

Reviews

Edited by ALAN TYLER

Richard Bryant with Michael Hare, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, X: The Western Midlands* (Oxford University Press/British Academy, 2012). 620pp., 796 halftones, 25 maps, 25 line drawings. Hardback, £85.00 [ISBN: 9780197265154]

In any territorially-based study it is always difficult to know where to draw the line. The latest volume of this monumental work covers the pre-1974 counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire. In terms of the traditional organization of local government this area has a certain coherence. But, given the ecclesiastical nature of much of the material, another kind of logic has led to the repetition of the section on Bristol north of the Avon from volume VII, so that the whole of the medieval diocese of Worcester is covered. This and the medieval diocese of Hereford represent respectively the two ancient kingdoms of the Hwicce and of the Magonsæte, which were subsumed into Greater Mercia. They form the core of the present study area. This nevertheless includes parts of the diocese of Lichfield (the further parts of Shropshire and Warwickshire), the heartland of Mercia proper, and one might wish to contend that the logic of the old county boundaries runs counter to the logic of Anglo-Saxon political and ecclesiastical geography.

The arrangement of the book follows the now traditional pattern of *Corpus* volumes: a county-by-county catalogue of all surviving pieces of Anglo-Saxon carved stonework known to the team, preceded by scholarly essays placing them in their historical and artistic contexts. Notable amongst these is Michael Hare's magisterial Historical Introduction, which is the best history of the area – either potted or otherwise – that the general student of the Anglo-Saxon period will find. There is the now customary chapter on regional geology and chapters on monument types, forms of decoration and iconography.

The appearance of this volume represents a triumph of faith and dedication over reality and experience. It is a matter of great regret that such an important project, one of whose strengths will lie in its ultimate completeness, should not have a continuous funding stream. Too much academic time and effort has had to be expended on raising the finance for its publication. Volume X owes its existence in print to a major grant from the Headly Trust, in addition to the background funding from the British Academy and support from the Pilgrim Trust. The importance of the *Corpus* is not merely that a significant class of archaeological material is catalogued and studied in its own right, but that its analysis and comparative studies shed light on related aspects of Anglo-Saxon history and archaeology. This wider contribution to knowledge is incremental, as volume succeeds volume. In this instance, vol. X builds on a discussion in vol. VII to make a major contribution to the study of baptismal fonts and to the understanding of the rite of baptism itself.

One of the most important and generally well-known pieces is the font at St Mary's, Deerhurst. This has been frequently dismissed as an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft base inverted and later recut to serve as a font and therefore not evidence for the baptismal rite in pre-Conquest England.

This interpretation has now been finally dismissed, as Richard Bailey first proposed in 2005. In a lengthy discussion of the font the principal author concludes that it was originally intended for the purposes of baptism: 'it is ... by some margin the earliest surviving example in England', dating it to the first half of the 9th century. He also argues that the bowl and the stem do not belong together, the latter having probably been part of a round-shafted cross, and that the bowl may have stood directly on the floor or on a low plinth. The foot-washing bowl depicted on the Wirksworth (Derbys.) slab is cited as corroborative evidence.

The importance of the piece and the complexity of the argument involved Richard Bryant in much comparative re-measurement and comparative studies. The outcome of this is a special section 'Further thoughts on fonts', part of the chapter on Monument Types (Forms), which takes the discussion on to a higher plane. Here Table 1 brings together a number of 'early' fonts in the West Midlands with two possible Anglo-Saxon examples from neighbouring parts of south-west England: Potterne and Wells. The West Midland fonts and stoups are given detailed gazetteer entries in Appendix K. This listing makes it abundantly clear how precocious the Deerhurst font is: most examples are dated to the 11th century or earlier and only Potterne and Wells have any claim to be dated as early as 10th. Reference is made to the *Corpus* volume (VII) for south-west England, in which Rosemary Cramp summarized the discussions then current about the presence or absence of fonts in Anglo-Saxon churches. It is still unclear whether a font should be expected at every Anglo-Saxon church, though the Deerhurst example shows that by the 9th century baptism was not restricted to bishops' churches; if only minsters such as Deerhurst administered the rite, this would help to explain the paucity of early examples. But assuming that was not the case, Dame Rosemary suggested that fonts may have been made of other materials, which were either perishable, like wood, or easily recyclable, like lead. Between the publication dates of the two *Corpus* volumes John Blair's contribution to the Biddles' *Festschrift* has explored in great detail the idea of the skeuomorph as part of the development of fonts as we know them from the 11th century on. There is no doubt that the stave-built tub, originally of domestic use, lies behind the form of later stone fonts. There can be no better example of the importance of this *Corpus* series: in addition to the obvious value of listing and scientifically describing all survivals of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, as the project proceeds it makes possible such thematic and synthetic analyses.

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Jon Cannon and Beth Williamson (eds.), *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: an enigma explored* (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011). xvii + 350 pp., 120 text ill., 16 col. pl. Hardback, £55.00 [ISBN: 9781843836803]

'The work begun by Abbot Knowle on 21 August 1298 is superior to anything else built in England and indeed in Europe at the same time'. So Nikolaus Pevsner citing the date in Abbot Newland's roll, summarized his five-page analysis of the east arm of Bristol abbey, now the cathedral.¹ This attracted a 16-page attack from Richard K. Morris,² who concluded: 'its potential status

1. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North Somerset and Bristol* (London, 1958), 371–2, 374–8.
2. R.K. Morris, 'European prodigy or regional eccentric? The rebuilding of St Augustine's Abbey Church, Bristol' in L. Keen (ed.), *Almost the Richest City: Bristol in the Middle Ages* (Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. Conf. Trans. 29, 1997), 41–56.

as a prodigy is rather diminished when it is realized how little of the design dates to 1298'. The present volume, resulting from a conference in 2008, contains Christopher Wilson's magisterial 79-page reply, broadly supporting Pevsner's verdict; other contributions cover more briefly the architectural history of the abbey from its foundation to the Dissolution and beyond.

Wilson begins by proving that the anomalously plain west bay of the south choir aisle was not built first but last, 'after the death or departure of the original architect' (p. 78). It was therefore in 1298 that the unidentified Bristol master began to execute his revolutionary design with continuously moulded composite piers and (ultimately) lierne vaults. Among other revolutionary features, its flat-roofed hall-church elevation allowed the low belfry of the central tower to remain unobstructed, while its internal flying buttresses (derived from the Sainte-Chapelle) carried the thrust of the central vault between aisle windows tall enough to flood the central vessel with light (pp. 110–11, 122–3).

The master was a West Countryman, borrowing tracery patterns from the north nave aisle of Hereford cathedral and the east end of Exeter (pp. 86–95). Indeed he probably stayed on in the Bristol area, to build the outer porch of St Mary Redcliffe, parts of the Temple church and Berkeley castle and a tomb at Wells (p. 139n.). But his principal sources were St Stephen's chapel at Westminster, the Eleanor crosses and other works of the court architect Michael of Canterbury. From these he drew such novel features as broad undulating mouldings, ogee-reticulated and spandrel-piercing tracery, fleuron-studded and head-decorated hollow cornices, concave-sided hexagons, 'post-naturalistic' leaf carving, the lierne vault and the triple tabernacle pattern employed for the Berkeley chapel door (pp. 103–8, 117). To the objection that in 1298 much of Michael of Canterbury's work remained unfinished Wilson plausibly replies that Michael could have met the Bristol master and shown him drawings; the courtier Thomas de Berkeley II, who as founder's kin was to be buried in the east arm, could have brought them together (pp. 117, 121, 134). Above all, Wilson argues that Michael by his example inspired the master to break with the 'systematic and self-consistent qualities of earlier Gothic architecture' and to treat the east arm as an 'architectural one-off', 'the launch-pad for a voyage of artistic discovery', using a vastly enlarged vocabulary of forms (pp. 95–8). The Bristol work includes for instance 'two-centred and ogee arches of various pitches, depressed arches, inverted arches, 'Tudor' arches, concave-sided arches and arches in two projecting or receding planes' (p. 99). Yet all forms are subsumed into coherent schemes of patterning and configuration (pp. 131–2). Wilson's brilliant analysis is densely but lucidly argued and lavishly illustrated.

From the plethora of heraldry and tomb-recesses provided for the Berkeley family in the eastern arm Wilson infers that its contemporary representative, Thomas II, financed the building (pp. 85, 133). Other contributors demur. Trawling the documents, Jon Cannon finds that Thomas gave little to the abbey except short-term rents, some fisheries and £100 in exchange for the advowson of Wotton-under-Edge, all in 1306–7 (p. 153). At his death in 1321 Thomas was buried beside his wife (d. 1310) in an arched tomb-housing between the south choir aisle and the Berkeley chapel, but Cannon finds compelling evidence that the housing was an afterthought, 'punched through at some point after the chapel wall was constructed'; indeed the chapel, despite its altars, was primarily built and used as a vestry (pp. 81–2, 180). As Julian Luxford decisively observes, 'After they had been built *de novo* and suitably endowed, independent monasteries in England were generally thought responsible for their own architectural maintenance. The Berkeleys clearly considered themselves free of any obligation to build at Bristol ... [the rate of building was limited to] what was financially possible for a monastery like Bristol which had a regular income not normally productive of large surpluses' (pp. 221–2). It was not the Berkeley family but the abbey which valued their mutual connection so highly as to pay for furnishing the east arm as a 'dynastic mausoleum' (cf. p. 133).

