Wood. He says that Rawson set to work and "plucked down the rectory house which was ruined and builded a new house of stone 1674 or thereabouts."[4] As Wood so definitely mentions a "new house of *stone*," it may be presumed that the old rectory was timber and plaster and probably thatched. The tradition in the village is that Rawson's rectory was on the site of the present rectory, but probably a little nearer the road leading to the church. On the northern edge there was a low stone wall with iron railings so that the building was not shut in as is the case with the rectory of to-day.[5] Ralph Rawson lived to enjoy his handiwork for about thirteen years, and was buried at Great Rollright

[1] By the Laudian Statutes a student was obliged to enter under a tutor resident in the same College.

[2] Popham Papers. Hist. MSS. Com., p. 260.

[3] Sir Robert Barkham succeeded his grandfather Sir Robert Barkham in the baronetcy in 1669 when he was under age. He married 'Ester' or Hester Jeffrey, who died in 1691. Their son Edward was born at Great Rollright, and baptized on 2 March, 1679–80. He matriculated at Brasenose in 1695 and succeeded his father about 1701. His sister Anne was baptized at Rollright on 26 Feb., 1680–1, and died Aug. 9; and another sister Mary was baptized 25 Sept., 1682; a third, Katherine was buried 23 Oct., 1688. A brother, called William was buried at Rollright on 22 Feb., 1695–6; and another, Fleetwood, was buried 17 May, 1690. In the Oxf. Rec. Soc. for 1923 there is a reference to a Mrs. Esther Barkham, of Glympton, marrying, in 1705, a Mr. James Smallpeice of Cheltenham [*vide*, p. 114]. The similarity of Christian and surname forces one to surmise that she was a relative of the Barkhams at Rollright.

[4] O.H.S. XXI., p. 106.

[5] Dr. S. E. Holbrooke obtained this information from an old villager.

on 28 March, 1687.[1] His wife, "Madam Susannah Rawson" was buried on July 5th, of the following year.[2] It was during Ralph Rawson's last illness that someone, acting for him, made the first reference in the Registers to the custom of burying in woollen. Although the act for this had been passed in 1666,[3] insisting on woollen shrouds to encourage the woollen industry and to depress the Irish linen trade,[4] there is no entry until the burial of Eustice Sheppard "from London a citizen was buried March 26 (1687) an affidavit was brought of his being Shrowded in woollen from the parish of Eastcheap."[5] It is strange that 'burial in woollen' was not entered before this date but possibly both Ralph Rawson and his deputy were very ignorant of the law.

A week or two before Ralph Rawson's death the College made a somewhat *curious* arrangement with John Edisbury, who was a Brasenose man and member of Parliament for the University of Oxford.[6] At a College meeting, on 14 March 1686–7, it was decided that Edisbury should have the next (and that *only*) presentation to the Rectory of Great Rollright.[7] On 25 April, therefore "John Edisbury, Master in Chancery," appointed John Meare, Principal of the College. It is impossible to imagine a present day Principal, with his multiplicity of duties and interests being the rector of Great Rollright at the same time as holding his College office. But at the end of the seventeenth century the life of the Principal was not as to-day; nor were bishops so rigorous with regard to pluralities, and so John Meare succeeded Ralph Rawson without shocking anyone. He must have been acquainted with Rawson, as an undergraduate twenty-two years before, and probably, as the distance between Oxford and Great Rollright was only a day's ride,[8] the two must have kept up some spasmodic intercourse.

[1] Church Burial Register.
[2] Ibid.
[3] 18 and 19 Chas. II. Repealed Stat. Law Rev. Act, 1863.
[4] It is also said to have been intended to encourage the paper-trade. By the accumulation of old linen there came to be large stocks of linen rags (estimated at 200,000 lbs. per annum), which were essential, at that time, for the manufacture of paper.
[5] Church Burial Register.
[6] B.N.C. Register. According to the Bursars' Account Books John Edisbury was a tenant of some of the best rooms in Black Hall between 1672 and 1708. For more references to John Edisbury *cf.* Charles T. Gatty, *Mary Davies and the Manor of Ebury.*
[7] B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register, 134b.
[8] The distance is 21¼ miles from the Rectory to the College gate, and has been traversed in recent years by a fast driver, in a car, in 25 minutes.

Like Rawson, John Meare came from Cheshire, and matriculated at Brasenose College as a batteler on 11 May, 1665. This position was a very humble one, and, at the period, carried with it the obligation to wait on the commoners[1]; but what really distinguished a batteler from the rest was that he 'sized' or 'bespoke' and ate his meals in his own rooms.[2] From this inferior position, John Meare became a Frankland Scholar, on 15 August, 1665, and took his Bachelor's degree on 21 January, 1668–9. The next year, on March 7th, he was elected to a Founders' Fellowship, and proceeded to his Master's degree on 12 December, 1671. Between 1679 and 1681 he was Junior Bursar, and in the latter year was installed tenth Principal on May 13th.[3] He took the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor of Divinity on 21 October, 1684, and within three years, while still Principal, became the rector of Great Rollright.[4] He vacated this living in 1693, so that he might take another College living at Middleton Cheney. Ten years later he was appointed canon of Wells. John Meare was evidently all for a quiet life and he seems to have had no pangs of conscience in taking the oath of allegiance to William III., two years after he had been appointed rector of Great Rollright,[5] although his College had been very strongly Tory in the past, and with the rest of the University had, in 1683, resisted attacks on hereditary right.

Meare's[6] period of rule at Brasenose has been called 'peaceful,'[7] certainly his rectorship at Great Rollright must have been equally so. There is nothing to mark his coming or going in the Registers, and it is not known whether he conducted a service in the village, or whether he employed a curate. It is hardly likely that in term time the Principal

[1] B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 45.

[2] O.H.S. XVI., p. 435.

[3] B.N.C. Register. Wood, *Life and Times* II., p. 540, says he married soon after and his wife gave birth to twins; III., p. 233, he says she was the aunt of Sir Richard Shuttleworth of Lancs.

[4] An explanation of the fact that occasionally Principals held livings with their College offices is to be found in B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 60. Before 1749 the Principal's income was very small. 'In June, 1749, it had been fixed at £100; and on 5 May, 1750, the Fellows resolved that the stipend of £100 be continued as long as the Principal had no benefice from the College and the Visitor was asked to confirm this.'

[5] 8 July, 1689, *vide* Wood III., p. 305.

[6] In later years Meare's mind became deranged, see B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register B., March, 1708–9, and O.H.S. XII., 227, 395, 452–3. His daughter is supposed to have married secretly one of the Fellows of the College, see O.H.S. XLIII., pp. 222–3.

[7] B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 11. Hearne (O.H.S. VII., p. 395) says that Meare 'was never noted for learning or anything else.'

would drive out 21 miles from the College on a Saturday to take the Sunday services; and if he resided in vacation the assistance of a curate would seem superfluous. It is extremely probable that his connection with Great Rollright was no more than to receive the annual income arising from the rectorial tithes and the small amount of glebe, and that a permanent curate acted for him.

Long before Meare's death he was succeeded at Great Rollright by John Hulton. Like Meare, he came from Cheshire, was a batteler and a Frankland Scholar. He matriculated, on 4 December, 1674, took his Bachelor's degree on 4 June, 1678; was elected to a "Williamson P." fellowship on 14 January, 1679–80, became a Master of Arts in the May of the next year, and was appointed rector of Great Rollright on 28 September, 1693.[1] He had thus lived in Oxford during one of its most exciting periods. "In the rapid events that occurred between 1686 and 1688, the University of Oxford played no small part; and the din of religious controversy and political struggle which resounded through the Halls and Common Rooms of Magdalen and University Colleges re-echoed in the quiet old quadrangle of Brasenose."[2] This was chiefly due to the fact that a contemporary of John Hulton, "a shatterheaded Fellow,"[3] of the College, called John Bernard, was an intimate disciple of the notorious Obadiah Walker, Master of University College. Nevertheless the accession of William III. was accepted by Hulton with the rest of the Fellows "though not without mutinous whispers."[4] It is possible that Hulton retired to Great Rollright with a feeling of relief that he had at last got away from the continual bickerings and arguments that must have been such a feature of Common Room life at this period. He did not, however, survive long to enjoy the quiet of his rural parish for he died fourteen months after his appointment.

