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Reviews

Edited by ALAN TYLER

John Rhodes (ed.), *The Terrier of Llanthony Priory's Houses and Lands in Gloucester 1443*, Gloucestershire Record Series 30 (BGAS 2016). xlvi + 460 pp., 15 maps. Hardback, £30.00 to non-subscribers [ISBN: 9780900197918].

John Rhodes has been working on the lands of Llanthony priory since 1999, and published *The Calendar of the Registers of the Priory of Llanthony by Gloucester, 1457–1466* in this series in 2002 (vol. 15). The fruition of his long work is evident in the depth of the knowledge within this volume, and it advances the history of Gloucester as well as Llanthony priory significantly. These volumes, alongside a rental of 1455 of the priory edited by W.H. Stevenson and published in 1890, provide an important corpus of evidence surpassing most other English medieval urban areas.

A terrier was a survey of property, arranged topographically, and usually describing the property and its boundaries. The Llanthony terrier in question is now in the National Archives at Kew under the document reference C 115/73. It currently runs to 86 folios, although two leaves are now missing, and it has suffered water damage. It is an elegant document, in a regular and formal hand, with blue capitals, some with a degree of illustration, and a liberal use of red ink throughout the predominantly black text to highlight numbers and sums. The formality and elaboration of the text suggest that this was not intended to be a working document but a definitive work of reference, although it had a surprisingly high level of error for such a document.

The introduction to the volume summarizes the background to the acquisition of the urban estates of the priory, from the initial foundation grant of 1137 to the piecemeal acquisition of property within the borough over the next two centuries. Some evidence of the priory's policy can be seen, both in the physical environment when property nearest the church was taken in hand and the dwellings removed, and as landlords within the city. Much property was leased, either for life or a term of years, with the latter becoming standardized by the mid 14th century. Vicissitudes, such as the siege of Gloucester in 1264–5 and the Black Death of 1349 in which 19 of 30 canons died, took their toll on the priory's holdings, as did often tense relations with the borough authorities and Gloucester abbey. As Rhodes notes, such disputes led to litigation, which made necessary the terrier of 1443 and a cartulary of 489 deeds of property in Gloucestershire complied two years earlier. Both cartulary and terrier follow the same topographical walking order concerning the property in Gloucester, unsurprising as Canon Richard Steymor (formerly responsible for collecting the priory's rent in the town) was responsible for both.

The terrier had a variable entry format. Consistently the description of each property notes the tenant, the form of tenure, the rent, the property it abutted, and then either a brief history of the property, noting one or more deeds in the cartulary from the reigns of Henry II or Henry III, or a more detailed history, with more information drawn from rentals. The purpose was to show the priory's continuous possession of the property since the reign of Henry III, and thus to stave off challenges under mortmain legislation which in 1279 forbade the acquisition of property by religious houses without royal licence. Some entries also noted the need for further consultation

and investigation to remedy what were believed to be the priory's grievances about particular properties. While this might seem to be a great deal of effort, then the estate was worth it: a gross income from Gloucester property of either nearly £75 or a little over £76 (depending on the calculation) was a considerable sum, comprising the single biggest bloc of revenue at the priory's dissolution in 1538 and nearly 10 per cent of its annual income.

Each plot is numbered in the original, and in Rhodes' edition (though the two may differ), and can be traced on one of the 15 detailed maps, and there is a map key showing the coverage of the different maps. The text helpfully gives the relevant map to avoid struggling to find the property. The edition gives the text of the terrier, and then Rhodes adds a continuation of the history of each property beyond the Dissolution down to the Hearth Tax in 1672, where possible, drawing on a range of other sources. This adds considerable value to the edition of the text, and is a formidable piece of scholarship. Frequently there is more text (in 10-point font to distinguish from the translation of the terrier in 12-point) in Rhodes' continuation of each entry than in the text of the terrier itself, and those with early modern interests will benefit just as much as late medievalists.

A concordance of the cartularies of 1349–63, 1441–2 and 1449 with the terrier is given in appendix two, which will be of considerable aid to the researcher. There are two indexes, one of persons and places and one of subjects. The former normally references the plot number rather than the page number, which is frustrating as these can often run over two or three pages and leads to rather cumbersome index entries, such as '123F (E of)'. The subject index, though not long, is useful, and by collating topics provides interesting detail that might be followed up in future research, such as the numerous inns, alehouses and taverns mentioned. The owners of one plot payed rent of four gallons of ale to the abbot of Gloucester whenever ale was brewed, in addition to a standard 6*s*. rent, to avoid the obvious loophole.

A history and description of the manuscript (p. xxviii) and a very brief section on editorial method is added. This would have benefitted from a much lengthier explanation, as some interesting and unusual decisions have been taken in the preparation of the work, which, while by no means indefensible, do require some justification.

The text, apart from one sample Latin and English translation, is in modern English. This in itself is reasonable, but it is not really a translation of the Latin of the original, but instead rather a hybrid translation and extrapolation, as the very terse nature of the original in places is rendered much more loosely to achieve the sense of the original. For example, in entry 42 (p. 58) the modern text has in the time of Henry III the tenement was held by 'John Tollar of Standisch, smith, and Henry Schywe. In the time of Edward I the latter was still tenant'. A literal translation of the second sentence would read 'Edward I the same Henry Schywe', without any of the modern punctuation. Occasional typographical errors can be found – for example, Margery More died in 8 Henry VI not 8 Henry V (p. 58), as is indicated by the editorial insertion of 1429–30. In general, however, few such errors have crept in.

Additionally, in aid of modern interpretation the order of the original document is not always followed – entries 123J and K, which follow logically in the edition, are dispersed in the text. While there are some obvious advantages to this, it requires a high level of editorial judgement. Frequently, such alterations of the order of the text and occasional omissions of text from the original are because, according to Rhodes, the text is in error. While this may be correct – and Rhodes may well know more about Llanthony's property in Gloucester than the original compilers – if his judgement is erroneous, it is not always easy to establish the correct order or what has been omitted without recourse to the original. In other words, the reader must rely heavily on the editor's viewpoint, and moreover the decision to alter the original is not justified in the editorial method, which it should have been. Other amendments of the original order and omissions of

erroneous original text occur at least in entries 41/41B, 45A/46B, 89, 92/101, 95/96, 102A/B, 109/113, 123J/K, 126/129, 128/130, 144/6.

The very free translation and amending the text, rather than keeping the order of the original and pointing out the errors in footnotes, done here on other occasions, are unusual. It is neither quite an edition of the document, as the alterations to the text would be unacceptable if so, nor quite a modern calendar, being fuller and looser also than such a term normally allows. One of the words in the subtitle better suits this work – it is an augmentation of the original document, with additional material and editorial alterations.

Purists may frown at this, for the reasons outlined here. Nonetheless, it is a work of impressive scholarship. The detail is formidable. The plots are meticulously mapped, the modern street-names and numbers given wherever possible. Given the publication not only of the priory's registers, a rental of the priory's properties in Gloucester in 1455, but also now the terrier, there is a substantial corpus of evidence on which to draw and cross-reference, and this is frequently done in footnotes. Even though Rhodes notes that there is much more to be done 'towards a topography of historic Gloucester', and what that should be (p. xiv), this volume is a major step on the way.

