

*The
Eynsham
Record*

THE EYNSHAM RECORD
Number 6 – 1989

FRONT COVER [see note 1 below]

Rev William Nash Bricknell, Vicar of Eynsham 1893-1928

(the last of 'An Oxford Clerical Family': see pp. 26-36)

Photograph courtesy of Oxfordshire Archives

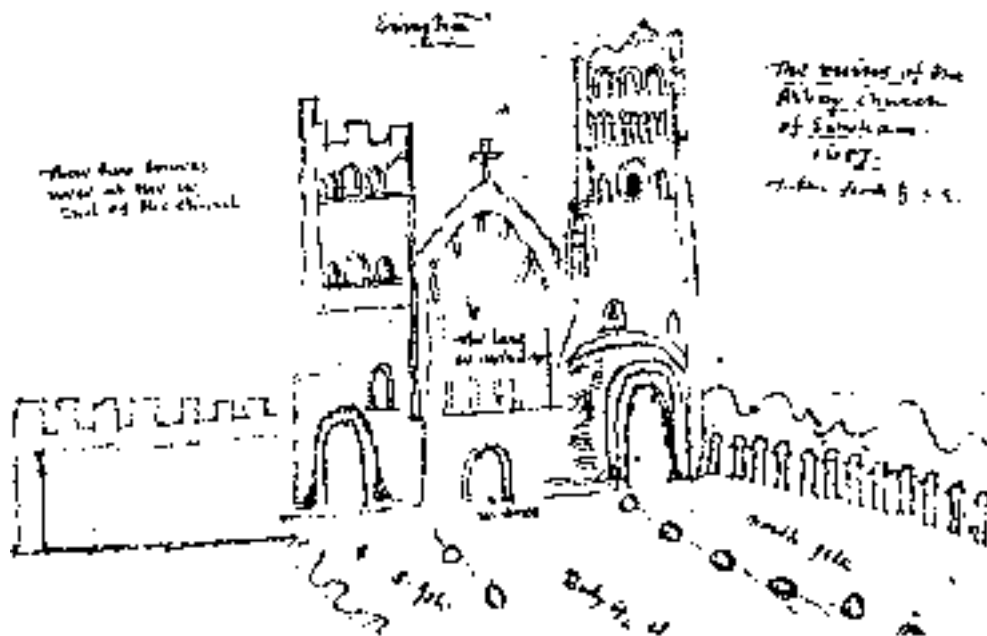
NOTES

1. Images have been optimised throughout for online viewing.
The front cover image on coloured paper was sadly unusable.
2. Typographic errors in the printed edition, where identified, have been corrected in this digitised version.
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THE EYNSHAM RECORD

Number 6: 1989

Journal of the Eynsham History Group



THE REMAINS OF EYNSHAM ABBEY IN 1657, DRAWN BY WOOD

ISSN 0265-6779

Published by the Eynsham History Group

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EDITORIAL AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While the standard of the contributions to this Record remains as high as ever, I hope that readers will agree that their presentation is, in this issue, more in keeping with their quality! I now have access to a superior word-processor and printer. For technical buffs, this is a Macintosh II with laser printer and a 'desk-top publishing' software package called 'PageMaker'.

This History Group has had another busy and successful year, thanks to the enthusiasm of its officers and members, the high quality of our invited talks, and the usual interesting outings and happy social events; and not least to the endless richness of resources for research into the history of this parish.

At the time of going to press, our exhibit 'Eynsham Abbey, 1005-1539' is on display for the third time, and those of us who trundle the abbey stones hither and thither think that perhaps enough is enough!

Thanks go to Simon Townley, this year's professional contributor, who researches for the Victoria County History (Oxfordshire), and who enlightened some of us in the winter with his W.E.A. course 'Church, Village and People in the Middle Ages' held in the Bartholomew School.

...also to old and new friends in the Westgate Library and in the 'County Record Office', now restyled 'Oxfordshire Archives' (future authors please note), for their continued help and support in our research.

..and finally to all other contributors to this number. It is especially gratifying to publish another well-researched project by the Primary School Research Group.

Individual authors make further specific acknowledgements after their articles.

Sadly we record the deaths of two of our members.

Mrs Hilda Whelan. Mrs Whelan was a founder member of the E.H.G. in 1959, and we send our condolences to her husband Mr Ted Whelan, also a founder member and our first social secretary.

Mrs Anne Chalmers. Anne came to live in Eynsham on her retirement from the nursing profession, and became an enthusiastic member of the E.H.G. In 1981 she married fellow-member, Alec Chalmers, to whom we extend our sympathy. We recall with pleasure Ann's talk about the Radcliffe Infirmary given to the Society in November 1987.

'RIOTTES, EXTORCIIONS AND INURIES'

A 16th century affray in Eynsham

by Simon Townley

Legal records can seem tedious or incomprehensible or both; by contrast the records of the court of Star Chamber, a development of the King's council sitting at Westminster, are amongst the most interesting sources for the 16th and 17th centuries, especially for local historians, since they include detailed and sometimes entertaining accounts of local disputes and breaches of the peace.

Amongst the extracts published in 1903 by the Selden Society, from originals in the Public Record Office, are depositions made in 1503 by the abbot of Eynsham, Miles Salley (d. 1516), concerning violent clashes in Eynsham between the monks and servants of Sir Robert Harcourt (d. ca. 1509), the lord of Stanton Harcourt'.

The events described began in 1501 when John Walsh (or Sawyer), a servant and tenant of Sir Robert at Stanton Harcourt, approached Roger Wallingford, a monk in charge of the abbey's fisheries and fishing tackle, to borrow some draught nets and stones, with which he wished to fish in the Thames from an island belonging to his farm. This may have been at or near Pinkhill weir where the Harcourts had owned a fishery since the Middle Ages, although, in view of Walsh's later mention of a nearby ferry, it may have been further north, towards Swinford. All went well until the following February, when Roger and an aged abbey servant returned to the island to recover the stones used for weighting the nets. At this point Walsh crept up secretly, rowed off in their boat, and left the two men stranded, intending (claimed the abbot) *to have destroyed them, ... for it was cold weather and frost*'. Fortunately their cries for help were heard by Ralph Murray, apparently the ferryman, and they were rescued.

Some weeks later the monks were presented with an opportunity for revenge when Walsh, on business to Eynsham, moored his boat in the abbey orchard, probably adjoining the Chilbrook on the north. Thereupon the abbey officers, in retaliation for the alleged *'hurt, harm and great damage'* done the monastery by Walsh at various times, impounded the boat by locking it to a tree. Walsh, predictably, was not pleased. Returning later with a bill and dagger, he is said to have attacked two monks who chanced to be in the orchard, flooring one and causing the other to flee for his life.

Thereafter events escalated swiftly. Some days later five of Sir Robert's servants

or tenants from Stanton Harcourt and two from Sutton reportedly descended on Eynsham armed with bills, swords, daggers and other weapons. They climbed over the wall into the orchard leaving eleven companions outside, and demanded the return of the boat. Confronted by the prior, evidently a man of considerable selfpossession, who enquired of them *'why they came there so suspiciously over so high great walls being ditched 15 feet broad in such forcible manner'*, they replied *'Whore's son, churl, deliver us the boat!'*; and the prior, *seeing them ... unreasonably disposed, satisfied them with good and cold words'*.

A week or two later the malefactors returned with increased strength, now armed with bows and arrows, swords, halberds and daggers, and this time proceeded to burst into various houses looking for abbey servants to molest. Unfortunately John Hadley, a clerk of the abbey church, about his business fetching oil for the church, was violently attacked and wounded by one Thomas Carter, upon which he fled to the abbey, burst in on the prior and convent who were at supper, and raised the alarm. The constable and tithingmen were fetched; but to no avail, and a genuine riot ensued, during which the attackers fired arrows into the abbey, all but lifted the abbey gates off their hinges, hacking at the legs of those inside, and even called for straw and furze to set the monastery alight. More rioters were said to have been assembled in Stanton Harcourt that night, and order was restored the next day only when two justices arrived on the scene, summoned by the abbey.

Such was the abbot's account; but, on being summoned to reply to the charges, Sir Robert Harcourt gave a rather different interpretation. Walsh, he said, had often complained that the monks came to his island and drew his baskets and storepots, and had stolen his fish worth 40 shillings. Since Walsh had not known who the culprits were, he had lain in wait until he saw Roger and the servant arrive; not, he claimed, to recover their stones, but to steal his fish. As for the orchard episode it was claimed that Walsh had left his boat at the orchard end (Le. the wharf), the common landing place for boats in Eynsham, and had gone into town to procure goods to carry home, whereupon the monks had carried his boat into the orchard and sunk it, and when he went to recover it, had beaten him up and detained him. Some time later Walsh and others had *'frayed'* with the monks and their servants in the town, but at whose instigation Harcourt claimed not to know, since he had been in Staffordshire (where the Harcourts held lands, and had only heard of the events afterwards).

Walsh and some of those accused with him added more details, claiming that far from breaking into the orchard to recover the boat by force, one of their number had been told by the prior to go to look for it. As soon as they entered the orchard the prior had arrived with 14 monks and 5 secular servants, all armed, who pursued them with such gusto that one of the monks *'leapt over the wall of the ... orchard and fell in a great mire and there stuckfast until he was helped out'*. The riot had been instigated by

Roger Wallingford and other monks who had approached John Vaughan, John Broughton, Edmund Parkes and William Butler in the abbey church (where they claimed to have gone for evensong), calling them '*Whores' sons and knaves*', and had evicted them, after which they were attacked at the abbey gates by a group of monks and servants armed with crossbows, longbows, bills and swords, and two of them were wounded. The uproar evidently attracted not only the constable but also a great crowd of villagers and passers-by, including John Walsh and Thomas Carter, who during the general hurly-burly prostrated the unfortunate John Hadley (who was reportedly drunk) for uttering '*unfitting words*', but who denied that he had drawn blood. Less fortunate were an unnamed gentlewoman, injured in the arm, and one Stephen Warnysford, who according to Carter was shot in the neck by a monk.

Whatever the truth, Harcourt, who denied all knowledge of the affair, was clearly not prepared to accept such behaviour amongst his servants, particularly when it subsequently involved him in troublesome litigation. In his reply he stated that Walsh and Parkes had been deprived of their holdings, and that those of his servants and tenants found to be involved had been put in the stocks at Stanton Harcourt for five days.

In addition to all these charges and counter-charges, the abbot accused Harcourt and his servants of a number of more prosaic misdemeanours, which provide a broader context into which to place these events. In particular he claimed that in October 1502 Harcourt's servants had, on Harcourt's orders, driven 300 of his sheep, worth £30, from the abbey's pasture closes to Stanton Harcourt where they had been impounded for eight days, *as a result of which* many had been destroyed the next winter. In the following March, Harcourt had impounded 16 oxen for three weeks, so that the abbot had to hire ploughteams, and could not sow some of his land. Moreover he accused Harcourt of maliciously indicting monks of felony and riot before sessions at Islip and Chipping Norton and at Henley-on-Thames over 26 miles away, and of perverting the course of justice and preventing the abbey from collecting rents and other dues through threats and intimidation, particularly through the persons of William Titte, William Wood, Richard Serle, and other '*evil persons*' maintained by Harcourt at Eynsham and Charlbury. Such crimes were rendered all the worse, according to the abbot, since Harcourt received an annuity of 4 marks (£2-13s-4d) granted by the abbot's predecessor, William Walwyn, in return for his favour, help and counsel - a common enough arrangement between religious houses and men of influence throughout the Middle Ages - whereas Harcourt was in fact the abbey's '*most extreme enemy, destroyer and undoer*' .

In reply Harcourt rejected all accusations of intimidation and pointed out that he had been involved in the Henley hearings only as a J.P. sitting before the general sessions of the shire. The impounding of the abbot's sheep and cattle had been legitimate since the abbot owed him arrears from his fee (apparently the annuity

mentioned above), and the animals had been returned. An abbey servant named Robert Lane, who the abbot claimed had been seized by Harcourt's hirelings without warrant, had been legitimately arrested, said Harcourt, on suspicion of stealing John Wood's horse.

What are we to make of these accusations? Probably not too much. The question of who was 'right' is, of course, unanswerable. No judgement survives, and although indictments brought against the monks for fish- and boat-stealing were later dismissed before the King's bench², there was probably some truth, as well as much economizing with it, on both sides. Disputes over boundaries, common rights and property frequently led to trespass, impounding of cattle, personal abuse, and occasional physical confrontation, and although clearly there was no love lost between Harcourt's tenants and retainers and the abbey, there is no evidence that anti-clericalism played a conscious part. What does emerge is a vivid picture of relations between two powerful landowners who were used to pursuing their rights through the courts, and whose antagonisms were reflected in more basic ways amongst their subordinates. Personalities evidently played a part, and while Abbot Salley abused Harcourt as the abbey's greatest enemy, Harcourt in turn portrayed his relations with Salley's predecessor and with the abbey generally as businesslike and amiable, whereas Salley, *'of his high and cruel mind, picked many quarrels with his poor neighbours'*. What other personal rivalries lay behind the episode we have no way of knowing, and ultimately the value of the account, as with many similar such records, lies in its wealth of personal, topographical and circumstantial detail, as well as in its vivid evocation of a particular incident.