Hulton's successor was not an undergraduate of Brasenose College, but was educated at Oriel. Robert Cocks,[5] 'filius armigeri,' matriculated, on 26 February, 1674–5, aged fifteen. He was the grandson of Richard Cocks of Dumbleton and Susanna Elton, of the Hasle, Herefordshire. His grandfather had been created a baronet on account of the severe losses he had sustained in the cause of Charles I. Three and a half years after matriculation Robert Cocks, took his B.A. degree, and owing to his grandmother being an Elton, was elected

[1] B.N.C. Register.
[2] B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 5.
[3] B.N.C. Mon. XII., pp. 23–4.
[4] B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 5.
[5] B.N.C. Register. The Register is incorrect in saying that he succeeded as Baronet in 1695. This did not take place till his brother, Sir Richard, died on 21 October, 1726.

an 'Elton Fellow,' at Brasenose College, on 20 June, 1679. Within two years he proceeded to his Master's degree, and from 1691–2 and 1693–5 was Junior Bursar of the College. He was appointed Rector, on 7 March, 1694–5, and probably for this reason took the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity on June 5 following. He was inducted on September 7th, and evidently came into residence at once and continued rector for over forty years.[1] During the early period[2] of his ministrations, he recorded another case of a person being buried in woollen,[3] and also the law of being "asked 3 times in the church" before marriage, the first reference to this being in 1697.[4] Robert Cocks seems to have taken a genuine interest in the spiritual welfare of his parishioners; and certainly in the keeping of his Church Registers. He not only preached sermons, but occasionally published them, such as '*The great importance of a meek and merciful spirit*,' in 1714, '*The Assize Sermon at Warwick*,'[5] in 1715; and '*The Beauty and Necessity of the Duty of Praising God*'; a sermon preached at Woodstock on 7 June, 1716.[6]

[1] Sir Robert Cocks was a tenant of the College at Great 'Rowlandwright. He took a tenement, on 22 March, 1706 'late in the tenure of Edward Cross.' This parchment ($22\frac{3}{4}$ by $16\frac{1}{2}$) is sealed with a seal consisting of a chevron between 3 pair of antlers. There were fresh leases on 1 October, 1713, 1 October, 1720, 2 October, 1727, and on 1 October, 1734. The same house was tenanted on 1 October, 1741, by Anne Busby of Woodstock, widow, and Sarah Cocks of Woodstock, spinster. The latter was probably a relative of the late rector (possibly his daughter, born at Great Rollright in 1701). There was a new lease on 1 October, 1745. The rent was 17s. 9d. and a certain amount of wheat and malt. By 1755 the two ladies had ceased to be tenants and the tenement was let to George Bayley on October 1 of that year, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 139, 144, 153, 158, 168, 172, 181, 188.

[2] No names of Churchwardens during his rectorship have been found except, 1730, Richard Berry and William Baughan; 1733, Francis [?] George; 1735, John Harbidge and John Hall, *vide* MS. *Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, Bod. Lib.

[3] It is remarkable that this copy of an affidavit has been preserved for it was found on a loose half sheet in the Register and reads as follows:—

For The Rev. Dr. Cocks,
att his hous att
Rowlright,
Oxfordshire.

Dec. ye 20th 1708.

The widdow Miles of great Rowlright then made oath yt ye body of Richard Gubbins of ye Same was buried in Sheeps wool onely according to ye act of parliam't.

Sworn before me Ro Cocks ye day & year
abuve written.

In ye presence of
ye widdow Beckett
and Katherine Beckett.

[4] This was probably due to the Act 7 and 8 Will. III. (1695–6) c. 35; repealed 33 and 34 Vic. c. 99. Rollright Church Marriage Register.

[5] B.N.C. Register. [6] Marshall, *Woodstock Manor and Environs*, p. 449.

He married a Mrs. Ann Fulks[1] of Oxford, but when this took place is unknown. She died at the age of 43 and was buried at Great Rollright in 1712. She gave birth to twelve children, ten of whom were born at Great Rollright. He was succeeded in the baronetcy by his fourth son, Robert (born in 1703), but the family came to an end in his granddaughter Dorothy, who died in 1767.

Robert Cocks was something of a pluralist for he not only continued to hold the rectory of Great Rollright, but also became rector of Bladon with Woodstock, having been presented by the Duke of Marlborough on 10 December, 1715. It seems probable that he resided at Woodstock, and with a good horse it would be possible for him to give somewhat attenuated services in all his cures. He may, of course, have had a curate or received some clerical assistance, for as early as 1707, a marriage was performed, according to the Great Rollright Register, by one, John Brideoake.[2] In October, 1726, he succeeded to the family title; but continued his clerical work until his death on 9 February, 1736.[3] The

[1] *Extinct Baronetage.* Hearne (O.H.S. II., p. 304), shows that he hated Cocks for political reasons. He says that Cocks 'was always a lewd impudent Fellow . . . Yet for all this, old Fulks ye Apothecary let him have one of his daughters, an handsome, virtuous woman. Add to this, that he was one of those Rascally People . . . . who were for discarding King *James* and receiving *Dutch William.*'

[2] This John 'Brideoake' was probably some relation of Ralph 'Brideoak,' lord of the manor of Hook Norton in the early eighteenth century.

[3] He was buried in the Chancel of Woodstock Church where there is a flat-stone to his memory with the following inscription :—

Hic SS
Reliquiae
Roberti Cocks Baronetti
S. T. P.
necnon ecclesiarum Rowlwright Magnae
et Bladon comit. Oxonsi
Rectoris
qui antiqua prosapia de Dumbleton
in agro Glocestrensi
ortus
omnibus comis et urbanus
cognatis et amicis charus et suavis
pro egenis semper sollicitus,
et cognita cujusvis indigentia
subvenire et erogare propensus
et promptus
haec ut non deneganda ita non tacenda
videntur, plura
hic inscribi
credibile est non ille desideravit
spe resurrectionis
Deo animam placide resignavit
nono die Februarii
anno { aetatis 76
{ salutis 1735–6

London Evening Post of 11 February, 1736, gave an obituary notice of Sir Robert, in which he is described as not only 'the author of several treatises,' but as one who 'lived well respected by most people, and tho' not accounted the most eloquent preacher, his memory is somewhat valuable as a good natured facetious neighbour.' A contemporary, signing himself C.J., evidently did not approve of this faint praise and stated that he was both an 'elegant' and 'eloquent' preacher, adding, with other laudatory remarks, 'He was not so formally orthodox as many of his brethren, but was more essentially so than most of them, for his charity was more extensive than any men's of his time.'[1] It was this kindly spirit that, no doubt, made him create in Woodstock, what came to be called 'Sir Robert Cocks' charity.'[2]

A more learned rector followed old Sir Robert Cocks, when he died at Woodstock,[3] in the person of Thomas Foxley, a native of Lancashire, and the son of the Rev. John Foxley, of Prescot. He entered Brasenose as a batteler, when he matriculated, on 5 February, 1714–5.[4] He was only fourteen years old when he came to Oxford and found that "party feeling ran high even for that age of partizanship; the storm of politics raged in the Academic tea-pot with quite as much violence as in the world outside."[5] At the head of the College was the unscrupulous Robert Shippen,[6] a cautious but devoted Jacobite,[7] who could not prevent his undergraduates taking part in street rows in 1715; and Foxley must have witnessed the riots in Oxford, on May 28th,[8] and must have known the Brasenose man who was wounded in the turmoil.[9] The suppression of the Jacobite Rising, however, had a slightly quietening effect, and Thomas Foxley was able to settle down to his studies in such good earnest that he took his Bachelor's degree before he was eighteen years of age. Too much, perhaps, must not be made of this, as degree-taking at the time, was becoming more and more of a farce, and meant little or

[1] Rawlinson MS. Bod. Lib.
[2] Marshall, *ut supra*, pp. 271 and 417.
[3] B.N.C. Register.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Godley, *Oxford in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 13.
[6] He was the brother of William Shippen of Cheshire of whom Pope wrote:
'I love to pour out all myself as plain
As downright Shippen, or as old Montaigne.'
[7] Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. XIV., App. 4.
[8] Wordsworth, *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 42–4.
[9] Amhurst, *Terrae Filius*, p. 270.

nothing in the way of an examination.[1] He was elected to a Founders' Fellowship on 9 November, 1720; and six months later became Master of Arts. He served his College as Vice-Principal and Senior Bursar,[2] and served his University as Proctor in 1730, and as White's Reader in Moral Philosophy in 1731.[3] He was appointed rector on 24 May, 1736; but only held the living for four years.[4] During that time he was a trustee of the Prew and Baughan charity[5]; and presumably started the restoration of the Chancel, as on 1 April, 1740, the rector of "Rowlandright may break ground at the Quarry [on the Manor of Cold Norton] for the Chancel" of his church.[6] This work of restoration was not completed during Foxley's rectorship, for as late as the 25 October, 1742, the Churchwardens, George Bailey and Nathaniel Endoll, state at the Archdeacon's Visitation, 'our church is not in Repaire but wee are areeparin it as soone as wee can.'[7] Perhaps the dilatoriness of the masons and a personal desire for more active employment, together with the dullness of his rural life may have been the causes of his departure from the quiet village, for the bustle of the parish of Stratford Bow[8]; but whatever the causes he effected an exchange in 1740.[9]

The newly appointed rector of Stratford Bow, it may be supposed, desired exactly what Foxley wished to get rid of, and it can be imagined that James Parker gave a sigh of relief when he reached Great Rollright in the autumn of 1740. Parker was two years younger than Foxley; he was son of John Parker of Bolton,[10] and matriculated from the county of Lancaster on 21 March, 1718–19. The two, however, had been Founders Fellows together for Parker was elected on 13

[1] Many writers clearly show this. *Cf.* Gibbon, *Autobiography*; or *Correspondence of the first Earl of Malmesbury*; or Twiss, *Life of Lord Eldon*; or Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*.

