

VCH Oxfordshire Texts in Progress

Sarsden

Social History

Social Character and Communal Life

The Middle Ages

Though Sarsden may have been a significant estate centre in the 11th century, by the 1270s it supported an ordinary peasant community of free tenants, cottagers, and yardlanders owing extensive labour services on the lord's demesne.¹ From the 12th century, after it was subinfeudated by the high-ranking de Courcys to Hugh Golafre and his successors, the manor was held by mostly resident lay lords, who occupied a predecessor of Sarsden House next to the church. The Golafres were benefactors to Eynsham and Bruern abbeys and served as minor royal officials, Sir Thomas Golafre representing Oxfordshire as a knight of the shire in 1315.² He was also Sarsden's wealthiest taxpayer, assessed on £15-worth of goods in 1306, though both he and his son Sir John later fell into debt.³ The latter presumably still lived at Sarsden in 1335 when he obtained a grant of free warren (the right to hunt small game),⁴ though his namesake Sir John Golafre (d. 1396), one of Richard II's chamber knights, resided less often, and was overseas in 1388 when the Merciless Parliament condemned his influence over the king.⁵ His cousin John Golafre (d. 1442), another member of Richard II's household, lived mainly at Fifield (Berks.), and was for many years an associate of Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme.⁶ In the 1450s John's widow Margaret claimed that Sarsden's new owner William Browning denied her rents due from the manor, and that he attacked the servants she sent to collect them.⁷ Browning's own widow Elizabeth later married John Horne, a wealthy sheep farmer descended from merchant staplers of Kent.⁸

¹ Above, landownership; econ. hist. (medieval).

² C. Moor, *Knights of Edward I* (Harl. Soc. 80–4, 1929–32), II, 124; above, landownership.

³ TNA, E 179/161/9–10; *ibid.* C 241/83/14; *Cal. Close* 1323–7, 585.

⁴ *Cal. Chart.* 1327–41, 322.

⁵ A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (1973), 61, 137. He was later pardoned, and was buried in the royal chapel in Westminster abbey: N. Saul, *Richard II* (1997), 335.

⁶ *Hist. Parl.* s.v. John Golafre; Brunner and Lunt, *Sheriffs*, 52–3. For Chaucer, *VCH Oxon.* XVIII, 201–2, 216.

⁷ TNA, C 1/28/422.

⁸ Leland, *Itin.* ed. Toulmin Smith, II, 4; below (1500–1800).

In 1279 Sarsden's population was less than half that of neighbouring Churchill and Lyneham, perhaps reflecting depopulation on Bruern abbey's 12-yardland estate, or a failure to record subtenants. Tenants of the main Sarsden manor were headed by eight unfree yardlanders and a smaller number of cottagers and free tenants,⁹ although except for the Golafres few inhabitants were noticeably better-off than their neighbours, early 14th-century tax lists suggesting fairly modest variations in wealth. Payments in 1306 ranged from 4*d.* to 3*s.* 11*d.* with an average of 16½*d.* and a median of 12*d.*, whilst in 1327 they ranged from 12*d.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* One of the wealthiest was the freeholder John of Sarsden, whose family occupied six yardlands, although their main estates lay elsewhere and they may have left the parish soon afterwards.¹⁰ In-migration also occurred, inhabitants' bynames suggesting incomers from nearby Alvescot, Chilson, Taynton, and Donnington (Glos.). Other newcomers included the Collinses, Thomas Collins's assessed wealth increasing from £2 to £4 10*s.* between 1306 and 1327 (when he was the parish's highest taxpayer), while the less prosperous but more stable Sciences and Simmonds were each assessed on goods worth 21*s.*–23*s.* Turnover of tenants was apparently high, with few surnames recorded in 1279 still mentioned in the early 14th century.¹¹

