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From *The Editor*

With this issue we come to the end of the third volume of *Notes & Queries*. Much has happened since the Autumn of 1993 when Vol. I, issue 1 appeared; however it is not the purpose of this journal to record the present day changes in Campden and District. The Historical Society itself has grown and with it the interest in the story of the past and its influence on the present and the future. The new Community Archive is providing a resource of incalculable value to present and future local historians. In Volume IV this publication will continue to provide a forum for research papers, reminiscences and, perhaps, argument - and all with something to say are invited to contribute to future issues.

This issue contains several longer articles – all for various reasons appropriate for the end of volume III. Michael Grove's wartime story includes a personal account of the great snowstorm of 1916 and a glimpse of the days after the break-up of the Guild of Handicraft. A puzzle relating to an event in Saxon times is at last resolved – though Wentworth Huyshe might have been saddened by the answer. An episode in the mediaeval history of one of the sub-Edge villages is told and the next instalment of the tale of the Campden Research Association is included. And a brief note on the Civil War period tells more of that colourful adventurer, Colonel Bard.

Because of the longer articles in this edition it has not been possible to begin each separate piece on a new page as is the normal custom. However much juggling and rearrangement has meant that only one article has had to share a page in this way. Queries and Replies have been held until the Autumn.

An index is in preparation and will be sent out later.

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Sir Henry Bard – Political Assassin?

Jill Wilson

Since writing an article and a note on Sir Henry Bard¹ I have kept my eyes open for more information on this fascinating adventurer. In 1994 I was able to say

At the court of Charles II at the Hague, on 12 May, 1649, he was arrested for murdering a Dr Dorislaus – but was set free as the charge was said to be unfounded.

It has now come to my attention that in 1649 Parliament sent a certain Dorislaer to The Hague

as its agent, but within a few days of his arrival he was murdered by English royalist emissaries (May 12, 1649).²

This throws a new light on the matter. The political repercussions were considerable and indeed included, with many other bones of contention, the war of the early 1650s.

Isaac Dorislaer³, or Dorislaus as he was known in the Latinised form used in University circles, was born in 1595 at Alkmaar in Holland. Following study at Leyden University and a short teaching career, he came to England where, in 1627, a lectureship at Cambridge University was cut short by a reaction by the authorities to his unorthodox views. He used the Annals of Tacitus as a basis to express his own strong opinions on the Netherlands' attempts to obtain liberty by throwing off the yoke of Spain. During the Civil War he used his legal training in the service of Parliament and also acted as envoy to the States-General of Holland. However it was his assistance to Parliament in the preparation and management of the case of high treason brought against Charles I that ensured the hatred of the Royalists.

Thus, unsurprisingly, he was warned to beware of attacks when in May 1649, just over three months after the King's execution, he was sent as envoy to the Hague. At that time the English court in exile, including Charles II and many escaped Cavaliers, was taking refuge there. It will be remembered that Mary, the sister of Charles II, was the wife of William, Prince of Orange. Dorislaus discounted the rumours of a plot against him and cheerfully took up residence at the Witte Zwann Inn on 10th May. Even a failed murder attempt next evening did not persuade him to move to more secure accommodation. At a dinner party at the inn on the evening of 12th May, twelve masked men burst in and Dr Dorislaus was bludgeoned to death. "Thus dies one of the king's judges."

The leader of the attack was said to be Colonel Walter Whitford and it may be presumed that Sir Henry Bard was one of their number. (At the Restoration Whitford received a pension for what the diarist Evelyn called 'a generous action.')

No action was taken against the assassins by the Dutch authorities. Parliament was enraged, threatening to retaliate on Royalist prisoners in its hands, - *A Declaration of the Parliament of England of their just Resentment of the horrid Murther perpetrated on the Body of I. Dorislaus*. As said above diplomatic relations, soured by this episode, continued to worsen until war broke out.