[2] B.N.C. Register.

[3] B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 14. Foster's *Alumni* says that he was Proctor, 1731.

[4] B.N.C. Register.

[5] *Report of the Charity Commissioners* 1826, p. 113.

[6] B.N.C. Mun. Cold Norton 65. It was probably at this period that Great Rollright lost the old glass from its east window, remains of which now (1917) fill the east window of the Bodleian Library. *Cf.* Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, pp. 29–30.

[7] *M.S. Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, Bod. Lib.

[8] He was vicar for some years and died 2 December, 1770.

[9] The Churchwardens during his ten years of rectorship have proved undiscoverable except in 1737, the two men Richard Berry and Robert "Rowlrite."

[10] Foster's *Alumni*.

November, 1724.[1] He held College office as Junior and Senior Bursar respectively, between the years 1737 and 1740.[2] It is hardly likely that he ever left Oxford to take up his duty at Stratford Bow as he was only appointed to that living on 21 July, 1740, and in the following October he had made his exchange.[3] It is, perhaps, legitimate to wonder what were his political interests, and how far he had adopted the Jacobite views of his 'chief.' If he had, indeed, followed the unostentatious, but crafty, leadership of Shippen, he would be in friendly intercourse with many of the North Oxford squires, for round about the year of the celebrated "Forty Five," there was much sedition talked in this part of the county,[4] and many a Scotch fir was planted to show good will to the cause of Bonnie Prince Charlie.[5]

After this interval of time, however, it is impossible to know anything of Parker's political views, and it can only be surmised that he was a man of some liberality, as in 1752,

[1] B.N.C. Register.

[2] He conducted two very unusual marriage services when a Fellow in the College Chapel, *vide* B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 21.

[3] Thanks to *M.S. Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, Bod. Lib., the following Churchwardens served him during his forty years rectorship:—1741, John Pilsbury, Richard Humphris; 1742, George Bailey, Nathaniel Endoll; 1743, Robert Rowlright, Francis George; 1745, Richard Humphris, Richard Berry; 1746, William Dover, Thomas Harbidge; 1747, William Baughan, Richard Humphris; 1748, Francis George, George Bailey; 1749, John Hall, William Fullar; 1750–53, Thomas Harbidge, Thomas Williams; 1755, ffrancis George; 1756, Thomas Rymill, Edward Sumner; 1759, Richard Humphris, John Baughan; 1762, John Hall, John Bradley; 1763, Richard Humphris, John Baughan; 1764, Richard Berry, George Bailey; 1766, Thomas Williams, Robert Harbidge; 1767, John Hall, John Bradley; 1769, James Slatter, Richard Berry; 1773, John Bradley, George Bailey; 1777, Edward Sumner, John Hall; 1778, Thomas Ryman (*sic*), George Bailey; 1779, James Slatter, John Hall; 1780, Robert Harbidge, Richard Berry. It is interesting to note that the spelling of 'Ryman' for 'Rymill' also occurs in the *Church Registers* of Glympton, *vide* the years 1683, 1686–7 and 1690.

[4] Marshall, *ut supra*, quotes Dr. Brookes, Rector of Shipton-under-Wychwood, and says 'So strong was the attachment of the great families about this part of Oxfordshire to the Stuarts that if the Scotch had been able to push forward . . . they would have thrown off the mask and taken up arms on their behalf.'

[5] Certainly James Parker's College was much affected by the rising. B.N.C. Mon. XIII., p. 22, says "From 4 April, 1745, to 20 March, 1746, there were only twelve matriculations, a scarcity of entries that must have been partially caused by the rush young men made to serve in the armies of either the 'Bonnie' Prince or the 'Butcher' Cumberland."

he gave a sum to augment the living,[1] and also left £4 per annum for the education of the village children, amongst whom he laboured for so many years.[2]

From the back of a presentation form in the Archdeacon's Court, for the year 1763, it may be gathered that Mr. Parker was not always in accord with his Churchwardens, for there are the brief words 'Cite the Ch.wardens, of Gt. Rolewright to shew cause why they have not repaired the Church and provided a new Pulpit Cloth and Cushion and Cloth of the Communion Table.'[3] It was during his rectorship that the College, on 13 February, 1765, resolved that several of their rectories, including 'Rolwright,' "when they fall vacant be augmented to the annual value of £200 out of the Common chest. Also resolved that all the houses belonging to the College Benefices be visited once in three years in order to secure that the buildings should suffer no harm."[4] There is no documentary evidence of any such visits being made to Great Rollright during the period James Parker was its rector.[5] He died in

[1] The B.N.C. Benefactors' Book contains this entry :—

'1752 Mr. James Parker, clerk, Rector of Rollwright in Oxfordshire gave Fifty Pounds to the College Stock for the Augmentation of the Abovesaid Living .. .. £50 0s. 0d.'

This was very generous of James Parker for in a letter of his in 1766, he shows the net value of the living to be about £160 p.a., *vide* B.N.C. Mun., New Series 159.

[2] This kindly gift in later years became a difficulty when a State Council of Education had come into existence. Mr. Rendall wrote to the College, on 8 June, 1866 (B.N.C. Mun., New Series 461), and said that Parker's Charity which now amounted to £5 7s. 8d. was only granted on the condition that twelve Scholars were to attend free. 'Now this condition under the present endowment minutes of the Committee of the Council of Education renders the above Charity a positive burden to our school instead of a benefit, and I wish therefore to be relieved of the condition which, I believe, the Charity Commissioners would do if applied to,' and if the College would give its consent. Obviously the College did give its consent for the Charity Commissioners allowed the necessary alterations on 30 November of the same year.

[3] *M.S. Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, Bod. Lib.

[4] Principal's slips of the B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register No. 324. This augmentation was probably, even then, quite illegal.

[5] It is clear from a letter written by Parker to the Bursar, James Hales, that the latter stayed with the former and very much liked 'this country.' Parker says that this being so he will be glad if he will come and spend a month or two every year. Parker evidently kept in touch with his old college for there are several of his letters preserved in the Muniment Room. They are not, however, in any way interesting, nor can they be said to be of any value as sources for Rollright history, except one. In this, written in January, 1766, we have the first hints of the possibility of Enclosure. He says that Mr. Carter-Pollard, if there is Enclosure, will send 'Mr. Theed, a crafty old Attorney, to treat with you. . . . You should get someone to match him.' He also points out that if any Enclosure Act is passed 'The Rector has 132 Sheep Commons & 5 Cow Commons belonging to the Glebe which must be accounted for and a proportionate allowance made in Land,' *vide* B.N.C. Mun., New Series 159.

December, 1780, and was buried in the Churchyard.[1]

The next rector was Joshua Newby, son of Henry Newby, of Kildwick, Yorkshire.[2] He matriculated at Brasenose on 28 March, 1757, and was eighteen years of age. He may have been attracted to the College by the fact that the Principal, Francis Yarborough,[3] was a Yorkshireman by birth; or it may have been mere chance. At any rate he came to Oxford, when, owing to the Seven Years' War, there was a great decline in the number of matriculations, and the University was particularly empty.[4] He was a contemporary of the famous William Cleaver,[5] afterwards Principal of the College and the Bishop of Chester, Bangor and St. Asaph.[6] Such preferment was not to come the way of Newby, who was a Cartwright scholar for three years, and took his degree on 30 October, 1760. For nineteen years he was Higden[7] Fellow of his College, and at the age of 41 retired to his country rectory being appointed on 19 December, 1780.[8] This was, it should be noticed, exactly four days after Parker's funeral. As was customary for the rector, he became a trustee of the 'Poors Estate,' or Prew and Baughan Charity, on 18 October, 1781, and resettled the trust on 24 June, 1807.[9] It is evident that he tried to do something

[1] After search I have not been able to identify his grave.

[2] Foster, *Alumni*.

[3] Francis Yarborough was Principal, 1745–1770.

[4] O.H.S. XLI., p. 276. The records for the year 1756 show the smallest number of matriculations throughout the University during the eighteenth century.

[5] For some reason William Cleaver contemplated buying a house at Great Rollright near the rectory in May, 1777, *vide* B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, 198.

[6] De Quincey's 'splendid pluralist.'

[7] In Tudor times Brian Higden added one fellowship to be held alternately by men from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.

[8] *M.S. Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, shows the following Churchwardens during Newby's rectorship:—1781, Thomas Williams, William Hobbs; 1782, Edward Sumner, James Hull; 1783, Walter Powell, Elias Harris; 1784, William Baughan, Charles Rose; 1785, George Bailey, James Slatter; 1786, Richard Berry, John Hall; 1787, Thomas Williams, Robert Harbidge; 1788, Edward Sumner, James Hall; 1790, Walter Powell, Elias Harris; 1791, William Baughan, Charles Rose; 1792, George Bailey, James Slatter; 1793, Richard Berry, John Hall; 1794, Robert Harbidge, Richard Williams; 1795, John Gardner, Robert Fowler; 1796, Thomas Hughes, Elias Harris; 1797, James Slatter, William Baughan; 1798, George Bailey, John Baughan; 1799, Robert Harbidge, Richard Williams; 1800, Richard Berry, Thomas Fowler; 1801, Thomas Hughes, James Slatter; 1802, William Baughan, Elias Harris; 1803, John Baughan, George Bailey; 1804, Richard Williams, Thomas Harbidge; 1805, Thomas Fowler and [?]; 1806, Thomas Fowler, Thomas Hughes; 1807, Thomas Fowler, James Slatter; 1809, Thomas Hughes, George Bailey; 1810, Thomas Hughes, George Bailey. From this date the Churchwardens' names are clearly shown in the Churchwardens' Book kept in the Parish Chest.