References:

1. Select Cases in the Star Chamber 1477-1509. Selden Soc. xvi, 1902, pp. 137-62.
2. Select Cases in the Council of Henry VII. Selden Soc. lxxv, 1958, pp. cxlv-cxlvii.

"A TALE OF OLD EYNSHAM"

The incidents related in the previous article formed the main theme of a play, '*A Tale of Old Eynsham*', written by Joan Weedon, and performed by the Bartholomew Players in St. Leonard's Church on 14 May 1981.

Extract from the play:

"We were all fearful for the good fathers in the Abbey. There was a commotion about the fishing; John Wash stole the net weights and after that secretly entered the Abbey orchard by way of the Chilbrook, but the monks found his boat and locked it to a tree by the Monkswood path and he could not take it away again. Then there was a fight! The Harcourt men climbed over the wall - 15 feet high it is - and they beat some of the poor monks in the orchard. The Prior made them stop and go away. But after, well, they came with swords looking in the Eynsham houses to find an Abbey servant. They stabbed poor John Hadley and tried to set fire to the Abbey; the big gate was pulled right down. Do you know, my father says that in the Wars, the Harcourts and the Graftons fell to murdering each other and we began to think Sir Robert would send his men to do murder in the Abbey!"

Based on information from the Star Chamber documents; see preceding article.

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EYNESHAM CHARTERS

by Eric Gordon

6. Relics, lights, chapels, halfpennies - and Underwalls (Eynsham Cartulary, nos. 312 & 313)

This article enlarges upon William de Submuro (alias William Underwall). He was an Eynsham citizen, who flourished (somewhat insecurely) in the middle of the 13th century. As with Stephen of Fritwell (see Gordon, 1988), William's business-affairs went into terminal decline. Then all his lands fell into the hands of Eynsham abbey. In both cases we are left with a puzzling scene of personal incompetence, faced with institutional ambition.

The name 'de Submuro' clearly comes from 'Underwall', and suggests Anglo-Saxon family-roots, in an Oxford house, at the foot of the city-wall. Some of these Underwalls were prominent in the civic life of Oxford. Others made their home in Eynsham. Chambers has much to say about them, and translates two of their charters (see Chambers, 1936, *passim*, and Eynsham Cartulary, nos.178 & 599).

We are here concerned with three generations of one Eynsham branch of the Underwalls - William de Submuro (Senior), his son Richard de Submuro, and Richard's son William de Submuro (Junior): and our chief concern is with the last of these.

We know little about William de Submuro Senior. He appears as a respected villager, witnessing a piece of abbey-business, in c.1180-90. A man named Henry Banastre is a fellow-witness. (See Eynsham Cartulary, no.180.)

Another document (Eynsham Cartulary, no.178: 1197-1208: translated by Chambers) makes clear that William died whilst Richard, his son and heir, was still a minor, and that Henry Banastre had been left as his guardian. In this document, Richard, now come of age, gives some of his inheritance to Eynsham abbey: the gift appears to be made on his death-bed: for it is 'for the salvation of my soul and of my forebears and my heirs' (*pro salute anime mee & antecessorum & heredum meorum*). The occasion must have been a serious illness, from which, against all hope, he recovered: for he makes numerous appearances in later documents.

It is not impossible that the early loss of his father, followed (perhaps not long afterwards) by his illness, sapped his strength of body and of mind, and contributed to

a general inefficiency in the management of his sundry lands. Later documents suggest that they involved Sutton and South Leigh, as well as Eynsham. If this is so, Richard's inadequacy may well have paved the way for his son's financial collapse, which is the main theme of this article.

We meet Richard again, partly as a witness to numerous abbey-documents (see Eynsham Cartulary, nos. 196, 197, 213, 214, 216, etc.), partly in two minor sales of land (see *Id.*, nos. 221 & 241). He may well have died in early middle age, leaving his widow, Isabella, and his son, William de Submuro Junior, at the centre of the family-stage.

We must turn first to Isabella. She survived throughout the younger William's decline and fall: perhaps she contributed to it by being over-possessive and dominant: but we do not know. What is certain is that William de Submuro Junior lost two wives, first one, and then another, during his growing troubles. It is well to remember that the old Prayer Book phrase, 'the great pain and peril of childbirth', was, in those days, a much more grim and present reality than now. Those two tragedies, and possibly a dearth of children, may well have helped to pull poor William down.

In an agreement which was reached between c. 1240 and 1258, and perhaps only just before 1258, Isabella relinquished her rights, as a widow, in the family-heritage, and agreed that her son should buy her out. Here is the settlement:

Be it known to all men, both now and in days to come, that I, Isabella, widow of Richard de Submuro, of Eynsham, have, in exercise of my widow's rights (*in ligia viduitate mea*), surrendered, given up, and quit-claimed, to William de Submuro, my son, and his assigns, all my third share, which I had as *dower*(*ratione dotis*) in the holding of the said Richard, my husband, in township and in fields, both at Eynsham and at Sutton:

saving only for myself six pence which I receive, as dower, from Adam le Fraunceis, in respect of certain land and certain meadow:

saving also for myself, so long as I shall live, my house, with its garden, at Huthehende.

Now, for this surrender and quit-claim, the said William or his assigns shall give me three shillings, each year, payable at two fixed dates, for as long as I live, to wit, 18 pence at the Nativity of St. John Baptist and 18 pence at the feast of St. Michael.

Also for this surrender [etc.], the said William has given me one mark in silver pence, cash down (*unam marcam sterlingorum pre manibus*).

In witness to this [etc. sealing].

(from the Latin of Eynsham Cartulary, no. 312.)

So William gave his mother 13s. 4d. in capital, and the promise of an annual pension of 3s. From her widow's dower Isabella was to retain a life-interest in her home at Huthehende, and also an annual rental of 6d. from someone called Adam le Fraunceis. And if William were to die before his mother, his executors were to honour the settlement.

Adam le Fraunceis must mean Adam the Frenchman. Forms such as 'le Fraunceis' lay behind the later surname 'Francis'. In spite of the popularity of St. Francis the name 'Francis', used as a Christian name for men, emerges only about two centuries later (see *Oxford Dictionary of English Christian Names*, 1953). This Adam is a mysterious figure, to whom we shall return later. His 6d. holding was at Tilgarsley, the separate hamlet which was held with Eynsham: all its traditional householders, its *nativi*, were to be victims of the Black Death, during the next century, and even the precise location of Tilgarsley was to be lost. Its lands became part of the abbey home-farm, its demesne. (See Eynsham Cartulary, no.313, and vol.2, pp.xlvif.)

Huthehende must surely mean Hythe End, that is, the area of the village (perhaps with somewhat scattered dwellings), which lay towards the hythe or landing place. And the hythe would be the terminus of Eynsham's own little canal, bringing bulky cargoes up the flash-lock from the Thames, and touching the Eynsham/Oxford road, just where the Talbot Inn grew up, doubtless for refreshment of boatmen and waggoners.

Flashlocks were the norm in England, for several centuries before locks as we know them (pound-locks) arrived here from the Continent. They were in weirs, of which a section could be raised or lowered by 'paddles'. Boatmen would choose the best moment for 'shooting' down, through the gap, or being hauled up through it. Eynsham men still call the site of our former flash-lock (nearer to the Thames than to the Inn) 'the paddles'. (See R.H.C.Davis, *The Ford, the River, and the City, Oxoniensia*, vol.38 (1973), pp.258-67.)

Another area of the village was Mullhende (see Eynsham Cartulary, no.570: 1342). Mill End was northwards of the centre - up Mill Street, *as we* might say today - towards the abbey-mill, on the river Evenlode, then called the Bladen. Every villager had to have his corn ground there, and both mill and hythe were vital ingredients of local economy.

Chambers himself lived at Hythecroft, at the end of Tanners Lane. When he first moved there, the old name had long been corrupted to Highcroft. May I dare to suggest that perhaps the name High Street, the somewhat surprising name of a section of the road from the centre of the village towards the river, is a similarly distant corruption of Hythe Street, the road which led to the landing place? At one time the whole of this

route was called Thames Street: note the charter which calls it 'the common street, which leads towards the crossing of the Thames-water (*communem stratam, que ducit ad transitum aque Tamisie'*) (Eynsham Cartulary, no.476: 1284.)

And a word must be said about King Henry III's silver pence. They make frequent appearance in this story, and there is even a halfpenny (*obolus*), literally a silver penny, chopped into two. To us, of course, the amounts seem trivial and amusing, but in those days their purchasing power was considerable. Some of them are illustrated in Fig.1.

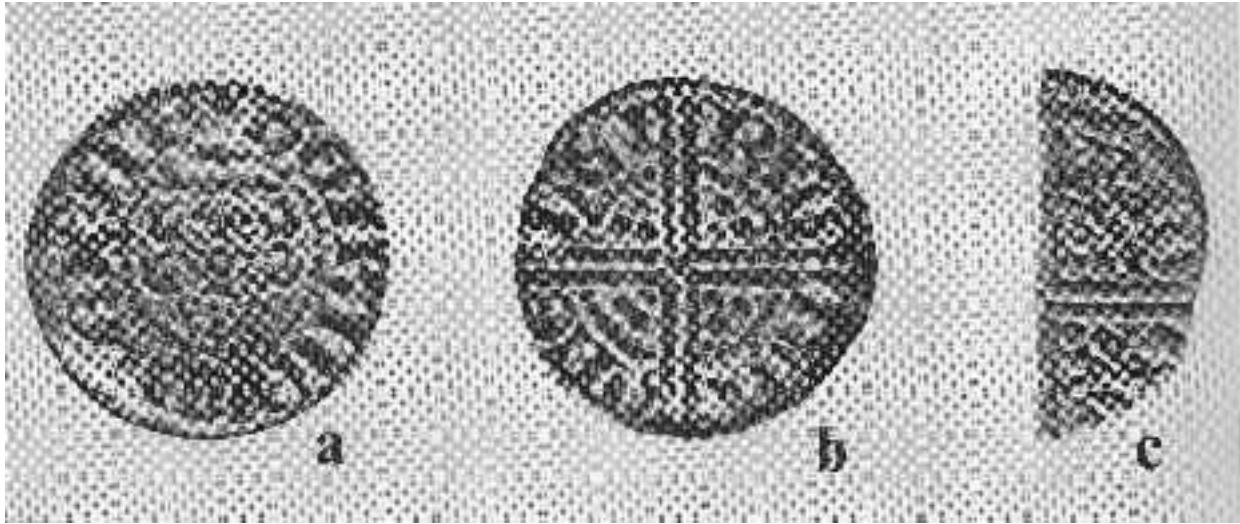


Fig. 1. Long Cross Penny and Halfpenny of Henry III, such as would circulate in Eynsham: minted in Oxford, 1247 onwards.

a.Penny, obverse: Face of King: HENRICUS REX III.

b.Penny, reverse: HENRI ON OXONE [the moneyer].

c.Halfpenny, reverse: Literally half a penny!

Scale: x2

Coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford: reproduced here by kind permission of the Museum.

When we meet William de Submuro Junior again, he has lost his first wife, and has married Emma. By now he is deeply in debt to the Jews, the only people who could be money-lenders (see David the Jew, in Gordon, 1987). Like many others he had found credit easier to get than to repay. So he finds himself compelled to lease all his property, for the next 40 years, to Eynsham abbey. The terms are tough and uncompromising, and one senses a possible awareness of William's potential frailty in business-judgement. The *lease* is dated precisely to 2nd February, 1257, or (as we would say, starting our year on 1st January, not 25th March) 1258. Here is the text:

Be it known to all men, both now and in days to come, that I, William de Submuro, son of Richard de Submuro, of Eynsham, have surrendered and given up, on lease (*tradidi & dimisi ad firmam*), to my lords, Gilbert, lord abbot, and the convent of Eynsham, all my holding, with its dwelling-place, its revenues, and all else that pertains to it, in the township (*villa*) of Eynsham and in all other places:

from the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the year of grace, 1257, for the full and complete term of 40 years next following: at the end of that time they shall receive the standing crop (*vesturam*), right through to the feast of St. Michael:

it is to be had and held by the same, and by their successors, freely, quietly, and wholly, well and in peace:

together with all that could, within that term, chance from it, to myself or to my heirs, by reason of rental, or dower, or any other cause whatsoever, pertaining to the said holding:

excepting one dwelling place, with its garden, at Hythe End, and six pence, in annual rental, from certain land at Tilgarsley, which my mother, Isabella, holds for her lifetime: after whose death they shall revert to the said abbot and convent: moreover, neither I, William, nor my heirs, shall within the said term give or sell, mortgage or bind, the said holding to any man whatsoever, be he Jew or Christian (*nihil omnino hominum Judeo vel Christiano*), saving only to my said lords:

if, however, which God forbid, we shall at any time do contrary to this agreement, then let the whole of the said holding, together with all that pertains to it, remain, from that time onwards, for ever, in the hands of my said lords, without any right of reclamation by myself or my heirs:

now, in return for this surrender and giving up, the said abbot and convent have freed the said holding from the Jews (*de Judaismo acquieverunt*), in the sum of 18 marks:

and, furthermore, they shall give to myself and to Emma, my second wife, from the proceeds of the said holding (*de predicta firma*), for as long as I live, three quarters of wheat each year and one quarter of barley, at the feast of St. Michael: and, if I shall have died (*in fata decessero*) before my said second wife, she shall have all of the said corn, or her widow's third share of the said holding, whichever she chooses:

if, however, my said lords shall put me in their service (*in servitio suo me posuerint*), for so long as I shall serve them acceptably and faithfully, they shall pay out only a half share of each kind of corn for the use of my wife:

furthermore, they shall relieve me from the payment of:

three shillings to my mother, due to her annually, in exchange for her dower in the fields of Eynsham and Sutton:

also, to the prior,
my render due to him,
and two pence for St. Andrew's light:
and I [etc. warranty]:
and that [etc. alternate sealing].
(from the Latin of Eynsham Cartulary, no.313)

So William is freed from his accumulated debt to Jewish money-lenders, and warned, in threatening language, against further entanglements with either Christian or Jew. We must not let our anti-Semitism run away with us! And Emma and he are allotted wheat and barley for their regular bread and beer, the staples of medieval diet in England.