Notes

1 'Sir Henry Bard, Adventurer, Traveller, Soldier, Diplomatist' *Notes & Queries* I. 1 pp. 5-6 and I. 2 pp. 15-17.

2 Ogg, David, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century*, Chapter X 'The Dutch Republic' pp421-2; Adam & Charles Black (1954)

3 *Dictionary of National Biography*

The Deserted Village of Naunton-sub-Edge

David Vince

On Saturday February 19th 2001 Chris Dyer, Professor of Medieval History at the University of Birmingham and I tried to find the site of the deserted medieval village of Naunton-sub-Edge. This is one of the three 'sub-Edges,' the others being Aston-sub-Edge and Weston-sub-Edge. The village is not only recorded in the landscape topographically but also in a set of records involving the Giffard family – which are held at the record office in Dorchester, Dorset.

The village seems to have been inhabited from 1100 to 1500. The records show 15 to 20 households living at Naunton-sub-Edge at about 1450. There was severe strain on these families and people were already leaving the settlement. The names of some families are known. The Giffards tried to keep the tenants, giving incentives such as grants of wood but to no long term avail, for by 1500 the tenants had gone. As the Giffards held Weston-sub-Edge as well it is unclear whether a manor house existed at Naunton-sub-Edge. It would, however, be very likely a chapel existed, although burials would have taken place at the Parish Church.

The present house called Burnt Norton Hall is on the site of the deserted medieval village. The current house has a large amount of work in Cotswold stone dating from 1620 according to a date stone set above the outside door. However, investigation of the roof timbers suggests some of the roof beams have been cut to facilitate the placing of windows from this work of 1620. It may be there are remains here of an earlier building contained in the building of 1620. The foundations suggest the earlier building may have been a rectangular shape with the two long sides facing the road to the village of Aston-sub-Edge on the one side and on the other long side facing one of the roads into the deserted village and the suggested 'green' of the village.

The site shows clearly how the ridge and furrow delineates the settlement site. There is a bank and ditch clearly revealing two edges of the settlement. Five tofts can be seen and there are two hollow ways into the settlement. The present tarmac road travels over the earlier ridge and furrow, although the medieval hollow way runs parallel to it. There seems to be a 'green' on one side of the tofts, bounded by ridge and furrow on the other. It may be other tofts have been destroyed by the later eighteenth century buildings.

We also investigated the site of the Roman stone coffin, dating from 350 to 400, but no pottery could be found. If time allows further research could be carried out. Further work will be done on the suspected site of a Roman building, in the parish of Weston-sub-Edge this time.

It is interesting to note that around 1400 to 1450 the Giffards needed to rent land at Combe, now Campden House. This land was rented from monks of Bordesley Abbey, the landowners. The flock consisted of 1500 sheep. A widow of the Giffards from this time could not pay her debts with cash so had to pay a clothes bill in Chipping Campden with 12 sheep. So, five hundred years later we have farmers under great pressure, rents being reduced, people paying bills with sheep, people leaving the land – sound familiar?

Back from War – a Brief Return

Michael Philip Grove

[Omitting three pages of trench warfare following the reminiscences in the previous issue]

On February 15th 1916 I got nicked by a Gerry bullet. It entered just under the two vent holes in my cap, left hand side and burst the wire grummet in the centre of the back. I was told, another quarter of an inch and that would have been my lot. . . . I kept [the cap] as it showed where the bullet entered and with a larger ragged hole at the back where the bullet passed out. . . . My mother kept it. . .

We used to have what was called “Green” envelope, once a fortnight, with which we could seal down a letter. This was supposed not to be censored . . . Now in one of these green ones I told Mother about this bullet but said not to say anything about it, to the local military, as it could get me into trouble, for making a false statement of my age on enlistment. But she went to Colonel Staunton at the court house, and showed my letter and also she showed my birth certificate. . . .