The other papers, while equally scholarly, can be noticed more briefly. Paul Crossley eloquently surveys the cultural and aesthetic essence of the Decorated style as expressed by Pevsner, Bock, Kidson and Bony. Roger Leech reconstructs the monastic precinct from historic maps and drawings. John McNeil analyses the physical evidence for the Romanesque abbey and Julian Luxford that for the late medieval abbey. The only jarring note is Luxford's assertion that Abbot Newland built the oriel over the abbey gate; a drawing of 1745 shows that the present oriel was inserted by a Victorian restorer, on uncertain evidence, into a previously flat wall (pp. 29, 238). Sarah Jane Boss unravels the biblical and patristic allusions in Abbot David's letter about the Elder Lady chapel. James G. Clark, drawing chiefly from the *compotus* rolls, builds a picture of late monastic life. Joseph Bettey narrates the transition from abbey to cathedral. Catherine Oakes discovers the recondite meanings of painted figures, emblems and Latin tags rescued from the walls of the demolished deanery, paintings intended (she argues) to stretch the minds of Elizabethan chorister pupils. Altogether the volume is a major contribution to knowledge, beautifully produced. Warmest thanks are due to the editors and their sponsors in the University of Bristol.

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Bridget Wells-Furby, *The Berkeley Estate, 1281–1417: its economy and development* (Bristol and Gloucestershire Monographs 1, BGAS 2012). xiv + 326 pp., 8 illus., 5 maps, 25 tables. Hardback, £30.00 [ISBN: 9780900197819]

As Bridget Wells-Furby points out in this valuable new book, most studies of large English medieval estates have been confined to the big ecclesiastical properties, such as those of Westminster Abbey and the bishopric of Worcester, for which institutional continuity has guaranteed the survival of archives. For the great lay proprietors, whose estates frequently changed hands or were broken up amongst co-heiresses, we have poorer documentation. A rare exception is provided by the archive of the Berkeley family, a treasure trove of over 3,000 deeds and as many as 400 manorial account rolls from the Middle Ages. A study of this rich and now, happily, more accessible archive gives the opportunity to redress the imbalance of studies in this field.

A major theme of Wells-Furby's book is the contrasting approaches to proprietorship of the lay and ecclesiastical landowners. Church and lay estates were outwardly similar in the sorts of assets of which they were composed and the means by which these were exploited. Yet the two types of property served widely different purposes and were subject to different influences. The estates of the religious existed principally to support conventual communities and ecclesiastical dignitaries in their duties and obligations, whereas the lay estates, the patrimonies of lineages, were called on to support the exercise of political authority. A characteristic of lay estates, moreover, was that they were usually short-lived, subject to constant fragmentation between co-heiresses and reconstitution in the hands of other families. The estates of the religious, by contrast, rarely changed shape or size, being the property of undying corporations.

Wells-Furby tackles these themes through the medium of a detailed study of the Berkeley estates, looking at – among other things – the way in which these were administered, the role of the lords in the administrative process, the policies of land management and, finally, the history of just one extensive manor, that of Ham near Berkeley itself. Some of Wells-Furby's findings were anticipated four hundred years ago by John Smyth, the Berkeley's steward, in his celebrated *Lives of the Berkeleys* and *History of the Hundred of Berkeley*. Others, however, are new and in some respect surprising.

Confirming one of Smyth's principal discoveries, she shows that a remarkable characteristic of the Berkeley estate in the Middle Ages was its rapid expansion through a consciously pursued policy of purchase. Many lords in the boom years of the 13th and early 14th centuries were given to buying up lands to provide for younger sons, but what Thomas de Berkeley III did after 1327 was altogether exceptional. Over a 30-year period he bought as many as a dozen new manors as well as numerous other holdings, increasing the patrimony in value by over a third. While a number of these acquisitions were driven by the need to endow younger offspring, many others were made with an eye to cashing in on the growing demand for wool.

Wells-Furby is especially informative in confirming another of Smyth's findings: that the Berkeleys' administration of their estates was attentive, vigorous and dynamic, owing much to the personal involvement of the lords themselves. The introduction in the 1340s of itinerant bailiffs and in the 1350s of tours of the manors by small groups of councillors are early examples of initiatives found on most other estates much later. While the Berkeleys' management of their lands could be exacting, it was also flexible and pragmatic. When Thomas II embarked on a thorough overhaul of the lordship's tenurial economy, reducing the number of villain tenures and re-letting the land as leasehold for lives, he was obliged to haul back when he found himself confronted by the limitations imposed by local custom. One of the most valuable insights to emerge from this work is the sheer difficulty that lords, for all their strength, faced in their dealings with their tenants. They could not simply ride roughshod over the protection afforded by local custom.

Wells-Furby's discussion of the Berkeleys' landlordship and local administration is painstaking, and constitutes the sort of research which will never need to be done again. While, in the nature of things, it hardly makes for lively reading, there are many compensations for the reader in the chapters dealing with the Berkeleys themselves, which are rich in human interest. Of especial value is the discussion of two well-known Berkeley ladies – Katherine, widow of Sir Peter le Veil, second wife of Thomas III, and Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Thomas IV, first wife of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick. Both women are shown to have been tough, clear-sighted and determined, vigilant in pursuit of their interests and impatient of the interests of others. Katherine, the founder of Wotton-under-Edge grammar school, has invariably enjoyed a good press, being presented as a generous benefactor and a performer of good works. In Wells-Furby's estimation, however, she is more accurately seen as a ruthless dynast, who secured a massive endowment for her son by Thomas that left Maurice, the next head of the family, deprived of a substantial part of his inheritance. Two generations later Margaret, the heiress, showed herself equally self-serving. Wells-Furby argues that it was she, rather than her husband, who led the campaign to grab as much as possible of the Berkeley estates for herself as heir general to the detriment of the heir male, her nephew James. Wells-Furby's evidence is indirect, but telling: the issues of the inheritance were paid directly to her, and not to her husband; and the campaign against James was kept up even when her husband was on war service abroad. The discussion of the Berkeley women makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of medieval aristocratic women more generally.

Wells-Furby's monograph constitutes a most useful companion to go alongside the excellent catalogue of the Berkeley muniments, which she has already given us. Not least among the book's strengths is the first of the two appendices, which comprises detailed histories of all the Berkeley manors mentioned in the text.

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Christopher Dyer, *A Country Merchant 1495–1520: trading and farming at the end of the Middle Ages* (Oxford University Press, 2012). 272 pp., 30 ill. Hardback, £65.00 [ISBN: 9780199214242]

Professor Christopher Dyer, formerly of Birmingham and Leicester Universities, is well known as a national authority on medieval social and economic history. He has carried out several items of research in the county of Gloucestershire along with others – David Aldred, James Bond and Carenza Lewis for example. Any new publication by him is bound to be welcomed and is likely to be of significance.

A Country Merchant is a beautifully written book full of useful information and above all a really good enjoyable read, almost a medieval story book. It is about the life and times of John Heritage, a sheep farmer, wool merchant and trader, living in the late 15th and early 16th century and operating in south Warwickshire and north Gloucestershire. He was engaged in sheep farming on many manors in this area, a wool merchant for a wide area with connections in the local market towns of Shipston-on-Stour, Moreton-in-Marsh, Chipping Campden and Chipping Norton as well as with London itself. He left an account book in which many of his transactions were recorded and this, together with other widespread sources researched by Chris Dyer, places him in the local social and economic context and gives us much more than the biography of a late medieval yeoman.

John Heritage was born and brought up at Burton Dassett in south Warwickshire. He was one of four sons and four daughters and he eventually inherited the family farm; he had to sort out his father's legacy and he seems to have learned much from the exercise. Beginning as a large scale sheep farmer he became a wool merchant buying up wool from many small scale producers and selling it on, via London, to the Continent. He married Joan Palmer around 1492 and when she inherited her father's property in Moreton-in-Marsh, Heritage and his wife moved there by 1500. He had a wool store at the rear of the property. Heritage then ran his business more or less successfully until around 1520 when he may have left and gone to live, and eventually die, in London.

This book is a huge success on two accounts as far as this reviewer is concerned. Firstly I am familiar with all the places he mentions, notably the main towns but also many of the villages. The area covered straddles the 'no man's land' of four counties some of which were in the early county of Winchcombeshire.³ Others were the fragmented holdings of the bishops of Worcester so that isolated parts of Worcestershire existed as islands within other counties. This book then is as relevant to scholars studying Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Oxfordshire as it is to Gloucestershire. Within this area there are large numbers of deserted and shrunken medieval settlements including many of the classic former village sites like Middle Ditchford, recorded by John Rous in the list of 1485–91 and by Maurice Beresford in his classic book of 1954.⁴ This book clarifies many of the economic and social factors behind the desertion of these settlements as well as discussion about the survival and indeed revival of many of the other villages in the area.

But the great delight of the book is the breadth of detailed information and explanation given by Chris Dyer. Certainly anyone interested in the later medieval history of this area will benefit from reading it but its use goes far beyond this. There is so much sound and useful discussion about medieval life and society that almost anyone anywhere will gain from the knowledge and wisdom displayed in it. I learned a lot about such topics as coins and coinage, capitalism and

3. J. Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Woodbridge, 1990).

4. M. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954).

credit, enclosure and engrossing and the function of fairs. The book is a quarry of examples and an essential aid to understanding how late medieval society worked.

As such its use goes way beyond its relevance to Gloucestershire. With its useful illustrations, full index and extensive bibliography it could easily serve as a fine example of how the study of medieval social and economic history can enhance our understanding of people's lives at the time.