The reference to St. Andrew's light is of special interest. The great abbey-church must have had a side-chapel, known as St. Andrew's, and having a relic of that saint embedded in its altar. Before it hung an oil-lamp, burning continually.

A brief notice in the annals of Tewkesbury abbey, our great Benedictine neighbour to the west, explains the matter: it is under the year 1240, and the chronicle itself is in a 13th century hand:

Many miracles took place at Eynsham, at the arm of St. Andrew, brought thither from Jerusalem (*multa miracula provenerunt apud Eynesham ad brachium Sancti Andreae, ab Jerusalem ibidem allatam*) (from *Annales Monastici*, vol. 1 (Rolls Series, 36A, 1864), p.115, ed. H.R. Luard)

Perhaps it was a Crusader who had endowed Eynsham abbey with its precious relic. There was, of course, a brisk and imaginative trade in such things. Sometimes they were genuine. More often, as their sheer quantity shows, they were false.

True or false, however, they appealed to deep human instincts. They bridged the great chasm of history. Here perhaps, at Eynsham, was part of the very arm with which the self-effacing apostle St. Andrew, brother of the impulsive St. Peter, had brought the lad to Jesus. And that boy's five loaves and two small fishes had been so wondrously used by Jesus (see *John* 6, 8f.). Or perhaps the bone was from St. Andrew of Crete, a saint of the 7th/8th centuries, who had lived and worked in Jerusalem?

Whatever the case, few men and women, in the 13th century, doubted that such relics did in fact pierce the silences of eternity, and bring God's grace, and make entry to the prayers of saints, and become channels of healing. And that ever-burning light in the dark spaces of the church spoke of lasting sacrifice, as the oil gave up its being, and God's light came to men.

In 1258 the bankrupt William de Submuro Junior was relieved of his annual payment of two pence towards the light. And doubtless he hoped that, with the lease, all his troubles were over. In point of fact, within six or ten years, the whole great wound was opening up again. Things went from bad to worse, and poor William was forced to surrender his lease, and to give up all his lands to the abbey, and become utterly dependent upon its charity.

The text of this later agreement is in Eynsham Cartulary, no.338. Salter's heading attributes the document to Richard de Submuro, William's father: but that is a slip. There is no room for a full translation here: but the end of the deed is of such acute interest to Eynsham that it deserves very special attention.

Some 60 or 70 years earlier, the great Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (the saint, Hugh of Avalon) had referred to a chapel at Eynsham:

the chapels of Eynsham and of Cassington and of Yamton (*capelle de Egnesham & de Chersintona & de Aerdintona*) (Eynsham Cartulary, no.23A: 1197-1208)

Those three chapels were in Hugh's list of Eynsham abbey's possessions.

What, in this context, was a 'chapel'? Not, of course, in its frequent modern usage, a Nonconformist place of worship! Nor was it something like King's College chapel, Cambridge - a place of worship attached to a special institution. Nor was it, as St.Andrew's chapel, a distinct part of a larger church.

It was more like what we might call a daughter-church. Eynsham abbey had its parish, that is, the geographical area which looked to the abbey for priestly ministry and pastoral care. And within that parish there were three chapels, distinct buildings, serving distinct villages, and one of those villages was Eynsham itself. Sometimes the nave of an abbey-church served as a place of worship for local lay-people, and in such cases (as, for example, at Malmesbury) the nave survived for their use, when the abbey was dissolved. Elsewhere, as at Eynsham, the monks preferred to keep their own great church quiet and peaceful, and built a *capella* or chapel, for use by local people, outside the abbey-precinct.

Eynsham's *capella* of 1197-1208 probably stood where its parish-church now stands, and it may well have been called St.Leonard's: for St.Leonard was the patron-saint of prisoners, and the Crusades had made him popular. But, in fact, we know nothing about that building.

The fascination of William de Submuro's document of 1264-68 - the document in which he finally surrenders all to the abbey - is that here we have the earliest surviving reference to 'St.Leonard's chapel' in Eynsham, and (even more excitingly) that parts of that very chapel seem to be visible in our present parish-church.

Here is the relevant passage. As with the lease, it comes at the end of the document, and it is a list of minor payments, due from William, but now undertaken by the abbey, as part of the final bargain. The date must be between 1264 and 1268, because Alexander of Brackley, an Eynsham monk, is abbot, and those were his four years:

to the prior:

on Palm Sunday, 3s.10d:

and on Easter Day, for the light before St.Andrew's altar, 2d.:

and on St.Martin's day, for the light before the cross in St.Leonard' s chapel, 1d.:

and to Adam, son of William,

on Easter Day, ½d:

the which payments the said abbot and convent shall undertake

(from the Latin of Eynsham Cartulary, no.338)

Several elements of our present south aisle are in 'Early English' style, and are therefore consonant with a mid-13th century building. It is easy to imagine them as surviving parts of the very chapel, where William's annual penny helped to keep St.Leonard's light burning. Some of the windows, especially towards the eastward end of that aisle, are clearly 'Early English'. The plain aumbry there (that is the stone cupboard, once with wooden door, for storing the sacred vessels) and the neighbouring piscina (with its tiny sink and drain, for washing them) seem to come from the same period. And, what is more, that south aisle still has its own gabled roof, distinct in style and construction from the nave-roof, and differing in design from the roof over the north aisle.

This architectural evidence points firmly to a small St.Leonard's chapel, complete in itself, and once occupying the eastward end of our present south aisle, and the subject of major building or rebuilding in the 13th century. That little building, simple and homely, was then the whole of St.Leonard's parish-church. The present nave and north aisle would have been added, in a northward extension towards the market place, probably in the 14th century.

Perhaps I may make another suggestion. The surrender of 1264-68 ends with its list of smaller payments. It appears to be detailing the customary dues, which were payable to the local church by whoever occupied the lands which William was now giving up (*redditibus inde debitis ab antiquo & consuetis*). But, traditional or not, the light in St.Leonard's chapel appears in 1264-68, but had been absent in 1258. Is it just possible that the major rebuilding in 'Early English' style had actually taken place during that precise decade?



**Fig. 2. Corbel (14th century): interior of south aisle,
St. Leonard's, Eynsham.**

The lady seems none too pleased

Photograph: Sue Chapman

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It would be good if we could include in that 13th century work the lovely set of corbel-heads, high above us, and supporting the inside of the south aisle roof: but, to judge by the hair-styles and head-dresses of the ladies there, they date from the 14th century (Fig.2). Perhaps the aisle roof was raised, and these heads carved, when the northward extension into the nave was made?

And now we return, at last, to Adam le Fraunceis (of Eynsham Cartulary, no.312: and see no.364). Was he the same as Adam, son of William, recipient of the halfpenny (of *Id.*, no.338: and see no.328)? He seems to belong to Isabella's generation, and working for her, perhaps as an odd connection and responsibility of the Underwall family. Was he perhaps an illegitimate son of the older William? Or perhaps backward and infirm? Perhaps, as Adam the Frenchman, he was the stray son of a Frenchwoman? We can only guess. At any rate we must not fall into the common English trap, and think that all Frenchmen are more deviant in their morals than are the English!

Freeman, historian of the Norman Conquest, did so fall. He had been writing about Lady Godiva who, in fact, survived until 1066. Like most writers he had called her 'the famous Lady Godiva' - what would Freud have said? And then he wrote thus:

'The legend of her riding naked through Coventry is found in Bromton and Knighton. They do not mention peeping Tom, who, it is some comfort to think, must at any rate have been one of King Edward's Frenchmen' (from E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest*, 6 vols., 1867-79, vol.2, p.48, note 1).

Well! Well!

Acknowledgements:

I am glad to acknowledge generous help and advice from various Eynsham people, especially from members of the Eynsham History Group, and particularly from William Bainbridge.

The photographs used in Figure 1 were provided by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and are reproduced by kind permission.

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THE WILL OF JOHN PATY, BOATMAN, DIED 1674

by Eynsham Primary School Research Group

While we were doing our research on the railway last year', we became interested in the traffic which had come by water and landed at Eynsham wharf. We had come across the part of the old canal system generally called the Cassington Cut, which was used by barges plying between the Thames and Cassington Mill. It was the railway which put an end to this traffic at Eynsham, probably one of the last places above Oxford to be served by the barges². Eynsham had been an ancient river port of some importance. In the 14th century stone being transported from Taynton quarries for the building of Merton College's library had been put onto barges at Eynsham. In the Abbey records of the 13th century are references to Robert Navigator³ and Robert le Rower, Henry le Rower and Lovekin le Rower⁴, all with tenements near the wharf (Hythend).

As we found this out we realised that a lot of research had been published, and we had to look for something original on the same theme.

In the Old Thames Navigation Book 1650-1711⁵ we found a reference to John Paty, a boatman out of Oxford, who is also referred to in an article by I.G.Phillips⁶. We also found the will of one John Paty, boatman of Eynsham who died in 1674, and we came to the conclusion that they were one and the same person.

The date at the beginning of John Paty's will⁷ is given as '*the fourth daie of february one thousand six hundred seaventie and two according to the computation of the Church of England*'. At this time the calendar year began on 25th March, so that Paty made his will on 4 February, 1673 as reckoned by the modern calendar. The bulk of the will made at this date deals with bequests to his five children. To his grown-up son John, who seems to be well established, he leaves '*one shilling to be paid to him that daie twelvemonth after my deseas if he demand it*'. His daughter Elizabeth is married and her surname is Francklin. She, too, is to get a shilling if she demands it. There are three younger daughters, Jone [sic], Bridget (baptised in Eynsham in April 1654) and Abigail (baptised in Eynsham in March 1656, by the modern calendar). The surviving baptismal records for Eynsham begin in 1653, so it may well be that the older children were baptised here also.

Joan ('Jone'), with her sisters Bridget and Abigail is to have '*the mortgage yt [that] I have upon Edward Gardners house in Ensham parrish yt is now ye black boy*'. In the survey of 1650⁸ Edward Gardner is listed as the copyholder of a house and

homestead on the north side of the High Street (then called Thames St.), to the west of its junction with Queen's St. If this is the property bequeathed 24 years later, its name 'The Black Boy' suggests that it was an inn or public house at that time.

To his daughters Bridget and Abigail he gave two other cottages to be divided equally between them, one being *'the cottage yt I now dwell in yt is called by ye name of glovers ham'* and the other *'the ham which I bought of Francis Parrot that laieth by ye wharf both of them in the parish of Ensham'*. In this will 'ham' seems to mean house. From Chambers⁹ we learned that in the 15th century a family of the name of Glover was buying property in Eynsham, some of which was *'a toft, close and dovecot called Belgraves in Thames St.'* (A toft was a house or the land where one had earlier stood; and Thames St. was then the name for all the road from the square to the river). Chambers argues persuasively that Belgraves corresponds to the site where the Elms has stood since at least 1615.

As for the other cottage, the 1650 survey shows Francis Parrott as the lease holder of *The Great ham near Bitterall Wharfe'*, as well as two smaller hams near the wharf, so it could be one of these. John Paty seems to have bought up property after 1650, for he is not mentioned at all in the survey.

It is important in view of what follows to note that the will compiled in 1673 makes no reference to a wife, and it seems very probable that by then John Paty was a widower. A Joanna Paty had been buried at Eynsham on 20 May 1672, and this may have been John's wife. It certainly wasn't his daughter Joan who was alive when he wrote the will.

On 3 July 1674 John Paty added a short but most interesting codicil to his will as follows:

'Item! give unto my youngest daughter Ann Paty twentie pounds to be paid to these my overseers of my will for them to plac itforthfor ye yuce [use] of my daughter untell she comes to ye age of fourteen years. This money is to be paid to my overseers thre months after my deseas.