Now then, one day in March while we were in the line the CO’s orderly came along calling my name. He said, “The CO wants you in his dugout at once.” I thought, “Oh hell what have I done now?” I had not done anything. My thought went back to the sighting of those machine guns a while ago. It can’t be that. Anyway, I arrived, stood smartly to attention and saluted. He looked at me and said, “name etc, you come from Chipping Campden?” When I said yes he barked, “How old are you?” “Nineteen Sir.” Then he repeated it and I said again, “I am nineteen Sir.” Then he pointed to my birth certificate on the table, and I said I still wanted to soldier on. Then he said, “Your mother claims you out, as being under age.” I was then sixteen. In the end he said, “You will go back out of here today and get on the train leaving the railhead at ‘Nerve le Mines’ this evening.”

So I went back and collected my gear and said ‘Cheerio’ to my friends and collected my official papers from the CO’s office dug-out, and cleared off back to Le Havre. After a day there I was put on a cross-channel steamer for England. I still had all my gear and was weighed down with it. We left Le Havre at four thirty in the afternoon of March 26 1916, and ran full tilt into the blizzard which was raging. . . . We finally arrived at Southampton at three thirty the next afternoon. There were a lot of troops on board, also two German planes lashed on deck.

However we finally landed and I got on a train. Arriving at Campden Station very late, telegraph poles and wires were down all along the line. On the way home I got stuck in the snow up to my middle just along from the Coneygree gate, when I saw a movement over the wall, by Walkers gate. He had seen me and called out, “get back out of there and come over here, there’s no snow this side of the wall.” It was the Gas Man from the Gas House. I went on the other side of the wall and was walking on dead leaves. The snow had drifted and filled the road six feet deep along the level there. I soon kicked my door to wake someone up and let me in. Next day I went on to Norton Barracks, Worcester, where I was discharged from the service. This early service entitled me to the 1914-15 medal.

There was no work at the time so I went with Tom Keeley to Birmingham and got a job on munitions at Bordesley Green. . .

[A number of temporary and short-lived jobs later . . .]

I worked for a time with Teddy Horwood a silversmith at the guild. His shop was at the back, the ground floor where Pyments Office is. The first part next the basement was an open space. My first job was to make twenty four 'School Badges' "M.O.B." in silver and set with moonstones. Then soon after this, he closed his shop and moved all his gear and went away to Bognor. So I was out again. I next worked with Joe Warmington for a few weeks. His shop was on the street side of the Guild opposite Horwood (now used as part of Pyments office). Here we upholstered a suite of furniture. This was quite a nice useful job and it gave me a working knowledge of that kind of work. This job was for a farmhouse on the top road towards Moreton way. The farm was in a dip in the ground. The second gate I think on the right hand side. Joe sent me up to the house, to tell them the work was finished for them to collect.

Next I went to the shop above, George Hart, Silversmith. I was there quite a time and got on famously. I liked old George and he was quite interesting. Again I learned quite a lot there. It was good to shape things out of flat sheet and draw silver to different thicknesses and shapes of wire. Then fit things and solder on the decorative wires etc.

But of course it was very lonely for me as I was the only young chap there. In the end I felt I had to move and the only thing left for me was to join the Services again. So in the end I put my age on a bit and joined 'The Royal Marine Artillery.' This I could only get in by signing on for twelve years. I was told I could get free discharge at the end of the war, as they would be over strength. They guaranteed this. So off I went to Portsmouth.

The Other Campden - Then and Now A Brief History of the Research Association

Celia Jones

Part II

1946 saw the beginning of increasing mechanisation in the field and in the factory, although some specially designed machinery such as the flame peeler for plums was never put into full production. Flame peeling of apples however did come to be used in due course for a while. The rate of output of the canning lines was greatly increased and the importance of hygienic conditions in the canneries more fully realised. In the field the greatest advances were in the mechanical harvesting of crops (for example peas were harvested by mobile viners) and in the methods of assessing their maturity. The RA kept in touch with all these developments.