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Joseph Bettey, *From Catholic Devotion to Puritan Piety: Responses to the Reformation in the Avon Area 1530–1603* (Avon Local History and Archaeology Books No. 11, Bristol, 2012). 47 pp., 10 illus. Cardcovers, £3.50

For almost half a century, historians have been locked in a tug-of-war over the competing claims of 'Reformation from above' and 'Reformation from below' yet there is a growing awareness that it was the coincidence of state reforms with popular radical and reactionary impulses, and not a small degree of indifference, that directed the experience of religious change at ground level. Indeed it might be said that the English Reformation is steadily being recast as a sequence of micro-histories, founded on the distinctive documentary and material records, not even of regions but of particular towns, villages and parishes. To these, Joseph Bettey has added a summary survey of the 'Avon area'. By contrast with other studies in this vein, his regional parameters are only loosely defined (there is no map): although presented as an account of 'Bristol and the Avon region', in his examples he ranges as far south as the villages of the Mendips, and as far east as Salisbury, and, by implication at least, the reader is encouraged to regard the city of Bristol, North Somerset, South Gloucestershire and Wiltshire as a unitary region. Here Bettey sees religious change that was less contested than elsewhere; indeed at times it was accelerated by committed converts and when it was arrested it appears more a matter of inertia or indifference than deep-rooted opposition.

The heart of Bettey's region has much to offer adherents of the 'Reformation from below'. Bristol and its immediate environs can claim an association with confessional non-conformity as far back as the first generation of Wyclif's followers. As Bettey recounts, Lollardy again found a receptive audience at the end of the 1520s and he implies that it readied the urban community for the controversies that erupted in the next decade; although he steers away from a discussion of the doctrinal connection between the old heterodoxy and new Protestantism. It was not only from the city, where Latimer preached where the call for reform intensified; it also echoed from the pulpits of outlying parishes, particularly in South Gloucestershire, where radical ex-friar John Erly capitalized on the protection of his pro-reform patrons. The same patrons had briefly harboured Tyndale; another wanted radical, George Wishart, likewise found willing advocates in Bristol. The radical fervour never spilled over into direct action against the old church and its representatives, but it surely played a part in the (apparently) ready acceptance across the region of required changes in the forms, and fabric, of worship in the later years of Henry, and under Edward. Its continuing undercurrent may also be connected with tensions towards the end of the century, as a wide cross-section of the region's clergy refused to accept the vestiarian conservatism of the Elizabethan settlement. Again, Bettey does not attempt to analyse their non-conformity in any depth: he is content to colour them all as 'Puritans' but it remains very doubtful that the eight Bristol clergy reported in 1592 for failing to wear the prescribed vestments should be yoked

together with Thomas Hickman whose Calvinist extremity so offended social norms that the wardens of Upton Scudamore secured his excommunication.

Betty does not find significant or sustained support for the old ways. If public opinion had been polarized in Bristol when Latimer was preaching, the conservative voice seems to have been stifled when the religious houses – and in particular, the mendicant convents – were suppressed. Urban society – both Bristol and Bath – was marked rather, Betty suggests, by its reluctance to accept the Marian restoration. Certainly, there is little in the institutional record, or in the annals of the regional notable family networks, to indicate Counter-Reformation impulses comparable to those well attested in the Midlands and the North. However, Betty passes over the continued presence of ex-religious, not only in the two new cathedral chapters of his region but also in many of the outlying parishes. Among the parish clergy that accommodated the prescribed changes between 1540 and 1558 were many who had begun their careers in the cloister.

For Betty, the early reception of the discourse of reform, eased by pre-existing currents of dissent, and the commitment of increasingly empowered – and literate – locals ensured that the reform of religious practice was never really in doubt. There is a more than a hint of old-fashioned determinism in his outlook: he ends the booklet as he began, seeking to explain a ‘dramatic change’ over 70 years which for him was never in doubt. Of course, the confessional character of the region, and its culture of worship, were more complex in this period as much as before and after, and Betty has underplayed conservatism and oversimplified the ‘Puritan’ clergy; also he passes too quickly over the evidence of wholesale disengagement with public worship which he finds in the parish records. Still, this is readable point-of-entry to a topic, regionally as much as nationally, that is as lively as ever.

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Evan T. Jones, *Inside the Illicit Economy: reconstructing the smugglers' trade of sixteenth century Bristol* (Farnham, Ashgate Publishing, 2012). xvi + 249 pp., 8 figs., 15 tables. Hardback, £65.00 [ISBN: 9781409440192]

The popular and romantic image of smuggling by West-Country fishermen bringing illicit cargoes of brandy and tobacco into isolated creeks on moonless nights is far removed from the subject of this detailed academic study. Using surviving account books, correspondence and official records and subjecting them to painstaking analysis, Evan Jones has been able for the first time to show reliably the scale and methods of the illicit trade from 16th-century Bristol. This was conducted by highly-respected merchants and ship-owners who were eminent citizens and active members of the Corporation. This is an important contribution to economic history, since the extent of smuggling casts doubt on the accuracy of the detailed customs' accounts for each port on which so much reliance has been placed by historians.

The customs' accounts are described as ‘one of the most important economic record series to survive in any nation, from the pre-modern world’. In theory they listed every ship and every cargo which entered or left the country. Assessing the accuracy of these accounts is therefore crucial if reliable statistical material is to be compiled from them. The 16th century witnessed a marked rise in the duties and impositions levied on overseas trade and on licences granted by the Crown exempting merchants from a general prohibition on certain exports such as grain, beans, peas and leather. For the Crown such impositions and licences provided an income independent of Parliament; for merchants it meant a greatly increased incentive to avoid such dues. The book

provides details of the operation of the customs service, and of the efforts made by successive Tudor governments to improve the system and prevent fraud. It shows the ways in which customs officials, drawn from the local community, could be influenced, especially by the civic elite to whom they owed their appointment.

The extent of illicit trading from the port of Bristol can be assessed and discussed in this book because of the fact that Bristol's merchants recorded illegal as well as legal dealings in their accounts, secure in the knowledge that their records would remain private. The careful comparison between the commerce revealed in the merchants' accounts and the cargoes recorded by the customs officials relies heavily on the detailed ledger of John Smyth or Smythe which was edited by Jean Vanes in 1975 and published by Bristol Record Society (Vol. XXVIII). Good use is also made of the accounts of a company trading in leather, woollen goods and iron which was set up in 1544–5 by the brothers William and Robert Tyndale. This forms part of a collection of documents made by Jean Vanes in 1979 and published by Bristol Record Society (Vol. XXXI). The Tyndale brothers also dispatched cargoes by John Smyth's ships, as did other outwardly respectable and wealthy Bristol merchants such as Nicholas Thorne, Francis Codrington, John Cutt and William Carr. These were eminent citizens, members of the Corporation who had served as sheriff and mayor, but were prepared to evade port duties. Evidently John Smyth saw no conflict between his highly-profitable and extensive smuggling activity and his position as a well-respected God-fearing citizen, sheriff in 1522–3 and mayor in 1547 and 1553. He was much involved in the purchase of land and property for the city of Bristol following the dissolution of the religious houses, while at the same time acquiring a large landed estate himself, including the mansion and lands of Ashton Court. The task of comparing the specific cargoes listed in the merchants' own accounts with those on which custom duty was levied would have deterred all but the most dedicated researchers.

Contemporary accounts are used to show how customs duties could be avoided by payments to port officials or by taking on additional cargo at Hungroad, Kingroad or Bridgwater. Cargo could also be loaded across the Severn at a Welsh port or in one of the creeks. A Crown survey of 1565 noted that there were 59 creeks, quays, pills and havens where vessels could load and unload out of sight of customs officials. It mentioned especially Cone Pill, Gatcombe Creek and Broadoak across the Severn where there were 'diverse store howses and Sellers [cellars] by the whiche secrett conveyance of grayne [grain], lether [leather] and other commodities is used'. The exceptional tides of the Severn estuary meant that ships could arrive, be loaded and unloaded, and depart long before customs officials from Bristol could reach these isolated havens.

The book gives a good account of the trade of the port of Bristol and of the part played by smuggling in the city's economy. It certainly brought large profits to merchants engaged in illicit trade. By its very nature it might be supposed that smuggling not only eluded customs officials at the time, but would remain undetected by historians. This book shows just how much can be learnt about the subject by careful investigation of the surviving records. The complex material is clearly presented. It is illustrated by maps and by useful tables providing informative comparison between specific exports on which duty was paid and the actual cargo as listed in the merchants' ledgers. There is a comprehensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources. The book is to be warmly welcomed as a valuable contribution to this important aspect of Bristol history.

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Nicholas Herbert (ed.), *The Forest of Dean Eyre of 1634* (Gloucestershire Record Series 26, BGAS 2012). xxxix + 182 pp., 1 fig., 3 tables, 1 loose map. Hardback, £30.00 (£22.50 to BGAS members) [ISBN: 9780900197802]

The administration of the Forest of Dean and of the Crown estate at its centre, created documents of a type that sets it apart in Gloucestershire. The records associated with the eyre of 1634 are rich in information shedding light on a significant period in the area's history.

In his introduction Dr Herbert describes how the Forest of Dean was governed and exploited in the early 17th century. Its antiquated and unwieldy administration was in the hands of a hierarchy of officers and courts. Its bounds as accepted from the early 14th century covered the Crown demesne and all but one of the parishes within the hundred of St Briavels and, beyond the hundred, large parts of the Severnside parishes of Awre and Newnham and a piece of Westbury-on-Severn, all within Gloucestershire. The Forest's resources were under pressure as illegal settlement encroached on the demesne and as timber was felled to sustain local industry and the activities of craftsmen and squatters. The chief industry was ironworking which expanded from the late 16th century as water-powered furnaces and forges were established in the Wye valley and Lydney and, in the early 17th century, on the Crown demesne itself, the king's ironworks. The policy of the first Stuart monarchs towards the Forest was geared to increasing their income from it, under Charles I large freeholds being created in parts of his demesne, fines being imposed on assarts (farmland) taken out of it, grants of cordwood (timber) being awarded to ironmasters, and the Forest eyre being revived.