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John Chandler and John Juřica (eds.), *The Victoria County History of Gloucestershire XIII: The Vale of Gloucester and Leadon Valley* (Woodbridge and London, Boydell and Brewer/Institute of Historical Research 2016). 400 pp., 91 b/w plates, 15 line ill. Hardback, £95.00 [ISBN: 9781904356462].

The publication of each volume of the *Victoria County History of Gloucestershire* is an event to be welcomed, but volume XIII is a special landmark in the series. It marks the transition between the volumes funded by Gloucestershire County Council and the University of Gloucestershire, written by full-time staff, and the new model of a VCH, based on limited grant income, researched partly by volunteers and with text prepared by part-time staff. To be precise about the authorship of this volume, it deals with 13 parishes, four of which are credited to John Juřica and four to Simon Draper, who represent the traditional method of VCH funding and editing, while five parish histories and an introductory overview belong to the new dispensation, with John Chandler as the author. The joins do not show, and the volume stands as an assurance that the VCH for Gloucestershire is continuing in the same high-quality scholarly tradition. We can look forward to authoritative and scholarly volumes which will complete the whole project. While volume XIII was going through the final editing process, the central office based in the University of London was experiencing funding problems and changes in personnel, but without visible effect.

The volume deals with a group of parishes in the valleys of the Severn and Leadon to the north and west of Gloucestershire, from Ashleworth, Upleadon and Norton in the north to Elmore in the south, together with nearby Twyning at the confluence of the Avon and Severn. It is a part of the county which is not well known to outsiders, and perhaps the district lacks its own sense of identity: for example, in the early 20th century 'Malvern Hill perry' was being marketed at Minsterworth, although the village lay at some distance from the Malverns.

A unifying theme of this volume is the connection of the 13 parishes to the River Severn and its tributaries. The river's presence was taken for granted, which means that documents often make no more than passing references to it. Yet it has been a major factor, serving as a barrier to easy communication because of its few bridges. A boundary line between parishes runs down its

midstream, and at Twyning it marks the frontier between Gloucestershire and Worcestershire. The Leadon, though a minor river, is an obstacle to modern traffic between Upleadon and Maisemore, though there was once a bridge, Longbridge, which took traffic to the north of Lassington. The destructive force of the Severn's flood waters ensured that settlements were sited well away from its banks, and crops could not be planted in the flood plain. Regularly in the winter the meadows were submerged, and occasional severe and damaging floods lived long in the memory: 1483, 1770, 1852, 1948, 1960 and 2007 are some of the outstanding dates. Counter measures in the form of drainage ditches, banks and walls, and floodgates were installed and maintained, often by local communities. The river was a dangerous companion, but it encouraged the riverside communities to be good neighbours, looking after one other and shaming those who neglected their duties of ditch scouring.

The irony of the river's bad behaviour was that it also brought great benefits – its winter flood waters stimulated the spring growth of grass in the meadows, and after the 1770 floods excellent crops resulted at Elmore from planting in the silt left behind as the waters retreated. The river valley provided a corridor for main roads running parallel to the river, at a safe distance. The river itself was the main artery for transport, with local boats connecting villages to Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and enabling longer-distance journeys to Bristol and Shropshire. The cargoes were loaded and unloaded at quays and wharfs at Ashleworth, Wainlode in Norton, Elmore and Minsterworth. Boats based at the last two river ports sailed to Wales, Cornwall and Ireland in the 16th and 17th centuries. All of this stimulated farming and industry, as the boats took locally-grown hay, corn, malt and cheese, and could return with heavy cargoes. A Maisemore coal merchant up to the 1920s sold hay up the river and brought coal for local distribution. Occupations such as sailor and boatmen, even shipwrights, are recorded in the early modern period near the river at places such as Elmore. Between 1777 and 1910 lime was burnt at Ashleworth and then presumably supplied to distant customers via the quay. Fisheries provided much employment in the Middle Ages and into the 16th century, with catches including shad, lampreys and lamperns. With increasing pollution the main species caught were eels and salmon and eventually their importance diminished. Near the Rivers Severn and Leadon osier beds (the local name was pershes) gave employment to those cutting the osiers and making baskets. The complex agrarian economy connected the fertile valley to higher ground: in the later Middle Ages the sheep which wintered at Maisemore and were fed with abundant local hay were driven to summer pastures at Coberley on the Cotswold hills, some 16 km to the east.

A second theme that emerges from volume XIII is the growth and decline of rural communities, which is not peculiar to this part of Gloucestershire but is featured strongly in these VCH parish histories. As well as nucleated villages at Maisemore, Bishop's Norton and Sandhurst, people lived (and still live) in hamlets such as Overton (in Maisemore), and in smaller clusters of cottages and isolated farms. The dispersed settlements did not lack cohesion as the inhabitants could share common fields, regulate pastures and gather together in parish churches. At Hartpury they would attend ales in the church house to raise funds for the church fabric. Co-operation extended beyond a single village when two of them shared a pasture in an intercommoning arrangement, as between Bulley and Tibberton. The VCH researchers have been especially successful in revealing the road networks which served each community and were supervised by locally-appointed waywardens. Bulley in the 18th century and earlier had many more roads than it does today. The modern traveler has to take a long detour to make the short journey from Sandhurst to Bishop's Norton, as the more direct routes are no longer maintained. The stopping up of the green lanes at Hartpury is recorded in 1871. The numbers of modern roads that stop at the river bank remind us of how many ferries have been lost, and which helped to make the river a highway rather than an obstacle. Elmore children in the late 19th and early 20th century were able, thanks to the ferry, to go to

school in Minsterworth. Carrier services connected the villages to Gloucester, and an ambitious canal joined Gloucester and Hereford through Tibberton and Rudford, and after it closed in 1881 was replaced by a railway line on the same route that survived until 1964.

There has always been a complex relationship between Gloucester and the nearby villages, sometimes to mutual benefit, but often to Gloucester's advantage. In the Middle Ages Gloucester's religious houses were lords of much of the land in the villages covered by volume XIII and extracted rent and produce which was spent or consumed in the town. The Dissolution did not end Gloucester's domination, as the parish histories are full of the names of rich people of Gloucester, in the 18th and 19th centuries from the Barrow and Stephens families, for example, who gained their living as lawyers, merchants, bankers and medical men. They built big houses such as Hygrove in Minsterworth and Maisemore Park. Contact with Gloucester did not immediately take away the enterprise in farming and crafts practised in the villages. After suffering loss of population that was felt almost everywhere after the Black Death, lively and varied villages emerged in the 16th and 17th centuries growing a variety of crops, from flax and hemp to hops and plums. Above all this was an area of apple and pear orchards, the abundance of which at Ashleworth impressed Atkyns in the 18th century. By 1896 at Minsterworth fruit trees occupied 243 acres of land, compared with 35 acres in 1986. Cheese-making was a specialism with medieval origins, the large scale of which after the Reformation is attested in the probate inventories which record stores of cheese and items of cheese-making equipment.