In 1950 the first experiments into the quick freezing of foods took place and in 1952 the Research station became The Fruit and Vegetable Canning and Quick Freezing Research Association, and independent of Bristol University. The companies who had previously been subscribers now became members. Their fees gave them access to expertise and help from the Association. Some funding also came from the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. There were many visits abroad by RA staff to help to organize or coordinate research on food preservation and to give

advice about the establishment or improvement of a food canning industry. For example, in 1953 Mr Adam went to Kenya to study an unusual problem in pineapple canning.

Mr Hirst, who had been the first director of the Research Station, retired in 1957 and Mr W B Adam replaced him. The internal structure of the buildings was altered to give better working conditions for the staff. In 1960 the buildings were purchased by the Association and the responsibility for the Association was transferred from the DSIR to MAFF. In 1961 Lord Kings Norton was elected President of the Research Association.

In 1965 the association was renamed The Fruit and Vegetable Preservation Research Association. 1969 was the Jubilee year and for the first time invitations were extended to the wives of members attending Canners' Day and a special programme was organised for them. In the evening members attended the Royal Shakespeare Theatre followed by supper at the Shakespeare Hotel. There were now 53 employees.

During the 1960s Dr Derek Haisman developed a machine for measuring the hardness of processed peas by dropping them onto an inclined plate to see how far they would bounce. This was a useful technique in those days.

The name of the Association was changed in 1972 to The Campden Food Preservation Research Association to indicate that research was moving into other fields than fruit and vegetables. It so happened that in the same year a Grant of Arms was made to Chipping Campden and the blazon included an ear of corn and a wheatsheaf, references both to the agriculture of Campden and the Research Station. The Association was authorised to use the blazon on documents, because they had been instrumental in applying for the Coat of Arms and had contributed towards the cost. Ties and car badges were made available.

On Campden Day in 1975 The Francis Gilliat Building was opened by Lord Kings Norton. It was named in recognition of the services to the Association and to the industry of Francis Gilliat, director of a major UK fruit and vegetable canning firm. The new buildings provided processing space and microbiological laboratories.

In 1977 the Chairman, Dr J Green of Heinz, had plans approved for a major building programme and a large increase in membership fees. The 'Plan for Campden' was drawn up. The Association was felt to be at the crossroads and at an extraordinary general meeting it was pointed out that it either went forward in accordance with the plan or it would wither away. Government support would no longer apply to the same degree as hitherto, and the Association was not viable without more industrial finance, but it was hoped this could be achieved as research was more essential than ever into food processing and packaging, CCFRA was unique in bringing together food processing, packaging, machinery manufacture, agriculture and horticulture. It was agreed that the friendly relationship of Campden with industry could only be maintained on the present site, and so it was decided to invest in equipment and to move forward.

The Plan included proposals to recruit overseas members actively. Representatives came from Algeria, Brazil, Iraq, Romania, Thailand and very many other countries, whilst members of staff also travelled widely. In the earliest days there was research into the canning, bottling and freezing of fresh fruits and vegetables, but by 1980 all foods were studied. Soft drinks had now come within the range of research, and the station was working on strengthening the links with soft drink companies, for

example they were doing flavour analysis profiles for colas, and examining the hygiene and safety of soft drinks.

On the 51st Annual Campden Day in 1981 a new laboratory building was officially opened by Lord Kings Norton. The Jubilee Building cost £550,000. Dr Colin Dennis joined the RA to head the newly formed Division of Food Technology. A five-year plan for Campden was developed with the aim of serving the food processing industry better. The Association was the only national research establishment working with processed fruit and vegetables, and acting as a process adviser to the world. Funding, membership fees, contract work, Ministry research projects, and overseas commissions were all flourishing. One of the Campden scientists, Dr David Arthey, reported to *The Grower* in April 1982, 'Campden is making progress on all fronts – agricultural production techniques, quality improvement, processing techniques, studies of new packaging materials, plastic containers, and chilled foods.' The association was sending out people to help with quality control. And in May 1982 *The Grower* reported, 'Campden grows against the odds, as a result of a change in direction, with total emphasis on selling scientific services.'