Eyres, by which judges were supposed to visit royal forests every few years, were the final authority for regulating business in forests. Convened to punish offenders against forest laws, determine claims to privileges and exemptions from forest jurisdiction, and supervise local officers, they visited the Forest of Dean regularly in the 12th and 13th centuries but the system of eyres lapsed in royal forests generally by the end of the 16th century. Their revival was one of the fiscal expedients adopted by Charles I in attempting to rule without Parliament and became a major grievance in the run up to the Civil War. The Forest of Dean eyre of 1634 was the second in the series intended for royal forests. It was held over 8 days in July at Gloucester, to where it had been adjourned from Mitcheldean, and Sir John Finch, counsel for the Crown, pressed unsuccessfully for its jurisdiction to be extended beyond the Forest's accepted bounds. The eyre was preceded in June by the holding at Mitcheldean of a swanimote, a court that in the Forest of Dean in the 17th century was convened two or three times a year to hear offences against forest laws.

The documents assembled in this volume are from several sources. A transcript of an 18th-century copy of the eyre's proceedings, taken from the Highmeadow estate records in Gloucestershire Archives, is given together with one of Sir John Finch's report on the proceedings to Charles I. The latter is based on a copy in the Bodleian Library. Harleian MS 4850 in the British Library provides *inter alia* the presentments to the swanimote in June 1634 and to swanimotes held between September 1634 and December 1636. Those documents are calendared in English but the original Latin is indicated where the terminology is unusual and where the clerk provided his own translation. In December 1634 he wrote *leporarunculus anglice a smale park*; thus the editor translates *leporarium* as 'park' rather than 'warren'. The rights and privileges claimed by Forest officials and landowners and registered at the eyre, from The National Archives (C 99), are also calendared in English.

The eyre concentrated on the prosecution of major offenders, primarily ironmasters and the owners in fee of parts of the royal demesne. The judges spent little time on humbler offenders, many hundreds of whom did not appear before them. The swanimote records are therefore

particularly rewarding for the local historian. Those courts provide detailed evidence for encroachment on the royal demesne, illegal hunting of deer, widespread stealing of timber and small wood, and economic activity within the Forest area. The preparatory swanimote of June recorded over 800 presentments, which were arranged under a number of headings, one of which dealt with the many cottages erected on the Forest waste usually by squatters. Where possible the editor has identified place-names. For Blackmore's Hale, later known as Pope's Hill – a name that some writers have curiously associated with Mary Pope, friend and executrix of the lady of Flaxley manor, Catharina Boevey (d.1727) – he observes that Giles Pope lived there in 1634. Among buildings noted is that used as an early 'speech house' and Benedict Hall's new mansion within Staunton at Highmeadow.

The swanimotes record the activities of miners, charcoal burners (colliers) and wood cutters on Crown land. They also show that many offenders lived in the adjoining parishes following not only crafts that depended on woodland products (coopers, turners, shipwrights, and tanners) or the area's minerals (nailmakers) but also trades more common in rural towns and villages (butchers, tailors, mercers and innkeepers). Among new buildings in the iron industry were a furnace at Gunn's Mills near Abenhall and two forges downstream in Flaxley. In June 1634 it was reported that Sir Richard Catchmay, owner of the Bigsweir estate in St Briavels, had a new furnace and had converted woodland in Whitmead Park to charcoal. In quarrying the iron-rich slag from early forges, workmen at the king's ironworks dug pits that were hazardous to both people and deer and obstructed the way from Gloucester to South Wales by way of Cinderford bridge. In December 1634 large-scale tree felling was reported on outliers of May Hill in Huntley and Taynton, two parishes included in the Forest's extended bounds. The work in Taynton was for Robert Parkhurst, a London alderman and lord of Great Taynton manor.

Indexes are arranged by persons, places, and subjects. In the list of place-names Lea parish is distinguished from the Lea Bailey tithing of Newland parish, Lea Bailey woods on the royal demesne, and Lea bailiwick, the last an administrative unit dating from the Middle Ages. Also provided is a glossary and the introduction and edited documents are footnoted throughout with historical and biographical detail and interpretation of terms.

Following the eyre there was little immediate improvement in the state of the Forest. It was only after the Restoration that the king's ironworks were discontinued and the remaining squatters expelled from Crown land. The passing of the Dean Forest Reafforestation Act of 1668 heralded a reorganization of the administration of the demesne woodland. Included loose with the volume is a facsimile of a plan of the royal demesne made *c.*1680 (The National Archives, F 1777). It shows the demesne's boundaries and the place-names within it essentially as they were at time of the eyre. Maps have not been provided to show the boundary between parts of the extra-parochial demesne and adjacent parishes, in particular Newland and Flaxley. Newland, created in the early Middle Ages by assarting from the Forest woodland and waste, comprised 23 widely scattered parts. The largest, including Newland village and the settlement at Coleford, lay west of the demesne. Of the others Whitmead park formed an island within the southern part of it. Hoarthorns farm, on which George Wyrall provided a house, barn, and other new buildings for Edward Machen's Eastbach estate, was sandwiched between the Crown woods and English Bicknor to the north. Flaxley, on the east side of the demesne, had five parts comprising the site of a mid 12th-century Cistercian abbey and lands it acquired. On the latter the house known in the 17th century as the Grange stood south-west of Littledean village.

Dr Herbert acknowledges the role that the late Cyril Hart had in bringing to publication this edition of the June 1634 swanimote. He also reaffirms his debt to the late Christopher Elrington, his guide in his career in local history. The present volume stands however as a record of Dr

Herbert's scholarship and it supplements his own invaluable contribution to the study of an idiosyncratic part of Gloucestershire.

JOHN JUŘICA
Cheltenham

Huw M. Jones, *The Illustrations for Garter Bigland's 'Historical Collections of Gloucestershire'* (Bisley, The Shermershill Press, 2011). xi + 100 pp., 19 illus. Hardback, £35.00 [ISBN: 9780955384141]

This was the last publication which the author saw through the press in his lifetime and exemplifies his qualities as a local historian, while reminding us of the loss suffered by the Society from his death in 2012. It describes how the illustrations for the *Historical Collections* were commissioned and produced. It is of especial interest to this Society because many of them were published in volumes 2, 3, 5 and 8 of the Gloucestershire Record Series, the Society's own edition of the *Collections*.

Because of its complicated publication history no two sets of the *Collections* are identical. Jones took a special interest in them; at the time of his death his magnificent library at Shermershill contained four sets. He also studied and collated copies held at the Society's library and in Gloucestershire Archives. However he would not have been able to write the book under review had he not acquired in 2010 three volumes of original prints. These were compiled by the Nichols family who tried unsuccessfully to continue publication of the *Collections* after Richard Bigland had had to stop due to his deteriorating financial situation, which culminated in bankruptcy, forcing the sale of his assets in 1797 and all the materials of his father's work: published and unpublished texts, prints and engraving plates. The present writer first saw these three volumes some 25 years ago when they were in a private collection in Cheltenham. Efforts to broker their purchase for the Gloucestershire Collection failed and they eventually came up for auction on the death of the owner's heir. By buying them Jones prevented their likely dismemberment. Had they been bought by a dealer, the most attractive items would probably have been stripped from the volumes, framed and sold separately, and the remainder (probably including the prints for the *Collections*) destroyed. The loss to scholarship would have been irremediable. These three volumes are now in the Society's Library.

The *Collections* were not published in the lifetime of the compiler, Ralph Bigland, Garter King of Arms, who died in 1784. His son Richard took on the task, adding up-to-date data for some of the parishes. Publication proceeded in parts, known as Numbers, each containing a few parishes issued in alphabetical order in a wrapper which also contained the prints for those parishes. When enough Numbers had appeared they were re-issued as a volume with a title page. By careful comparison of the surviving correspondence and wrappers Jones has disentangled the complex publication history of the first portion of the *Collections*, up to the point at which Richard Bigland had to suspend work on the project; the last parish issued (Newent) would have been part way through the second volume. The chronology of these issues is conveniently summarized in one of six appendices. Jones then discusses the unavailing attempts of the Nichols family to continue with publication, brought to a dramatic close by the disastrous fire at their printing house in 1808. Some ten years later the project was revived, but again without practical result, and by about 1837 the materials had found their way into the vast library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at which point Jones's narrative ceases.

Some of this information was already available but the main thrust of the volume is yet to come, being a thoughtful discussion of the illustrations. Jones lists the artists and engravers and where

possible attributes each print to its originators. Many of these plates exist in more than one state and the variants are noted. Possible reasons for their existence or for the choice of plates to publish are also considered. The narrative section of the text is complemented by appendices describing the published and surviving unpublished plates and variants. If an attentive reader notices rare slips in printing, such as '1870' where 1770 is intended, that reader should reflect that the book went to press during a brief remission in what turned out to be the author's last illness.

This will remain the definitive study of this topic unless further sources come to light (such as the grangerized seven volume set of Bigland compiled by William Heane of Ruardean, not heard of since it was sold at Sotheby's in 1900). It is a meticulous piece of bibliographical research and a fitting memorial to the author's love of its subject.