[9] *Charity Commissioners Report* 1826, pp. 114–5.

for the upkeep of the rectorial property, and was supported by the College in his efforts by a loan, first mooted, on 20 December, 1782, and actually decreed on 5 July, 1783.[1] Although this work was good, one may safely assume that during this period the people of Great Rollright were somewhat neglected from a spiritual point of view. Services were throughout Oxfordshire very slovenly, particularly during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. It is not known whether any services were held on week days or saints days ; it is very uncertain whether there were two services on Sunday ; but it is quite certain that only one sermon was preached each week.[2] Beyond these few facts little or nothing is ascertainable about Joshua Newby and he died unknown to fame on 12 August, 1811.[3]

John Tench was appointed at the first College meeting after Newby's death. He was a native of Cheshire, being the son of John Tench, of Davenham,[4] and like many of his predecessors, he was a Frankland scholar, and, as in the case of Newby a Cartwright scholar as well. His father had been a clergyman, and to follow in his footsteps he became a member of Brasenose College on 9 May, 1783. Having taken his degree in 1787, he was elected to a Founders' Fellowship in 1788, and served at different times between 1801 and 1812 as Vice-Principal and Junior and Senior Bursar. In 1800 he was Proctor, and in 1809, selected as Regius Concionator at Whitehall. Three years later he took up his residence at Great Rollright, then being about forty-six years of age.[5]

He found the rectory in a very bad state of repair, and immediately appealed to the College to assist him in its restoration. On 12 May, 1812, he was granted timber from the College property, but this proved insufficient, and on December 15, at a College meeting it was decided that timber should " be cut down at Rollright and Bradstone for assisting the Rector in defraying his expenses for new stables, etc." ; at the same time it was decided that the old tithe barn should be taken down,[6] as a new one had been built for the accommodation of

[1] Principal's slips of B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register No. 373.

[2] *Vic. Cty. Hist. Oxon.* II., p. 53.

[3] B.N.C. Register. The Rectory was for the period quite a valuable one. It had been valued in 1766 at £160 p.a. exclusive of the house, but in 1796, it was estimated to be worth £390 p.a., *vide B.N.C. Valuation Books.* It was probably worth considerably more in 1811.

[4] Foster, *Alumni.*

[5] B.N.C. Register. From the B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register, slips 585 and 598, it appears that he became a tenant of the College.

[6] This reads like an act of vandalism.

that land which had been allotted in commutation of tithe.[1] Tench still, however, required assistance and in 1813 and again in 1822, he was granted loans for the further improvement of his rectory.[2]

These acts of kindness on the part of the College must not be taken as a proof of Tench's popularity. There can be little doubt that the Common Room was glad to be rid of him. He was equally unpopular with the undergraduates of his day. Mr. Hornby, as an undergraduate,[3] recorded that "one cd. hear him reading in Chapel as far off[4] as the archway[5] into the quad." He must indeed "have been a very extraordinary character"; and Mr. Cox writes that he, "was at once pronounced to be an odd fish when he came up, after some years absence from Oxford, wearing a vulgar-looking powdered one-curled wig, speaking with a strong Lancashire dialect, and reading with a voice of thunder: indeed his enunciation of the oaths and exhortations on Degree-days was an awful infliction on the drum of one's ear."[6] According to the Principal of the time, the revered and learned Dr. Frodsham Hodson,[7] he was as eccentric in his dress as in other matters, and always wore "nasty fustian breeches and filthy worsted stockings."[8] He must have been a trial to the Great Rollright people,[9] and his thundering voice, together with his unpleasing accent, in that small church must have driven away some, at least, of his parishioners; and it is very noticeable, that it was during his rectorship, that the two Nonconformist Chapels

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, New Series 461 contains a letter from Tench, written on 29 May, 1816, in which he gives some interesting information on this matter. He says that the extent of the Glebe is about four acres whereon are two cottages, and that the number of acres allotted to the Rector in lieu of Tithes was 407. He also adds that the Poor Rate amounted to 6s. per acre.

[2] Principal's slips of the B.N.C. Vice-Principal's Register Nos. 598, 625 and 654. It must be remembered that these loans, etc., were long before the days of any of the three Commissions which have so completely altered old time statutes and methods.

[3] A marginal note made by Mr. Hornby in the copy of Cox's *Reminiscences* in Brasenose College Library.

[4] About 35 yards.

[5] Formerly known as 'Dog Lane.' The archway was made in 1609.

[6] Cox, *ut supra*, p. 203.

[7] Frodsham Hodson was Principal 1809–1822.

[8] Mr. Hornby records this statement in his marginal note, *ut supra*.

[9] This view may, of course, be wrong if we are to judge from the presentations made by the two Churchwardens in the Archdiaconal Visitation of the Rev. Phineas Pett, D.D., on 22 October, 1827, and, on 5 June, 1828. In both cases they stated with regard to the moral and spiritual welfare of Rollright, in somewhat peculiar spelling 'all rite,' *vide M.S. Oxf. Archd. Pro. Oxon.*, c. 95, Bod. Lib.

were built in the village. There is one letter extant which goes to show that Tench did not get on very well with some of the villagers. He wrote, on 8 July, 1820, to the authorities of the College, to complain about an encroachment made by one, Jolly, who was apparently the village carrier. The encroachment may have been true enough, but Tench's epithets applied to the carrier conjures up visions of some heated arguments, for he speaks of him as "ignorant and purse-proud."[1]

John Tench remained rector, until his death in 1848, when he was eighty-two years of age; but, during the last year and a half, he did not officiate, in fact, the final entry made by him in the Registers is on 26 September, 1846."[2] After this, he retired to Chipping Norton, and was brought from there for burial, on 27 January, 1848. During this period of his inactivity, and up to April, 1848, the clerical work of the parish was carried on by Mr. Charles Hill, a curate.[3] From that date, until September, various clergymen took the services including, Thomas Chaffers,[4] then Vice-Principal of Brasenose College.

If Tench were eccentric, he was destined to be succeeded by a man almost as eccentric as himself, though in an entirely different way, in the person of Joseph Heathcote Brooks. He matriculated at Brasenose, on 29 June, 1831, as the son of a Lancashire clergyman.[5] He was nineteen years of age when he gained an Hulme Exhibition; but this form of scholarship did not prevent him taking part in the social life of the College, for in 1833, he was elected a member of the Phœnix Common Room, a very celebrated Brasenose wine-club. At that time the 'Phœnix' was under a cloud, being of a somewhat rowdy character, if we are to judge from the fact, that in the year previous, a large part of the Society had been sent down, so that only three members remained in Oxford and there was but one resident in College.[6] Brooks took a third class in his Final Honour Schools in 1835; but this does not seem to have militated against his election as a Founders Fellow on 9 March, 1838. In the following year he succeeded Thomas Chaffers as rector of St. Philip's Chapel, Stepney, holding the office until 1843. In that year he became Senior Bursar of the College, and remained so, until his appointment as rector of

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 212.
[2] Church Burial Register.
[3] As shown by the entries in the Registers.
[4] Ibid.
[5] B.N.C. Register.
[6] B.N.C. Mon. XIV., p. 97.

Great Rollright in 1848. He was something of a writer, and published three works, "*Anthems and hymns as used in St. Philip's, Stepney,*" in 1844 : "*The Christian United to Christ in the Church,*" in 1845 : and "*Persecution the ordained lot of the state of Christ's Church militant here on earth, maintained with reference to the several questions now of dispute in the church,*" in 1845.[1] But his fame really rests on the fact that he launched into enormous expense in re-building the rectory at Great Rollright. Rawson's old rectory was utterly destroyed, and the present rectory, far too large for the emoluments of the living, was built instead. While the airy hall[2] and staircase were in process of building, Brooks was wont to enter and in a fussy manner, puff himself out and cry "Give me air, Give me space! Enlarge it here, Enlarge it there!" and so continually interfered with the original plans and thus incurred still further expense. He undoubtedly produced a roomy house, and he certainly had a great eye for picturesque gardening ; but, whether it was the cost of the house or for other reasons, he ultimately became deeply in debt. So much so, that it is said, that for fear of arrest he was unable to go out except on Sundays, and even then used to walk through the vegetable garden and slip out of a small door and so into the church. The last entry he made in the Registers was in February, 1851 ; and it must have been on a Sunday very soon after that, having proceeded to church in his usual surreptitious manner, when it came to the time of the sermon, he stepped into the pulpit and gave out his text "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors[3]" ; and without another word retired into the vestry and no one saw him again. He disappeared not only from Great Rollright, but from England, and died from an accident in Prussia[4] in 1855.[5] From soon after the time of Brooks' flight,[6] until his death, the clerical work was carried on by a curate, Mr. W. Chaffers Flint, who made his

[1] B.N.C. Register.