So the 1977 Plan had been successful and the Association had witnessed a complete change in its fortunes over five years, membership fees had increased, new buildings were paid for, the old mill was converted, and the old processing hall had become an engineering workshop.

A new extension to the Jubilee Building was planned. In 1982 the first brick of the new extension was laid by the youngest employee, Mark Hopkins, aged 17, over a vacuum-sealed pouch containing the current issue of the *Campden Newsletter*, the day's headlines from *The Times*, and a 20p piece. The topping out ceremony for the new laboratory wing took place in 1983. Mr Les Hall, the longest serving member of staff, represented Campden on this occasion, and the new Battledene building was officially opened in 1984.

In 1988 Dr Colin Dennis became Director General, and later that year the name was changed again to The Campden Food and Drink Research Association.

The Research Association was honoured by a visit from Mr Jagdish Tytler, the Indian Minister of Food Processing Industries in 1989. The visit followed a project carried out in India on behalf of the Department of Trade.

At the open day for members in 1990 the new Battlebrook building, housing processing laboratories and training facilities was opened. The Chairman of the Association, Dr O'Reilly, who was President of Heinz, announced the creation of a travelling scholarship in the form of an annual travel grant for a top scientist from Campden to investigate food safety developments abroad.

In 1991 new training courses were set up, and more research was done on chilled foods. In June 1994 the Kings Norton Building, named after Lord Kings Norton was opened by Lord Plumb. This housed a new training suite and a new staff restaurant to cater for staff and visitors.

Why the Date 689?

Allan Warmington

On each side of the Millennium sign in Campden High Street there is a date. On the southern side the date is 2000, the Millennium year which it commemorates. On the northern side the date is 689. This copies Wentworth Huyshe's original design for the sign. But where did he get the idea of this date - the date, it is said, of an early battle near Campden between the Saxons and the Celts?

The evidence for and against this battle is complicated, to say the least. The first local reference to it was made by the Campden historian, Canon S.E. Bartleet, in the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society Transactions in 1884.¹ Bartleet quoted a thirteenth century writer, Pierre de Langtoft, as the source - and this is in fact the only original source for this story. In his first article Bartleet thought there was an earlier source by one John Castorius, or Bever, but he later corrected this², having discovered that there was an error in the literature, and this second source was an anonymous fifteenth century reference back to de Langtoft.

So who was Pierre de Langtoft? He seems to have been a thirteenth century English monk based in Yorkshire who wrote a chronicle³ in two parts in rather execrable French verse. (In fact his nineteenth century editor says he clearly did not learn his French in France!) He draws his material mainly from writers of the previous hundred years, though he quite frequently misunderstands the Latin of these writers. The first part of his work, from the foundation of Britain up to the seventh century, is an abridged translation of Geoffrey de Monmouth's 12th Century *Historia Regum Britanniae* with a few variations and deviations. In the second part he uses mainly later writers like Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester.

However, the references to Campden occur right at the start of Part II, and there does not seem to be any extant source for these references, although he begins by paying homage to the Venerable Bede, whom he does not explicitly use at all. The first few lines of Part II tell the story, derived partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth⁴, of how Cadwallader, the British (Celtic) king, left Britain for Brittany, and thence went to Rome where he was baptised by the Pope and died. Cadwallader left, says de Langtoft, in midsummer 684. Two years after his death, he says, Cadwallader's two nephews, Ivor and Ini (Ingi or July) came to Wales via Ireland, fought against the Saxons in Cheshire and conquered all the land between there and Winchester. About this time the Saxon Ine was proclaimed king of Wessex, and, says de Langtoft, sent letters off to his fellow monarchs telling how the two Bretons had come back to recover the territory from which they had been driven. Straight away the kings and barons of England gathered and "in the Danish field all are assembled which from that hour is called Campedene"

*(en la champ danays tuz sunt assemblez
ke pies cet heure en ça est Campedene nommez.)*

At this Council, he says, the king of Essex proposed that the Saxons should all choose a leader to defend themselves against the Bretons, and Ine, king of Wessex, was chosen as leader.

