

Christopher Holloway: an Oxfordshire Trade Union Leader

By PAMELA L. R. HORN

IN the upsurge of agricultural labourers' trade unionism which developed in the year 1872, many 'village Hampdens' appeared to champion the cause of the oppressed land worker. Some, like Joseph Arch, the Warwickshire-born president of the first national agricultural union (the National Agricultural Labourers' Union), were farm workers themselves; others, like the union's first treasurer—J. Matthew Vincent (a Leamington newspaper proprietor)—were not labourers but were merely sympathizers with their cause. Christopher Holloway belongs to the former category, and his career provides an interesting example of the activities of one of the lesser leaders of the movement (PLATE XIII).

Holloway was born in the year 1828, at the Oxfordshire parish of Wootton, a hilly, Cotswold-stone village built on the slopes above the river Glyme; it lies in the close vicinity of the town of Woodstock and of Blenheim Palace, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough. Christopher's father, John, was a farm worker and was in his late forties when the boy (his fifth child) was born. The boy's mother, on the other hand, was very much her husband's junior and at the time of his birth was only about thirty-one. The family provides a notable example of the severity of infant mortality in this period; of the eight children eventually born to John and Caroline Holloway, only three survived infancy—two older sisters and Christopher. *All* of the five children who died were under three at the date of death, and three of them were under one.

Christopher was baptized at Wootton Parish Church on 28th December, 1828, and after this event nothing further is known of his early years. However, it is possible to guess that life was difficult for the family. As the autobiography of Joseph Arch and the reports of the Poor Law Commissioners demonstrate, living standards in the 1830's and 1840's were often very low for many farm workers.

In 1841, at the time of the Census Return, the boy was still living with his parents and his second sister at their cottage in Wootton, the elder sister,

PAMELA L. R. HORN

Mary, having married a local farm labourer in October, 1836.¹ Unfortunately, no details of his occupation (if any) at that date were given, but obviously around this time he, too, became a farm labourer. And when he married Susan Johnson, a local gloveress, on 24th October, 1850, this was the occupation he gave.

Susan was eight years older than her husband and was probably employed either in the local Gloving House, or else in her own home;² it is of interest to note that at the time of the 1851 Census of Population, about six months later, she was shown as a school mistress (presumably teaching infants).³ Nevertheless, the latter position was not held very long, for the couple's first child was born during that year. Charles Holloway was baptized on 22nd June, 1851, but unfortunately he followed the Holloway tradition with regard to infant mortality. He lived only eighteen months and was buried on 1st November, 1852.

So far, during his adult years, Christopher had been employed as a farm worker, but during the course of 1853—perhaps under his wife's influence—he gained employment as a leather dresser. At the time of the baptism of the second (and only surviving) child of the marriage, in that year, it was this occupation which was recorded. The change proved to be only temporary, however, and he soon returned to his old work as an agricultural labourer.

There seems no doubt that Holloway was a man of considerable drive. His photograph shows a sturdy figure and a kindly but strong face, with a ready intelligence. His initiative found an early outlet for its energies in the field of Nonconformity—in the small local chapel at Wootton. And when new trustees were appointed at Wootton Chapel in February, 1864, Christopher was among their number, at the relatively youthful age of thirty-five. He also became a local preacher, and from 1870 at least began to represent his chapel at the Oxford Methodist Circuit local preachers' meetings. He was clearly respected by his fellow trustees at Wootton, for the chapel account book reveals that they resolved on 8th February, 1868, that 'such repairs as are necessary be done to the Cottage and entrusted to the oversight of Messrs. Barrett and Holloway . . .'⁴ (The 'Cottage' was a small property owned

¹ Parish register transcripts, MS. Oxf. Dioc. Pp. c. 638—Bodleian Library. Mary was only eighteen when she married. Her first child, William, was baptized about a year later.

² The Gloving House was built close by the river and adjoining the Wootton mill. The 1851 Census return ascribed the considerable increase in the population of the village during the decade 1841-51 to the fact that people were attracted to the village by glove-making. See *Oxoniensia*, VOL. III (1938) 139 et seq. for further details of the glove industry of Woodstock and district.