Alongside these developing agrarian specialisms were the proliferating trades and crafts. At Sandhurst in 1608 the military survey records two weavers, two tailors, a smith, a baker and carpenter. In the 19th century the village had a shoemaker, a shop and post office. Anyone from Sandhurst needing such facilities now must go to Gloucester, which also provides employment for most of the working rural population. The mobility of the modern population is such that a survey in one village in 1991 showed that a quarter of the population had been resident for less than five years. One needs to be realistic about the dark side of past villages, as the sense of community was accompanied by extensive poverty and a barely adequate education system. At Hartpury a master and two assistants taught 130 pupils in 1900. The VCH perhaps says too little about the extent of poverty and the implementation of the poor law, while giving attention to the details of endowed charities which had limited effects in relieving distress with their hand-outs of bread and coals. Modern sensibilities are bound to be offended by village opinions which expressed narrow loyalty to conventional religion and politics, leading to intolerant treatment of Quakers at Maisemore in the late 17th century.

Amidst the evidence for the deterioration of traditional rural life, the VCH account of Maisemore includes an appreciation of the interwar village schoolteacher Alfred Driver, who inspired his pupils but also influenced the whole village with his pig and poultry club. He wittily promoted the village cricket club by pointing out that it should be known by the famous initials of MCC. Other initiatives which enlivened rural life in the 19th and 20th centuries included chairmaking at Norton, beekeeping at Maisemore, the development of the agricultural college at Hartpury and the philanthropic initiatives of the Price family at Tibberton.

Of course this review has presented ideas that have been provoked in one reader by the conventional sequence of topics laid down for each parish history, proceeding through the headings of landscape, settlement, population, landownership and so on. Here the parish histories are well researched and well presented, in the best VCH traditions. One problem which ought to be soluble in the future is the use of the 1327 lay subsidy. In the population sections the total of taxpayers in 1327 is presented in a rather gingerly fashion, showing that the authors are aware that they cannot be compared directly with Domesday Book, manorial surveys, the Tudor subsidies and the other 16th-century sources. In the case of Maisemore the proposal is made that the population

fell *c*.1300 because 53 manorial tenants were listed in 1265 yet there were only 23 taxpayers in 1327. This supposed decline reappears later in the parish history. The likely story of Maisemore's population was that the many smallholders and cottagers recorded in the late 13th century were exempted from paying tax, as was normal practice, and that there were more than 50 households in the village in both 1265 and 1327.

This book will join the other valued volumes of the Gloucestershire VCH as a source which local people can consult, and as a work of reference for use by historians of all kinds both in the county and beyond. It is an achievement in itself, but also points the way to the ultimate goal of a completed county series in the not too distant future.

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Jonathan Hart, Andrew Mudd, E.R. McSloy and Mark Brett, *Living near the Edge: archaeological investigations in the western Cotswolds along the route of the Wormington to Sapperton gas pipeline, 2006–2010*, Cotswold Archaeology Monograph 9 (Cirencester, Cotswold Archaeology 2016). xv + 240 pp., 149 ill., 48 tables. Hardback, £21.95 [ISBN: 9780993454509].

This is an attractively produced, profusely illustrated and moderately priced archaeological report based on the excavations between 2006 and 2010 along the route of a gas pipeline from Wormington to Sapperton, from the Severn Vale to the lower Cotswold uplands west of Cirencester. The pipe line runs for 44 km approximately north to south, rising from the 55 m contour near Wormington to the 280 m contour at Needlehole in Withington before dropping to the 185 m contour at Sapperton. The project, which took ten years to complete, shows what can be achieved by a fruitful partnership between the National Grid (the sponsors) and Cotswold Archaeology (the investigators), supported by a large number of outside specialists. Cotswold Archaeology enjoys a reputation for high standards of excavating and reporting similar projects in the past; the most recent being *A46 Nottinghamshire: The Archaeology of the Newark to Widmerpool Improvement Scheme 2009* (2014). The present volume maintains the high standard with its detailed site and specialist reports, despite the claim it is but a synthesis of the project archives held in Cheltenham and Corinium (Cirencester) museums.

Since the construction of the M5 motorway, the archaeological reports for which appeared in *TBGAS* 90–5 (1971–7), archaeologists have been aware of the value of a long, if narrow (in this present case 50 m-wide), transect randomly crossing potential archaeological features, not least because such sites rarely become available. As a result of the preliminary desk-based and geophysical investigations it was decided to concentrate on 18 places along the pipeline holding the promise of the best archaeological returns. Overall the dates of the findings stretched from *c*.3600 BC to *c*.AD 1300. Ironically one of the results of the prior investigation was that the pipeline had to be routed to avoid known historical and archaeological sites, Hailes abbey being the principal example. Another constraint for the findings was that there was no strategy for recovering artefacts from superficial deposits such as surface collection and soil sieving. Nevertheless: 'despite these shortcomings, from the standpoint of pure research, the project can be seen to have revealed an enormous range of "unexpected archaeology" across a geographical and chronological transect, giving new insights into the landscape and its inhabitants'. The report's attractive presentation suggests it is aimed at a wider readership than the professional archaeological community, so how far does *Living near the Edge* succeed in presenting its findings to that wider general readership interested in archaeology and history, especially related to the Cotswold area?

The profuse number of full colour illustrations immediately creates interest. The photographs increase the reader's understanding of both the sites and the finds, whilst the maps and plans allow the reader to follow the route and help make sense of the detailed diagrams and site cross-sections which feature in all archaeological reports and can so easily baffle the non-specialist. It is pleasing that early in the report there is a table detailing the nomenclature of the time periods used in the text and also a summary table of the findings at each of the 18 sites (pp. 14–15). Both of these tables serve as very useful references throughout the volume. So too does the frequent repetition of the pipeline map for locating the individual sites.

The report itself is divided into six principal chapters. Readers might be tempted to read Chapter 1 (Introduction) with its very comprehensive physical and historical background to the area and then pass to Chapter 6 (Conclusion) for a summary of the findings, but in doing so they will miss the details of the site reports which provide the basis of the interpretations discussed in this final chapter. Although the report acknowledges the investigations made no great discoveries to add to existing knowledge (and therefore somewhat at odds with the earlier statement on p. 15), they have added to our understanding of how people lived their lives and used this part of the Gloucestershire landscape over a period of nearly 5,000 years. The following review can of necessity only focus on a limited number of the more significant discoveries.

Chapters 2–5 are arranged chronologically and within them the report on each individual site is also presented chronologically, although the division into time periods for the chapters can seem somewhat arbitrary. Chapter 2 is entitled 'Neolithic activity and Bronze Age burial'. The earliest evidence found along the whole length of the pipeline was provided by a few Mesolithic flints scattered across a number of sites. Pits containing plant remains and charcoal at Foxcote Plantation (Site 8), near Winstone (Sites 14 and 15) and Park Corner in Duntisbourne Rouse (Site 17) could be dated to the 4th to 2nd millennium BC. Thompson's Hill, Stanway (Site 1), one of only two sites in the Vale, produced two Bronze Age ring ditches with two infant inhumations and two nearby cremations. The aerial photograph of the site (p. 20) is one of a number of such excellent photographs which are well chosen to help the general reader's understanding by relating the written account to the site in its landscape. On the Cotswolds the evidence from molluscs from the Bronze Age in a ring ditch containing a cremation at Foxcote Hill, Withington (Site 9) indicated the ditch had been constructed in a small woodland clearing, thus providing further evidence for the more general debate on the extent of woodland regeneration after the Neolithic period.