Immediately there arise several problems (apart from the false derivation of the name Campden from Champ Danois). Welsh, Breton and Irish histories⁵ all tell the story of Cadwallader, the British king, leaving Britain because, it is usually said, of ill

health and the weakness of the Britons due to pestilence as well as the attacks of the Saxons. He was welcomed in Brittany by King Alain, and after recovering his strength wanted to return to fight in Britain, but, being told in a dream by an Angel to go to Rome instead, he consulted with Alain, who advised him to do so. There he was baptised by the Pope and died seven days later, on 20th April 688 or in one or two accounts, 689.

The first difficulty arises here, because English sources (Bede, Matthew Paris and others ⁶) all say that another, Saxon, king, Ceadwalla of Wessex, (the predecessor of Ine) went to Rome in 688, was baptised by the Pope and died a few days later, on 20th April 688. The evidence for both stories seems to be an epitaph in St Peter's Cathedral quoted in full by both Bede and Matthew Paris, recounting the story of the baptism and death. Cadwallader is in fact a rather shadowy figure in the Welsh annals, a parallel in some ways to King Arthur. Whereas the warlike activities of Ceadwalla of Wessex are recorded in some detail by contemporary writers like Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, very little is known about Cadwallader, though his father, Cadwallon, was a renowned British king who allied himself with King Penda of Mercia against Northumbria. Geoffrey of Monmouth indeed says Cadwallader's mother was a half sister of Penda and he was therefore half Anglo-Saxon, although leader of the Britons.

Welsh and Breton histories also talk of Ivor and Ini (Inith) travelling from Brittany to Wales. Geoffrey says that for seventy-nine years they harassed the English with their savage attacks but were in the end unsuccessful.⁷ (The other Welsh and Breton sources say rather that they reigned over the British in Wales for 48 years.⁸) Some sources say they tried to pacify, unite and govern the Welsh rather than make war. Nevertheless all sources, ancient and modern, British and Saxon, agree that small battles did take place in the west and North of England between the English and the British during this period.

Here, however, further doubts arise. Even accepting de Langtoft's version, the date 689 does not seem right. If Cadwallader did die in 688 or 689, and it was two years later that his nephews left Brittany, came to England and then conquered the land between Cheshire and Winchester, Ine could not have sent out his letters until 691 or 692 at the earliest. The tale of the council in the "Danish Field" is also disputable. We will return to this later.

But to return to de Langtoft's account. Ine, he says, took up the office to which he had been appointed at the council and displayed his banner. And then went to battle against Ivor and Ingye below Campedene in the meadows. The battle was mounted and the party of Irish and Welsh who had come to the aid of the two Bretons were vanquished. They fled the field and, discomfited, went back to their boats.

*Ine enprent le office et baner desplye
Et vuyt a la batayle sur Ivor e Ingye
Par desuz Campedene en la praerye
Est feru la batayle e vencu la partye
Des Ireis e Walays ke vendrent en aye
A les ii Bretons, ke ount le champs guerpye
Et discomfiz se rount ancre a lur navye.*

There the account ends.

What are we to make of this Council and battle? There is no extant contemporary record of either, and the earlier writers, Breton, Irish, Welsh or English say nothing about it.

First, there is no historical evidence at all that Ine was made *Bretwalda* at that time, or given any seniority among the kings of England. Indeed, Penda of Mercia and his son Peada led by far the strongest of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms at this period, and consistently claimed victories over neighbouring kingdoms, including, in 715 Wessex itself, after which they claimed overlordship of Wessex. True Ine is renowned because of the set of laws he introduced into Wessex about 693, and he reigned for a long time there, but in 689 he had only just succeeded to the throne.