Evidence for the later Middle Ages is mostly lacking, although tenants' labour services were possibly commuted quite early.¹² Little is known of the disruption caused by the Black Death, though by 1377 Sarsden's adult population of 48 was the same as Lyneham's, where there had been a steep decline, and both contrasted sharply with the 111 noted at Churchill,¹³ Sarsden's population remaining low thereafter.¹⁴ The almost complete disappearance of 13th- and 14th-century surnames suggests continued mobility and migration,¹⁵ exceptions including the Cayms, who were resident by 1306, and one of whom (John Caym) was constable in 1377.¹⁶ The strongest external links were probably with Churchill (which retained burial rights), while a trespass case of 1472 implicated Sarsden men alongside others from Chipping Norton and Barton-on-the-Heath (Warws.).¹⁷ Common grazing spilled into Lyneham following alleged encroachments by the Sarsden lords William Browning and John Hals, and further tensions arose after Hals (d. 1485) accused some Lyneham inhabitants of poaching rabbits, reportedly punishing them by a turn in the stocks.¹⁸

⁹ *Rot. Hund.* II, 729–30; above, vol. overview (Table 1); *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 10 (Table 1).

¹⁰ TNA, E 179/161/8–10; for the Sarsdens, above, landownership (other estates).

¹¹ *Rot. Hund.* II, 729–30; TNA, E 179/161/8–10.

¹² Valued at 10*s.* 6*d.* a year in 1297, but not mentioned in 1332: TNA, C 133/78/15; C 135/31/27.

¹³ *Poll Taxes 1377–81*, ed. Fenwick, II, 291; *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 165, 178.

¹⁴ Above, landscape etc. (popn).

¹⁵ For 16th-cent. surnames, e.g. OHC, par. reg. transcript; *ibid.* MSS Wills Oxon., Sarsden wills.

¹⁶ *Poll Taxes 1377–81*, ed. Fenwick, II, 305; TNA, E 179/161/10. Another possible exception was the Collinses, still represented in the 17th cent.

¹⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 323; below, relig. hist. (paroch. organizn).

¹⁸ TNA, REQ 2/5/308; *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 178; above, econ. hist. (medieval).

1500--1800

From the 16th century to the early 18th Sarsden's lords were again mostly resident. John Horne (d. 1526), twice sheriff of Oxfordshire, was exceptionally wealthy by local standards, assessed on £140-worth of goods in 1524, and leaving a considerable quantity of silver plate including bowls, pots, a basin and ewer, a goblet, and spoons, weighing in all 600 oz (50 lb).¹⁹ His son Edmund (d. 1553) rebuilt the manor house and acquired Merriscourt manor in Lyneham, although in 1533 he requested Thomas Cromwell's permission not to become a knight.²⁰ The family rose to greater prominence after Edmund's widow Amy married Sir James Marvyn (d. 1611), whose position in the royal household brought Edmund and Amy's daughter Elizabeth (d. 1599) into royal favour. She is chiefly remembered for an extraordinary collection of letters revealing the violent breakdown of her marriage to Anthony Bourne, and for a romantic relationship with her legally appointed counsellor Sir John Conway, with whom she exchanged 'exquisite literary fantasies'.²¹ After Bourne's imprisonment in 1578 Elizabeth lived at Sarsden House until her death, and was buried at Churchill.²²

Members of the succeeding Walter family were also buried at Churchill, the 1st baronet's daughter Anne Walter (d. 1707) leaving detailed instructions for her funeral procession from Sarsden House, which was to include three mourning coaches each pulled by six horses, and twelve horsemen in mourning cloaks with white scarves and ribbons.²³ The Walters adopted a paternalistic approach to the parish, founding a charity and endowing (and later rebuilding) the parish church, while Anne established a long-lasting girls' school at Churchill.²⁴ Sir William (d. 1675), created a baronet by Charles I, was a staunch Royalist in the Civil War, for which he was fined £1,430 by Parliament,²⁵ and from 1646 he sheltered the composer and royal favourite John Wilson (d. 1674) at Sarsden. In 1658 he appealed to Cromwell after his Puritan neighbour Sir Anthony Cope (of Bruern) publicly threatened and insulted him at church in Oxford, where he had been summoned by the authorities.²⁶ Following the manor house's destruction by fire in 1689 it was rebuilt on a grand scale by Sir William (d. 1694), 2nd baronet, incorporating a gallery which his son Sir John (d. 1722) hung

¹⁹ Brunner and Lunt, *Sheriffs*, 68; TNA, PROB 11/22/188; above, landownership. (Weight calculn assumes 12 troy oz = 1 troy lb.)