DAVID SMITH
Gloucester

Jennifer Tann, *Wool and Water: the Gloucestershire woollen industry and its mills* (Stroud, The History Press, 2012). 256 pp., 48 figs., 10 maps, 12 tables. Cardcovers, £17.99 [ISBN: 9780752462158]

The woollen cloth manufacturing industry in the counties of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset was of great importance from medieval times until comparatively recently. Professor Tann's first book on this subject, *Gloucestershire Woollen Mills*, was published in 1967 and has been an invaluable starting point for anyone interested in the industry and its mills. Like its predecessor, the present book is in two parts where part one provides an account of the development of the industry and its subsequent decline and part two is a detailed gazetteer of the mills and associated buildings arranged by river valley. However, it should be noted that part one is no mere reworking of the original but has been completely rewritten and is much more comprehensive in its scope.

The first of the ten chapters in part one discusses the organization of the industry in medieval times when cloth for sale was made mainly in cities and the many processes were carried out by craft workers who were members of their respective guilds. The next three chapters describe the industry in Tudor times, the organization and location of the industry during the 17th and 18th centuries and then fluctuations in trade and state intervention during the same period. The industry was now organized very differently where individuals, known as clothiers, owned everything from the fleece through to the finished cloth. Much of the work such as spinning and weaving was carried out by workers in their own homes. However the vital process of fulling whereby the cloth was pounded by large wooden hammers to thicken it and make it more durable was carried out in small water-powered fulling mills.

Chapters five to seven are concerned with the period 1790–1835, during the Industrial Revolution, which saw the advent of textile machinery and steam power. This resulted in the development of many of the fulling mills into large factories to house both the various machines and the workforce who no longer worked in their own homes. In many instances nearly all the processes could be carried out on one site. As steam took over from water power the Stroud area had a considerable advantage over Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge as it could obtain coal by both canal and rail. Chapter five also describes the various processes that are needed to produce the finished cloth.

The concentration of the industry and its subsequent decline over the next 80 years is covered in chapters eight and nine. The final chapter looks at the changes from the start of the 20th century to the present day. At the beginning of the period there were 22 mills still operating and today there are only three. Winterbotham, Strachan and Playne are manufacturing tennis ball coverings

and snooker table cloth at Cam Mills and Lodgemore Mills, Stroud, while Marling Industrial Felts produce their non-woven textiles at Stanley Mill, Kings Stanley. Sadly, fine woollen apparel cloths are now longer manufactured in the county. At one time it was likely that the tennis balls used at the Wimbledon Championships would have been covered with cloth woven in Gloucestershire. However, the cloth used on the tables at all the major snooker tournaments, and seen by millions on television each year, continues to be produced at Cam and Stroud as the *Strachan* logo on the tables testifies. The reason for this is simple, for many years the company has supplied the top professional players with cloth for their own practice tables and since consistency in the way the tables 'play' is of paramount importance the tournament organizers are compelled to use the same cloth. This provides a distinct marketing advantage over their Asian competitors.

The adaptive reuse of redundant cloth mills is an important topic and it is pleasing that a number of premises still have an industrial use, albeit not for textiles. The future of other buildings such as Ebley Mill has been secured by conversion into the offices of Stroud District Council. Other mills have been successfully converted into residential use like Dunkirk Mills at Nailsworth.

The gazetteer which runs to 80 pages and covers more than 260 sites is very useful. Each entry provides a brief history of the site and it uses along with its current status and detailed references are generally provided. About half of the mills operated as both cloth and corn mills at some period and often at the same time.

The number of illustrations is relatively small but they are very well reproduced and indicate the wide range of architectural forms that the mills took over several centuries, together with illustrations of the associated buildings and selected processes. The maps are clear and helpful; the first two show recorded locations of fulling mills in the periods 1185–1399 and 1400–1599, respectively. These indicate the spread of fulling from the Cotswold uplands in the east of the county to the areas round Stroud and Dursley. The concentration of the industry in these areas is confirmed by an analysis of employed males in the Gloucestershire woollen industry in 1608 using John Smyth's survey *Men and Armour*. Maps showing the locations of cloth mills recorded 1750–1820 are particularly striking with no less than 197 on the rivers and streams in the main districts of Stroud, Dursley and Wotton-under-Edge. Others maps show the development of steam power in the area and the distribution of looms within mills in about 1840.

Each chapter contains full references and a detailed bibliography. An index is essential in a work of this nature and one has been provided. However, the layout used here of multiple entries on a line reduces the index to just four pages at the expense of being relatively inconvenient to use. It is inevitable in a work that contains so much detail that some inaccuracies will creep in. The caption to the illustration of Monks Mill on page 131 gives the parish as North Nibley whereas it is actually located some way away on the Wotton-under-Edge/Alderley parish boundary. The grid reference on page 186 for the small unnamed Mill owned in 1824 by James Dauncey at Coaley is some distance from any watercourse whereas Dauncey was associated with Mooracre Mill which is shown on the first edition of the one inch Ordnance Survey map, half a mile away, and not included in the gazetteer. These are minor points compared with the wealth of information that is provided. However, they do remind us that despite the extensive work carried out on certain mills by individual researchers and noted in the references and bibliography there is still potential for further work to be done on other sites.

This excellent book is certainly recommended reading for anyone who wants to learn more about the history and surviving remains of what was, for so long, the most important industry in Gloucestershire.

RAY WILSON
Coaley

D. Halliwell, *An Unjust Hanging: the true story of John Horwood, sent to the gallows by folly, ignorance and a doctor's selfish cruelty* (Cirencester, Memoirs Publishing, 2012). 103pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £12.99 [ISBN 9781909020665]
 M. Posner, *Bristol Murders* (Stroud, Amberley Publishing, 2010). 96pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £12.99 [ISBN 9781848681927]

Halliwell's book is attractively set-out, printed and designed. It is written in a clear, easy manner by the husband of a collateral descendant of the subject of the book, John Horwood (1803–21). Horwood was a former coal miner and unemployed labourer in a smelting works, who came from Bitton. The murder of his onetime sweetheart, Eliza Balsom, and his subsequent execution were widely reported.

The case resurfaced due to the interest of the Horwood family in genealogy. The reviewer is sympathetic to their reaction upon discovering that one of their ancestors was a murderer. He well-remembers the shock which he felt as a teenager when he discovered that one of his collateral ancestors, Norman Welch (1777–1835) shot his superior officer at point blank range in their place of work. Welch was subsequently executed before a huge crowd outside Lancaster Castle. Horwood's execution had a greater capacity to shock contemporary readers because when he was executed the *Anatomy Act* was still in force. Consequently Horwood's body was publically anatomised. His skeleton was used by the surgeon, Richard Smith, to teach his students. It continued for more than a century as an aid to teach countless generations of medical students at the Bristol Royal Infirmary (B.R.I.), where it was hung by a length of rope used in the execution, and was suspended in a specially constructed wooden case. The surgeon subsequently used a piece of Horwood's skin, probably taken from the back or abdomen, which he had prepared and tanned, in order to bind the account of Horwood's trial, which he kept in his private medical museum before passing it to the B.R.I.

The account of Horwood's crime and execution in this book is naturally partial and the gloss which the narrator places on the events is unhistorical, and taken from a contemporary viewpoint. Whilst illuminating about the obsessions and concerns of our present age, it sheds no valid light on the events of the past. The amalgam of mawkish sentiment and fact, mixed with all kinds of assumptions as to motive, are without any strictly contemporary documents to verify them. This is no way to arrive at fact, and owes much to the many gifted writers of the historical novella. It is an epidemic malady of the present age to view and judge the events of the past through the prism of the present with all its fashionable modern shibboleths about such matters as slavery and indeed, as here, the *Anatomy Act* of 1752. The author goes to great length to exculpate Horwood and to undermine the evidence of those prosecution witnesses who revealed Horwood in an unsavoury and damaging light. His narrative is not aided by the use of a number of inelegant modern colloquialisms (e.g. p. 11 'banged up in prison')

One of the problems in coming to a true estimation of the evidence in this case, or any other trial of this period, is the lack of an official court record of the proceedings. Even where they survive doubts are thrown in at every turn due to the conflicting reports of the events in the contemporary newspapers. Without the benefits of Sir Isaac Pitman's shorthand, newspaper reports were the embodiment of many of the vices which bedevilled the popular media at the present time. For these reasons, it is no wonder that there are so many contradictions in the published accounts of Horwood's crime and trial, which even extend to the date on which the former took place. The most widely used shorthand in use at the time, which was developed by John Byrom in the 18th century, was still uncommon, and the inaccuracies and contradictions in the newspaper accounts probably owe as much to this lack, as to sensationalism and the reliance upon speculation and rumour to sell newspapers.

The two ministers who are mentioned in the text are the Revd Thomas Roberts (1780–1841), who is incorrectly, but at least consistently, called ‘a Wesleyan’: he was in fact a Baptist, and Revd S. D. Day, vicar of St Philip and St Jacob, east Bristol. After the last interview with Horwood, Revd Mr Roberts, at his request, conducted one of the special services for the spiritual and moral edification of Horwood’s neighbours on Jefferies Hill, Hanham, on the Sunday after the execution.