Secondly, there were constant conflicts and reconciliations, and temporary alliances were formed, but there is no contemporary reference to any council of this kind being held at that time. De Langtoft, like most twelfth and thirteenth century writers, seems to have elaborated the reports of older writers to produce semi-fictional accounts according to the impression they wanted to give.

A modern writer, R. Beresford Ellis,⁹ points out that there was almost certainly a period of continuous warfare during the Hwiccean settlements in Worcestershire, South Warwickshire and Gloucestershire as the Celts struggled to defend or retake the lands from which they had been dispossessed by mainly Anglian invaders. But Hwiccia was of course always subject to Mercia, not Wessex, and as we have seen, the king of Mercia would not have welcomed the king of Wessex and his allies conducting a battle in his territory. Moreover, it is strange that the defeated armies “took to their boats” from a battle that was over a hundred miles from the sea.

So perhaps de Langtoft mistook a reference to another Council and another battle for engagements at Campden. Let us look at accounts of other councils and battles around that period.

In 673 a ‘Synod’ was held at Hertford to discuss certain heresies and agree fully the doctrines proclaimed by the Church of Rome. Then in 675 and 680 Councils of all the ‘Witan’ were held at Heatfeld (Hatfield, in Herts) to discuss certain other ecclesiastical matters. But these were not political councils, but religious ones. There is no record of a council being held about 688 to 695.

As for recorded battles between Anglo-Saxons and Britons, in 682, according to Florence of Worcester,¹⁰ Centwine of Wessex “drove the west Britons at sword point towards the sea” though he does not say where this battle took place; and, rather better known, in about 710 Ine and his kinsman, Nunn king of Sussex, fought against Geraint, king of the Welsh (or more accurately the Cornish) near Longport in Somerset, routed them and put them to flight.¹¹ There is no other report of a battle taking place in 689 to 695, although, as we have seen, there was probably constantly a number of skirmishes in the Mercian sub-kingdom of Hwiccia against the invading Angles.

Interestingly, perhaps, de Langtoft having written from Yorkshire, the nearest relation to his ‘Campdene’ seems to be in Bede, as might be expected from his references to that writer at the beginning of this story. However, Bede's mention is in connection with the conversion of King Edwin of Northumbria by the first (Roman) bishop of York, Paulinus, and is dated some seventy years before de Langtoft's battle. It reads (in the Penguin translation):

In the province of Deira, where Paulinus often stayed with the king, he baptised in the River Swale which flows by the village of Catterick; for during the infancy of the church in those parts it was not yet possible to build oratories or baptisteries. A basilica was built in the royal residence at **Campodonum**, but this, together with all the buildings of the residence, was burnt by the pagans who killed King Edwin, and later kings replaced this seat by another in the vicinity of Loides.[Leeds]¹²

The Penguin edition of Bede identifies Campodonum with either Doncaster or Slack, near Huddersfield. There have in the past been other locations suggested, and one, mentioned by an earlier editor, Petrie, reads in part as follows: [*my translation of his Latin*]

Not unworthy of note, however, is that *Paraphrasis Saxonica* translates Campodone as 'Donafelda' which Galeus infers to be possibly Tanfield, which, in fact lies near to Ripon, on the River Swale where Paulinus baptised.

(This must be a small village, since modern Tanfield lies in Durham, northwest of Chester-le-Street). The point here is the similarity between de Langtoft's 'champ danays' and the *Paraphrasis* 'Donafelda', both translated the same way.

We should make one other point. Is not the location of Battle Bridge, Battle Brook and Battledene farm sufficient indication that a battle did take place 'below Campden'? Well, no, actually. As late as the eleventh century the brook was known as Badela's Brook, and that name has been corrupted over the centuries to Battle Brook. This frequently happens. Battleton Bridge in Evesham was known as Patterton Bridge at the time of the Inclosures in the eighteenth century, and the brook which it spans was Pedredan in 1033. There are many other such examples.