In Chapter 3, 'Later Bronze Age and Iron Age boundaries and settlements', two early Iron Age houses (800–600 BC) found on Salter's Hill above Hailes (Site 3) were not revealed by a geophysical survey, which serves as a *caveat* for the limitations of this method, valuable as it can be. Here is another example where the brightly-coloured plans and the labelled photograph enhance the reader's understanding of the site report. Not too far away at Granna Wood, Sudeley (Site 6), 26 pits could be dated to 400 BC–AD 50. Three of them contained a horse skull, which suggested some sort of ritual had taken place. No more were found along the pipeline route and the authors had to speculate on the purpose of the depositions by reference to parallels elsewhere. However, the much larger number of cattle bones and a lesser number of sheep/goat bones bore butchery marks, thus allowing a more certain interpretation as evidence for meat-eating, perhaps connected to communal feasts.

The excavations at Baker's Wood in Sevenhampton (Site 7) measured 150×50 m and were one of the largest excavated areas of the project. It also provided a clear sequence of development, which is mostly reported in Chapter 4. 'Late Iron Age, Roman and Anglo-Saxon occupations'. In addition to the ubiquitous ditches, posthole evidence suggested a structure in the late Iron Age and early Roman period (AD 50–150) and there was some evidence for smithing. In the mid Roman period (AD 150–250) two ovens for drying cereals were constructed, whilst two cremations also

dated to that period. In the later Roman period (AD 250–450) the site was reorganized with two new structures being built. Small finds from this period included metalwork, glass beads, coins, weights and box fittings. Added to the findings from the other seven sites which also had evidence from this period, some general conclusions emerged in the specialist reports; relatively few metal goods were discovered and the pottery was almost totally devoid of fine wares, indicating a subsisting and even struggling population in this area of the north Cotswolds, in contrast to the area around Bagendon and the Ditches. The discovery of a late Iron Age–early Roman neonatal skeleton showing signs of scurvy contracted from the suffering mother at Pinchley Wood, Withington (Site 10) supported this conclusion. The archaeologists were less certain about the provenance of two fragments of whalebone found at the same site; had they come from a whale stranded on the River Severn or from further afield? Although little evidence was found for the Anglo-Saxon period, an overall conclusion was that throughout the years studied in this chapter the landscape was characterized as one of arable and pasture, divided into fields by hedges of hawthorn, blackthorn, crab apple and other native species.

Chapter 5, 'Medieval Settlement and landscape', is dominated by the site at Overley Wood in Duntisbourne Rouse (Site 16), but there are also brief reports from Coberley medieval village (Site 12), Foxcote Plantation, Withington (Site 8) and Salter's Lane on the edge of Hailes abbey (Site 2) where holloways and pottery dominated the findings. The excavation of two medieval buildings of the 12th and 13th century at Overley Wood indicated they were situated on the eastern fringe of Pinbury medieval settlement and formed part of that self-sufficient farming community. Unlike the other three sites, there did not appear to be evidence for earlier prehistoric, or even pre-Conquest, occupation.

Living near the Edge will be read by the professional archaeologist, who will value the precise recording of the excavations and the accompanying specialist reports, which are fully cross-referenced. Does it also succeed in communicating its discoveries of this major project to the interested lay person? The answer must be yes, and Cotswold Archaeology is to be congratulated on providing a report which enables all readers to follow the excavations and findings through the well-thought-out presentation. The layout of the chapters and the comprehensive index allow the reader easy reference, whether to the separate archaeological periods, the individual sites or to the varied types of find. The site reports are clearly communicated and if the specialist reports have been written largely for other specialists, the Conclusion summarizes those key findings and puts forward interpretations based on the evidence of the excavations. However, the lay person might still be baffled by jargon. This reviewer was forced to a dictionary when confronted by 'recortication of flints', 'epiphyseal union of bones' and 'edible wild taxa'. On occasions, the arrangement of the site chronologies is not always kept: Chapter 4 contains the Iron Age and Roman period, yet the Roman pottery report from Foxcote Hill (Site 9) appears in Chapter 2 and that for Coberley medieval village (Site 12) appears in Chapter 5, together with the Iron Age and Roman pottery from Foxcote Plantation (Site 8). The scope of the whole pipeline project was so vast that limits had to be put on the extent of the investigations, but medievalists might have hoped for a greater linkage between the geophysical and archaeological findings from Salter's Lane (Site 2) to nearby Hailes abbey. The significance of the name Granna Wood, in Sudeley (Site 6) was not investigated. A local corruption of 'greenway', it here signifies a significant branching off from the Salt Way, which did rightly receive attention as an important through-route. However, the report acknowledges its more limited approach to the post-Conquest medieval and later landscapes by referring interested readers to the project archive. Nevertheless, these are minor shortcomings which in no way detract from a very attractive production which carefully records the results of the 18 excavations and draws conclusions based upon them. It adds to our knowledge of this area

of the Cotswolds and provides a valuable and accessible work of reference for future archaeological projects.

DAVID ALDRED
Gotherington

Tim Allen, Kate Brady and Stuart Foreman, *A Roman Villa and other Iron Age and Roman Discoveries at Bredon's Norton, Fiddington and Pamington along the Gloucester Security of Supply Pipeline*, Oxford Archaeology Monograph 25 (Oxford, Oxford Archaeology 2016). xvi + 212pp., 59 plates, 40 tables. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9780904220766].

This volume details the results of three archaeological interventions along the course of a pipeline in the lower Severn Vale. Two of these sites are in Gloucestershire, at Fiddington and Pamington, where evidence for agricultural enclosures and land divisions was retrieved and which might have been recorded as 'grey' literature available for study, but not published formally, or added as a note in a county journal in an 'Archaeological Review'. However, it was the archaeology of the pipeline at Bredon's Norton (Worcs.) that produced the most significant range of artefacts and structures, and deserves publication in full.

Besides a masonry structure considered to be a Roman villa, a Middle Iron Age burial was found accompanied by a saw, a rare occurrence of grave goods as part of interment practice in this period. In addition, a complete pot buried in a pit in the interior of an enclosure might have marked either the beginning or end of the use of the delineated space. This phenomenon has been recognized in many other locations and usually is interpreted as an offering to gods inhabiting the underworld. Archaeological evidence can often be very impersonal, but the discovery of the remains of six neonates and one infant brings a sense of sadness. There seems to have been no preferential treatment for these children aged between *in utero* and 1½ months, just burials in hollows sealed with rubbish. The remains may have been deposited as one event or in a short period. There was no evidence of animal gnawing, so they were enclosed in some way. Pliny the Elder suggested that a child had no soul until the age of teething and this might be the cause of such basic burial treatment. Reasons for such early deaths might just be the normal mortality of the period, but another could be population control; too many girls to be provided for a dowry or the even the offspring of female slaves.