[2] The enormous cellars of this rectory astonish every visitor. One compared them with the dungeons of Chillon. Certainly they resemble the crypt of a church more than the cellars of a private house. The specifications for building the house were signed in July, 1848. It was to be built of stone from the quarry at Bourton-on-the-Hill, the wood was to be the best Baltic, except where oak was used, which was to be English grown, *vide* B.N.C. Mun., New Series 159.

[3] Dr. S. E. Holbrooke was told this by an old villager. [4] B.N.C. Register.

[5] B.N.C. Mun., New Series 461, contains several letters from Heathcote Brooks' Solicitor, Mr. Keane, of Lincoln Inn Fields, and from one written, on 8 January, 1852, Heathcote Brooks had gone with the College Book of Fines to Munich in Bavaria.

[6] His father, Archdeacon Brooks, was the Sequestrator.

first entry in the Registers, in June, 1851, and his last in July, 1855.[1]

It was during Mr. Flint's curacy that energetic steps were taken to provide the village with a proper school. The College seemed the natural landlord to whom to apply ; and application was evidently made before August, 1852. A site was offered and a definite area stated on land held by Henry Caperton, or Capperton, a copyholder of the College. On August 9th, Mr. Flint wrote that " the Council of Education " wanted a larger site ; and on 17 September, 1852, Henry Caperton of ' the Black Horse, Birdlip, Painswick Gloucestershire ' resigned, what is now the site of the present school, which is described " as part of the waste of the Manor of Great Rollright . . . for the purpose of a school for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Parish of Great Rollright." As soon as the College obtained news of this resignation they conveyed the site, on 20 September, 1852, and building operations began at once. On 12 November, 1860, the College also granted the site for the present Schoolmaster's House ; and in 1866 the smaller class room for Infants was added to the main building of the School.[2]

When it was known that Brooks was dead, the Principal and Fellows of Brasenose College were again able to select a rector ; and they made the excellent choice of Henry Rendall who did splendid service in the parish for thirty-eight years. He was the eldest son of Henry Rendall of Oxenwood, Berks.[3] He was born on 21 October, 1817. When eighteen years of age he matriculated at Trinity College, Oxford, on 30 May, 1836. For four years he was a scholar of his College and took a second class in *Literae Humaniores* in 1840, and was then elected to an " Elton " Fellowship at Brasenose College.[4] From 1847 to 1855 he was perpetual curate of Holy Trinity, Stepney, which he resigned to become rector of Great Rollright.[5] At that time the living was worth about £750 per annum ; but, he was not altogether happy in accepting the post, for, like others, in later years, his heart failed him at having to keep up the large house that Brooks had left as a white elephant in the village.[6] As it happened, however, it

[1] See also Churchwardens' Account Book, 1802–1917.
[2] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright, New Series 461 and B.N.C. Ledger of Leases.
[3] Foster, *Alumni*.
[4] He was the last ever to hold this " Elton " Fellowship, which dated back to 1547. The Commission of 1854 abolished it with many other similar ancient privileges.
[5] B.N.C. Register.
[6] Told me by his son the late Mr. Edward Rendall of Charterhouse.

proved the very house that Mr. Rendall required, for in it, as years went by, he had a family of nine sons and one daughter.[1] After Mr. Rendall's arrival everything was better managed. The keeping of the accounts and the Churchwardens' book alone show what a business-like man had been sent, at last, to conduct the spiritual welfare of Great Rollright.[2] His resignation was accepted with the deepest regret in 1893, and when, ten years after his death, which took place at Norwood, on 7 October, 1897, a memorial was raised, it was almost superfluous, for his memory was still revered and the recollection of him was still fresh in the minds of all those, who in their earlier days, had known and respected him.

Great Rollright was now to have the finest scholar and the most travelled man that had up to that time been rector. David Mason Gardner was born in London, and after having spent some years at the Merchant Taylors' School, matriculated as a scholar of Brasenose on 9 May, 1852. The following year he became Nowell scholar, and at the same time, won the Pusey and Ellerton University Scholarship. In 1855, the statutes being different from what they are now, he sat for Honour Moderations and gained a first-class; while in the same year he won the Reading prize. He was elected to an Hulme Exhibition in 1856, and a year later took a second class in the Final Honour School of *Literae Humaniores*. Two years afterwards he removed his name, and for ten years was not a member of the College; but in 1869, he replaced his name again, and before twelve months were passed had become a member of the Middle Temple, a Bachelor of Civil Law and a Master of Arts.[3] During this period he was employed in the Bengal Civil Service[4]; and in 1881, was joint magistrate of Azamgarh, and the next year magistrate of Benares. After some little time he returned to England, and, having retired from the Civil Service was ordained in 1887, as curate, of St. Mary's, Reading. It must have been something of a change for the scholar and Indian administrator to settle down in Great Rollright in 1893.[5] There he remained for four years,

[1] Mabel Jessie Rendall, b.19 August, 1859, d. 17 February, 1861. She was buried in the S.E. corner of the Churchyard.

[2] Mr. Montagu Rendall, late Headmaster of Winchester College, told me that his father was a great believer in the value of parochial visiting and was indefatigable in that work.

[3] B.N.C. Register.

[4] This is stated on the Celtic Cross which marks his grave in the north east portion of the churchyard.

[5] B.N.C. Register.

resigning the benefice a short time before his death, which took place on 16 March, 1898.[1]

William Seller Guest-Williams had seen more clerical life, and had had much more parochial experience than his predecessor; and it can only be imagined that after his numerous activities elsewhere, he came to Great Rollright for his health, and as a place of rest. He was born in Cheshire on 17 August, 1853[2]; was educated at Ruthin School, and matriculated at Brasenose on 27 November, 1873. He took his degree in 1878. Between 1879 and 1882 he acted as chaplain at Magdalen College, the work, overlapping with his curacies at Chester-le-Street, Durham, at New Hincksey in Berkshire, and at St. Mary Magdalene in Oxford. For the next six years he was vicar of Birtley in Durham, and for one year, rector of Redmarshall in the same county. In 1889 he became vicar of Painswick, Stroud; and nine years later crossed from the west of Cotswold to the east, and became the rector of Great Rollright.[3] The benefit to his health, expected from the fresh air on the breezy heights of the village was not fulfilled, and he was obliged to resign, shortly before his death, on 7 August, 1907.

For three hundred and nine years members of Brasenose College had been rectors of Great Rollright. When Mr. Guest-Williams resigned, this really remarkable continuity was broken. The rectory of Great Rollright is not a wealthy one. To some the place appears bleak and the winters cold; the rectory house is, as already said, large and expensive to keep up, so that when the living fell vacant the College could find no Brasenose man to fill it. The College offered the living to Mr. S. E. Holbrooke in 1908. He had matriculated at Wadham College in 1893. Three years later he obtained his Bachelor's degree, and in 1897 became curate at Waddesdon and Over Winchenden. He was vicar of Chearsley from 1901 to 1908, and during this period proceeded to the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity. He was inducted at Great Rollright on, the ever memorable day of the great snow-storm, 25 April, 1908. After five years residence in the village he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In March, 1917, having obtained leave of absence from the bishop, he

[1] He was buried at Great Rollright in the same vault as his brother, who was also in priest's orders, and died 25 August, 1897. Mrs. Gardner was buried in the same, on 15 January, 1918.

[2] From his tombstone on the S.E. of the churchyard.

[3] B.N.C. Register.

was called away to other work, and the duty was taken by various clerics. At the end of August of that year, Dr. Holbrooke sent in his resignation to the College having become the curate-in-charge at Blockley, Worcestershire, and once again it was possible for a Brasenose man, in the person of the Rev. P. M. Watkins, to restart another three centuries connection between the Kings Hall and College of Brasenose and the Village and Rectory of Great Rollright.[1]

[1] This natural desire of a member of Brasenose and at the same time a villager, has not been fulfilled. Mr. Watkins, who matriculated at Brasenose in 1886, exchanged with the present rector, the Rev. M. L. Evans, of Clare College, Cambridge, in 1921 ; so that the intimate connection of members of the College with the rectory of Great Rollright has again been severed. After such a long and remarkable tradition it is to be hoped that some day the old alliance will be renewed.

APPENDIX A.

One Hundred Various Spellings of the Name of the Village.