'Item I give unto my wife Elizabeth all ye prophets [profits!] of my two hamstalls for two years after my deseas. I give my wife a kettell yt was called by ye name of Frank's kettle and a paier of new sheetes yt she made since I married her and a bed yt laies above and all ye goods yt she brought with her to me and one blankket. It is my will if my daughter Ann Paty die before she comes to fourteen years of age yt my wife Elizabeth shall have ye twenty pounds and if my wife die before ye fourteen years be expired then ye twentie pounds shall be equally divided amongst my thre daughters: this twentie pounds and ye goods was given by John Paty to his wife and child July ye third 1674.' (Fig.1).

I have writte my
 will in both all y^e properties of my two
 householde for two byears after my decease
 if give my wife a better all y^e was talked. By y^e name of
 Henrys better and a portion of more shotters y^e the more
 time if married her and also y^e lands about and all y^e
 goods y^e the brought with her to me and one blanket
 It is my will if my daughter Ann Faby die before she come
 to fourtene years of age if my wife Elizabeth shall have y^e
 twenty pounds and if my wife die in her first y^e fourtene
 pounds be by willed than by y^e twentie pounds shall be equal
 divided amongst my the daughter the twentie pounds and
 y^e goods was given by John Faby to his wife and child July
 the thirde 1674
 the marks of
 John Faby

Fig. 1. The second part of the codicil

John Paty died a few days later, and was buried at Eynsham on 12 July 1674. The most reasonable genealogical interpretation of the will and its codicil, taken together with data in the Parish registers¹⁰ seems to be as follows. That between 4 February 1673 (date of the main will) and 3 July 1674 (date of the codicil, John Paty (probably a widower whose first wife may have been Joanna, died 1672) married again to a woman called Elizabeth (surname unknown), and that they soon had a daughter Ann (probably the Ann whose baptism is recorded at Eynsham on 3 May 1674). If Ann were conceived in wedlock her parents must have married in the period February-August 1673; the marriage did not take place in Eynsham.

We have not been able to trace the Frank whose kettle was bequeathed in the codicil, but we think that it may have been handed down as a family heirloom.

In 1683 John Paty's widow, Elizabeth, married again to a John Philkins. She was buried in December 1704, once again a widow, for John Philkins had died in 1701.

We tried to find out more about John's daughter Elizabeth, born probably about 1650, and married to a Franklin by 1672. Franklin is a very old Eynsham family mentioned several times in the Cartulary from the early 13th century. The will of a William Franklin is recorded in 1578, and the Parish Records which start in 1653 have Franklin from 1660 onwards.

If Elizabeth Franklin (née Paty) had children who were baptised in Eynsham, the only reasonable 'candidate' in the Parish registers is a son John (named after his mother's father?) who was christened on 13 July 1679 and whose father was Philip Franklin. In the burial registers for the same month we found the burial of an Elizabeth Franklin on July 10, and of a John Franklin on 17 July. We speculate therefore that Elizabeth, married to Philip Franklin, gave birth to a son, and died in childbirth or very shortly afterwards; and that her baby was christened John and also died within the week. It is not possible to prove these connections, and 'our' Elizabeth may have been another who was buried a year later in 1680.

John Paty signed his will with a cross (Fig.1), so we assume that, like most people at that time, he could not write. The signature of Edward Silvester, one of the witnesses, is very much like the writing of the rest of the will, so we wonder if he was the scribe. Francis Parrott (presumably the man from whom John had bought the 'ham' by the wharf), another witness, could write his name, but Elizabeth Davis made her 'mark', which looks rather like a pair of spectacles (Fig.2).

Edward Gibboffer
the most of
Elizabeth Davis
Francis Yarnall
~~Edward Gibboffer~~
the most of
Elizabeth Davis

Fig. 2. The witnesses

William Davis, presumably her husband, and John Meads are described as '*well beloved friends*' and appointed as executors of the will, and for seeing that its terms are properly discharged, are to receive '*twenty shillings to be paid them yt daie twelve month after my deseas*' (quite a lot of money in those days).

We were not able to discover anything of John Paty's life as a boatman, except that it seems to have been prosperous; but we feel that we have learnt something about people who were living in Eynsham in the 17th century.

Eynsham Primary School Research Group 1988/9:

Nichola Hartigan, Tom Jerred, Catherine Lake, James Posslewhite, Pamela Richards, Annie Russell, Martine Russell, Peter Sonley and Christopher Thiele

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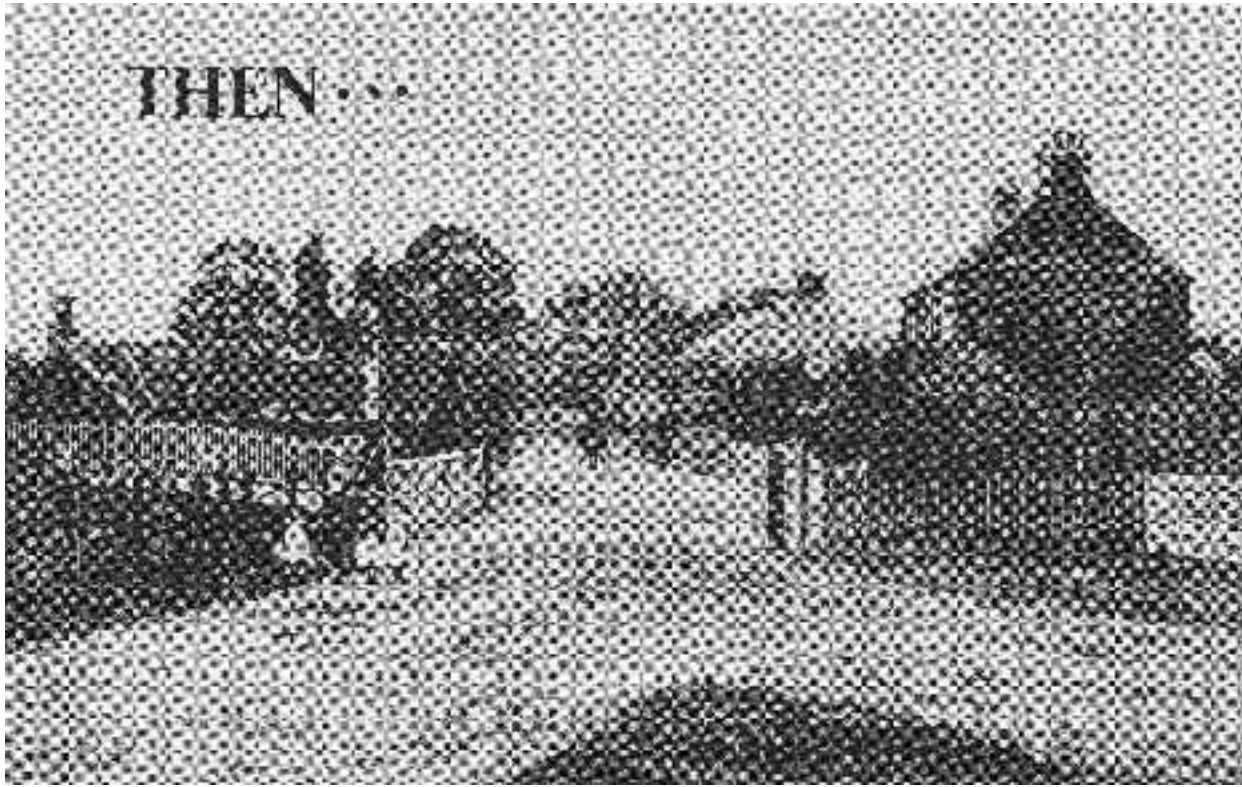
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Note:

When we first turned to the Parish registers we used the typescript transcriptions made by Brigadier F.R.L. Goadby, and were puzzled by entries that were inconsistent with details in the will. Checking the original manuscript registers resolved the problems; for the Goadby transcripts contain a number of errors, even within this family.

For Paytie or Patie burials on 20 May 1672 and 6 Oct. 1679, and for a Paytie baptism on 3 May 1674, Goadby in each case gives 'Paylie'; and for John Paty himself, buried 12 July, 1674, Goadby has John Paylis, buried 12 June 1674, a date before he had written the codicil to his will!

Editorial note: While not denying the general value of the Goadby transcripts, since they are readily accessible in the Eynsham and Westgate Libraries, they do contain numerous errors. For accurate genealogical or historical research it is always advisable to check the originals.



Station Road from the south; the level crossing, and the station master's house (left).

Photograph no later than July 1912, the postmarked date on this postcard.

Courtesy of Jean Buttrick.



The same viewpoint in 1988

NOTE: the images opposite
have been re-sized to reduce the overall size
of this .pdf file.

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AN OXFORDSHIRE CLERICAL FAMILY

Eynsham and Salford, 1750-1928

by Lilian Wright

The title, 'An Oxfordshire Clerical Family' is chosen because the two livings involved are Salford, near Chipping Norton, and our own parish of Eynsham; but the ramifications of the family cover a much wider geographical area. The clergymen involved each merit a separate article, so the present aim is to give a general introductory picture of the family relationships and how they affected Eynsham and Salford. The number of personalities introduced in the text, and their complex inter-relationships, will, I suggest, be difficult to follow without reference to the family tree (Fig.1), and the diagram of incumbents (Fig. 2), and I recommend that the reader consults these frequently!

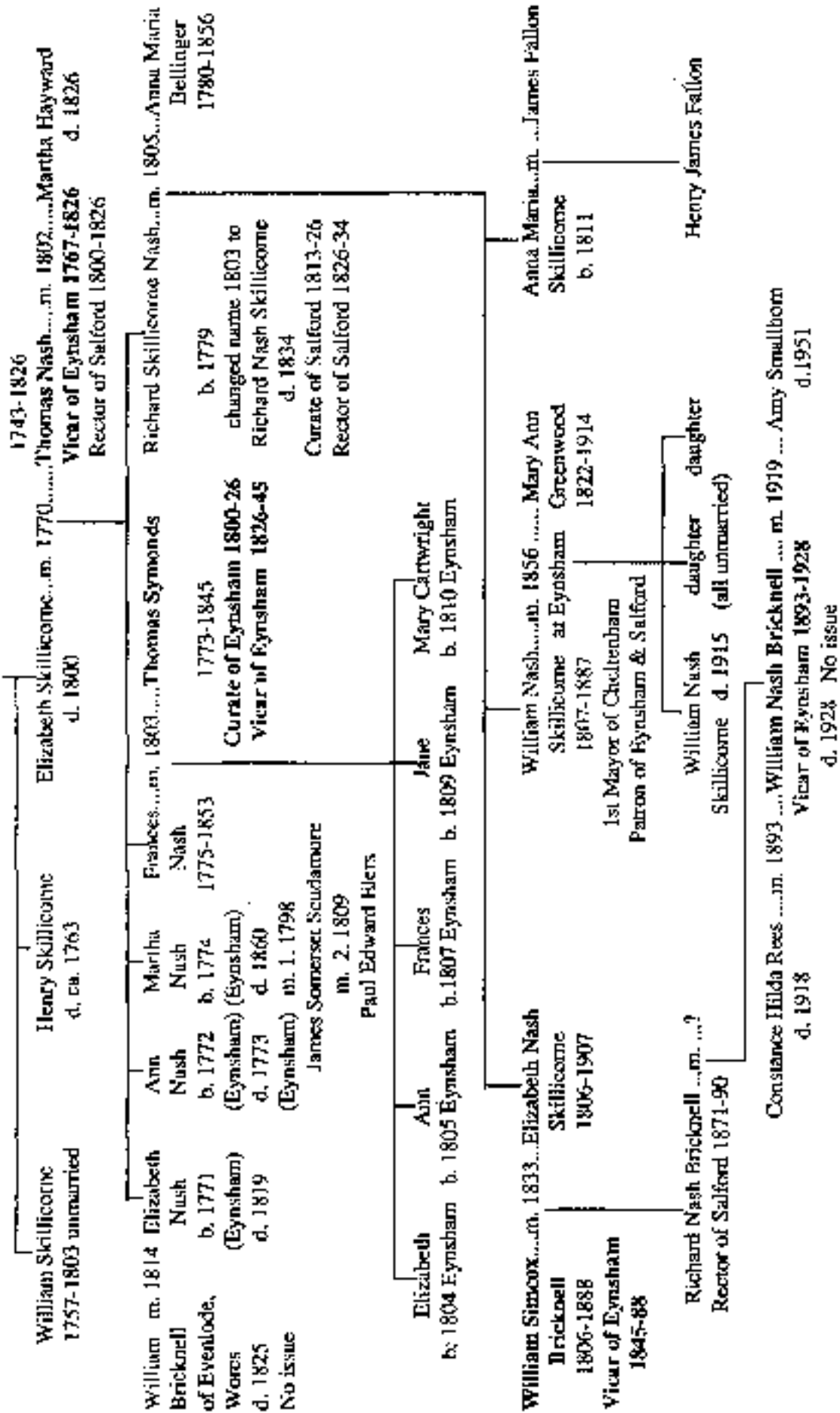
We start in the Isle of Man where Bishop Thomas Wilson, after the Restoration, was helped in the rebuilding of Bishopscourt, home of the Bishops of Sodor and Man, by Henry Skillicorne, born at Kirk Michael on the island in 1678.