The most challenging feature was the stone floor of a room below the Roman ground surface and interpreted as a cold plunge of a bath suite. In the centre of the flags was a cistern, a later addition, whose function is difficult to determine as it would empty the water from the cold bath rather than fill it. The feature would have made more sense if the spring line was at the level of the plunge pool in the Roman period, but there is no evidence of this, and a ritual function is proposed as one possible use of the underground space. From the robbed remains the excavator attempts to reconstruct the location of the range of rooms usually found in a bath suite, a *tepidarium* etc. The proposed rooms are far too small for their designated functions, except for the plunge baths that would have been among the largest in Britain.

Although the structural evidence suggested a 'villa', the lack of finds makes identifying the function of the building difficult. This, along with the problems of extensive stone robbing and only partial excavation of the site, enhances the problems of dating its construction.The tortuous discussion of the chronology of the structure illuminates these issues. The excavator seems to favour a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century, but the lack of investigation of the earliest sediments beneath the flagstone floor is clearly problematic. Some of the tiles of a hypocaust

below the '*tepidarium*' have been identified elsewhere in the report as being of the 4th century, and silt being sealed by mortar in the same room contained pottery of a similar date. A radiocarbon sample suggests that the structure originated between the early 2nd and mid 3rd century. However, while admitting that an earlier date would be exceptional, the excavator still prefers it with other material being from later reconstructions. If the dating of the construction of the 'villa' is late 1st/early 2nd century, then this is a very early example and with some curious features. The small size of the bath suite, if in fact that is what it is, indicates that someone was aspiring to be 'Roman' and who knew what it entailed.

At the end of the Roman occupation a loft above of the area of the redundant plunge bath was used as a grain store. It was engulfed by a fire which was so intense that the ceiling fell as a complete structural unit, as is evidenced by the burnt timbers lying at right angles to each other. One can only feel sorry for the small mammals living in the store and caught up in the conflagration: a field vole, a bank vole, field mouse, common and pygmy shrews and the expected harvest mouse. A foetal or neo-natal puppy, possibly up to three weeks old, was in the loft, its mother finding a warm place to either give birth to or keep the animal warm.

Although only 2,399 pottery sherds were recovered from all three sites, this resulted in 29 pages of text that gives us an insight into local industry and trading patterns. While such an extensive pottery report would not be appropriate for a county journal, the strengths of having a volume funded by the developer means that publishing this material in detail makes a significant contribution to the development of our knowledge about ceramics in, and trade to, the local area. This will give more regional samples to be referenced in future, rather than using Cotswold and Thames valley sites which are in completely different physical, and probably social, environments.

The first impressions of the report are of a plastic wallet and a slip revealing that a number of typological errors were noted after publication, including the site locations being omitted as well as data appearing in wrong columns with the key to symbols not being shown. The *errata* insert suggests that the reader pastes the corrected pages into the volume. At times the archaeological description is frustrating with all the context numbers presented in such a small space on the plans and the transposition of digits in the maps and text: for example, the corn drier at Bredon's Norton is identified as 5255 in the plans, but 5225 in the text. There are also problems with scale plans: the corn dryer is 160 m away from the stone building on a plan, not 80 m as in the text. In the 'archaeological background', the evidence for conflict at Kemerton Camp is described as 'inter-tribal' as no Roman evidence was found. However, in the 'discussion', the same event is the responsibility of the Roman army. These problems might have been avoided by thorough editing.

However, this report is important in that it gives us another glimpse of the historic environment of the lower Severn Vale. It demonstrates that the aerial survey of the pipeline's course, the geophysics used to clarify the extent of a suspected settlement and the opportunities for its excavation reveal that this area is as rich in archaeology as other, contrasting, parts of our county. It may be frustrating to explore only a part of such a tantalizing structure as the 'villa' of this report, however the site has been preserved by the route of the pipeline being adjusted.

It is now clear that there has been considerable settlement under and around the village of Bredon's Norton from the Middle Iron Age to the present day. This sequential occupation at a particular location is common and has implications for the increasing expansion of villages between Tewkesbury and Bishop's Cleeve. The area excavation of these large building sites, which give us a comprehensive view of individual settlements, alongside a longitudinal section of a landscape provided by pipeline construction, is demonstrating that the lower Severn Vale

is a unique landscape, the hinterland of the *colonia* at Glevum with its need for land for retired legionaries.

TIM COPELAND
Cheltenham

Keith Ray and Ian Bapty, *Offa's Dyke: Landscape and Hegemony in Eighth-Century Britain* (Oxford, Oxbow Books/Windgather Press 2016). xvi + 448pp., 190 figs. Cardcovers, £29.95 [ISBN: 9781905119356].

This book is a welcome and substantial addition to the literature on Offa's Dyke; it also includes valuable discussions of Wat's Dyke (in the northern part of the Welsh Marches) and of the Rowe Ditch (in Herefordshire). The book is attractively designed with numerous excellent maps and with a large number of photographs (many of them colour), the majority of high quality; it is clearly written and very reasonably priced. There are topographical and subject indexes. The book should be read by anyone planning to explore the Dyke, though it is not designed as a field-guide and is in any event too heavy to form part of the normal walker's backpack.

Three introductory chapters (Chapters 1, 2 and 3) give an outline characterization of the Dyke, a useful review of past studies of the Dyke and an introduction to the border history of the kingdom of Mercia. However, the heart of the book is a detailed discussion of Offa's Dyke in its landscape setting (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). It is evident that the authors have not only walked the length of the Dyke time and again, but that they have also explored extensively the landscape to both east and west of the Dyke in order to assess its design characteristics and its intended impact. One can only admire the sheer quantity of fieldwork which lies behind the production of this book.

Chapter 4 considers the relationship of the Dyke to the landscape, considering the way in which it negotiated mountain masses and the valleys of major rivers, streams and ravines; the authors identify a series of specific 'locational practices' in the ways in which the Dyke negotiated topographical features along its course. Chapter 5 assesses the structure of the Dyke and identifies four principal construction modes, termed 'substantial', 'monumental', 'slighter' and 'scarp' mode. The detailed form of the bank and western ditch is described based on the existing visible characteristics and the limited evidence from excavation; attention is also given to the use of counterscarp banks, quarry pits and occasional continuous ditch on the eastern side. Chapter 6 considers the planning of the Dyke and the organization of the workforce, together with the very limited evidence for the accompanying infrastructure, including such unresolved issues as gateways through the Dyke and the presence of associated strongholds and surveillance works.

The observations outlined in these three chapters enable the authors to conclude 'that there are enough similarities in its build in different locations to be positive that it is of unitary construction from Flintshire in the north to Gloucestershire in the south' (p. 5). In this conclusion the authors differ from David Hill and Margaret Worthington in their book *Offa's Dyke: History and Guide* (Stroud 2003), reviewed in *Trans. BGAS* 122 (2004), pp. 205–6. The arguments presented by Ray and Bapty make a powerful case for the Gloucestershire Dyke from Sedbury Cliff to Highbury to be reinstated as an integral part of Offa's Dyke; in addition they regard the short isolated earthwork near English Bicknor as part of the Dyke. Fresh consideration is given to the evidence for the presence of the Dyke in Herefordshire between Rushock Hill and the River Wye near Bridge Sollers. Plausible reasons are given based on the geology and the landscape history of the area to explain why the Dyke might have left little visible trace for much of this stretch; the

evidence is hard to assess, if only because the short stretches of earthwork that do survive in this area are on private land.