³ 1851 Census Return for Wootton—H.O. 107.1730, Public Record Office.

⁴ Oxford Methodist Circuit, Wootton Chapel Accounts, MS. D.D. Oxford Methodist Circuit c.58—Bodleian Library.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY—TRADE UNION LEADER

by the chapel, and Mr. Barrett was the chapel steward. In addition to this, both Holloway and Barrett were class leaders in the chapel.)

Alongside these interests in the chapel and, presumably, in his work as a farm labourer, Christopher Holloway also found time (perhaps of necessity) to cultivate an allotment, which he rented at 16s. 8d. per annum from the Duke of Marlborough. The Assistant Commissioner, who visited Wootton in 1869 in connection with the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, pointed out that, in all, the Duke provided forty acres of allotment ground in the village, at rents varying from 52s. to 80s. an acre. At the same time he reported significantly that Wootton was 'a large open parish with many very poor cottages . . .' and that, 'there (was) a great want of necessary conveniences and outhouses. The pig sties (were) a very serious nuisance, producing dirt and often disease.'⁵

However, if these years of the 1850's and 1860's were busy ones for Christopher, they also had their darker side. In 1858 and 1861 two further sons died, in 1859 Christopher's parents both died (within two months of each other) and then, at the beginning of September, 1867, his wife, Susan, herself died—at the early age of forty-seven. He was left with one son (Henry), then aged about fourteen, and shortly afterwards he married again (or in Wootton dialect he 'put out the broom').⁶ This second bride was Mary Ann Hawtin, a twenty-eight year-old dressmaker from Enstone and the daughter of a local carpenter. The first son of the second marriage—William John—was born on 5th October, 1869.

It is against this personal and family background that Christopher's work for agricultural trade unionism has to be seen.

It was from agitation amongst the labourers of nearby South Warwickshire that unionism seems to have spread to the Oxfordshire farm workers. When the Warwickshire men formed their union in March, 1872, their Oxfordshire counterparts were not slow to follow suit. A local union was set up at the village of Milton-under-Wychwood, on 16th April and then, on 29th May, it was the turn of Wootton. A union branch was established there, under Holloway's chairmanship, and in less than a month it had a membership of about 185 (out of a total village population of 1,231 at the time of the 1871 Census of Population). At this point the men decided to register their discontent in a positive fashion by pressing for an increase in their basic wage rate from 11s. to 16s. per week—in line with the minimum wage advocated

⁵ *Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 1867-69, Oxfordshire Evidence*, 345.

⁶ *Wootton Village History Exhibition* (pamphlet), 1949, 6. G. A. Oxon. 8° 1230(17), Bodleian Library.

PAMELA L. R. HORN

by the Warwickshire union. To this end a circular letter, dated 22nd June and signed by Holloway, was sent to all the farmers in the parish. Although its tone was ingratiating—the employers being assured ‘that no unbecoming feelings’ prompted the men and invited to discuss the terms with the latter so as to ‘arrange . . . affairs amicably’—the whole idea aroused great opposition among local farmers.⁷

On 27th June, Holloway attended a committee meeting of the Milton union, held at Oxford, and obtained their rather belated approval to the issuing of the proposed notice for an increase in basic wages to 16s. per week. The employers, for their part, responded by forming a local defence association to act as a counterbalance to the union, and by refusing to pay the increase. While some of the men went on strike, in other cases unionists were locked out, and agricultural activity in Wootton and district ground almost to a halt. The dispute dragged on for nearly two months and in August the farmers secured the help of soldiers from Aldershot to bring in the harvest. This latter action aroused great hostility in trade union circles generally. The secretaries of both the National Agricultural Labourers’ Union and the London Trades Council wrote to the Secretary of State for War about this military intervention in a civil dispute, and the force of their protest was recognized to the extent that the Queen’s Regulations were amended so as to prevent any repetition of the case in future.⁸