Revd Thomas Roberts noted his observations about Horwood in his published accounts following the execution. He states that Horwood was of ‘limited comprehension’. Horwood was ignorant, immature and illiterate, a violent, jealous man, who according to the deposition of his victim (which was made in front of Horwood) had defamed Elizabeth as ‘a common prostitute’, a fact firmly and conclusively refuted by the autopsy report which stated that she was *virgo intacta*. The author concedes that Horwood threw the ‘stone in all probability’, a fact admitted more candidly by Horwood himself. Given the state of the law, at the time if Horwood actually threw the stone, whether it was thrown with, or indeed without intent to harm, this was not material to his defence and constituted no grounds for an appeal against the guilty verdict demanded by the prosecution. From the accounts which are presented to us, Horwood was a textbook example of a young man of bad life who received the just reward of his accumulation of vices and serves as a monument of the penalty then meted out to such by a just, if not merciful, judiciary. Horwood was not a man of good character. He was idle and dishonest. He was a pilferer who had been convicted of larceny and served a short term in prison, mixing freely in the company of loose and unsavoury characters. Indulged by a fond mother, he wished to impress Eliza in order to make her succumb to his designs upon her virtue. It was proved that he had made indecent proposals to her and that she had resisted them. It was claimed that Horwood had assaulted Eliza in the past and had even thrown oil of vitriol (sulphuric acid) upon her, Horwood failed to challenge Eliza about this claim when she made her deathbed deposition in front of him, but he denied it subsequently when she was dead.

The behaviour of Eliza towards Horwood was inconsistent; at times she appeared receptive to his addresses, and the defence certainly showed that she was an unreliable witness. It was noticed that neither of the ministers who attended Horwood in prison and at the scaffold, Messrs Roberts and Day, mentioned that he had either made or left a confession, although Horwood is reported as having said at a service in prison:

“Remember, it was sin that brought me to this[...]
I lose my life through sin; and if you do not break
off your bad habits, the end will be bad”

It appears, notwithstanding the special pleading indulged by the author, that Horwood’s conviction was just according to the laws in place at the time.

It is now time to turn to the serious allegations which the author levels at the character and motivation of the surgeon who performed Eliza’s trepanning (following the complications experienced after she was hit by the stone thrown by Horwood) as well as her autopsy and the anatomization of her murderer. Richard Smith (1772–1843) was the senior surgeon at the B.R.I. and, like many of his contemporaries among ‘the faculty’, he was actively involved in body snatching which was practised by students and ‘resurrection men’, who between them provided a regular supply of cadavers to the dissection rooms.

The book produces a number of notices from contemporary Bristol newspaper accounts and primary sources, largely collected by Smith, together with material culled from A.C. Powell and J. Littleton’s monumental, but poorly indexed, history of Freemasonry in Bristol and Shingleton Smith’s history of the B.R.I., both of which draw largely upon Smith’s own extensive papers. These were kept at the B.R.I. until the immediate post-Second World War period. At this time

one section of them was deposited in the newly rebuilt and reopened Freemasons' Hall in the late 1950s. Subsequently the remainder of the papers found their way into the Bristol Record Office. Those papers which relate to the action of the body snatching fraternity, called by the poet Thomas Hood 'jack halls', from the scavenger dogs to be found in the East near the places of burial, largely date from the last decade of the reign of George III and the reign of his son, George IV, (1810 and 1830). They usefully restate information already in the public domain and are drawn upon by countless generations of final year medical undergraduates for their dissertations.

The author's determination to discredit Richard Smith (1772–1843) is far-ranging. It embraces aspersions about the character of his father Richard Smith the Elder (1748–1791), based on his apprenticeship indentures. These stipulated: 'taverns he shall not frequent, dice he shall not play; matrimony he shall not contract into', not realizing that these were standard requirements inserted into apprenticeship documents of the 18th and 19th centuries. Whilst these documents can be used to point out problems with the behaviour of apprentices in general and the need to have curbs on possible excesses of behaviour, there is no justification whatever to use such generic wording to speculate about the behaviour of individuals in particular. Likewise having outlined Richard Smith junior's bequests to his widow (née Anna Eugena Creswick 1778–1864) the author goes on to speculate about the health of his marriage on the strength that Eugenia is not mentioned amongst the mourners at her husband's funeral. It was not, in fact, generally the custom for many Victorian women to attend funerals; and this practice continued into modern times in Scotland, Ulster and Wales amongst Presbyterians and others.

Halliwell's use of the brilliant but unorthodox surgeon Sir Astley Cooper (1768–1841)'s disapproval of the treatment of patients such as Eliza Balsom by the surgical process of trephination (an incision and removal of part of one of the plates of the skull to relieve pressure on the brain) ignores the fact that it was a recognized surgical procedure. A study of the skulls of people who underwent this operation from prehistoric times onwards shows, through the occurrence of growth rings around the area operated upon, that patients survived the operation. Surgeons were often presented with a choice of certain death without the operation and the patient's possible survival afterwards. Much is made of an article published in the *British Medical Journal* for October 1869 where a number of surgeons re-examined Eliza's skull and indicated that the abscess which killed her was actually caused by Smith's operation rather than by the injury inflicted by Horwood's stone. Of course Eliza's death took place half a century before the re-examination of her skull and the changes in medical diagnosis and treatment had advanced out of all recognition during this time. Halliwell already intimates that Smith did not need to admit Eliza Balsom to the B.R.I. and hints darkly, without articulating his covert accusation, that she was an unwitting, but vital part, of a deeply laid plot, the object of which was to anatomize Horwood and presumably to perform Eliza's autopsy as well. Here we have the plot of a Victorian melodrama, with the surgeon usurping the part of the stage villain, which was traditionally occupied by the village squire. At last on page 101 we have the accusation plainly enunciated: Richard Smith first 'messed up [Eliza's] treatment, then encouraged her to make allegations against her attacker'; furthermore he 'showed off his skill as surgeon, not as the sentence intended, to educate the medical students but to impress his friends and associates in the city'. Much is made of the fact that Smith did not allow Horwood's body after dissection to be returned to his family, yet this was not, and never had been, an option. The Statute did not allow Smith this luxury. Smith showed compassion for Horwood, he wrote courteously to the family explaining why he could not grant their request, but only after seeking the opinion of the other surgeons in the B.R.I. The author also questions why a man with such antecedents as Smith should feel: 'pity or sorrow for a poor country girl like Eliza and put himself to so much inconvenience and trouble in the name of justice'? Our author believes that Smith's motivation was clearly manifested: he wanted a 'legal body', i.e. Horwood's, in order to enhance

his reputation as a practitioner. All of this may sound convincing to anyone who has not had the privilege of studying both some recently published articles which deal with the character and interests of Richard Smith and his private papers. They reveal his essential integrity, honesty, and freedom from the cant and hypocrisy of many public men of the time. The picture which emerges from these articles and from his private papers is starkly at variance with the picture which is created from the limited hues on the pallet used by Halliwell.

In keeping with the need for future generations of medical students to continue to have human specimens upon which to perfect their knowledge of anatomy, Smith, after conducting the dissection, had the skeleton mounted in such a manner that it could continue to be used as an anatomical specimen in demonstrations and courses of lectures. Under the terms of Smith's will, dated 4 May 1840, he bequeathed his museum to the B.R.I., which formed the centre of the Bristol Medical School, founded in 1833. In 1893 the school was merged into the embryonic University College, Bristol, which began its life in 1876 and was to receive Royal charter from the King-Emperor, Edward VII, in May 1909. By this means Horwood's skeleton continued to perform an important practical function for generations of medical students for more than a century after his execution.

When Horwood's collateral descendants discovered that the University still held Horwood's remains, one of them, Mrs Halliwell, viewed them. After finding their place of storage, which was the same as that designed for them by Richard Smith, she denounced it as 'undignified and inappropriate', and applied to the University of Bristol for the return of Horwood's remains to the family. This was agreed on 19 July 2010, on the understanding that Mrs Halliwell bore the expense of their removal. A family conference resulted in a letter being sent to the University with the demand that as it had: 'made use of the skeleton over so many years in teaching medical students, and the family [having] been denied release of the remains at the time of execution[...] they [the University authorities] should be asked to contribute towards the funeral expenses'. The offer of a 'minimalist cremation' was scornfully refused and a local undertaker undertook, largely *gratis*, to organize a funeral of the kind that Horwood might have had in 1821. The service attracted much media coverage and family sensitivities were soothed by what was a dignified and sensitive committal. This extended to the choice of place of burial. It was agreed that interment in the grave of Horwood's mother at St Mary's, Bitton, was inapposite, because the churchyard was also the last resting place of Horwood's victim. Consequently, it was decided to bury his remains in a churchyard opened on Jefferies Hill (where the murder was perpetrated) some years afterwards, Christ Church, Hanham. He now lies with his father.

The description of the attitudes of the residents of Kingswood who lined the streets to watch the catafalque carrying the remains being pulled to the churchyard on 13 April 2011, 190 years after his execution, brought to mind the description of the mourners in the poem, *The Vision of Judgement*, by Byron, which was inspired by the burial of George III at Windsor in 1820.

Notwithstanding my misgivings about this book, and they are many, it provides a number of valuable functions: resurrecting knowledge of an important local murder case, providing a number of useful photographic plates of contemporary documents and transcriptions; and inspiring interest in local and national history. It also provides an instructive example of some contemporary problems of re-evaluating the people and the events of the past through the multi-faceted prism of unhistorical, de-contextualized concerns, and misconceptions. This allows Halliwell to libel the dead with impunity, ignoring the wise advice encapsulated by the tag: '*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*'. Essentially it is not the role of the historian to whitewash the criminal by shifting culpability for crime without convincing evidence to the contrary, or by advancing arguments such as this author does for Horwood. These include: he was a man 'at the wrong place at the wrong time', and smearing others with ordure concocted from sly innuendo, and sensational speculation

more worthy of the lurid pages of *Reynolds's News*. Amidst all the labyrinthine twists recorded in this narrative there was one tantalizing thread left hanging. Although the author mentions that Richard Smith's brother, Henry Smith, killed a man in a duel and fled to Portugal, he fails to mention that it was Smith's firm of solicitors, Smith and Brodrigg, which was initially retained for Horwood's defence. Had the author realized this fact I have no doubt that this fragment would have been woven into the tangled skein created by the Halliwell to help to bring Richard Smith to the bar of justice where he believes that he justly belongs! For my part I have no hesitation in declaring Horwood, 'Guilty, as charged', whilst discharging Smith as the innocent victim of a vexatious and unjust litigant.