In dealing with the Gloucestershire section of the Dyke in these chapters, the authors draw extensively on the local management survey and give well-merited praise: 'the sophistication of the Gloucestershire County Archaeological Service survey … is at present unmatched anywhere along the Dyke' (p. 406).

The final three chapters (Chapters 7, 8 and 9) attempt to assess the nature of Mercia's western frontier and the role of the Dyke within it, together with an assessment of the Dyke in the context of the Mercian hegemony of the late 8th and early 9th century. This involves extensive discussion of the history and culture of Mercia throughout the Middle Saxon period. The authors are notably less surefooted in their handling of historical sources than of the archaeological evidence; they have read diligently in the secondary sources, but a lack of familiarity with the primary sources is at times evident. Thus the handling of charter material is erratic and poorly referenced. For instance the Ismere charter of King Æthelbald is dated to 749 rather than 736 (p. 308), while no reference at all is given for a 10th-century charter boundary in the Forest of Dean (p. 358). Liberties are also taken with the narrative sources. A massacre of English forces is placed at Westbury (Shrops.) in 1016 (p. 294), but the reference is presumably to the massacre referred to in the 'C' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1053; this cannot be located with certainty, but Westbury-on-Severn (Glos.) is also a plausible location.

These are minor errors and omissions (of which further examples could be added), but of much greater concern is the fact that territories and peoples along the course of the Dyke are frequently misplaced, a strange fault in a book which has its roots so firmly in the landscape. On the Welsh side of the Dyke the districts of Gwrtheyrnion and Cynllibiwg are wrongly placed to the north of the River Severn (p. 271). Of especial concern to a Gloucestershire readership is the treatment of the territory of the Hwicce, originally a kingdom, then a sub-kingdom and from *c*.780 an ealdordom or province of the Mercian kingdom. The Hwicce are located on the east bank of the River Wye in north-west Gloucestershire and south-east Herefordshire in a map on p. 15; elsewhere they are identified with Gloucestershire (p. 100), with Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and west Oxfordshire (p. 263), while Benson (in the Thames valley south-east of Oxford) is described as probably 'the principal Hwiccian royal centre' (p. 397). In fact the territory of the Hwicce can be defined as comprising (broadly) Worcestershire, south-west Warwickshire and Gloucestershire *east* of the Rivers Severn and Leadon.

The authors also offer some speculative thoughts concerning the people called the Wentsæte, who are only mentioned in the probably 10th-century law-code known as the Ordinance Concerning the Dunsæte. The late Margaret Gelling thought it likely that the Wentsæte referred to the people of Gwent, but considered also the possibility that the Wentsæte might have been a people whose territory adjoined Gwent, perhaps in the vicinity of Monmouth. In the hands of the present authors this becomes without any further justification the probable explanation (p. 267) and in the map on p. 15 the Wentsæte are placed in the Forest of Dean, albeit with a question-mark. The fact that the Wentsæte owed tribute and hostages to the West Saxons suggests that they are more likely to have constituted a Welsh polity (whether or not the people of Gwent) than to be dwellers of an area which the very presence of Offa's Dyke shows to have been a part of English Mercia.

On the other hand there is curiously little discussion of the Magonsæte in a book which contains much discussion of the peoples located along the borderlands of England and Wales. They are indeed a more shadowy entity than the Hwicce if only because so little documentation has survived from the pre-Conquest diocese of Hereford. It is admittedly not easy to disentangle from the sources the emergence of a distinctively Anglo-Saxon polity in this area. Nevertheless the

existence of the Magonsæte is clearly established by the early 9th century and they had probably followed a similar trajectory to the Hwicce; their territory at its fullest extent appears to have corresponded broadly to the diocese of Hereford, comprising not only south Shropshire and Herefordshire (as the authors note briefly on p. 264) but also west Gloucestershire. It is arguable that Offa's Dyke in south Shropshire, north Herefordshire and west Gloucestershire was built within a Mercian ealdordom corresponding to the territory of the Magonsæte at the time of its construction.

Thus the reader looking in the chapters which draw on historical evidence for a judicious assessment of the local affinities within Mercia of west Gloucestershire and Herefordshire at the time that Offa's Dyke was built will not find it here. This is a substantial *caveat*, but one which should not detract from the many insights and thought-provoking ideas which this book does offer. A particularly intriguing and convincing suggestion is made about the monumental stretch of Dyke which crosses the Beachley peninsula to finish at Sedbury Cliff: this section faces southwards down the course of the Severn estuary, and it is proposed that it may have been intended to impress viewers on the east bank of the estuary south of the Avon in the kingdom of Wessex.

The authors see no reason to depart from the traditional ascription to the reign of Offa and incline to date the Dyke to the later years of his reign, in the decade 785–95. There is a valuable discussion of the purpose of the Dyke in which the authors very properly eschew any simplistic explanations and embrace a range of possibilities, usefully summarized on pp. 362–4.

The authors emphasize that they view their work 'not in any sense as the "last word" on the subject, but rather as a point of departure' (p. 373). There is indeed great scope for further fieldwork along the whole length of the Dyke, including the Gloucestershire sections.

MICHAEL HARE
Gloucester

John Hunt, *Warriors, Warlords and Saints: The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Mercia* (Alcester, West Midlands History 2016). 168 pp., fully illustrated in colour. Hardback, £24.99 [ISBN: 9781905036301].

For far too long the kingdom of Mercia seemed to be less approachable, less easily understood than Wessex and Northumbria, the other two great Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. This attitude has been slowly changing with a number of important conferences and academic publications and received a substantial boost with the discovery of the remarkable Staffordshire Hoard in 2009. Suddenly we were able to envisage more clearly at least the warriors and warlords of this kingdom in all their pomp, with weapons and armour encrusted with gold and brilliant red garnets.

The present title offers a further welcome addition to our appreciation of this important and influential kingdom. John Hunt does not set out to present an exhaustive history of Mercia; rather he seeks to offer 'snapshots of stages in its fascinating story' and to then flesh out this narrative with more focused details.

The book is well designed and attractive. The text is informative, although sometimes the sentences can become rather convoluted. The illustrations are good and the maps are excellent. There are full-page chapter titles, and double- or single-page spreads at the end of most chapters (with tinted backgrounds to distinguish them from the main text) allow specific subjects to be covered in more detail. There is only a single page of endnotes but the author has included a useful 'Glossary' which explains and amplifies many of the terms used. The 'Further Reading'

should allow readers to explore aspects of the subject in more detail, but there are some strange omissions.

The first two chapters take the reader back to the beginnings with an introduction to 'Mercia and its People' and to 'The Origins of Mercia'. Here Hunt offers a synthesis of the evidence for the mixing of native British and Anglo-Saxons in the early settlement period (5th–6th century). There is a double-page spread on Anglo-Saxon place-names, and an extended summary of the *Tribal Hidage*, probably a 'tribute list in which we see something of the "jigsaw" of people who would eventually be absorbed into the kingdom'.