²⁰ Above, landownership; *L&P Hen. VIII*, VI, p. 671.

²¹ *ODNB*, s.v. Eliz. Bourne; *Hist. Parl.* s.v. Jas Marvyn.

²² *Cal. SP Dom.* 1581–90, 213–14; Addenda 1566–79, 559–60; OHC, par. reg. transcript.

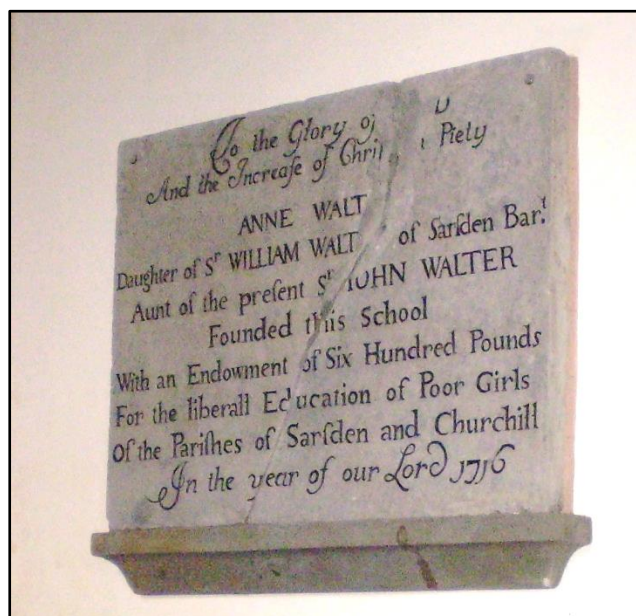
²³ OHC, par. reg. transcript; TNA, PROB 11/496/112.

²⁴ Below (educ. and welfare); relig. hist.

²⁵ *Complete Baronetage*, II, 142; *Cal. Cttee for Compounding*, II, 1009; *CJ*, IV, 645; *LJ*, VIII, 471–2.

²⁶ *ODNB*, s.v. John Wilson; *Cal. SP Dom.* 1658–9, 69. For Cope, *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 299, 309, 314.

with family portraits by the fashionable court painter Sir Godfrey Kneller.²⁷ By 1738 the house was let to tenants, however, John Rolle Walter (who inherited in 1731) living mostly in Devon and apparently visiting only occasionally.²⁸



Memorial to Anne Walter (d. 1707) in Churchill's former parish church (now Heritage Centre).

Prominent 16th-century tenant families included the Constables, Halls, Hyatts, Middletons, and Sampsons, all of them taxpayers in the 1540s when individuals' goods were assessed at between £1 and £9, with a median value of £4.²⁹ Probate valuations over the period 1548--99 varied even more widely (from £2 16s. to £203 3s. 4d.), though again with a relatively modest median of £15 17s. 8d.³⁰ Most wealth was tied up in farming equipment and stock, though even poorer inhabitants owned a few pieces of pewter and brass-ware, while more prosperous households were more elaborately furnished with items such as feather beds, amongst them that of the 'gentleman' farmer Robert Clapton (d. 1583).³¹ Wills reveal the usual ties of kinship, friendship, and trade (including settling of debts), while wider contacts extended to Asthall, Charlbury, Chipping Norton, and Kingham.³² Migration also continued, with servants in particular often moving on after only a few years.³³ Two former inhabitants (including one of the Hornes and the yeoman Francis Brightwell) were found

²⁷ TNA, PROB 11/590/71; *Par. Colln*, III, 251; *ODNB*, s.v. Godfrey Kneller; above, landownership (manor ho.). Heraldic glass and paintings in the earlier ho. are mentioned in Bodl. MS Don. d 141, f. 4; TNA, PROB 4/6288.

²⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 130; OHC, MS Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 11 (1759); *Hist. Parl.* s.v. John Walter.

²⁹ TNA, E 179/162/227 (excl. Eliz. Horne's £50-worth of land).

³⁰ Based on 13 surviving inventories: OHC, MSS Wills Oxon. 179.304; 179.305; 181.3; 181.72; 184.329; 296/1/1; 55/1/17; 25/1/53; 17/2/23; 3/4/52; *Oxon. Inventories*, p. 313.

³¹ OHC, MS Wills Oxon. 296/1/1. The Claptons were still styled gentlemen in the 17th cent.

³² *Ibid.* 179.305; 55/1/17.

³³ *Oxf. Ch. Ct Deposns 1570–4*, p. 33; 1589–93, pp. 50–1; 1592–6, p. 31; TNA, E 179/161/170.

guilty of burglaries or thefts elsewhere, Brightwell for an assault and theft of £200 from a house at Clophill (Beds.) in 1559.³⁴

Of Sarsden's 17th-century farmers, Edmund Cooke (d. 1613), formerly of Shipton-under-Wychwood, married into the well-established Beard family and left goods (mostly farm stock) valued at £219, while Francis Hazlewood (d. 1650), another newcomer benefiting from an advantageous marriage, was comparable, his £262-worth of goods including high-quality domestic furniture and linen.³⁵ Neither were typical, however, the median value of 19 surviving probate inventories for the period 1603--29 being a modest £32 10s.³⁶ Many houses, too, remained relatively small, with a quarter of the 16 assessed for hearth tax in 1662 having only one hearth, and only three (including the manor and rectory houses) having four or more.³⁷ Long-standing families still resident in the parish included the Beards, Boxes, Halls, and Harrises, though Sarsden's small size offered few prospects for those not directly involved in farming, and turnover remained high. All of Francis Hazlewood's eight children departed except for the eldest Thomas (d. 1693), whilst the Rawlins family disappeared following the death (probably from disease) of its last members in 1668--9.³⁸ The most prominent of Sarsden's 18th-century tenant families were the Pratts, who arrived in the 1690s and in the absence of resident lords dominated local offices such as churchwarden, alongside other leading inhabitants such as the Prescotts, Shepherds, and Shirleys.³⁹

Sarsden was too small to support a public house, and inhabitants looked to neighbouring parishes for communal activities, especially Churchill with its shared school and burial ground.⁴⁰ Sarsden's church (rebuilt in 1760) remained a focus and may have had a west-gallery band, although week- and feast-day services were generally held only when the lord's household was in residence. The population remained small, with landscaping of the park probably underlying some of the deliberate depopulation observed by the rector in the 1770s.⁴¹ One likely such removal was that of Nathaniel Cliff, who in 1766 agreed to exchange his Sarsden cottage for one in Churchill.⁴² Enclosure in 1788 additionally removed

³⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1558--60, 418--19; 1563--6, p. 385.

³⁵ OHC, MSS Wills Oxon. 11/4/25; 32/3/19; *ibid.* par. reg. transcript; *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 57, 65.

³⁶ OHC, MSS Wills Oxon. 65/2/54; 4/1/46; 11/3/21; 85/4/8; 58/4/38; 296/1/60; 107.173; 106.59; 11/4/25; 30/1/62; 55/2/47; 295/2/52; 30/3/30; 30/4/9; 55/4/14; 12/3/9; 70/2/52; 141/1/5; 12/3/20.

³⁷ TNA, E 179/255/4; another six had two hearths and three had three, while the manor ho. had 24.