The Duke of Marlborough, too, threw some of his influence on the side of the farmers, by offering to transfer to them any cottages or allotments rented directly from him by the labourers, so as to improve the farmers’ bargaining position vis-à-vis their workers. This move was condemned by Holloway in the strongest terms, at a meeting held in Oxford at the beginning of August: ‘Let them . . . have a revolution rather than go back to the dark ages and be serfs and slaves of the farmers.’⁹ Rather interestingly, despite this attack he was not deprived of his own allotment, although some fellow labourers—particularly in the village of Tackley and its hamlet, Whitehills—were less fortunate.¹⁰

⁷ As early as 1869 the Assistant Commissioner had been told that ‘five or six men out of work were making a disturbance . . .’. He also recorded that some labourers were able to increase their weekly earnings above the basic rate of 11s. by the performance of piecework.—*Royal Commission on the Employment of Children, Young Persons and Women in Agriculture, 1867-69, Oxfordshire Evidence*, 345.

⁸ For further details of the farmers’ actions see my article (‘Farmers’ Defence Associations in Oxfordshire—1872-74’) in *History Studies*, I, i, May, 1968, 64-67.

⁹ *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 10th August, 1872.

¹⁰ Oxford Estates of His Grace the Duke of Marlborough—Rentals for the half year to Michaelmas, 1873; in the account book it was noted that George Allen was to rent land ‘late Allotments’ for £20 per annum. The land was situated at Tackley and Whitehills, and Allen was both landlord of the Sturdy’s Castle public house at Tackley and also a coal dealer. Similarly, land formerly let as allotments in Wootton was in some cases let in large blocks to local tradesmen.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY—TRADE UNION LEADER

The conflict cast great responsibility upon Christopher as the local leader, and not surprisingly he asked to be relieved of some of his lay preaching duties so that he could concentrate on his union work. The other circuit committee members resolved, however, that: 'Brother Holloway (be) requested to attend his own appointments or provide a substitute whose name is on the plan . . .'¹¹ Later, at a similar meeting held in September of the same year, it was made obvious that some at least of the local preachers opposed his activities. One of those present objected to 'Brother Holloway . . . on account of his taking so prominent a part in the labour agitation'. Although this attempted censure was rejected by the meeting, the objector and one other member seem to have felt strongly enough over the matter to resign at the end of the meeting.

On a wider front, the prolonged lock-out/strike at Wootton led to a number of the men involved moving north to seek employment. For example about forty labourers and their families left to seek work in Sheffield ironworks in July. The dispute, indeed, seems to have continued until the end of August, when it finally petered out, as most of the remaining men returned to work. (Many of them had secured at least *some* increase in basic wages to compensate them for their efforts, even if the original demand for 16s. per week had by no means always been met.) But if industrial action ended at that time, trade unionism did not—and neither did Holloway's work for the union.

There is little doubt that he had experienced considerable strain during the anxious months of the dispute, but his methods of dealing with events had shown him to be a man of ability. His calibre was appreciated by his fellow unionists, and at the inaugural meeting of the Oxford district of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union (formed largely from the branches of the old independent Milton Union) in October, 1872, he was elected district chairman. During the following months he held meetings to spread knowledge of the union all over the county—and received some remuneration from the union for so doing. For example, he was paid £3 4s. 6d. on 25th December, 1872, for work carried out. During this period of delegate work for the union his hostility towards the Duke of Marlborough remained. In December, 1872, he wrote to Jackson's Oxford Journal regarding the cottages owned by the Duke: ' . . . there are no cottages in our neighbourhood worse than *some* of the cottages belonging to the Duke of Marlborough. . . . '

In the following year Holloway continued his propaganda work, and at least by August, 1873, seems to have been acting as a full-time union delegate. His appointment to this latter position was, however, only regularized at the annual district meeting held on 28th October, when he was not only

¹¹ Minute Book of Local Preacher's Meetings (meeting 26th June, 1872)—MS. D.D. Oxford Methodist Circuit e.6, Bodleian Library.