Henry Skillicorne's adventurous life is recorded on his magnificent memorial in St. Mary's, Cheltenham. He went to sea, became a captain, visited many foreign ports and, after 40 years, retired to Bristol, where in 1731 he married his second wife, Elizabeth Mason. When her father died in 1738 she inherited his estate in Cheltenham where they went to live. It had been discovered that when water from a spring on the estate evaporated, pigeons and cows came to enjoy the salt crystals. Captain Henry Skillicorne, realizing the potential of the spring, excavated it to make a well, erected buildings, and formed a walk lined with trees where visitors could promenade. By the time of his death in 1763 Cheltenham had become a fashionable spa. His son William built Lodge House at Bays Hill where George III and Queen Charlotte stayed in 1788, a visit described by Fanny Burney in her *Diary*.

Henry Skillicorne and Elizabeth Mason also had a daughter Elizabeth, and in 1770 she married Thomas Nash who had been presented to the Eynsham living in 1767 by John Martin of Overbury, Worcestershire.

John Martin's daughter, Margaret, had married a previous vicar of Eynsham, Treadway Russell Nash. He was born at Clerkenleap, Worcestershire in 1725 and came to Worcester College, Oxford (Doctor of Divinity [D.D.] 1758). He was presented to the Eynsham living in 1750, but left in 1757 to marry and return to Worcestershire where he became Rector of Leigh and Strensham. He bought an estate

Sarah Goldsmith 1st marriage Captain Henry Skillicorne 2nd marriage Elizabeth Mason
 b. 1678 Isle of Man d. 1779
 d. 1763 Cheltenham



EYNHAM

SALFORD

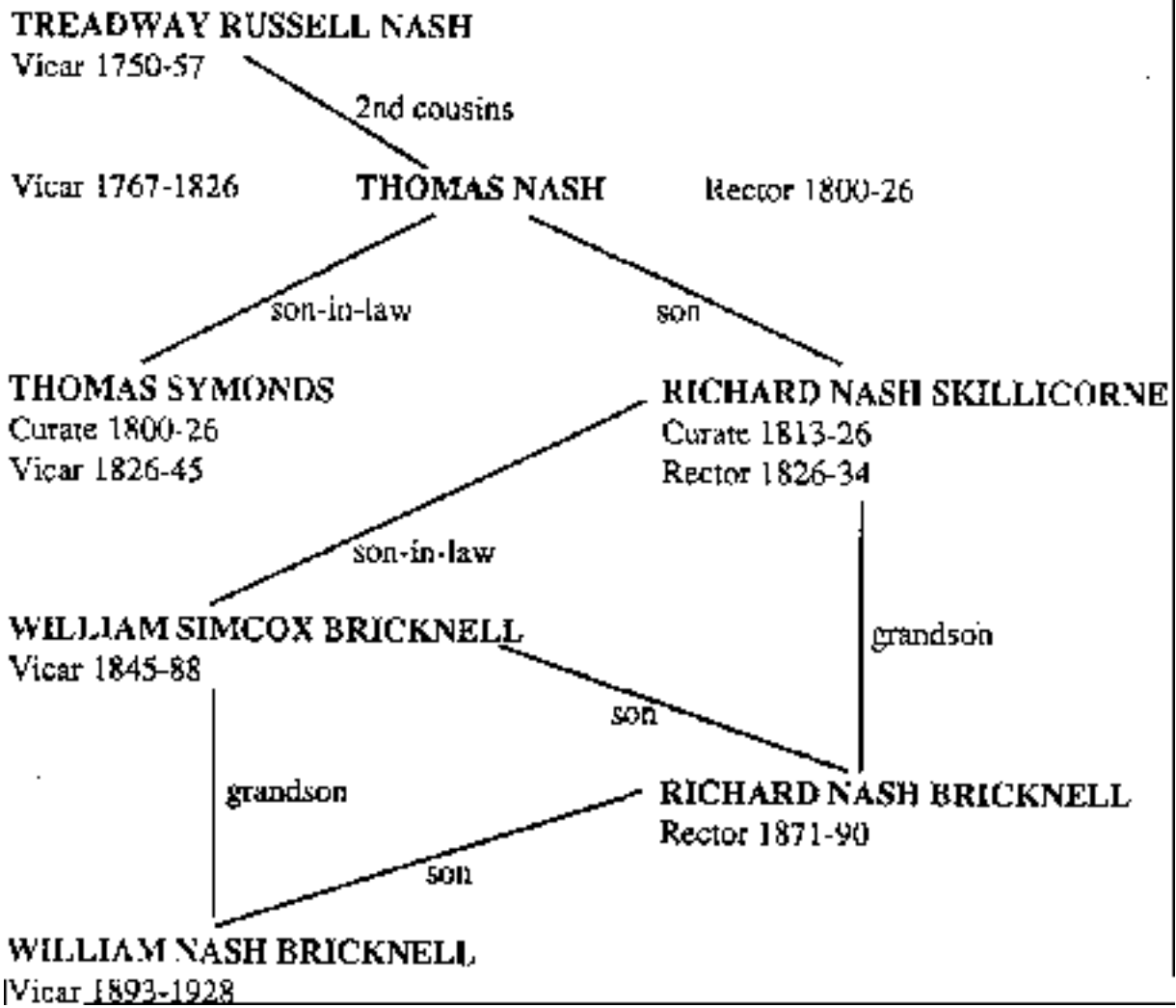


Fig. 2. Rectors, Vicars and Curates (Eynsham and Salford) of the same family. It can be seen that the 'care of souls' in Eynsham was in the hands of the same family from 1750 to 1928 with only two very small breaks.

at Bevere where he began to write his major work, *'The History of Worcestershire'*. It is said that he used to preach at Leigh once a year just before the tithe audit and always on the text from Romans, *'Owe no man anything'*. On these occasions he drove from his residence in a carriage and four *'with servants afore him and servants ahind'*. He died at Bevere in 1811, and is buried in the Nash family vault at St. Peter's, Droitwich.

Thomas Nash (Worcester College D.D. 1793) who was a relative of Treadway Nash (they shared the same great-grandfather) became vicar in Eynsham in 1767, being presented by John Martin. In 1769 he ceded Eynsham, became rector of Greai Whitcombe near Cheltenham, and was reinstated at Eynsham. He married Elizabeth Skillicorne in 1770, and in the following nine years they had five children. Three daughters, Elizabeth, Ann and Martha were baptized at Eynsham, and Ann who died in 1773 is buried here. The other two children, Frances and the only son, Richard, were born at Cheltenham. These two were important for the continuation of the dynasty. More research on Thomas Nash might show that he benefited financially by marrying Elizabeth Skillicorne, but if he did it didn't deter him from adding to his livings. In 1778 he again ceded Eynsham, was presented to Chelmarsh in Shropshire, and reappointed to Eynsham! However it seems likely that he was actually living at Cheltenham when Frances and Richard were born, and he may even have lived there for some 20 years after Richard's birth in 1799, because a series of curates took services at Eynsham, including two Provosts of Worcester College, William Sheffield and Whittingdon Landon, who was later a Vice-Chancellor of the University.

In 1800 the living of Salford, near Chipping Norton, became vacant, and Thomas Nash presented himself to it. His wife died in the same year and is buried at Cowley near Cheltenham. In 1801 Nash bought land at Salford from Edward Druce of Witney; in the following year he re-married; and in 1806 he demolished the old rectory. In 1803 his daughter Frances had married, at Cowley, near Cheltenham, Thomas Symonds of Witney, and they came to live in the vicarage here in Eynsham. Thomas Nash, though still vicar of Eynsham, lived in Salford, and his son-in-law Thomas Symonds became curate here.

In the same year, 1803, Henry Skillicorne's unmarried son, William, died, and since William's sister, Elizabeth (wife of Thomas Nash) had died in 1800, their son, Richard, became the only surviving (male) descendant of Henry Skillicorne. In order to inherit the Cheltenham estate, he, Richard Skillicorne Nash (Worcester College, B.A. 1801); and now curate at Swindon near Cheltenham) promptly inverted his name to Richard Nash Skillicorne! In 1805 he married Maria Bellinger, and their three children, Elizabeth, William and Anna Maria were all baptized at Swindon.

In 1813 Thomas Nash applied for non-residence at Salford and Richard moved there as curate. With all of his children married, including Frances (Fanny)

occupying the Eynsham vicarage, and Richard the Salford rectory, it seems likely that Thomas went with his second wife to one of his other livings, Great Whitcombe or Chelmarsh. They both died in 1826, his remains returning to Salford and hers to her birthplace, Southampton. Now their son Richard became rector of Salford, and their son-in-law, Thomas Symonds, vicar of Eynsham.

Before coming to Eynsham Thomas Symonds (Merton College B.A. 1794) had been curate at Ducklington, Great Rollright and Stanton Harcourt.

His wife, Fanny, may have inherited some Skillicorne money via her mother, for in 1809, Thomas, although still a curate, could afford to extend the Eynsham vicarage. This extension was on the garden side of the house originally built by a previous vicar, John Goole, in the 18th century. At a later date Symonds added a stable and coach house, brew house and dairy, with rooms over them. He had a school in the vicarage, and also started the first Sunday School in the village. Further work on the Symonds papers in the Bodleian Library is in progress. The five daughters of Thomas and Fanny, born between 1804 and 1810, were Elizabeth, Ann, Frances, Jane and Mary. Jane and Mary died here as young children. In the 1841 census Elizabeth, Ann and Frances are listed as unmarried and living with their parents at the vicarage. Thomas Symonds died at Eynsham in 1845, aged 73, and his wife at Kidlington in 1853; both are buried at Eynsham. There is a family tombstone on the north side of the altar in St. Leonard's and a memorial tablet on the wall above.

Meanwhile at Salford their cousins, Elizabeth, William and Anna Maria, who were also born during the first ten years of the century, had been raised by Richard Nash Skillicorne and his wife Maria. Perhaps there were family visits between Salford and Eynsham? At any event, in 1833 in Cheltenham, at the age of 27, Elizabeth married William Simcox Bricknell, curate at Grove, near Wantage. In the following year, Elizabeth's father, Richard Nash Skillicorne died at the age of 55, and her brother William inherited the Cheltenham estate, became Patron of Salford and of Eynsham, and went to live with his mother in Cheltenham. He was not a cleric, and for the next 36 years Salford was not 'in the family'.

In 1856, the year of his mother's death, William, aged 48, married Mary Anne Greenwood here in Eynsham Parish Church. They had a son and two daughters, and in 1876 he became the first Mayor of Cheltenham. When he died ten years later he had a very grand funeral with 30 carriages in the procession. His sister, Elizabeth, who had married William Simcox Bricknell, the curate at Grove (of whom more below!), returned to Cheltenham in her widowhood, dying there in 1907, aged 101 (Fig.3). His wife, Mary Ann, also lived to a grand age, dying at Cheltenham in 1914, aged 92. Their children did not marry, but his son also became Mayor of Cheltenham, and died in 1915 as the result of a car accident. Thus ended the Skillicorne line at Cheltenham.

A CHELTENHAM CENTENARIAN



Aged 100.



Aged 70.

MRS. ELIZABETH NASH BRICKNELL,
SISTER OF THE FIRST MAYOR OF CHELTENHAM, AND AUNT OF
THE PRESENT MAYOR.
BORN AUGUST 16, 1806 ; DIED SEPTEMBER 16, 1907.

Fig. 3 Mrs Elizabeth Nash Bricknell (née Skillicorne), the wife of Rev. W.S. Bricknell, who died in Cheltenham in September, 1907, aged 101 and is buried in St. Leonard's churchyard (Fig. 5)

Extract from the Cheltenham Chronicle & Gloucestershire Graphic
1907

William Simcox Bricknell (Worcester College, B.A. 1827) was appointed to the Eynsham living by his wife's brother in 1845. His father had been Mayor of Oxford and he himself was a magistrate. By the time he came to Eynsham from Grove, the holding of more than one ecclesiastical office at a time (pluralism) had been prohibited by the Act of 1838. Despite this, William Simcox Bricknell appears to have found some loophole in the law whereby he managed to retain the 'perpetual curacy' of Grove. With hindsight, one might perhaps have predicted such chicanery. Of the many energetic and colourful characters in this story of whom there is much more to be told, none appear to have been more vigorous, self-important and controversial as W.S.B! Besides being vicar of Eynsham (Figs.4 & 6), curate of Grove, and a magistrate, he was also a City lecturer with a regular preaching engagement at the old Carfax church. He was notorious as an extremely zealous evangelical, strongly opposed to the Oxford Movement, publishing many pamphlets opposing the Tractarians, and carrying on lengthy arguments with Samuel Wilberforce, the Bishop of Oxford, in correspondence and in the press. The bishop thought that his parish work must suffer, the people of Eynsham knew that it did. He tried to rule the village single-handedly, and the scandals and dissensions that he provoked are still recalled by descendants of Eynsham families of that period.