³⁸ OHC, MS Wills Oxon. 34/4/18; *ibid.* par. reg. transcript; TNA, PROB 11/330/72. Three Rawlinses died in quick succession.

³⁹ e.g. OHC, par. reg. transcript, chwdns and accts; below (welfare). For the Pratts, OHC, par. reg. transcript; above, econ. hist.

⁴⁰ Above, Churchill, social hist. (educ.); relig. hist. (paroch. organizn).

⁴¹ OHC, MSS Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 11; d 560, f. 31; d 563, f. 29; above, landscape etc. (settlement); below, relig. hist. (relig. life).

⁴² OHC, Fi. II/8.

inhabitants' remaining common rights, and further change came with the estate's purchase by James Langston in 1791--2, marking a return to resident lords.⁴³

Since 1800

James Langston (d. 1795), a London wine merchant and banker, left a £300,000 fortune to his only son John (d. 1812), a Somerset MP, who in 1795--6 employed Humphry Repton to transform Sarsden House and grounds.⁴⁴ John's son James Langston (d. 1863), a prolific architectural patron responsible for several other buildings in the area, commissioned a further remodelling of the estate in the 1820s, undertaken by Repton's son George.⁴⁵ As sole landowners, the Langstons (like the Walters before them) controlled most aspects of parish life, including the church: James Langston's brother-in-law Charles Barter was rector from 1817 until his death in 1868, followed by Barter's son-in-law William Dickson Carter, and Langston both erected a new rectory house for the Barters and substantially enlarged the church building.⁴⁶ The family also controlled tenure, and though between 1821 and 1851 Langston almost doubled the number of inhabited houses from 17 to 33, accommodation was maintained at about that level thereafter.⁴⁷ As well as supporting parish charities and education the family hosted occasional communal celebrations, including a ball for 60 staff and tenants in 1844, whilst from the 1870s the estate supported the tenants' annual flower show.⁴⁸ Sarsden House itself had 11 resident servants in 1861 and a similar number in 1891.⁴⁹

Sarsden's wider population was made up largely of landless wage labourers working for resident tenant farmers, and though small rose from 92 in 1801 to 188 in 1851, reflecting the increase in accommodation. Even so two fifths of inhabitants were still native to the parish, while a fifth born outside the county included skilled domestic and estate servants such as Langston's land agent Henry Andrews (originally from Devon), the Scottish gardener John Greenshield, and the gamekeepers George Bushrod (d. 1892) and his son Oliver (d. 1923), from Dorset.⁵⁰ Most poachers seem to have come from neighbouring parishes rather

⁴³ Above, landownership; econ. hist.; below (since 1800).

⁴⁴ *Hist. Parl.* s.v. John Langston; *Gent. Mag.* 65.2 (1795), 621; above, landscape etc. (landscape); landownership (manor ho.).

⁴⁵ *Hist. Parl.* s.v. Jas Langston; *ODNB*, s.v. Geo. Repton. For Langston's wider patronage, Brooks, *Pevsner N&W*, 236, 257, 264--5, 453--4; *VCH Oxon.* XIX, 211.

⁴⁶ Below, relig. hist.

⁴⁷ *Census*, 1821--1921; above, landscape etc. (popn).

⁴⁸ *Oxf. Chron.* 20 Jan. 1844; *Oxon. Weekly News*, 2 Sept. 1891, 13 Sept. 1893; below (educ. and welfare).

⁴⁹ TNA, RG 9/910, no. 20; RG 12/1178, no. 7.

⁵⁰ *Census*, 1801--51; TNA, HO 107/1732; *ibid.* RG 9/910, no. 13; above, econ. hist.

than Sarsden itself,⁵¹ and the Langstons' control of immigration and employment may have reduced the worst instances of poverty: few inhabitants were consigned to Chipping Norton workhouse, and alongside local charities a joint Friendly Society established with Churchill in 1841 provided both additional relief and a community focus.⁵² Even so agricultural depression probably contributed to tenant turnover and a small fall in population, so that by 1901 around two fifths of inhabitants were from outside the county, with only a fifth born in Sarsden. In other respects the parish's social complexion was little changed, and remained almost wholly agricultural.⁵³



Memorial to Sarah Langston (d. 1800) in Churchill's former parish church (now Heritage Centre) (left) and the Sarsden and Churchill war memorial of 1923 (right).