PAMELA L. R. HORN

reappointed district chairman but also delegate—at a salary of ‘25/- per week, all found’.

On his visits to the villages during this period he lost no opportunity to put before the labourers the advantages of belonging to the union, and also on a wider front, to press for a reform of the land laws and an extension of the urban householder franchise to the rural areas. In addition, he also represented the Oxford district at the fortnightly meetings of the N.A.L.U. Executive Committee held at Leamington.

Not all of his efforts were successful, of course. Some branches were rather lethargic in their response, so that at Horspath, the surviving branch minute book records for 26th March, 1873: ‘Mr. Holloway called unexpected (sic) in the evening, to go to Garsington to get up a meeting, but owing to being late in the evening and unknown to any of the Horspath members and Garsington people it was decided to put the meeting off for a fortnight. . . .’ In the event, this Garsington meeting was not held until about a month later—when thirty new recruits for the union were secured.¹²

Nevertheless, these activities alone did not satisfy Christopher. During the course of 1873 he had become increasingly attracted to the idea of emigration as a means of improving the labourer’s lot. Many emigration agents toured the rural areas in these months of unrest and there was a wealth of literature available on the subject. The union leaders generally were quite enthusiastic about the idea and the N.A.L.U. Rule Book (as amended in 1874) included emigration as one of the explicit aims of the organization. In 1873 Joseph Arch himself, as N.A.L.U. President, visited Canada in an attempt to explore emigration possibilities there. The London-based Agent-General for New Zealand was also displaying interest in securing emigration to his country, and it was with this field that Holloway became concerned. Carter, the Agent-General’s special emigration representative, was largely responsible for harnessing the latter’s interest, to the mutual benefit of Christopher himself and of population-hungry New Zealand.

The relationship started when Christopher invited Carter to address a meeting of labourers at Milton-under-Wychwood on 4th November, 1873. The meeting was held in a tent, and according to Carter’s own report was attended by ‘between five and six hundred persons’. Holloway chaired the meeting and at its close applications for emigration facilities were received from ‘about eight heads of families, representing nearly thirty adults’. In addition, Carter received ‘£17 for outfit for seventeen adults’, who were to leave for New Zealand on 17th November. (‘Outfit’ related to certain

¹² Horspath Branch Minute Book—MS. Top. Oxon. d.533, Bodleian Library.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY—TRADE UNION LEADER

minimum equipment needed for the voyage across, even where the passage was granted free.)

However, the most interesting result of the meeting was Holloway's personal willingness to conduct a party of several hundred labourers to the colony. In return for this he was offered a free passage 'out and home', plus 'subsistence money for (his) family at the rate of 25s. per week during the period occupied by (his) voyage out, (his) two months' stay in New Zealand, and the ordinary time required for (him) to return home in; (the New Zealand Government) would also, during (his) stay of two months in New Zealand, allow (him) a sum at the rate of £1 per diem for travelling expenses.'¹³ Later his period of residence in New Zealand was extended to four months and above. Not surprisingly these generous terms were accepted for less than two years previously Christopher had been a farm worker earning only a basic wage of 11s. or 12s. per week!

Holloway was relieved of his responsibilities as union delegate and by dint of much hard work secured a party of five hundred labourers and their families to travel with him to New Zealand. The party sailed from Plymouth on 23rd December, 1873, in the steamship *Mongol*, which had a tonnage of '2,252 tons register and 400-horse-power nominal.'¹⁴ They arrived in New Zealand on 13th February, 1874.

After spending seven days in quarantine on account of there being sickness on board ship, the party then proceeded to Dunedin.¹⁵ Christopher not only had to ensure that his charges were happily settled but had also to explore the possibilities for other settlers. He wrote enthusiastic letters back to the Labourers' Union Chronicle, the organ of the N.A.L.U., describing conditions in the colony. For example, he declared in one letter dated 17th March, 1874: 'New Zealand is now in a very prosperous condition. Labourers get 8s. a day for a day of 8 hours, and there is likely to be plenty of work for some years. . . . Provisions cheap, clothing slightly dearer than at home; religious privileges great, and education within the reach of everyone. . . .'