Richard Nash Bricknell, the only son of William Simcox Bricknell and Elizabeth Nash Skillicorne, trained for the ministry in the north of England, and his first curacy was at Kendal in Westmorland. In 1864 he took over the curacy of Grove from his father, and in 1871 he was presented by his uncle to the living at Salford, moving into the rectory built by his greatgrandfather, Thomas Nash, and in which his mother had lived as a girl. During his time at Salford he kept a '*Parish Diary*' which has been published by the Salford History Group, and which gives many fascinating details of Cotswold village life in late Victorian times. William Simcox Bricknell died at Eynsham in 1888, one hundred years ago, and two years later his son resigned the living at Salford owing to poor health. On his last Sunday at Salford before he retired to Leamington, he preached in the morning, and his only son William Nash Bricknell delivered the sermon in the evening.

William Nash Bricknell (Merton College, B.A. 1886), grandson of William Simcox Bricknell, had been born at Kendal, and had held two curacies in the north when he was presented to the Eynsham living in 1893, just five years after the death of his grandfather. (See illustration on front cover).

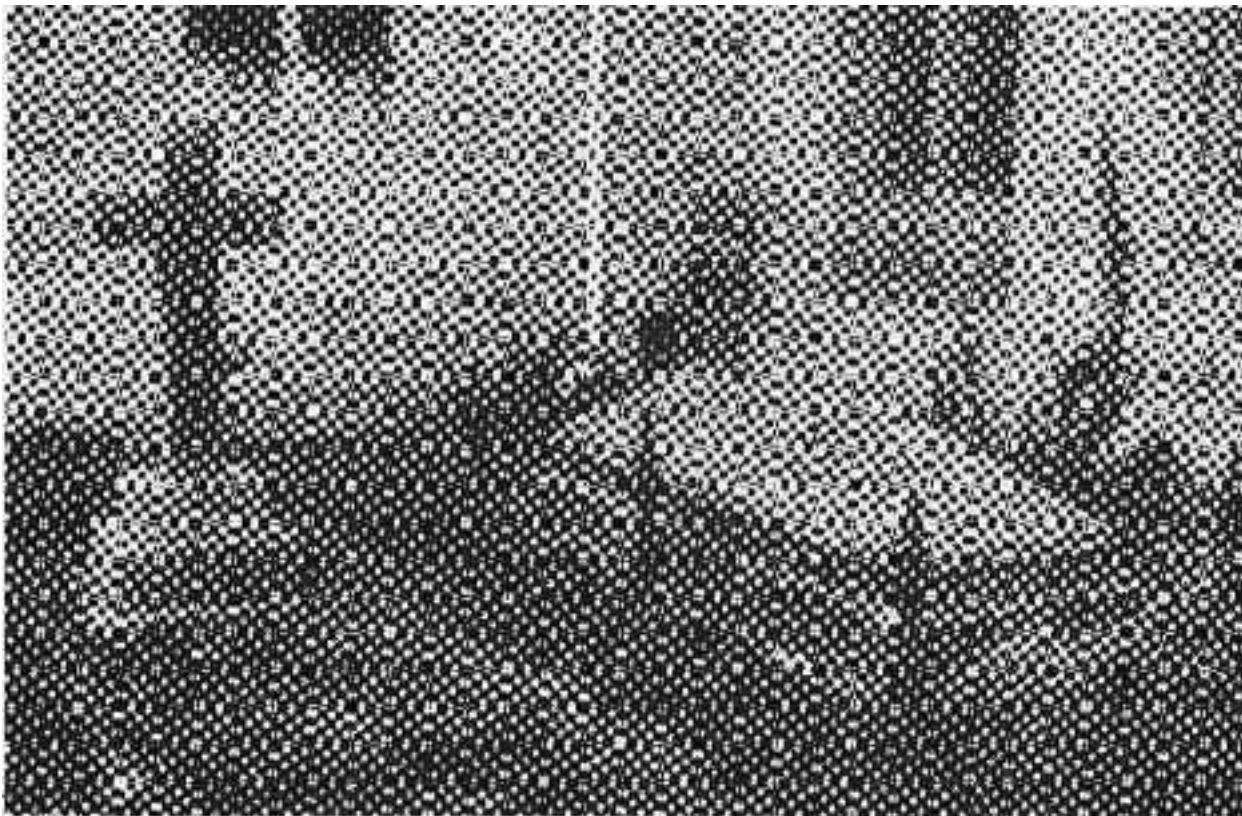
There are people in Eynsham who still remember him, and it is clear that he was a very different character from his grandfather, being well-liked and widely respected (see, for example, Gwen Whitlock's article herein). He married his first wife Constance in 1893, and she is remembered for all the fine work she did in the parish, especially

Fig. 4. (Right)

Rev. William Simcox Bricknell
Curate of Eynsham 1800-26;
Vicar of Eynsham 1826-45.
Photograph courtesy of Oxford
shire Archives



Fig. 5. (Below) The graves of
Rev. W.S. Bricknell and his wife
Elizabeth (née Skillicorne),
right; and of his grandson
Rev. W.N. Bricknell and his second
wife Amy (née Smallhorn), left.
St. Leonard's churchyard



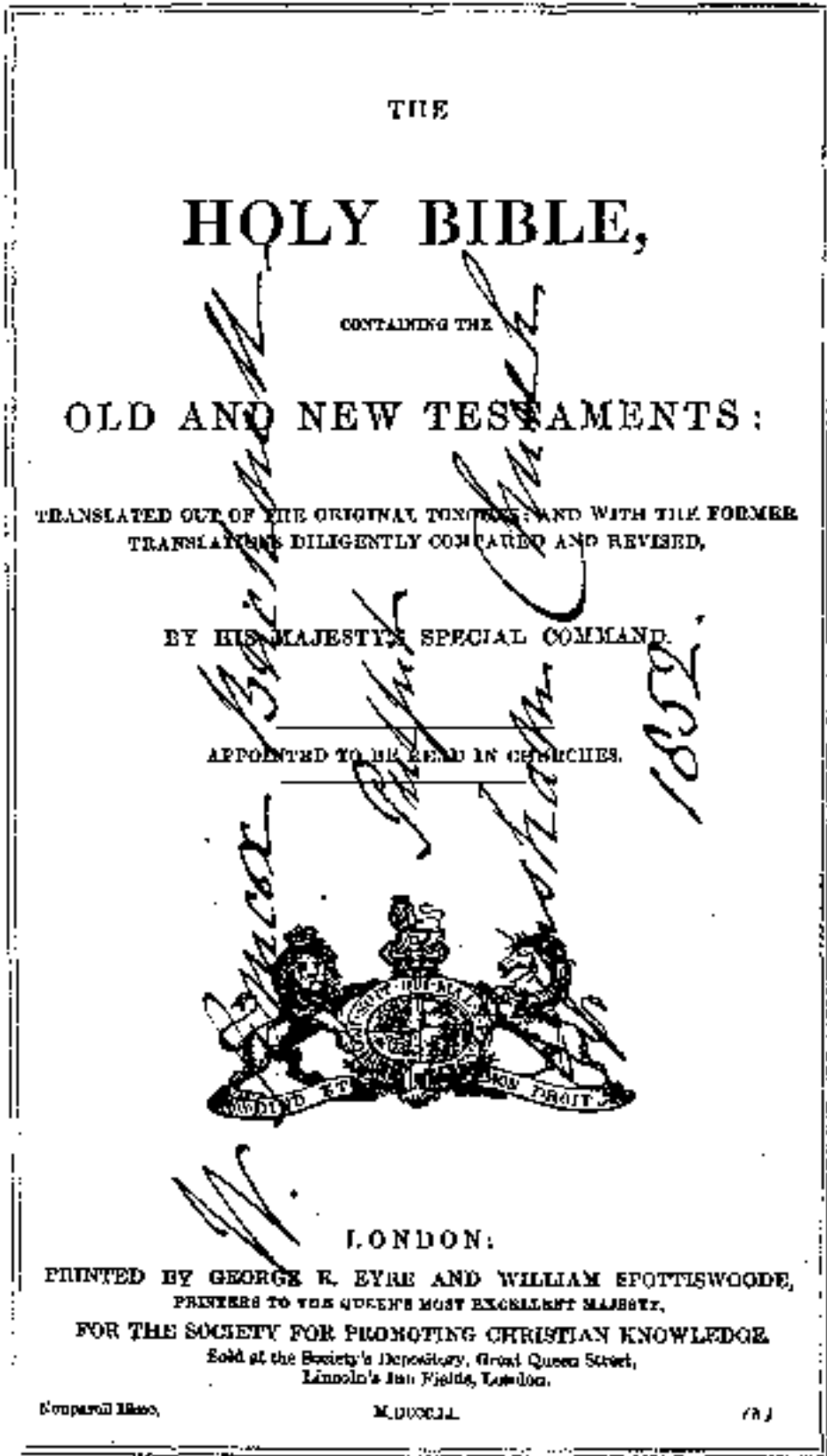


Fig. 6 Title page of Rev. William Simcox Bricknell's 'pulpit' bible.

in the Sunday School. She died in 1918 and in the following year he married Amy Smallhorn, the doctor's daughter. There were no children.

William Nash Bricknell died in 1928 (Fig. 5); and his obituary concludes with the following words:-

'He was an ideal parish priest. He lived for his Church and his people. He was a faithful visitor and friend, and entered heart and soul into the life and welfare of his parish. Old and young loved him. So passes the last of an ancient family'.

He was the last of our 'Clerical Family'.

Postscript

This article began with Bishops Court on the Isle of Man. The last Bishop of Sodor and Man to occupy Bishops Court was the Rt. Rev. Eric Gordon. By a curious but happy convolution of history, Bishop Gordon (entirely unrelated to any Skillicorne, Nash or Bricknell!) retired to Eynsham in 1974 and is the President of the Eynsham History Group, and a regular contributor to this journal.

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Acknowledgements:

To Malcolm Graham, Central Library, Oxford; to Steven Tomlinson, Bodleian Library for directing me to the Symond's papers; and very special thanks to Roger Beacham, Cheltenham Reference Library (home of the last five references above), who so promptly answered my queries about the Skillicornes, and sent me much extra material which provided further leads.

Extract from *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by himself. Vol. 1 1632-63.*

September 16th 1657, Wednesday.

A.W. went to Einsham to see an old kinsman called Thomas Barncote. He was there wonderfully stricken with a veneration of the stately, yet much lamented, ruins of the abbey there, built before the Norman conquest. He saw then there two high towers at the west end of the church, and some of the north walls of the church standing. He spent some time with a melancholy delight in taking a prospect of the ruins of that place. All which, together with the entrance or the lodg, were soon after pul' d downe, and the stones sold to build houses in that towne and neare it. The place hath yet some ruins to shew, and to instruct the pensive beholder with an exemplary frailty.

HAMSTALL'S TRACE

by Joan Weedon

The hamlet of Hamstall once lay to the west of Eynsham. What remains to be seen today ('Hamstall's trace') is little more than a mound of stones in the middle of the field to the south of the track approaching the 'Nunnery'.

Imagine, with me, that the local authority were to relax planning restrictions currently in force on the growth of Eynsham to the west

*Today the Chilbrook stream proceeds, drab now,
But then - look back,
Look where Authority's enveloping garb goes,
Dark-swinging Abbey skirts,
Busying westerly along the track.
Past celandine, cowslip, pale points of summer promised,
Intent on law to change what was.
How did we protest then, Guardian?
These slight grassy knolls, remnants of hearth,
remain. The scene, each season, tells of bitter hearts.
Did you see them leave? Love, livestock and hope.*

*Authority's secular hand, ringed by six hundred years
Drafts devious plans.
From Hamstall's trace, look where the tumbling roofs, Neat-
crammed blocks of pride, peer down the Chilbrook vale. This
was to be the sole survivor of ancient paths
From Eynsham's centre.
This was to be saved,
Wild rose, barn owl, chorusing larks and sloe.
But Authority presides.*



REV. WILLIAM NASH BRICKNELL
Vicar of Eynsham 1893-1928.
Photograph courtesy of Mrs Gwen Whitlock

WORKING AT EYNHAM VICARAGE FOR REV. WILLIAM NASH BRICKNELL

by Gwen Whitlock (née Gwen Day)

Recorded by Joyce Morris

I was born in Eynsham in 1903. At the age of 14 I went to work in London for a clergyman, Dr. Ralton and his wife, and my main job was to look after their three daughters who were not much younger than me.

In 1919, the Vicar of Eynsham, Rev William Nash Bricknell, who had lost his first wife the year before, remarried, and his new wife was Amy Smallhorn, the doctor's daughter. He wrote offering me domestic work at the Vicarage, and I started there on 3 February 1920, a month after my seventeenth birthday. There I met Rose Morris from Headington who was a couple of years older. On our first night at the vicarage Rose heard lovely singing, and on the second night I heard it *as well*. I told Rose that it must be the first Mrs Bricknell who was a fine and beautiful lady!

When the Vicar and his wife returned from their honeymoon, he told me to let my hair down as I was 'too young to have it done up'. But we were treated with great kindness, as if we were members of the family, not *as maids*. We were allowed to do what we liked, even having my boyfriend, Cyril Whitlock, and Rose's boyfriend, George Harris, at the vicarage every evening.