Langston's successors were his daughter Julia and her husband the earl of Ducie, and by the early 20th century Sarsden House was occupied by their son Henry Reynolds-Moreton (d. 1920), Lord Moreton, and his wife Ada.⁵⁴ They remained there during the First World War, their Scottish land agent James Blair serving as company commander in the Oxfordshire Volunteer Regiment, and later designing the Sarsden and Churchill war memorial erected in 1923.⁵⁵ Following the estate's break-up in 1922 (which created several

⁵¹ e.g. OHC, Cal. QS, IX, 282, 296, 355, 360; *Oxf. Jnl*, 7 Mar. 1863, 6 May 1871, 30 Jan. 1875.

⁵² Above, Churchill, social hist. (since 1800); below (welfare).

⁵³ TNA, RG 13/1398; above, econ. hist. (parl. encl. and later).

⁵⁴ Above, landownership; TNA, RG 13/1398, no. 30; RG 14/8250, no. 130; *Complete Peerage*, IV, 477.

⁵⁵ *Oxon. Weekly News*, 6 Sept. 1916, 23 July 1919, 9 May 1923; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1915); above, Churchill, social hist. (since 1800).

owner-occupied farms) Sarsden House and park were occupied by Lord Wyfold and his successors as the new owners, and during the Second World War the estate was used for billeting British and (from 1944) American soldiers, who painted several unfinished murals of 'glamour girls' in the coach house.⁵⁶ By the 1950s Sarsden accommodated fewer than 100 people, most of them employed on the parish's estates and farms, and some still occupying tied cottages. One was Henry Male (d. 1956), gardener at Sarsden House, and a notably long-serving churchwarden.⁵⁷ The parish's separate identity, already weakened by its reliance on Churchill's school, church, and social clubs, diminished further in the late 20th century, when Sarsden parish council merged with Churchill's (in 1976), the church closed (in 1992), and the ecclesiastical parishes were united.⁵⁸ In 1991, with a population of only 65, about three fifths of inhabitants were of working age, and the parish had a noticeably higher proportion of retirees and lower proportion of children than average in West Oxfordshire.⁵⁹ Sarsden park (c.285 a.), officially Listed in 1984, retained its significance as a distinct and historic landscape, its central area accessible by public footpaths, and was much valued by the local community.⁶⁰

Education and Welfare

The girls' school which Anne Walter (d. 1707) established at Churchill was common to both parishes,⁶¹ and by 1759 John Rolle Walter also maintained ten boys at school, where they were taught reading until they entered service or other employment. Sarsden's rector additionally catechized children at Lent, though whether either of those initiatives took place in Sarsden itself (or were exclusive to it) is unclear. No other separate provision is known, and by the 19th century most Sarsden children attended Churchill's schools.⁶²

A few one-off bequests to the poor included 6s. 8d. each from John Rawlins (d. 1585) and Richard Taynton (d. 1603), while Mary Sampson (d. 1589) left 4d. to every household.⁶³ Sir John Walter (d. 1630) endowed a poor's stock with £20, to which a further £10 was added by the rector John Morris (d. 1648).⁶⁴ That was presumably the origin of

⁵⁶ NHLE, no. 1053278; <https://www.annehughesdiary.co.uk/war-art.html> (accessed Sept. 2022); above, landownership.

⁵⁷ *Census*, 1951; *Tewkesbury Register*, 28 Jan. 1956. For tied cottages, e.g. *ibid.* 29 Jan. 1955, 8 Apr. 1960.

⁵⁸ Above, Churchill, social hist.; below, relig. hist.; local govt.