In or about	
1086	Rollendri, Rollandri.
1170–85	Rowlandrie, Rollendrit, Rollendrie, Rollendrict, Rolledritha, Rollendrita, Rollendriht.
1190–1200	Rollendrith, Rolandrut, Rollendricht.
1200–1228	Rolondrihct, Rollendrid, Rolendricht, Rollandriht.
1240–1270	Rollendi, Rolandwright, Rollendriche, Rollendreth, Rolendrist.
1279–1284	Rolandryte, Rollendrich, Bollendrich, Rollendryche, Roudlandricht, Roulandritht, Roulandrich, Rollendret.
1290–1300	Rollenhight, Rollendryth, Rollendru, Rollendryt, Rollendreck, Rollondreck, Rolendright, Roulondrithe, Roullendirhit, Rollendrhit, Rolandrith, Rollandrigh.
1304–1314	Rolendrit, Rodlandrich, Rollendrich, Rollandrich, Rolyndright.
1320–1346	Rollendwright, Rollanderyth, Rollunderith, Roulandricht, Rollendrizt, Roulandright.
1349–1360	Rollendrites, Rolandright Bollyndrith.
1361–1380	Rolandriche, Rollendrych, Roulondright, Roulandryght, Rowlandryght, Roulondrytas.
1380–1400	Rollondrigh, Rollyndritht, Rollandryght.
1401–1424	Boulandrych, Rollyndright, Rollundryght, Rowelandrithe, Rouland Right, Rollyngrith.
1425–1455	Rollondryght, Rollundright, Rodelandright, Rollerithe, Roulandright, Rowlandright.
1486–1526	Rowlond Ryght, Rolryghte, Rolryght, Rowleryght, Rolright.
1527–1547	Rollandright, Rollryght, Roulryght, Rollwright.
1548–1596	Wrolwight, Rolderche, Roldewhryght, Roland Ryght, Rollowryght, Rowlandwright, Rowlerighte, Roulandwright, Roulwright, Rollewrygth.
1602	Roulewright.
1620–1670	Rowleright, Rowlewright, Rollewright, Rolwright, Rowlright, Rowleright, Rollendrycht, Roleright.
1791	Rollright.

APPENDIX B.

The Meaning of the Name.

It would be absurd for the present writer, who disclaims any pretence of expert knowledge, to attempt to give a derivation of, or a meaning for the word *Rollright*. It appears to him, therefore, to be wiser to insert here the proposed derivations and meanings, leaving his readers to decide for themselves. Chronologically the proposals are as follows :—

c. 1634. Camden. "These [the stones] would I verily thinke to have beene the Memorial of some Victory and haply erected by Rollo the Dane, who afterwards conquered Normandy. For at the time he ravaged England with his Danes and Normans we find the Danes engaged the Saxons hard bye at Hokenorton."

1677. Dr. Plot. "For if we inquire into the origin of this Cirque of Stones we shall find that Reich or Riic, signifies a Kingdom and sometimes a King ; whence 'tis plain that these Stones seem still to be called the Stones of King Rollo, or perhaps rather of Rollo's Kingdom ; for it was customary for them to have so many Cirques of Stones as Kingdoms, though in the same country."

1734. Dr. Stukeley. "The town adjacent [to the Stones] is Rollendrich, if written exactly I suppose it would be Rholdrwg which means Druid's wheel or circle. Further the word Roilig in the old Irish language signifies a Church, then it imports a Druid's church or Temple. We may call this place the Gilgal of Britain a word equal to the Celtic Rhol, a wheel or circle which gave name to the famous camp or fortress where the host of Israel first pitched their tents in Canaan. . . . . Thus we pronounce Rowldrich a Druid temple, from a concurrence of all the appearances to be expected, from its round form, situation on high ground, near springs, on an extended heath ; from the stones taken from the surface of the ground, from the name, from the measure it is built on, from the wear of the weather, from the barrows of various kinds about it, from ancient reports, from its apparent conformity to those patriarchal temples mentioned in Scripture. This is to be expected of such antiquities, nor shall I spend time in examining the notion of it belonging to Rollo the Dane and the like."

1895. Sir Arthur Evans. "The original form [Rollandri or Rollendri] of which, must have been Rollandriht, i.e. the right or jurisdiction of Roland. The name takes us back to the time when 'Roland the Brave' stood forth as the Legendary Champion of Christendom against the Paynim." Sir Arthur Evans explains that the stone circle is centuries older than Roland's period and that the name was attached in the ninth or tenth centuries.

1912. Mr. H. Alexander. "The stream of *Hrothland.' O.E. **Hrothlandesrith*. Although the name *Hrothland* is not on record as an O.E. pers.n., it no doubt was in common use. . . . . It seems that the suffix *rith* was at an early date written -riht, -richt (Mod. -right). Probably a careless scribe inverted the letters, and this change was undoubtedly helped by the spelling *-rich*. A Norm—Fr. error for *-rith*."
N.B. an asterisk before a word denotes a reconstructed form.

1918. Dr. W. H. Stevenson. "We have unfortunately no A.S. form [of the word Rollright]. That in Domesday is uncertain, since it may represent a native name beginning with R, Hr, or even Wr, and the first vowel may represent our A.S. o or u. The name seems to appear with two terminations, one (probably represented in Domesday) ending in a palatilised c, still existing in the form Rollrich, the other in a guttural ght, recorded in Rollright and in many mediaeval forms. I . . . am inclined to take refuge in the view that it is really some pre-English river name, and as such quite inexplicable either from Celtic or Germanic.
Sir Arthur Evans' explanation is improbable on several grounds. One is that there is no trace in any of the forms of the gen. suffix *-es*. Another is that the name of the paladin would have appeared in an A.S. form as Hrothland, and that this would have been represented in D.B. by Rodland, and not the French assimilated Rolland. There is no evidence that the A.S. were acquainted with the fame of Roland, and it is unlikely that they were. His achievements are not parallel to those of the heroes of the Germanic migrations of the fourth and fifth centuries which were recorded in A.S. song.

Mr. Alexander's derivation suffers from the first objection, from the fact that Hrothland is not recorded as an A.S. name, and from the further difficulty that both stems were exceedingly rare in A.S. names, and from the improbability of *rith* appearing either as *right* or -rich."

1926. Mr. T. H. Ravenhill, in '*The Rollright Stones and The Men who erected them*' quotes a letter from Professor F. M. Stenton who thinks that "the first element is *Rollan*, genitive of the known personal name Rolla ..... and that the last syllable *riht*, bears a sense which we have not yet made out. '*Boundary*' is a possibility. But a good deal of work will be necessary before one can speak with any certainty about the name."

Perhaps the present writer might be allowed to say, as one, who has put the question to many learned in the origin of place names, that he heartily agrees with the last sentence of Professor Stenton's opinion.

APPENDIX C.

Fines on the Renewal of Leases.

It would appear from what has been said in the text as to rents that Brasenose College got very little from its manor in Great Rollright. This, however, was not the case. The Colleges of Oxford until half a century ago let their lands on "beneficial leases renewable by fine."[1] The lands were leased for 21 years, generally at the ancient, and what were regarded as, fixed rents; but at intervals the leases were surrendered and renewed for the same term as in the previous lease a sum of money, or 'fine,' being taken, the word 'fine' being used in the "mediaeval sense of a payment in settlement of a dispute or of a bargain."[2] This accounts for the enormous number of new leases to be found in the Brasenose College muniments. "If the value of the property increased the fine increased but the rent was not altered."[2] It was therefore the duty and the desire of the College authorities always to find out the value of their properties. Thus Principal Yate, about 1663, makes a note[3] that "Baffin [Baughan] the Bayly affirms that in Rowlright the yardland usually lets for 8li. y'land but the glebe yardland was better than any." The fine was "called an 'arbitrary' fine and so it was legally, but in practice many College tenants could tell what their fine would be when the lease was renewed for a custom arose that the fine should bear some proportion to the rack-rent."[4] Sometimes however, the tenant would think the fine levied exorbitant, and would appeal to the College for a reduction, and this no doubt was the case in 1667[5] when "Mr. Shepheard sd. wee dealt hardly with" Richard Rowlright *alias* Fuller, and suggested another valuation. Mr. Shepheard [Sheppard] was probably acting as the valuer of the landlord, and in this case, considered the interests of the tenant, though the valuer in all cases settled the matter and from his decision there was no appeal.[6] The advantages of this system of fines have been clearly pointed out by Mr. Salter. "The College had no trouble about repairs, and it was unnecessary to keep what is now called an Estates

[1] O.H.S. LXIX., p. 329.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Note-book of the rough notes made by Principal Yate (1660–81).
[4] O.H.S. LXIX., p. 329.
[5] Yate's rough notes, *ut supra*.
[6] O.H.S., LXIX., p. 353, shows an instance of this.

Bursar ; and there were no bad debts, for as the tenant had paid a fine that he might enjoy the tenement for many years, he would not be so foolish as to withhold his rent and forfeit his lease."[1] It should be noted, that these fines were divided only between the Principal and six senior fellows of Brasenose College, who, in this way, augmented their incomes, and for which reason, to be placed among their sacred number, was always the ambition of the juniors.

[1] O.H.S., LXIX., p. 331.

APPENDIX D.

Terriers.

To illustrate the way in which the holdings of an agricultural tenant in the seventeenth century were scattered all over the parish of Great Rollright, from amongst many terriers in the possession of Brasenose College, the following[1] has been selected as an example.