The trial and execution of John Horwood is also detailed in a chapter with the sensational heading 'Skinned for Posterity' in Michael Posner's *Bristol Murders*. The facts of the case are narrated devoid of the 21st-century's flabby, confused sentiments, in lucid, unornamented prose. The ability of friends and companions to cause the young and impressionable to deviate from the value system inculcated by their parents and reinforced by the moral messages delivered at weekly attendance at church and chapel is clearly demonstrated to lie at the heart of Horwood's crime. 'Bad company' melded with untrammelled animal passions is shown to be a dangerous, and in this case, a fatal combination. Posner makes no attempt to varnish vice or to show it with a smiling face. The callous lack of contrition displayed Horwood following the commission of the crime is exposed with all the clarity that you would expect from a barrister. Posner also exposes Horwood's idle shiftlessness; the dishonesty he practiced on his own parents; his profanity and his loose conversation, without burdening us with the exculpations and obfuscations advanced by those blinded by their claims of kinship with the murderer. Whilst Halliwell's account is to be preferred for the added bonus which it afford us of providing a sociological commentary on modern *mores* and sentiments, Posner's short essay has the advantage of providing a summation of the case, written by a legal-practitioner who has weighed the evidence and submissions available to him, without the colour and emotion provided by partisanship and speculation in order to mitigate and excuse.

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J. Toman, *Kilvert's World of Wonders: growing up in Mid-Victorian England* (Cambridge, Lutterworth Press 2013). 326pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £25.00 [ISBN: 9780718893019]

J. Toman, *The Lost Family Photo Album: A Kilvert Family Story* (The Kilvert Society, 2013). 250pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9780957626607]

Thanks to the work of John Toman the close associations of the diarist, Revd Francis Kilvert (1840–79), with the city of Bristol have been collated and recorded. These appear in his essay 'A Grand City: Kilvert and Bristol', in '*A Grand City* – *Life, Movement and Work*': *Bristol in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Essays in Honour of Gerard Leighton, F.S.A.*, (Bristol, BGAS 2010), 320–40. For this reason his most recent work on Kilvert is likely to prove of interest to those who are drawn to the life and development of the diarist.

Kilvert's World of Wonders: growing up in Mid-Victorian England is the third part of a trilogy which explores the forces which shaped the diarist. It draws upon material which has been neglected and overlooked by other writers. It is a seminal study, in the same way that Thomas Wright's *Oscar's Books: a journey around the Library of Oscar Wilde* (2008) opens up new areas of research to illuminate the inner life of the Anglo-Irish poet and dramatist. In both cases it has required the

authors to digest, to assess and evaluate the influences of family, education and reading upon the development of their subjects.

Toman's study dispels claims that Kilvert was essentially a man of shallow intellect with a merely aesthetic interest in science and industry. He demonstrates by a thorough study of the surviving sources, the over-riding influences of his uncle, Revd Francis Kilvert and his aunt Sophia upon him, not only during the seven years which he spent as a boarder at their school in Bath, but into adulthood. His aunt was reared in the bosom of the Evangelical Clapham Sect. His uncle was a leading promoter of the work of the Bath Literary and Philosophical Society, which was in the forefront of the dissemination of scientific discovery and debate in the south-west of England. Through his uncle Kilvert developed a wide-knowledge and appreciation of such disciplines as astronomy and geology and from his aunt his interest in African missions and the discoveries of Speke and Livingstone.

Toman shows how, in an era of major change and tension between religion and science, Kilvert was able to reconcile these increasingly divergent forces. Kilvert's adherence to natural theology, 'Proving God's design in nature' is charted in detail. Toman demonstrates that it was sustained by Kilvert's questioning mind, which was stimulated by careful observation; his use of pocket notebooks, scrapbooks and cabinet of curiosities. He was a keen amateur naturalist. Like Darwin and one of Kilvert's scientific heroes, Professor John Tyndall, his observations led him to feel intense awe and wonder in the natural world. Where he diverged from them was his certainty that behind the natural world he saw the Creator's hand. Toman illustrates that Kilvert was sufficiently secure and grounded in his belief not to feel either concern or threatened by the views expressed by Professor Tyndall in his famous address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science given at Belfast in 1874 in which he heralded the imminent triumph of science over religion in providing the explanation of the origin of the universe. Kilvert showed the maturity and security of his views, and his ability to accept some, and reject other parts of Tyndall's thesis by speaking with warmth and appreciation of Tyndall's scientific work, particularly on sound.

Toman instances and illuminates how Kilvert was thrilled by scientific progress by charting his interest in mining; industrial works; railways; speed; Brunel's bridges; his tour of the Cunard ship, *Batavia*, in the Liverpool docks; the telegrams which deluged the Liverpool Exchange, and his fascination with the work undertaken in Laird's shipyards in Birkenhead.

Kilvert's interests extended to prehistory. He visited caves in the Gower and Cheddar, Stonehenge and Silbury. He was familiar with Sir John Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times* (1865) and, whilst not necessarily convinced by Lubbock's chronology, he concurred with the latter's view that the separation of science and religion was 'the great misfortune of humanity'. Carefully treading the path between conservative religious orthodoxy and scepticism, Kilvert reveals his Broad Church credentials by mocking the views of 'two antediluvian parsons' whom he encountered.

One of the most fascinating aspects of Toman's research is his demonstration of the parallels between Kilvert's views and those expressed by Charles Kingsley in his novel, *Alton Locke* (1850) and Professor Mozley in his *Lectures on Miracles* (1865). Professor Tyndall rejected miracles as being contrary the laws of nature. Kilvert, Kingsley and Mozley believed that God was able to suspend natural laws to enable miracles to take place. Toman shows that not only did Kilvert's sermons regularly feature discourses on the miracles recorded both in the Old and New Testament, but that he was keenly interested in tales of the supernatural: ghosts; spirits; angels and angel-children. Most surprisingly of all he was attracted to the British Israel Movement, which believed that God's especial providence had designed the British people to receive the blessings promised to their ancestors, the lost tribes of Israel.

An interesting revelation is the account of a train journey taken by Kilvert on 10 May 1875 from Bristol to London in the company of the Congregational minister, Revd Lawrence Henry Byrnes

(1822–1902), (whose surname in the diary is rendered phonetically as ‘Burns’), the minister of Pembroke Chapel, Oakfield Road, Clifton. This records their wide-ranging discussions which embraced Professor Tyndall’s scientific discoveries, and Swiss mountaineering. Although Byrnes’s diary for this period is extant it does not, alas, record this meeting. Kilvert’s diary entry clearly shows the interest in science taken by ministers of religion of all denominations and is a corrective to many modern popular misconceptions on the subject.

Toman’s study reveals Kilvert to have been a man of simple faith who ‘had the curiosity and courage to face the age’s difficult questions’. Whilst grounded in the past, he was not bound by it. This book is well-researched and has the benefit of detailed footnotes for the use of those who wish to continue their studies further. Its thorough and scholarly approach will ensure that it will remain an indispensable tool for all those who want to understand Kilvert and the forces which shaped him, and it will continue to do so for many years to come.

The Lost Photo Album: A Kilvert Family Story is based on a recently discovered, and previously unknown, album of Kilvert family photographs, which was purchased by the Society for £1,000 at an auction in Chippenham in 2012. The album of *cartes de visite* was begun in 1861 by the diarist’s cousin, Anna Maria Gwatkin (née Kilvert), the wife of a Liverpool wine merchant and ship’s chandler, Theophilus Gwatkin. Most of the photographs are identified in a contemporary hand, and Toman’s volume reproduces each photograph. The resultant biographies increase our knowledge of the diarist’s family and their wider connections and social circle in the city of Bath and beyond. Containing valuable sections on costume, albums and daughters, and a mention of the prevailing cartomania, the volume reminds us of the attachment of people to collecting *cartes de visite* in the 1860s and 1870s.

The late Sir Anthony Wagner, one of the most distinguished and accomplished members of the College of Arms in the 20th century posited a genealogical interpretation of history, advancing the view that history could be best understood and appreciated through familiarity with the familial and social links of its individual members. The discovery of this album allows Toman to follow Sir Anthony’s lines of enquiry for some of the Kilvert family circle, and allows us to appreciate the many strands of interest; religious sympathy; education; profession; business; geographical proximity; and Imperial service, which enmeshed them. Readers will be charmed by the narrative and fascinated by the fruits of Toman’s scholarship, which forcefully reminds us of the truth embodied in Lord Bacon’s apothegm: ‘for a crowd is not is company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love’ [*Essay XXVII, of Friendship*] for we can be certain that this was the overarching emotion which lay behind the collection, and binds the lives of the subjects of the *cartes de visite* together within the leather covers of the album.

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Sarah Whittingham, *Sir George Oatley, Architect of Bristol* (Bristol, Redcliffe Press, 2011). 438 pp., numerous illustrations. Hardback, £49.75 [ISBN: 9781904537922]

Sixty years after his death, the time was surely ripe for a biographical treatment of the Bristol architect Sir George Oatley (1863–1950), who is described in the new Pevsner as ‘a giant’.⁵ This is the task Dr Sarah Whittingham has set herself, and in which she has succeeded magnificently.