⁵⁹ *Census*, 1991 (13.8% under 16, 24.6% retirees; the W Oxon. figs were 20.1% and 16.9% respectively).

⁶⁰ NHLE, no. 1000503; 'Conserve Churchill Summer Survey' (2018), accessed (Sept. 2022) at conservechurchill.org/report.php; <https://explore.osmaps.com>.

⁶¹ Above, Churchill, social hist. (educ.).

⁶² OHC, MS Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 11 and v.; above, Churchill, social hist. (educ.).

⁶³ OHC, MSS Wills Oxon. 55/1/17; 65/2/54; 58/2/15.

⁶⁴ TNA, PROB 11/158/448; PROB 11/204/192.

stock worth £100 in 1794, when the vestry ordered Denys Rolle to transfer it to James Langston; he added £6 1s. 10d. and bought £125-worth of new stock yielding 4 per cent interest, managing the charity with the rector and churchwardens, who distributed £5 a year to the poor at Christmas in sums ranging from 1s.--5s. The charity's origins were then unknown,⁶⁵ although in 1738 the rector attributed half to the Walter family and half to Edmund Wansell (d. 1665), while in the 1760s Anne Walter (d. 1707) was named as sole founder.⁶⁶ Neither she nor Wansell are known to have contributed, however.⁶⁷ The rector also distributed offertory money to the poor.⁶⁸

By the late 18th century poor relief from parish poor rates raised much larger sums, expenditure rising from a modest £12 15s. 9d. in 1776 to £179 in 1803, when 15 adults and 26 children (two fifths of the population) received permanent outdoor relief, and nine people were relieved occasionally.⁶⁹ Costs reached £400 in 1814, falling to £276 the following year when c.23 per cent of the population received relief (25 permanently and five occasionally). Thereafter post-war slump increased expenditure to £308 in 1817, falling to £178 by 1834.⁷⁰ The following year Sarsden became part of the new Chipping Norton Poor Law Union, from whose workhouse former parishioners were occasionally returned for burial, although their numbers were small.⁷¹ Charitable funding meanwhile continued. In 1814 Sarsden and Churchill celebrated the defeat of Napoleon by jointly raising £50 to provide outdoor communal meals for the poor,⁷² while Sarsden also benefited from charities common to both parishes.⁷³ By 1871 its own poor's stock yielded £3 15s. a year, rising to £4 by the 1880s when it was distributed at Easter.⁷⁴ It still operated in 1939, but was later absorbed into the Churchill and Sarsden Relief in Need charity.⁷⁵ The vestry presumably authorized occasional medical or midwifery payments, but otherwise no parish medical provision is known.

⁶⁵ *12th Rep. Com. Char.* 278; OHC, PAR230/5/A/1.

⁶⁶ *Secker's Visit.* 130; OHC, MS Oxf. Dioc. d 560, f. 31v.; *Char. Don.* 982–3.

⁶⁷ Not mentioned in TNA, PROB 11/496/112; OHC, MS Wills Oxon. 71/4/19.

⁶⁸ *Secker's Visit.* 130; OHC, MSS Oxf. Dioc. d 557, f. 12; d 560, f. 32; b 15, f. 87v.

⁶⁹ *Poor Abstract*, 1777, p. 437; 1787, p. 655; 1804, pp. 402–3; cf. *Census*, 1801–11.

⁷⁰ *Poor Abstract*, 1818, pp. 354–5; *Poor Rate Retns*, 1822, p. 137; 1825, p. 172; 1830–1, p. 159; 1835, p. 155.

⁷¹ *Oxon. Atlas*, pp. 144–5; OHC, par. reg. transcript, s.a. 1846–7, 1853, 1867.

⁷² *Oxf. Jnl*, 16 July 1814.

⁷³ Above, Churchill, social hist. (welfare).

⁷⁴ *Char. Digest*, 52–3; *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1887).

⁷⁵ *Kelly's Dir. Oxon.* (1939); above, Churchill, social hist. (welfare).