The New Zealand government provided an assistant surveyor to accompany him on his tour through the various provinces of the colony—and his travels were certainly arduous. Sometimes he travelled on horseback and sometimes by coach. The scenery, particularly in the Christchurch area impressed him very greatly: 'Indeed language fails me to describe adequately the grandeur of this beautiful mountain scenery . . .' By

¹³ Item 26, Appendices to the Journals of the New Zealand House of Representatives for 1874, on Immigration to New Zealand.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Item 1, Appendices to the Journals of the New Zealand House of Representatives for 1875—on Immigration to New Zealand.

PAMELA L. R. HORN

June he had reached Nelson, where he assisted in the erection of a Wesleyan Chapel and also helped to settle a second party of Oxfordshire emigrants who had travelled out under the guidance of the former Oxford district secretary. The latter—a tradesman named Leggett from the village of Milton-under-Wychwood—intended to settle permanently in New Zealand. Leggett spent the first night in his new abode with Christopher, and the latter was at once able to 'procure a situation of 12s. per day' for him. Within a year he had built his own house, and was 'getting on comfortably.'¹⁶

Whilst in New Zealand, Christopher had an interview with the Premier, (the Hon. Julius Vogel), and as he himself put it, in a report to the Executive Committee of the N.A.L.U. in April, 1875, he mixed 'pretty freely with all classes of the community... I have associated with the great landed proprietor, and with the less affluent settler, who is steadily advancing upward to a more prosperous position. I have met with the employer of labour and the employed, with the prosperous and the unsuccessful, and I have come to the conclusion that any of our labourers, gifted with temperate habits, such as sobriety, industry, frugality, and perseverance, may, in the course of a few years, become occupiers of land themselves, and have placed to their account at the bankers a considerable sum for times of sickness and old age.'¹⁷

It may be thought by the cynical that Christopher's enthusiasm for emigration to New Zealand had an unworthy financial motive, in so far as he was benefiting financially from the emigration process. Whilst this may be true to some extent, there is no doubt that many Oxfordshire men who settled in the colony were well-satisfied with their lot. For example, William Tuffrey, a labourer formerly of Weston-on-the-Green, wrote on 30th August, 1874, of life there: 'I often wish my brother was with us, as he could have plenty of beef and mutton... I wish I had come twenty years sooner...'¹⁸ Although some emigrants did suffer from homesickness, there is little doubt that, on balance, those who emigrated did not regret their decision—at least in the short run. The picture may have been different in the 1880's, when employment conditions were less favourable, but unfortunately no detailed evidence on this is available.¹⁹

Christopher's stay in New Zealand was prolonged beyond the original four months and it was only in November, 1874, that he finally left for England. By April, 1875, he had arrived back in Wootton and was again attending

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Item 1, Appendices to the Journals of the New Zealand House of Representatives for 1875—on Immigration to New Zealand.

¹⁸ *Labourers' Union Chronicle*, 12th December, 1874.

¹⁹ See K. Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, London, 1959, 158-160.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY—TRADE UNION LEADER

district committee meetings in Oxford, although no longer as district chairman. His interest in the union continued, but it was now coupled with a new and important development—namely, his appointment as ‘special travelling agent of the New Zealand Government’. Whilst he was still in the colony, the Minister of Immigration had spoken approvingly of his activities and of his reports ‘which (had) appeared in the public papers, and (were) very ably written. . . .’ Consequently, it comes as no surprise to discover that after his return he was employed on a formal basis ‘for the purpose of lecturing and giving information as to the prospects of persons emigrating to New Zealand’.²⁰ His brief was a national one and he, and a Mr. and Mrs. Burton, were apparently the only agents in England employed directly by the colony for emigration purposes; in 1876, the two latter were dispensed with and he was given sole responsibility. During the course of 1876, Holloway received £312 7s. for his agency—which had involved him in addressing 137 meetings, and had led to the emigration of 39½ ‘statute adults’. In January, 1877, when emigration was less desired by a New Zealand experiencing some measure of economic recession, his income was reduced to 35s. per week—only to be raised again later in the year (when a suggested annual salary of £150 per annum was put forward). Christopher in fact remained as emigration agent on this basis until April, 1880, when his services were finally dispensed with, as emigration to the colony was severely curtailed in the face of a general depression.