5. A. Foyle, *Pevsner Architecture Guide to Bristol* (London/Yale, 2009: reprint of 2004 edn.), 36.

Oatley's father worked in a counting house. The son was later to make much of his humble origins – perhaps too much, for Oatley senior was an active and respected non-conformist, whose circle included families who might be called part of the dissenting aristocracy of Bristol, such as the Lawrence family, with whom George's life was to be intimately associated, and the Wills tobacco family, who were to be his greatest patrons.

The young Oatley spent much of his childhood on the Isle of Wight, where the family moved when he was three. Orphaned when both his parents died when he was nine, he was sent to school in Oxfordshire and it was on excursions in the environs of the school and on the island that he acquired his love of old buildings, churches in particular.

Returning to Bristol, Oatley became an assistant to the architect Henry Crisp, whose partner he became in 1888. The next year he married Edith Vaughan Lawrence. The marriage was lifelong and blessed with four children, although tinged with sadness when two daughters died in their forties.

Professionally, Oatley was in partnership with his brother in law George Churchus Lawrence – not an easy man, by all accounts – from 1902 to 1936. Oatley then practised alone, and finally in partnership with Ralph Brentnall from 1948.

The years from the 1890s to the start of World War II saw a succession of buildings, of various types and in differing styles – churches, hospitals, commercial buildings and, of course, university buildings, notably the Wills Memorial Building, completed in 1925, which Dr Whittingham calls Oatley's 'virtual single-handed creation of the city's skyline' and for which he received his knighthood.

The book is divided into accounts firstly of Oatley's life and secondly of his work. The former brings out his deep and undoubted non-conformist piety, which led him to see his work as the service, immediately of his clients and ultimately, of God. Alongside this modesty went a (to your reviewer's mind, at least) less attractive side of the puritan character, demonstrated by his going alone to London to receive his knighthood, which his wife found 'very hurtful'.

As to the work, Dr Whittingham frees Sir George from any Gothic 'pigeon hole' into which he might have fallen. The Wills Building is, needless to say, Gothic in style, as are a number of the churches, such as the Anglo-Catholic All Hallows at Easton. (It is worth noting here that Oatley's Christianity was by no means narrowly sectarian, and that his admirers included the Catholic writer Hilaire Belloc.) But the *oeuvre* also includes neo-classical commercial buildings, for example a number of banks built in the West Country for Stuckeys (later merged with National Westminster), some in the Italianate style, and one which verges on the baroque (the Scottish Provident Institution in Clare Street).

Subject to his clients' demands, however, Oatley's preference was always for simplicity and this naturally found happy expression in his domestic architecture, in particular the 'arts and crafts Tudor' holiday home he designed for himself and his family at Barton Rocks in Somerset, as well as his contributions to the abortive Bristol Garden Suburb, which can still be seen in Shirehampton. He was also strongly of the view that design must be apposite to purpose: the Gothic style, for example, he regarded as not appropriate for a commercial building but only to be used for educational or ecclesiastical work. Lastly, he detested excessive ornament and ostentation: after a visit to New York, he described the skyscrapers as forming 'a land enchanted by wicked fairies'.

The text is (inevitably) laden with architectural technicalities and the non-specialist reader should keep a good dictionary (or Google) at his elbow. This said, Dr Whittingham's style is generally pleasant and readable.

Good use is made not only of designs and correspondence from the University's Special Collections but also of correspondence between Oatley and his sister, nephew and niece in

Canada and of recently discovered office papers from a successor practice. The glory of the book, however, is in its lavish illustrations. All the set-pieces are here – the Wills Building, the Physics Laboratory, St Monica, Manor Hall and the rest – along with many other lesser-known buildings, some alas now demolished, and a generous selection of plans, not all of which came to fruition. Space is also given to the restorations, notably of John Wesley's Chapel and at St Mary Redcliffe. An appendix gives a catalogue of works, year by year.

Sir George Oatley's reputation has suffered by reason not only of his extreme modesty but also of his perceived provincialism. He never studied or worked in London and did not enjoy his infrequent visits to town. He was also unfortunate to die somewhat later than many of his great Edwardian contemporaries, such as Dawber (1938) and Lutyens (1944), and at a time when the modernist movement in architecture was coming into the ascendant. The counter-revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, begun at a popular level by the late Sir John Betjeman and at a more academic level by Dr David Watkin's *Morality and Architecture*, encouraged a long overdue revival of interest in Oatley's work, which has reached its peak with the present volume – a volume which it is to be hoped will find a place on the shelves both of the specialist and of anyone who loves our city and its buildings.

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C.S. Knighton (ed.), *Clifton College: foundation to evacuation* (Bristol Record Society 65, 2012). xlvii + 452 pp., 16 pl., 3 maps. Hardback, no price [ISBN: 9780901538485]

Bristol Record Society has published four sorts of volume: the edited transcription of a discrete document; the monograph drawing on a range of records; the miscellany; and selected documents from one institution's archive. Into this last category falls Dr Knighton's excellent *Clifton College: foundation to evacuation*.

An editor embarking on such a voyage must make some navigational decisions. The first is whether to present the records in date order, or to group them by theme: Dr Knighton chooses the latter, with documents in date order within each theme. But when the subject is so complex as a major school, which themes to select? And how to marshal documents straddling more than one theme? In the case of a large, educationally important, and archive-blessed institution, another question is what to leave out: Dr Knighton says he has not included documents already sufficiently published elsewhere, and he tantalizingly refers occasionally to documents omitted for lack of space. Another question is when to stop the voyage: Dr Knighton drops anchor at 1941. That date sets distance between reader (and editor) and subject matter, encourages objectivity, and reduces the risk of recriminations from the offended living. It necessarily precludes probing of many interesting topics such as how the character of the school and the demographics of parents and pupils have changed since the Second World War; what were the effects of co-education (introduced 1987); how changes in the prestige and performance of other schools in both the fee-charging and maintained sectors have affected the school; and the impacts on the school of changes in society locally and at large, such as the accessibility of alcohol and other drugs, parental attitudes to full-time boarding, and the role of the pre-preparatory stage in the supply chain. Dr Knighton does however permit himself the occasional follow-up footnote into post-1941 waters: in mentioning governors' agitation about boys' use of pin-ups in 1891, for example, he refers in a footnote to the 1984 report of a gubernatorial pornography investigation, by which I mean an investigation by governors into pre-coeducation pupils' pictorial documentation of the female

form, not an investigation into the predilections or propensities of the governing body. Given that internal school discipline is normally the exclusive province of the headmaster, it is surprising that governors got personally involved. Something is going on here, which perhaps a successor volume might illuminate.

After helpful lists of abbreviations, a glossary of school argot (confined, one imagines, to the printable) and an explanation of the editing conventions he has applied, Dr Knighton introduces his chosen documents by first explaining his principles for selecting records. He then summarizes the school's history from 1860 to 1940, with numbered references to the texts transcribed. This account is succinct and informed, though some might challenge an assertion that Bristol Grammar School was founded on seizure, as distinct from conspiratorial redirection, of monastery assets. The second part of the introduction looks at Cliftonians selected as individuals or generic categories. Cross-referencing to the documents, to other archival sources, and to the massive literature, is comprehensive and adroitly handled. One of the book's strengths is Dr Knighton's lucid explanation of topics and inter-relationships of great complexity. Then follow the transcribed documents, grouped under 23 headings, including the school's foundation (Percival justifiably gets disproportionate attention); its government and organization; headmasters and other masters; the buildings; sport; music and drama; the houses; the cadet corps; the First World War (Haig is presented as Clifton's most distinguished former pupil); and ending with the Blitz and the school's evacuation to bomb-free Bude and Butcombe. One of the 23 sections is headed Teaching and Learning.

Several points impress. They include the intensely local and professional middle-class origins of the foundation and the range of aims motivating the founders; the innovative aspects of the initiative: almshouses apart, education was Bristol's first venture into the modern service industries; the different stances taken by Percival and Canon Moseley over the Taunton Commission proposals (both saw education as a tool of social improvement); the extent to which the school was long embedded into and interacted with the wider community of Bristol; Percival's intense influence, even after he ceased to be headmaster (the views of subsequent headmasters on this point are not recorded); the school's pioneering teaching of the natural sciences; the elements of self-government by pupils, to an extent that until recently would probably not have been tolerated, let alone encouraged, in maintained schools; the way the military and its ethos penetrated many aspects of the school; and the pervasive importance of sport and other physical activity. One document transcribed is the score book for A.E.J. Collins's 628 (or was it 631?) not out, which seems to say less about the feat of the batsman than about the performance of the bowlers.

The index is helpfully prefaced with an explanation of the principles on which it is ordered, reading of which may save searchers time. Nine sets of entries are grouped, with entries alphabetically ordered within each group, of which the lead entry 'Bristol' has six and 'Clifton College' ten. Thus Joseph Polack and his relations are to be found under P, but Polack's house is under C, 'Clifton College', (8) 'houses'. This accords with modern indexers' practice, and is fine if you have read the preface to the index and the explanation of the grouping under each lead entry, but risks entries being missed by time-pressed researchers looking only for specific information.

Meticulous cross-referencing to external sources, both local and further afield, and an excellent bibliography make this a scholarly as well as an interesting and perceptive book. Not all the internal cross-referencing is accurate: section XVIII, for example, on Royalty and its visits, shows signs of late insertion or expansion, with consequent misnumbering of some page references thereafter; one reference to internal rules is transposed; and several footnotes contain typographical errors. These blemishes more careful copy-editing would have eliminated. But they do not seriously

detract from a worthwhile and valuable volume, for which not only the school but historians of the city and of education and society generally will have cause to be grateful. Dr Knighton is to be congratulated on a fine contribution to the under-researched and little-understood history of education in Bristol, and of the wider phenomenon of the fee-charging school.

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