"A true and p'ect terrier of the messuage, Closes, Lott meades, arrable Landes, Leys and Greensward Grounde[2] belonginge to the fower yardlands wch. Edmund Rowlright[3] of Greate Rowlright in the County of Oxon Houlds by lease of the Principall and Scholars of the Kings Hall and Colledge of Brazennose in Oxford made the Twenty second day of Septem : in the ffourteenth yeare of Kinge Charles the second, 1662, and attested under the hands and Seales of those p'sons whose names and Seales are hereunto sett and subscribed.

Imprimis. The messuage consistinge of fower Bayes.[4]

Item One Barne five Bayes.

Item One Stable and other houses three Bayes.

Item The Barne Close, or home Close, half an acre and six pearch.

Item The tite Close[5] a quarter of an acre.

Item ffower yard mead of Lotte meadow ground in the West field Dunropp meade and little meade by Estimacion ffower acres.

Item ffower leyes adjoining to a place called the frogglane[6] on the South m[anor] land on the north.

Item ffower leyes mowe in the same furlonge m[anor] land on both sides.

Item One acre of leyes on Beaneleyes, George Bayly[7] on the East m[anor] land on the west.

Item Three yards in the homerfurlonge, John Spelsberry[8] on the west, John Bradley on the East.

[1] B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 121.

[2] See footnote p. 23.

[3] See p. 39.

[4] For the meaning of this word, *vide* Wright's *Dialect Dictionary* I., p. 195.

[5] A part of the village is still called Tite End. W. Warde-Fowler, *ut supra*, p. 16, says the word *Tite* for water artificially collected in an open hollow is common in Oxfordshire. Many Great Rollright cottagers still have to fetch all their water from such an open hollow.

[6] This lane is still so named and runs from Tite End due eastward.

[7] See p. 129.

[8] See p. 146.

Item One Ley Buttinge in Norton way, John Bradley on the north Willm. Baughan[1] on the south.

Item Three lande Buttinge into Norton Way John Bradley on the north John Barrett on the south.

Item One acre Buttinge into part of the sd. Three lands Richard Hull[2] on the south, the towneland on the north.

Item One land in the same furlonge, John Bradley on the north widow Carter[3] on the south.

Item One acre in the same furlonge, Samuel Maurice on the south John Baughan on the north.

Item One acre Buttinge into Mr. Gardiner's[4] hadland[5] John Bradley on the north George Bayly on the south.

Item One land in the Mith furlonge, Richard Berry on the north John Spelsberry on the east.

Item One Butt upon Keckshill neare the Brooke[6] Mr. Gardner on the east the Towneland on the west.

Item One side longe the Brooke on the east John Spelsberry[7] on the west.

Item One other side longe the Brooke on the west the furlonge on the east.

Item One Butt in the mith furlonge John Bradley on both sides.

Item One acre in the same furlonge Will Baughan on the north Over Norton field on the South.

Item One acre Buttinge into the same acre Richard Berry on the north Over Norton field on the south.

Item One land in the same furlonge John Bradley on the North Edmund Rowlright on the south.

Item One Butt Buttinge into the same land widdow Carter on the north George Bayly on the south.

Item One other Butt in the same furlonge Richard Hull on the south, Mr. Gardner on the north.

Item One acre over Millway[8] m[anor] Land on the north Samuel Baughan on the south.

Item One acre over Millway Richard Rowlright on the south John Bradley on the north.

Item One land att Millway end m[anor] Land on the south John Spelsberry on the north.

[1] See p. 121.
[2] See p. 94.
[3] Widow of William Carter, see p. 94.
[4] See p. 93.
[5] See p. 23.
[6] Presumably this is the stream which forms the southern boundary of the parish.
[7] John 'Spelsberie' was buried 8 Feb., 1679, *vide* Church Burial Register.
[8] The way that led to Priory Mill.

Item One ley in the same furlong Mr. Gardner[1] on the south John Bradley on the north.
Item Three lands next to Aishway the way on the north Richard Berry on the south.
Item One land in the same furlonge m[anor] Land on the north John Barrett on the south.
Item One acre called the Plower acre Will Baughan on both sides.
Item One Butt under aish John Barrett on the north Will Baughan on the south.
Item ffower lands buttinge into Will Baughans Hadland John Bradley on the north Will Baughan on the south.
Item One acre buttinge into priory peece John Bradley on the East Richard Hull on the west.
Item One Had acre adioyneinge unto, Dunropp meade on the south Will Baughan on the north.
Item One land buttinge into Dunropp meade Widdow Carter on the east John Bradley on the west.
Item One land in the same furlonge Samuell Maurice on the East John Bradley on the west.
Item One acre buttinge into Luckslad[2] Samuel Maurice[3] on the south Mr. Gardner on the north.
Item ffower lands in the same furlonge Thomas Rue [? Rice] on the south Will Baughan on the north.
Item Three lands buttinge into Sweetmowe widdow Carter on the East the furlonge on the west.
Item One acre in the same furlonge Will Baughan on the west John Spelsbury on the East.
Item One acre buttinge into the Heath, Mr. Gardner on the north widdow Carter on the south.
Item One acre buttinge into the sd. acre Will Baughan on the south The Towneland on the north.
Item Three Butts Showtinge [?] into Will Baughan's Hadland m[anor] on the west Samuel Maurice on the East.

[1] The leases to George Gardner are still preserved in Brasenose College Muniment Room. The first is dated 26 April, 1637, and Mr. Gardner is described as of 'Shepherds well, co. Kent, Yeoman.' This parchment ($24\frac{3}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$) has a seal with the design of a pheasant (B.N.C. Mun. Rollright 104). The second is dated 2 December, 1651, to 'George Gardner of Rowlandwright Magna, Yeoman' (Ibid. 114). The third is dated 4 April, 1662 (Ibid. 122).

[2] For the meaning of 'Slade' see p. 18.

[3] Samuel Maurice, Morrice, or Morris married Ann (buried 20 Feb. 1701–2) and had Samuel 'Morrice,' b. April, 1658, William 'Morris' b. January, 1660–1, Mary 'Morrice,' b. January, 1674–5, John 'Morrice' b. April, 1677, and Robert 'Morriss' b. February, 1679–80,

Item One acre over Oxfordway John Bradley on the north Will Baughan on the south.
Item One land buttinge into Luckslad, Edmund Rowlright on the south John Bradley on the north.
Item One land on the homer side of Luckslad, George Bayly on the East John Spelsberry on the west.
Item One Butt Showtinge into Mr. Gardners Hadland Richard Hull on the south John Bradley on the north.
Item One Butt in the same furlonge John Bradley on the north Widdow Carter on the south.
Item One land buttinge into m[anor] Lands peece, John Bradley on the north Widdow Carter on the south.
Item One land buttinge into John Bradleys Hadland Mr. Gardner on the north Richard Hull on the south.
Item One land mowe in the same furlonge Edmund Rowlright on the north m[anor] Land on the south.
Item One land in Middle Sands John Bradley on the west The Towneland on the East.
Item One acre in the same furlong Edmund Rowlright on the East John Bradley on the west.
Item One yeard buttinge into Luckslad, John Bradley on the north m[anor] Land on the south.
Item One acre buttinge into Heath Cross Hedge widdow Carter on the north George Bayly on the south.
Item One land buttinge into Churchslad[1] Will Baughan on the south John Baughan on the north.
Item One acre Buttinge into the Heath m[anor] Land on the north John Bradley on the south.
Item One acre Buttinge into Churchslad Edmund Rowlright on the south John Bradley on the north.
Item One land in the same furlonge Widdow Carter in the north Samuel Maurice on the south.
Item One land mowe in the same furlonge John Bradley on the north John Barrett on the south.
Item One land at Chelswell[2] Richard Hull on the north the Heards[3] on the south.
Item One land in the same furlong Mr. Gardner on the north John Spelsberry on the south.
Item One land mowe in the same furlong widdow Carter on the south John Bradley on the north.

[1] The field immediately to the east of the Church is to this day called the Slade.
[2] This is now what is known as Shelswell.
[3] This is Herd's Drift.

Item One acre in the same furlong Richard Berry on both sides.
Item One land Buttinge into picked stint furlonge Mr. Gardner on the East John Bradley on the west.
Item One land neare Grey flegg path[1] John Bradley on the west the Towneland on the East.
Item One land in the same furlonge the Towneland on the west the furlonge on the East.
Item Three Buttes buttinge into the sd. Hadland the Towneland on both sides.
Item One little sidelong Buttinge into the sd. Butts the Towneland on the west.
Item One acre Buttinge into Richard Hulls Hadland Mr. Goodwin[2] on the north m[anor] Land on the south.
Item One land Buttinge in Will Baughans Hadland Edmund Rowlright on the east the Towneland on the west.
Item One acre of Butts Buttinge towards Greyflegge Will Baughan on the north John Bradley on the south.
Item One land Buttinge into Braylesway[3] Richard Hull on the south Mr. Gardner on the north.
Item One Hadland in the same furlong George Bayly on the north the furlonge on the south.
Item One acre Buttinge into the sd. Hadland Mr. Gardner on the west Edmund Rowlright on the East.
Item One Hadland in the same furlonge the Towneland on the west the furlonge on the East.
Item One Hadland Buttinge into Brailes way, John Bradley on the north the furlonge on the south.
Item One land Buttinge into the sd. Hadland Richard Hull on the East the Towneland on the west.
Item One yeard Buttinge into Will Baughans Close Will Baughan on the north m[anor] Land on the south.
Item One ley buttinge upon the churchyard Richard Hull on the north Richard Berry on the south.
Item ffower Butts in the furlonge against the Church Mr. Gardner on the north George Bayly on the south.
Item One acre buttinge into Mr. Gardners Hadacre John Bradley on the south George Bayly on the north.
Item One lay adioyninge to [parchment rubbed] meade on the south Richard Berry on the north.
Item One acre of leys beneath Lady well[4] John Baughan on the East the furlong on the west.