'The Kingdom Builders' charts the 7th-century rise to power of the pagan king Penda and his Christian sons Wulfhere, who oversaw the conversion of the kingdom, and Æthelred, king and saint. The chapter ends with an explanation of the dynamics and value of early medieval warriors and warbands. There is also a good double-page synthesis of the contents of the Staffordshire Hoard and suggested reasons for its burial.

'Kings, Monks and Saints' shows just how closely the 'making of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms became interleaved with the growth of the English church'. During the second half of the 7th century Christianity became an integral part of the power base in Mercia. The vast early diocese of Lichfield was subdivided into smaller dioceses 'informed not only by the needs of the church, but also with regard to the political affinities and boundaries of the day'. Minsters (monasteries) were founded, supported by the aristocracy, and became 'power-houses' in religious, political and cultural terms. The cult of saints also began to develop and this chapter ends with a double-page spread on Mercia and the Saints.

'The Age of Æthelbald and Offa' takes the reader into Mercia at the height of its power in the 8th century, during the reigns of its two greatest kings. A fundamental aspect of Æthelbald's reign that continued under Offa was the 'absorption of Mercia's former satellite provinces into an enlarged and integrated kingdom'. Mercian control of London (*Lundenwic*) was reasserted, while 'relations with Wessex seem to have been largely framed by border disputes in which Æthelbald was successful in gaining territory'. Offa extended direct rule to Kent and the South Saxons and, with papal approval, created a new, if short-lived, Mercian archdiocese centred on Lichfield. 'The geography of Offa's power was similar to Æthelbald but its intensity was greater'. The crucial importance of the development of coinage, as a sign of royal power and as a means by which trade might be enhanced, forms the double-page subject at the end of this chapter.

The next three chapters add depth and substance to three aspects of Mercian life during the 8th and 9th centuries. 'Court, Church and Country' describes Mercian kingship at work, and ends with a double-page spread on Offa's Dyke; 'Merchants, Markets and the Carolingians' explores the relationship between Mercia and Charlemagne's Frankish empire, and the importance of trade including a detailed study of *Lundenwic*, the most significant Mercian trading centre; 'Art and Society in Anglo-Saxon Mercia' offers an introduction to the exuberant and sophisticated artistic works (including a short study of the Lichfield Gospel) that were produced for the Church and to fulfil the demands of Mercia's sophisticated and powerful elite. A significant part of this chapter covers Mercian stone sculpture and it is, therefore, more than a little puzzling that there is no mention of *The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, three volumes of which (Volumes IX, X and XII) cover parts of Mercia.

'The Vineyard of the Lord Devoured by Foxes' deals, as the title suggests, with 'a period of dramatic, and traumatic, change for Anglo-Saxon England'. From the middle of the 9th century much of the military, political and ecclesiastical organization of the country collapsed in the face of devastating Viking attacks and the sustained assault of the Great Army. Coenwulf, who reigned until 821, was the last Mercian king to rule for any length of time and with real authority. After Coenwulf dynastic disputes proliferated as various strands of the Mercian royal kindred fought

it out amongst each other or died trying to defend the borders of the kingdom. In the face of the Viking onslaught the reigning king, Burgred, fled in 874 and died in exile in Rome, leaving Coelwulf II as the last king of Mercia. The Viking occupation of Repton (Derbys.), a Mercian royal estate, dynastic mausoleum and cult centre, is covered in a double-page spread.

'Mercia, Wessex and the Vikings' again does what it says on the tin. By the 870s Mercia had been torn in two, with only the western part surviving intact and needing to rely on the old enemy, Wessex, for support. The two kingdoms were effectively merged and their forces, sometimes acting together, halted and reversed the Danish advance for a century. The centre of power in Mercia moved westwards with Gloucester as a significant stronghold, enhanced by the foundation of a new minster, St Oswald's, by ealdorman Æthelred and his redoubtable wife Æthelflæd, daughter of Alfred the Great and sister of Edward the Elder. In this chapter, and in the double-page study of the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Mercian Register', Æthelflæd is shown to have been a major figure in her own right. It is, however, surprising that there is no reference to the major excavation undertaken by Carolyn Heighway on the church of St Oswald (*The Golden Minster*, 1999). Michael Hare also cogently argued in *The Golden Minster* that the original dedication of St Oswald's was St Peter, and it is frustrating, therefore, to find that Hunt seems to disregard this work when writing about the burial place of Æthelred and Æthelflæd.

During the period when the English held the Danes at bay and recovered much territory, it became possible to effect changes to the administrative framework of the kingdom with the introduction of the shire system. When, eventually, the Vikings returned and a Dane, Cnut, became king of England, these changes survived to form a crucial part of the character of the country to this day.

'People and Settlement in Anglo-Saxon Mercia' steps away from the power and ambitions of kings to paint a fuller picture of Anglo-Saxon social order and to show us the lives of the ordinary people. A study of the early development of manorial sites is included.

Finally, 'Magnates, Earls and Earldom' takes us back to the higher ranks of society in the 10th and 11th centuries, and to two aristocratic families in particular. The family of Wulfric Spott was very influential and held many estates, including a large block of land in northern Mercia which acted as a buffer against Danish incursion. The immensely wealthy earls of Mercia, especially Leofwine and his son Leofric, were among the most powerful people in the country, save only for the king. They could claim old English ancestry and, as such, were imbued with innate, if not always unchallenged, authority. The family survived the Norman Conquest, but the young earl, Edwin, became involved in rebellion against William. Edwin was killed and 'with his death the earldom of Mercia (the last vestige of the old kingdom) ceased to exist'. William 'divided up the chief provinces (and great estates) of England' and placed his own men in positions where they could more effectively control the country.

John Hunt has navigated with some skill the often complex story of the kingdom of Mercia and produced a valuable book, with much to recommend it.

RICHARD BRYANT
Kings Stanley

Mary Alexander (ed.), *Medieval and Post-Medieval Occupation and Industry in the Redcliffe Suburb of Bristol: Excavations at 1–2 and 3 Redcliff Street, 2003–2010*, Cotswold Archaeology Monograph 8 (Cirencester, Cotswold Archaeology 2016). xvi + 264 pp., 74 figs., 34 tables. Hardback, £19.95 [ISBN: 9780993454516].