The years went by. The Bricknells had no children, but it was a big house and there was plenty of work for us.

For many years an old man, Mr Richard Brooks, who wore a black bowler hat, used to come to the vicarage gate every Saturday and give Rose and me a penny each and three white peppermints wrapped in a twist of paper. A penny seemed a lot of money in those days and we used to look forward to Saturdays!

Then one evening in 1928 the Vicar, coming down the stairs, slipped near the bottom and broke his leg. He was kept at the vicarage, but died three days later. That was a very sad time for everyone.

Rose and I left a month later after eight very happy years, and for the next couple of years we worked for Mr and Mrs Donaldson at Newland House. Later Rose worked in Oxford, and in 1932 I married Cyril and we have lived ever since in the same house we saved up for and had built for us.

JOHN WHITING'S SURVEY OF EYNSHAM, 1650

Part 1; The village

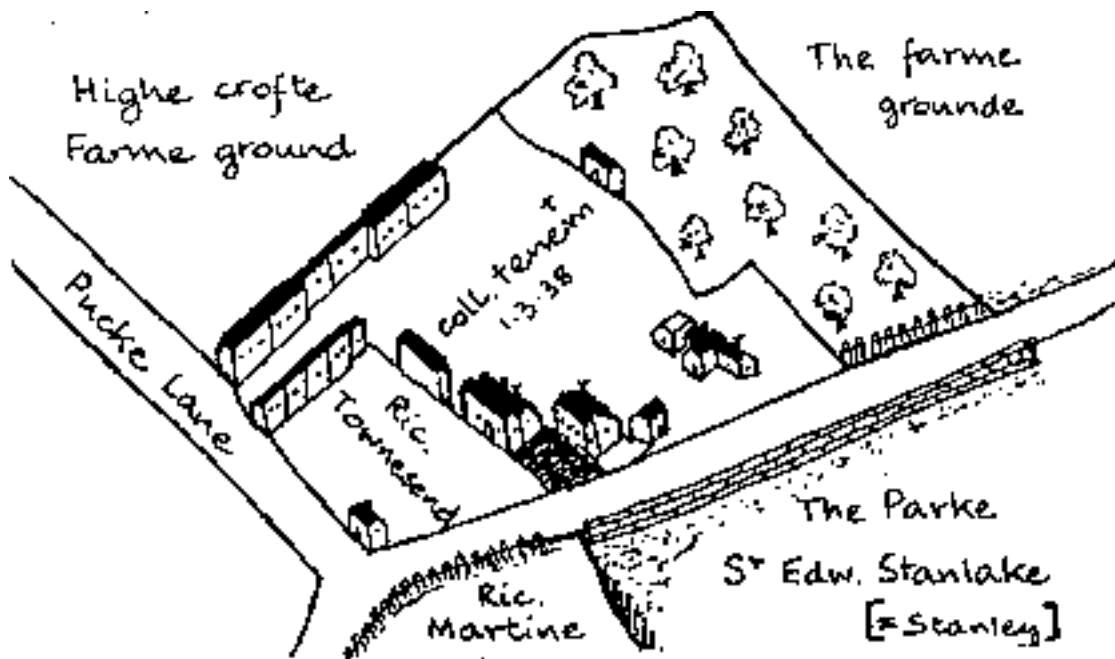
by Brian Atkins

The two principal topographic sources for Eynsham parish in the 17th century are the Corpus Christi College estate maps of 1615, and John Whiting's highly detailed 'Survey Book' of 1650.

The 1615 map

This magnificent early map by Henry Wilcock, drawn on several sheets at the very large scale of 25 inches to the mile, was commissioned by Corpus Christi College for the purpose of depicting the college's own considerable estate in the parish, much of which it had purchased in 1609. The map shows a substantial part of the parish, with its fields and 'furlongs' sub-divided into their individual strips. Those strips belonging to the college are marked C.C.C., and adjacent strips are labelled with the names of their owners or tenants.

Unfortunately, however, the village itself is excluded from the map, except for one corner where the college owned land and buildings. The exception shows the junction of Puck [e] Lane (now Queen's St.) with Thames St. (now High St.) with a little plan of the college's land in the angle, embellished with delightful drawings of the buildings (Fig. 1).



The 1650 survey

While the 1615 map suffers from the omission of the village itself, Whiting's survey, which embraces about the same extent of the parish, does include the central portion. The deficiency here is that the map or plan (which was certainly drawn up) has not survived, and we are left only with Whiting's 'Survey Book' containing detailed lists of the holdings (houses, homesteads, closes, meadows, furlong pieces and strips), with their extent and their owners or tenants. This survey was probably commissioned by the Parliamentarian Henry Marten of Beckett in Berkshire soon after he had been rewarded with the manor of Eynsham for his part in the Civil War. The surveyor, John Whiting, hailed from East Hendred (between Wantage and Harwell).

Chambers (1936) has provided an admirable summary of the survey (see especially pp. 42-5), and his account of the history of the meadows and fields draws extensively upon it.

The purpose of the present article is twofold: To publish (for the first time so far as I know) the opening part of the survey which deals with the village itself; and secondly to translate this into a sketch map showing the relative positions of the homesteads. The data do not justify any attempt to locate the buildings, although in most cases these would have been adjacent to the road. To some extent, and allowing for the fact that there is a 35-year time interval, such a map will complement the 1615 map which lacks the village itself.

As a separate project, I hope to 'convert' the remainder of the survey which deals with the meadows and fields into a map, for comparison with the 1615 map and with that of 1782 by Thomas Pride.

Two copies of the survey have survived. One is in the Bodleian. The other is in the Oxfordshire Archives (formerly the County Record Office), and is 'the original working copy kept by the clerk of the manorial court annotated in a later hand with some names of 18th century owners of the plots described in 1650'. (Crossley, 1985).

The transcription that follows (Table on pp. 43-46) is taken from pp. 2-6 of the Bodleian copy, which deal with the township. The whole is in the form of a bound book with a table of contents, 82 pages of neatly-written manuscript text, and 8 blank pages at the end. The original is set out in six columns:

- i. a number as on the lost plan
- ii. 'former tenants'
- iii. 'present proprietors'
- iv. 'present tenants'
- v. size of 'parcels as reputed by estimation'
- vi. 'extent of land in acres, roods and perches as they are by measure'

For the township, the third, fourth and fifth columns are left blank in the Bodleian version, but Crossley's (1985) discovery of the CRO copy with its partial list of late 18th century tenants in column (iv) suggests that the books were ruled up with a view to later up-dating (in columns iii and iv); and that column (ii), labelled 'former tenants' in fact lists the 1650 tenants.

The following transcription therefore lists all the information in the Bodleian version (pp. 2-6) reorganized in the following way:

- A) A new number used on the reconstructed map (Fig. 2)
- B) Original number, as in original column (i)
- C) Original column (ii), interpreted as the tenants of 1650
- D) Original column (v); area of land in acres, roods and perches

[1 acre = 4 roods = 160 perches]

It is clear that the areas listed are the result of a new detailed survey, not least because the total area of 76.875 acres closely matches the true extent of the village as it almost certainly remained throughout the 17th and 18th centuries (see for instance the 1615 and 1872 maps). In addition, for several of the sub-groups (e.g. the plots on the north side of Newland St.), the total area given matches the undoubted extent of the area of the sub-group at this date. It is for this reason that this attempt has been made to convert the Table into a map (Fig. 2).

It is important, however, to treat the map only as a first approximation to the truth. It is subject to correction and refinement in the light of further data, such as might be provided by 17th century title deeds for surviving houses. In general, boundaries in Fig. 2 have been drawn as straight lines, and some at least of these boundaries may have been irregular. Some areas containing a number of small plots cannot be apportioned between the plots on the basis of the survey data, and these are indicated on Fig. 2; and there is a problem concerning plots along Puck Lane (now Queen Street). These and other matters are dealt with by means of numbered notes, the numbers referring back to the numbers on the map and those in column (i) of the Table.

The spellings of names is erratic in 17th century manuscripts, and in some cases I have followed the spelling in the summary at the end of the survey book, where the handwriting is larger and more carefully formed than that in the township list.

First of the Town in Each Particular Street with Houses and Homestalls [=Home -
steads] and Contents of Each Parcell and Closes near the Town. As Followeth.

NEWLAND ST., shooting east and west, begin at the N.E. Corner

[A]	[B]	[C]	[D]	
			a	r p
1	3	Thomas Allen, his house & homestall	3	36
2	4	John Devall, house & homestall	2	25
3	5	John Woodly, house & homestall	1 2	33
4	6	Mrs Taylor, free[hold]	3	9
5	7	George Duke	2	14
6	8	Richard Head, free		16
7	9	John Quinch	1	15
8	10	Mrs Brown, free	1 0	2
9	11	Alex. Gardner	2	6
10	12	Chris. Almond	2	6
11	13	William Wilkins, copy	1	23
12	14	William Brook, free	1	12
13	15	Chris. Almond, free	1 3	0

The south side [of Newland St.]

14	16	James Townsend	2	27
15	17	Justintine Pentecross	1 0	30
16	18	Elizabeth Parr		8
17	19	John Puddle	1	34
18	20	John Woodly, free	1 2	0
19	21	Mrs Green	1 1	5
20	22	Thomas Smith	2	15
21	23	Mrs Greens Potters Close	3 3	15

PUCK LANE

22	25	Nick Lance, free	1 1	25
23	26	John Meads, free	1 0	0
24	27	William Bishop	2	30
25	28	Widow Wise	3	20
26	29	Edward Theager		16

LOVE LANE

27	30	Francis Cliff, free	10
28	31	Widow Granaway	3
29	32	Sim. Lowe, free	3
30	33	--- Persifull	9

MILL STREET, shooting south and north, beginning on the N.W. side

31	1	Richard Holloway, copy	3	3	10
32	2	Widow Finch, copy		2	10
33	3	Thomas Lock, copy		1	36
34	4	John Tidmarsh, copy		1	36
35	5	William Spooner		3	3
36	6	William Brooks, copy		3	2
37	7	Philip Person, free	1	1	16
38	8	William Gardner		1	34
39	9	[left blank]	1	1	3
40	10	Justintine Phipps, lease	1	2	32
41	11	Widow Castle, copy		3	24
42	12	Widow Castle, free		2	10
43	13	William Grant, copy		3	35
44	14	Widow Turell, copy		3	20
45	15	Robert Wells			14
46	16	The Vicarage	1	1	0
47	17	Mr Green, free		1	10
48	18	Richard Bistley			23
49	19	William Wise, copy			23
50	20	Widow Gibson, copy		1	7
51	21	William Baily, copy		2	7
52	22	Jane Balden, free			28
53	23	Widow Maine, by lease			26
54	24	Henry Egelton, by lease		1	20
55	25	The Almeshouse			26
56	26	Edgerlyes farm, by lease	1	1	30

57	27	The Abbey Court	3	1	5
58	28	Henry Devall, copy			15
59	28[sic]	Henry Devall, by the church			10
60	29	Mrs Green, the Green Dragon, free		1	8
61	29[sic]	Mr Green - on the north side, free			2
62	30	William Bailey, a shop			2
63	30[sic]	Widow Wheeler, copy			20
64	31	Mr Bartholomew, copy			20
65	32	Mr King			18
66	33	William Baylye, copy			29
67	34	Widow Hinkes, copy			14
68	35	Joan Grant, copy			14
69	36	Thomas Barncott			14
70	37	Edmund Brown, copy			30
71	38	Susan Castle, copy		1	5
72	39	Mr Hampshire & Mrs Granger		3	14
73	40	William Jerden, copy		3	39
74	41	Widow Bradshew, copy		3	18

ACRE END STREET, shooting east and west, begin at the N.E. corner

75	1	John Rose, free			7
76	2	Alex. Kingston, free			7
77	3	City of Oxford, free			25
78	4	Richard Waste, lease		3	10
79	5	Widow Wise, free		1	30
80	6	Thomas Evans, copy			37
81	7	Nicholas Launce, free			11
82	8	Chris. Almond, free		1	13
83	9	Mr John Green, free		1	36
84	10	John Woodly, free	1	1	4
85	11	William Evans, copy		2	13
86	12	-- Eglston, lease		1	15
87	13	Balden Hodges, free		3	30
88	14	Mr Green's Close, copy		2	6

On the south side [of] the Way [i.e. of Acre End St.]

89	15	Mr Green, copy	1	3	11
90	16	William Godwin, copy		2	26
91	17	William Wise, copy	1	2	0
92	18	Demeasne's		2	14
93	19	William Wise, copy		2	14
94	20	Mr Brown's Coleman's copy		2	15
95	20[sic]	Mr Brown's Blackman's copy		2	15
96	21	Robert Yeate, copy		1	32
97	22	Francis Perrot, lease		2	28
98	23	William Gibson, copy		1	18
99	24	William Duffing, copy		2	24
100	25	Mr Hampshire & Mrs Granger, lease		2	38

THAMES STREET AND CARFOLKS, shooting east and west, begin at the N.W.
corner

101	1	John Wadley, free		1	36
102	2	Richard Townsend, copy			10
103	3	Widow Barns, copy		2	20
104	4	James Townsend, copy		2	22
105	5	William Evans, copy		1	0
106	6	Philip Brush, copy		1	2
107	7	Mrs Taylor, free		1	30
108	8	Edward Gardner, copy		1	20
109	9	Alex. Kingsten, copy		2	12
110	10	Mr King		1	16
111	11	William Broadwater, copy			35
112	12	Corpus Christi [College], free	2	1	30

On the south side of the way [i.e. of Thames St.]