[1] I have not been able to identify this curiously named footway.
[2] The Rector. [3] See p. 21. [4] I cannot identify this.

Item One ley between Townes John Bradley on the south Richard Berry on the north.

Item One land Buttinge into Droveway[1] Rid. Hull on both sides.

Item Three lands in Robinpease furlonge Robert Baughan on the east the Towneland on the west.

Item One land over Whichford way, Mr. Sheppard on the east the Towneland on the west.

Item One other land in the same furlong John Barrett on the east John Bradley on the west.

Item Three lands in Longwainborough Richard Hull on the east John Spelsberry on the west.

Item Three lands in the picked stint Brailes way on the east the Towneland on the west.

Item One land next to Fremongers[2] [?] way Mr. Gardner on the west.

Item One other land next to the sd. way Mr. Gardner on the west.

Item One acre uppon Oate furlonge[3] widdow Carter on the south Thomas Rice [? Rue] on the north.

Item One acre buttinge into the sd. acre Fremongers way on the west widdow Carter on the east.

Item One Butt Showtinge into the Towne Hadland Richard Hull on the south widdow Carter on the north.

Item One land in Heards drift[4] John Bradley on the north Edmund Rowlright on the south.

Item One land in Hanging lands[5] John Bradley on the south George Bayly on the north.

Item One Hadland in the same furlong John Bradley on the south the furlonge on the north.

Item One acre in Crooked Hades[6] John Barrett on the west Will Taplin on the East.

Item One acre in Waine furlonge[7] Will Baughan on the East Richard Rowlright on the west.

[1] Is this the 'Wool way' mentioned on p. 24 ?

[2] I cannot identify this.

[3] This is probably the Oathill Ground of the map of 1794 bounded on the north by the Stow road and Green Lane and on the south by Wain Ground. It now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

[4] This is a long narrow field south of Wain Ground about 100 yards south of the Stow road. It now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

[5] This is west of Heard's Drift south of Wain Ground and north of West Lay. It now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

[6] There is still a field on the south of the Stow road called 'Crooked Hades' or 'Hall's Hades.' The property now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

[7] Wain Furlong is marked on the map of 1794. It is bounded on the north by the Stow road, on the west by the New road and on the east by Wain Ground. It now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

Item One acre in the same furlong Will Baughan on the East Edmund Rowlright on the west.
Item One other acre in the same furlong Will Baughan on the East Edmund Rowlright on the west.
Item One other acre in the same furlong Will Baughan on the East Richard Rowlright on the west.
Item One yeard in the comon furlonge George Bayly on the north Will Baughan on the south.
Item Three lands Showtinge east and west[1] m[anor] Land on the south, the Towneland on the north.
Item One Butt in Meadow hades furlonge John Barrett on the west, John Bradley on the east.
Item One other Butt in the same furlong John Barrett on the east John Bradley on the west.
Item Six Butts in the same furlonge Mr. Gardner on the east Will Baughan on the west.
Item One other Butt in the same furlonge Widdow Carter on the west John Barrett on the east.
Item One acre in the same furlonge George Bayly on the west John Barrett on the east.
Item One acre in the same furlonge George Bayly on the west Mr. Sheppard on the east.
Item One ley in Greate hole John Bradley on the north Widdow Carter on the south.
Item One ley in the same furlonge Will Baughan on the north John Bradley on the south.
Item One other ley in the same furlonge Edmund Rowlright on the south Richard Hull on the north.
Item One ley upon Beans hill Edmund Rowlright on the south Will Baughan on the north.
Item One yeard in the [illegible] hame John Bradley on the west Will Baughan on the east.

Seene and allowed by these men whose names and seales are hereunto sett and subscribed."

Only one could write, the rest, had to make their marks. The names are :

John Baughan, Thomas Endoll, John Bradley, John Baughan [own signature], Robert Baughan, Richard Hull.

[1] 'East and West' is the name of a field south of Wain Furlong and bounded on the west by the New road and on the east by Crooked Hades. It now belongs to Mr. J. A. Hall.

APPENDIX E.

Expenses of three Fellows of Brasenose College when on progress to Great Rollright. September, 1759.

Munday.	s.	d.
A couple of chicken ..	3	0
Neck of mutton ..	3	6
Potatoes and pickles ..	0	4
Chees	0	2
Wine	5	0
Bread and beer ..	2	6
Fricasey of chicken ..	1	0
Tarts and cheese ..	0	11
Tuesday.		
Breakfast	2	3
Brandy	0	2
A chicken	1	10
Tart and cheese ..	0	4
Wine	2	0
Bread and beer ..	1	4
Wednesday.		
Breakfast	2	3
Brandy	0	4
Chalves head ..	2	0
Bacon and Greens ..	2	0
A couple of ducks ..	3	8
Tart and cheese ..	0	6
Bread and Beer ..	2	1
Three dinners ..	2	0
Beer	3	0
Tea	1	6
Wine	5	0
Supper	—	

Thursday.	s.	d.
Breakfast	2	3
Brandy	0	2
A chicken	1	10
Cheese	0	1
Wine	2	0
Beer	0	8
Fire	0	3
Friday.		
Breakfast	2	3
Brandy	1	2
A chine of mutton ..	6	0
Potatoes	0	6
Pudden	0	8
A couple of rabbits ..	3	0
Cheese	0	3
Wine	6	0
Bread and beer ..	1	11
Suppers	1	0
Tea	1	0
Saturday.		
Breakfast	2	3
Beer	0	4
	£4	1 1
Horses ..	1	10 10
	5	12 9
Tea	1	0
	£5	13 9

Recd. ye contents of this Bill in full of demands
by me Hester Lyster.

APPENDIX F.

A grateful record of the names of all the men of the Parish who served in His Majesty's Forces during the Great War, 1914–1919.

*Barrett, C., North Staffordshire Regiment.
Batts, C., Worcestershire Regiment.
Beauchamp, E., Devon Light Infantry.
Beauchamp, F. W., Devon Light Infantry.
Beauchamp, R. H., Army Veterinary Corps.
Beauchamp, W. S., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Bench, J. W., Royal Field Artillery.
Bennet, F., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
*Berry, H. R., Royal Fusiliers.
Blake, H. G., Royal Navy.
Bridges, J., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Briggs, G., Worcestershire Regiment.
Carpenter, A., Royal Berkshire Regiment.
Carpenter, A., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
*Carpenter, W. J., Royal Warwickshire Regiment.
Carpenter, W. T., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Coles, E. A., Cornwall Light Infantry.
Collins, A., Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars.
Cooper, W., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Deakin, J., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Deakin, J. F., Worcestershire Regiment.
Deakin, W., Royal Garrison Artillery.
Dormer, H. F., Royal Fusiliers.
Eden, A., Royal Garrison Artillery.
Eden, L. J., Welsh Regiment.
Gilkes, J., 1st Canadian Division.
Gilkes, W., 1st Canadian Division.
Gregory, A. M., Royal Flying Corps.
Gregory, J., Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars.
Hall, A. C. (Major), 7th Suffolk Regiment.
Hardiman, V., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Harvey, W. J., Australian Imperial Force.
*Hudson, T., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Hughes, J. S., Royal Engineers.
Izzard, W., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
*Mobley, A., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Moss, P. J., Labour Battalion.
Nurden, H., Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars.

Penson-Harris, A., Coldstream Guards.
Penson-Harris, W. J., Royal Field Artillery.
Rice, H., Dorset Regiment.
Robinson, H. W., Army Service Corps.
Salmon, F., Devon Light Infantry.
Shepherd, C., Labour Battalion.
Shepherd, H. R., Royal Navy.
Soles, T., Army Service Corps.
Soles, W., Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars.
*Stowe, W., King's Royal Rifle Corps.
Tanner, A., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Tanner, F., Queen's Own Oxfordshire Hussars.
*Tidmarsh, A. H., H.M.S. Vanguard.
Tidmarsh, B., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
*Tidmarsh, P., Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry.
Tidmarsh, P. W., Royal Navy.

* This sign denotes those who laid down their lives for their country, and whose noble service is commemorated in the Church of Great Rollright.

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