So do we have to abandon the idea of this battle altogether? Because we have not found the source of de Langtoft's story, perhaps the question will have to remain open. If Campden wants its battle, no one can actually disprove that it, or something like it, took place. But doubts remain.

Notes

- 1 Rev S.E.Bartleet *The Manor & Borough of Chipping Campden* in Trans. Bristol & Gloucester Archaeological Vol 9 (1884) pp134-195
- 2 Idem Vol 9 pp354-5
- 3 Pierre de Langtoft *Chronicle* ed. Thos. Wright (Rolls Series 1868)
- 4 Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia Regum Beitaninae* (Penguin Books) pp282-84
- 5 e.g. Brut y Twysigion; Chronique de Waurin (Caps LI, LII & LIII); J.O'Donovan (ed) *Annals of the Four Masters*
- 6 Bede *History of the English Church and People* (Penguin Books) Book V Chapter 7 (pp279-80); Matthew Paris *Chronica Majora* entry for AD689.
- 7 op cit : p 284
- 8 "And after Cadwallader, Ivor, son of Alain, king of Armorica which is called Little Britain, reigned, not as king but as a chief or prince; and he exercised government over the Britons for 48 years and then died..." (*Brut y Twyisigion*); "Et depuis par l'espace de xlviij ans plusieurs batailles eceulx Britons par puissance d'armes molesterent moult les Saxons" (*Chronique de Waurin*);
- 9 R.Beresford Ellis *Celts and Saxons* p.117
- 10 Florence of Worcester *Chronicon*, entry for AD 682: "Centwine of Wessex drove the West Britons at sword point to the sea";
- 11 Matthew Paris, op cit. p 322 (entry for AD 708); and Henry of Huntingdon *Historiae Anglorum*, entry for AD 705 : "The next year Ine and Nun his kinsman fought with Geraint King of

Wales. . . . At length . . . Geraint and his followers were put to flight leaving their arms and spoils to the enemy who pursued them”

12 Bede op cit. p130

Other Sources:

Annals of Ulster;

O Jones & Others : *The Myveran Archaeology of Wales*

D.R.Roberts *Chronicles of the kings of Britain*

Radulph de Cogglehall _ (in Rolls Series)

Nennius; Taliesin; Merdin; Aneurin

J. Williams ab Ithol *Annales Cambriae*

Tysilio

Caradoc of Lancarfan

Radulph Niger *Chronica*

Percy Rushen’s Account of the Conference of AD 689

Visitors to the CADHAS Millennium Exhibition, covering more that 2000 years of Campden’s history, will perhaps recall that a note on this conference included a quote from Percy C. Rushen’s book – *The History and Antiquities of Chipping Campden in the County of Gloucester*, p. 16 (published in 1911). The quotation is abridged here.

‘. . . . The earliest event connected with Campden at present known is that of a gathering of Saxon Kings, and of a subsequent battle near by, recorded by Pierre de Langtoft in his “French Chronicle,” written temp. Edward I It appears from this chronicle that Ina King of Wessex, hearing that the Britons were gathering strength in the West, sent messengers to the other Kings of the Saxon heptarchy, inviting them to cooperate To this end the Kings met at ‘Kampedene’ where on the proposition of Sigbert King of Essex Ine was chosen their leader in the undertaking . . .’

The comment on this paragraph threw some doubt on the story and said ‘. . . the general outline fits the period. Ini or Ine was king of Wessex from 688 to 726 and is noted for his wise and just rule. The other king named by the chronicler, Sigbert of the East Saxons (Essex) must be incorrect however. Sigbert II was dead before 664. In 689 the East Saxon king was Sebbi, a less well known ruler. . . .’

It had always been a mystery why a Yorkshire chronicle should be the only source for a meeting held so far south. Now it appears that there is an explanation – the record related to another place with a similar name – in Yorkshire.