113	13	Mr King	2	0	30
114	14	Hugh Wise, free			15
115	15	William Johnson, copy			18
116	16	The Churchyard		3	28
117	17	John Cracklow, copy			8
118	18	John Devall, copy			6

Fig. 2. Provisional reconstruction of Whiting's 1650 survey of Eynsham 'township'.

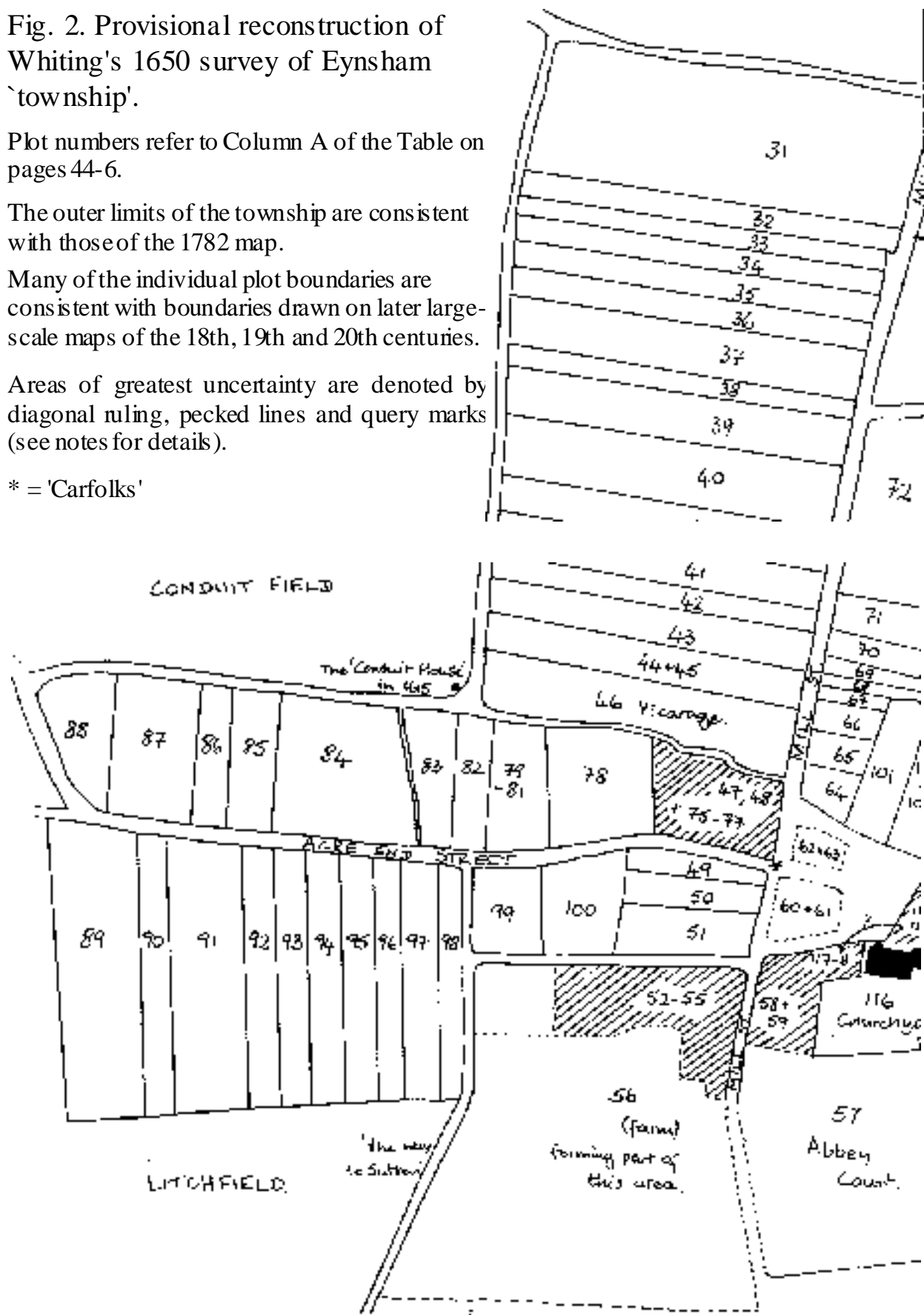
Plot numbers refer to Column A of the Table on pages 44-6.

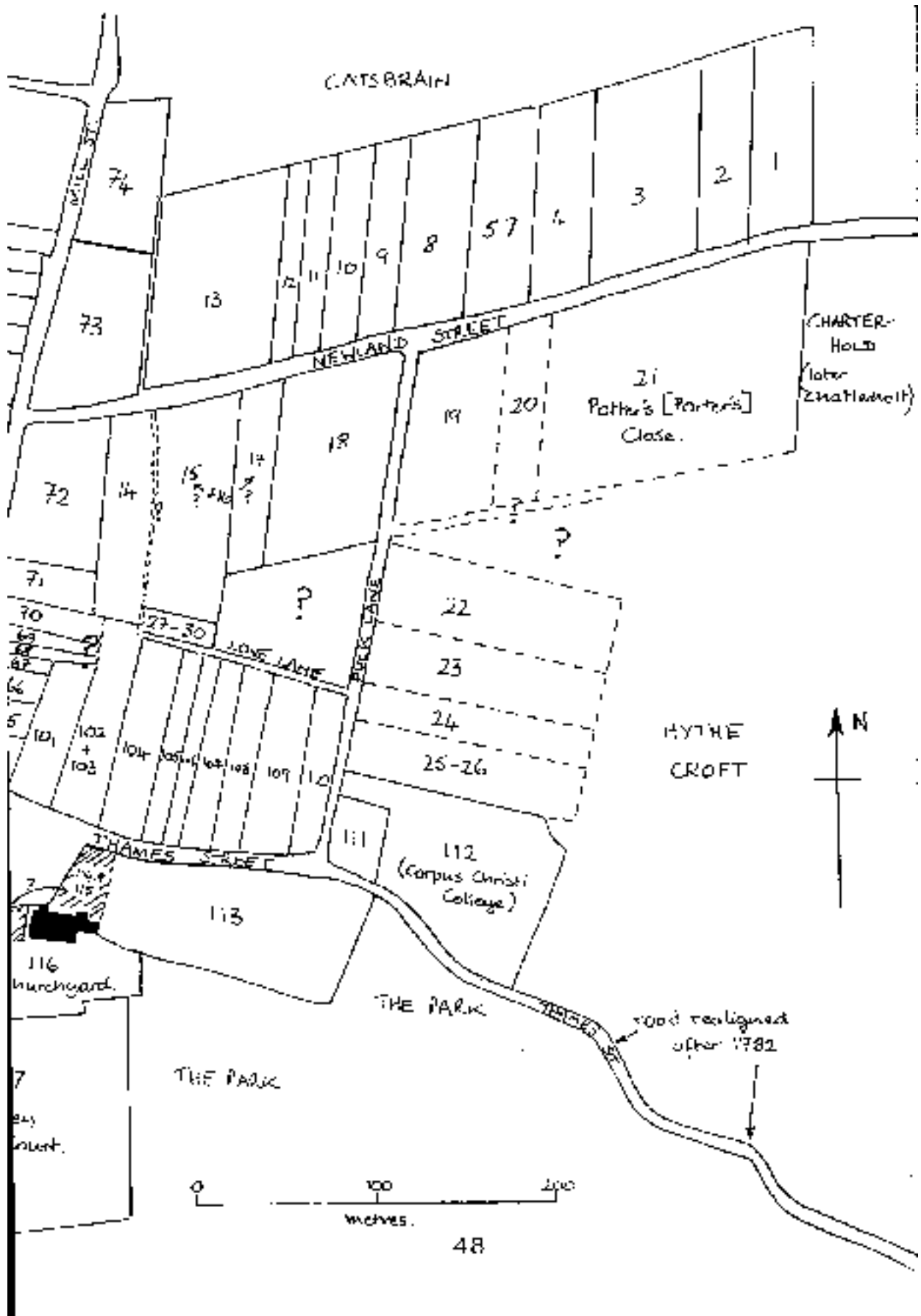
The outer limits of the township are consistent with those of the 1782 map.

Many of the individual plot boundaries are consistent with boundaries drawn on later large-scale maps of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

Areas of greatest uncertainty are denoted by diagonal ruling, pecked lines and query marks (see notes for details).

* = 'Carfolks'





NOTES

Many of the boundaries in Fig. 2 can be seen in later large-scale maps.

Street names.

Puck Lane. [Pucke Lane in 1615]; now Queen's St. The old name, in the form Pug Lane, has been transferred to the alley between Queen's Lane and High St.

Love Lane; now Queen's Lane.

Mill St; then included all now known as Lombard St. and Abbey St.

Thames St.; then all the road from Carfolks to Swinford ferry.

'Free', 'copy' and 'lease' in the Table indicate the nature of ownership or tenancy i.e. freehold, copyhold or leasehold respectively.

Column B (originally column i). It is not clear why some numbers are omitted (i.e. 1, 2 and 24 in Newland St.), and others are duplicated (i.e. 28, 29 and 30 in Mill St., and 20 in Acre End St.)

The following notes are numbered in accordance with plot numbers on Fig. 2 and column A of the Table.

3. From this point onwards the surveyor, or his scribe, decided to omit 'house and homestall', which surely applied to most of the succeeding entries.

14-30. Allocation of the plots to the south of Newland St. (14-21) and along Puck lane and Love Lane (22-30) is by no means obvious. My best attempt so far (Fig. 2) includes the following defects:- a) an awkward triangular gap north of plot 22. (There is no evidence for the existence of Tanner's Lane at this date); b) apparently no ownership of the irregular plot in the angle between Puck Lane and Love Lane, although this plot certainly existed in 1366 and in modern times; c) in 1782 there were no plots where nos. 23-6 have been tentatively located, this land forming a salient of Hythe Croft Farm.

21. Potter's Close = Porter's Close (see Chambers, 1936, p. 86) 30.

First name omitted.

37. Area given as 7 acres in the listing of the township, but as 1 acre, 1 mod, 16 perches in the summary. The former is an error since otherwise properties on the west side of Mill St would have extended far to the north of modern Spareacre Lane, whereas this was the limit of the village in 1615 and 1782.

39. No name given.

46. The vicarage; an earlier building on the same site as the 'new' vicarage erected in 1704 (see Eynsham Record, 2, pp. 22-3, 1985). The incumbent in 1650 was

Thomas Cordell.

47-48 and 75-77. These plots apparently lay within the shaded area bounded by Mill St., Acre End St. and Conduit Lane, which is nevertheless somewhat too large.

52-55. Plots to the west of modern Abbey St. and north of the farm. Their boundaries are uncertain.

56. Edgeley's farm: formerly the home farm of the Abbey. The small area given must involve only the farm buildings themselves and their immediate precincts, lying between the dotted lines on Fig. 2.

58-59, 114-115 and 117-118. These plots apparently lay somehow within the shaded areas to the west and north of the church.

60-63. These plots, which include the 'Green Dragon', if correctly placed, appear to represent early encroachments onto the medieval market square.

69. Thomas Barncott (or Barncote) was a stone-mason, baptised 17 April 1588, died 13 June 1665, aged 77. He was Anthony Wood's father's cousin, the 'kinsman' whom Wood visited on 16 September 1657, the day he also made a drawing of the remains of the Abbey and experienced a 'melancholy delight in taking a prospect of the remains of that place' (see page 36). In 1630 Thomas Barncote was excommunicated for helping to bury another excommunicate by night in the Abbey park (Chambers, 1936, p. 410).

75-77. See under 47-48.

98-99. The road to the south between these two plots, now Station Rd. was in those times simply called 'the way to Sutton'. There were no buildings along this road until very much later than 1650.

108. Possibly the property mortgaged to Edward Gardner by John Paty and known as the 'Black Boy' (an inn or public house?) in 1673 (see pp. 18-19 herein).

111. Apparently the property held by Richard Townsend in 1615 (see Fig. 1)

112. Area unchanged from 1615 (see Fig. 1).

114-118. See under 58-59.

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EYNSHAM HISTORY GROUP

Founded 1959

The E.H.G. exists primarily to encourage studies in, and to promote knowledge of the history of the village and parish of Eynsham, Oxfordshire, by means of regular meetings (normally at least ten), with invited speakers, during the winter and spring; and occasional outings during the summer.

New members are welcome.

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Printed by Parchment (Oxford) Limited, Printworks, Crescent Road, Cowley, Oxford OX4 2PB