Holloway’s work appears to have given great satisfaction. In a letter dated 4th December, 1877, the Agent-General stated: ‘Mr. Holloway has proved himself very useful and energetic in the discharge of the duties of his office as Special Emigration Agent. . . .’ Again, on 1st January, 1880, he declared: ‘. . . and I may specially mention his (Holloway’s) efficient services in obtaining . . . the fifty colliers whom I was instructed to send to Nelson. . . .’

Nevertheless, despite this obvious preoccupation with emigration work during the later 1870’s, Christopher’s work for unionism continued—even if, as at the annual conference of the union in 1876, he combined business with pleasure, by giving information to the delegates ‘respecting the province of New Zealand’.²¹ The value of his union advocacy was given tangible recognition in 1876, when he was presented with a ‘timepiece’, which had been purchased by ‘some friends’, at the annual celebration of the Wootton branch held in October of that year. In March, 1877, he was nominated by a Wootton farm labourer for the position of churchwarden and was elected—

²⁰ Information kindly provided by the New Zealand High Commission.

²¹ *Oxford Chronicle*, 3rd June, 1876.

PAMELA L. R. HORN

to the evident chagrin of the farmers present (and also, apparently, of the vicar).²² As Holloway himself said: 'Who would ever have thought of such a thing as that a Wesleyan local preacher for 13 or 14 years, and a wicked agitator in common with Mr. Arch . . . should have been chosen as churchwarden. . . .' Rather ironically, his fellow warden—John Rowland—was a Wootton landowner and farmer who had headed the opposition to the demands of the labourers in 1872! Holloway's appointment gave him some opportunity to represent the workers' interests in such matters as the distribution of local charities, and there is evidence that he took this part of his work seriously.²³ He was re-elected in 1878.

However, by 1878/79 the Oxford district of the union was becoming involved in increasing internal strife. Union membership in the district—which had reached 3,800 in November, 1873—was slumping (by March, 1878, it stood at about 2,000), and some of the members (including representatives on the district committee) expressed dissatisfaction with the way things were organized. They wished to loosen their ties with Leamington and the N.A.L.U. Executive, and to keep more of the local subscriptions for use within the district. For of the 2d. per member per week which was received by the district committee from the branches, 1½d. had to be sent on to the headquarters at Leamington. However, others, equally, wished to maintain the status quo. In this dissension Christopher took no public part, and although he attended the 1878 annual district assembly, he played no active role in the discussions. At the same time, his own prosperity was obviously growing. In August, 1877, he was able to lend £33 to the Wootton Chapel to enable the Trustees to have 'the Gallery walls . . . boarded to the floor, also up the stairs' and to have two new seats provided. He was also responsible for overseeing the execution of the work and on 29th January, 1878, he became Chapel steward.²⁴

The loan of £33 in fact remained outstanding for several years—surely an indication that Holloway was not short of money. He received interest on the loan at the rate of 4 per cent per annum, i.e. £1 6s. 4d. a year and, in fact, not until April, 1882, was the first instalment—of £16—repaid. The debt was finally settled in April, 1884.

It is clear that Holloway had gained very considerably from his emigration activities, and by September, 1880, when his eldest son, Henry, married, he

²² *Oxford Chronicle*, 24th March, 1877.

²³ Col. C. Ponsonby, T.D., D.L., M.P., *Wootton—The History of an Oxfordshire Parish*, London, 1947, 89.

²⁴ Oxford Methodist Circuit, Wootton Chapel Accounts—MS. D.D. Oxford Methodist Circuit e.58—Bodleian Library.

CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY—TRADE UNION LEADER

had become a shopkeeper.²⁵ This was to remain his occupation for the rest of his life.

Little more remains to be said. Christopher's links with the chapel seem to have weakened in the course of the next few years. On 25th March, 1885, it was announced at the local preachers' meeting for the Oxford Methodist Circuit that, 'Bro. Holloway had finally retired from the plan.' In the last quarter of 1884, he also ceased to be a class leader at his local chapel, and although he remained a trustee, his earlier interest appears to have been sadly diminished.

What brought about this change? No positive answers can be given. Perhaps he was changed to some extent by his worldly success—a shopkeeper was certainly likely to be more affluent than a farm labourer—or perhaps the problems were religious ones. In this connection it is important to trace the careers of the two sons of his second marriage—William John, born in October, 1869, and Ralph, born thirteen years later. In 1892, William (as a Non-Collegiate Student) was awarded a second-class honours degree from Oxford in theology, and in 1895 was ordained an Anglican priest by the Bishop of Exeter. He became a curate at Ashburton in Devon,²⁶ but returned to Wootton to be with his father when he died shortly afterwards, at the relatively early age of sixty-seven. Ralph, too, followed his brother into the Church, and eventually became vicar of St. Luke's, Sheffield. One must consider this a somewhat surprising outcome, given the rather non-ecumenical atmosphere at the end of the nineteenth century.

As for Christopher himself, at the time of his death (on 6th December, 1895) he was described as a grocer and coal merchant, and in a modest sort of way he may have felt that he had 'made good'—even if in the process some of the earlier links with Nonconformity and trade unionism had been snapped. It is significant that when the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Labourers' Union established a section for agricultural workers and set up a branch in Wootton in 1891, Christopher took no part at all in their activities. However, as his Will shows, his worldly possessions were not so very great (in the event, his property was valued at only £174). At the same time, it is

²⁵ Information kindly supplied by the Rector of Wootton, the Rev. L. Perfect. Henry was at this time employed as a labourer at Chapel Town in Yorkshire. Later he clearly returned to Wootton and both he and his wife are buried in Wootton churchyard. His step-sister—Edith Julia Shepherd (*née* Holloway), born in 1875, is also buried there. She died in December, 1959, and on the headstone is proudly proclaimed 'daughter of Christopher Holloway'. By this time Christopher had been dead over sixty years!

²⁶ William appears to have inherited some of his father's interests. For example, one octogenarian in Ashburton remembers that he preached lengthy sermons advocating teetotalism—even if he did balance this by a keen interest in cricket! (Information kindly provided by the Vicar of Ashburton.) Eventually William became vicar of St. Mary's Church, Newbury.

PAMELA L. R. HORN

worth noting that one of the Executors of the Will was John Banbury—a Woodstock draper and leading Methodist who had played an active role in the early days of the agricultural trade union movement in Oxfordshire. The web of the past had not been entirely broken, after all!

BIBLIOGRAPHY 1968 (Jan.-June)

- FISHER, A. S. T., *The history of Broadwell, Oxon., with Filkins, Kelmscott and Holwell*, Burford, 1968.
- HAVINDEN, M. A., *Agricultural progress in open-field Oxfordshire* (Essays in agrarian history, reprints ed. by W. E. Minchington. Vol. 1, p. 147-59), 1968.
- HORN, P. L. R., *Farmers' defence associations in Oxfordshire, 1872-74* (Univ. Hall, Buckland. *Hist. studies*, vol. 1, p. 63-70), 1968.
- LEFF, G., *Paris and Oxford universities in the 13th and 14th centuries* (New dimensions in history, Essays in contemporary history), New York &c., 1968.
- OXLEY, J. E. *A history of Wesley memorial church, Oxford, 1818-1968*, Oxford, 1968.

D. CHENEY.

PLATE XIII



CHRISTOPHER HOLLOWAY IN THE 1870's.

*Photograph from the Colt Collection, Nuffield College,
reproduced by kind permission of Mrs. Margaret Cole*