The suburb of Redcliffe grew up in the early 12th century around the southern end of Bristol Bridge, on what had previously been an unoccupied flood plain enclosed on three sides by a horseshoe bend of the River Avon. Initially it was divided into two 'fees' or areas of lordship. To the west Redcliffe formed part of Robert Fitzharding's manor of Bedminster, while to the east Temple Fee was granted by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to the Knights Templar between 1128 and 1148. Three main thoroughfares, Redcliff, St Thomas and Temple Streets, radiated southwards from the bridgehead. Between these roads was a network of 'Law Ditches' which formed property boundaries as well as helping to drain the swampy alluvium. Within this framework of roads and ditches individual tenements were laid out and a new community of tradesmen and merchants moved in. In the mid 13th century the greater part of the by then thriving suburb was enclosed by a massive fortification, the Port Wall, and in 1373 it was formally incorporated into the new city and county of Bristol. While a variety of trades and crafts was practised in medieval Redcliffe, the most important initially were those connected with the manufacture of woollen cloth; weaving, dyeing and tucking or fulling. In the post-medieval period, however, these textile industries fell into decline, to be replaced by soap boiling, sugar refining and the manufacture of glass and pottery. The Victorian period saw a great deal of rebuilding as well as the widening of Redcliff Street (1872–8) and the creation of Victoria Street (1871), which cut a swathe through the medieval street pattern to provide a direct route from Bristol Bridge to Temple Meads Station. The area suffered badly from bombing during World War II and has since undergone several phases of redevelopment.

Archaeological work in Redcliffe began on a small scale in the 1960s and gathered pace in the 1980s with an important series of excavations along the western side of Redcliff Street which revealed the development of the medieval waterfront. Since the advent of PPG 16 in 1990 it has become standard practice for any development in the area to be preceded by a developer-funded archaeological evaluation by a professional unit, followed if necessary by a full excavation. Full publication has failed to keep up with the pace of excavation and data collection, so the relatively prompt appearance of the present report by Cotswold Archaeology is extremely welcome. The greater part of the report is concerned with excavations at what are now 1 and 2 Redcliff Street, carried out between 2007 and 2010 prior to the construction of a Civil Justice Centre and associated basement car park. The site is bounded on the south by Thomas Lane and adjoined to the east by St Thomas' church. Historic mapping shows that the excavation area encompassed parts of no fewer than ten former tenement plots (11–20 Redcliff Street) as well as a narrow alley, Little Thomas Lane, which survived until the late 19th century. The western ends of the plots were inaccessible to the excavators due to the 1870s widening of Redcliff Street, while cellaring had removed archaeological deposits from the northern third of the site. Elsewhere, the archaeological sequence had survived well, with organic materials being particularly well preserved due to the high water table.

The first phase of occupation at 1 and 2 Redcliff Street dated from the early 12th to the mid 13th century and was represented by the postholes and beam slots of timber buildings facing the street. In the yards to the east of these were *c.*30 pits cut into the alluvial clay and in many cases lined with wattle. These are thought to have been used as vats for dyeing cloth, an interpretation backed by the finding in the pit fillings of vegetable dyestuffs such as weld, dyer's greenweed,

madder and woad. The pits also contained shoes and leather offcuts from a cobbler's workshop and one of the largest assemblages of pottery of this period yet found in Bristol.

In the late 13th century a major reorganization of the site was marked by the construction of stone buildings and boundary walls. The most impressive of these new structures was a pair of houses, presumably intended for elite merchants, with footings over 1 m thick and conjoined garderobe turrets at their eastern end. Dyeing continued, but was no longer carried out in pits but in vats raised on circular stone hearths. By the 15th century, however, the dyeing trade seems to have given way to metallurgy. A series of reverberator furnaces, among the earliest in the country, were constructed to enable the casting of copper-alloy objects such as cauldrons, posnets, chafing dishes and candlesticks. Associated with the furnaces were fragments of copper slag and clay crucibles and casting moulds. An important find from the mid 17th century was a deposit of waste material from a clay tobacco pipe kiln, operated by the Bristol makers John and Flower Hunt *c.*1650. Towards the end of the century extensive rebuilding took place at the southern end of the site in connection with the establishment of a sugar refinery; started by John Newport n 1695 this continued to operate until 1816. Blocks of 14th- to 16th-century architectural stonework found reused in a late 18th-century wall probably come from the nearby St Thomas' church, which was rebuilt in the classical style in the 1790s.

The final section of this volume is a freestanding report by Cotswold Archaeology on an excavation carried out in 2003 at 3 Redcliff Street (formerly 21–3). This was a much smaller exercise comprising just two trenches, in both of which the medieval deposits had been severely truncated or obscured by later walls and cellars. Some evidence for the medieval dyeing industry was, however, identified in the form of two circular stone vat bases, while metallurgical waste and mould fragments were also found. In the eastern trench (Area 2) the most conspicuous feature was a pair of 17th-century cellars with unusual apsidal ends, for which no explanation is offered in the report. The documentary evidence collected by Roger Leech includes several references to a former 'Sheermans Hall', presumably once the meeting place of one of the local cloth-working guilds.

JAMES RUSSELL
Bristol

Madge Dresser (ed.), *Women and the City: Bristol 1373–2000* (Bristol, Redcliffe Press/UWE 2016). 236 pp., 61 b/w plates, 20 col. plates. Cardcovers, £15.00 [ISBN: 9781908326317].

The editor Madge Dresser suggests in her introduction to this volume that 'covering over 600 years of such an under-researched topic is wildly ambitious'. There are only a few studies of women's public roles in Bristol, and women's contributions have to be spotted appearing, as it were, accidentally in the sources which routinely focus on men's public roles. Nonetheless, the four major writers of this book have vindicated the editor's faith that the enterprise was possible and worthwhile. It required a great deal of energetic and conscientious research. The book gives a strong impression of how many women have taken on public roles in the city's life, but have hitherto been largely invisible in its history; the suffragettes and the suffragists have so captured the limelight that many other activities undertaken by women have been easy to ignore.

The book contains four long chapters, each structured round well-defined sub-headings, and there are substantial numbers of source notes. The writers of these chapters are closely linked with the University of the West of England (UWE), three as present academic staff and one who was until 2011, and the book is published by Redcliffe Press/The Regional History Centre,

UWE. Within each chapter there are what the editor describes as 'drop-ins', nine double-page contributions to the themes of the chapters; they offer the opportunity for small-scale investigations: funerary commemoration, 18th-century prostitution, the Royal Commission on Labour, for example. An additional five authors have supplied some of these. Each consists of a montage of graphic information and brief explanation. The 'drop-ins' are set with a grey margin to the pages which makes them appear as though 'pasted in' to a scrapbook. Illustrations, in fact, are a notable feature of the book. There is a great variety, each immediately relevant to the sub-section in which it is placed, interesting and informatively captioned. The minor exception may be the two early 18th-century prints of Bristol where the female figures to which attention is drawn are hardly visible without a magnifying glass. Some illustrations are in colour. Notably, all are large enough to have impact and make text readable. They are very well reproduced and carefully sourced.

The first chapter, by Peter Fleming, covers the long medieval and early modern period 1373–1660. In 1373 Bristol became a county and in 1660 with the restoration of the monarchy Bristol could resume its commercial life after a truly dreadful period of sieges and hardship in the Civil War. There may be a limited number of women in this period who can be named and shown acting as traders and business managers, or, more often, as executors of their husbands' wills, but those examples are telling and there are more of them than might have been assumed. It is pleasant to find that affective relationships can be identified in this period. One husband declared that all his children were his wife's also and admitted that she knew better than he what his debts were, and so he gave her everything he had. Another husband said he was a poor man, but all that he had he gave his wife 'and would do so if he had ten times as much'. The author warns, however, that by focusing only on women, their common experience with the other half of society is lost.

The second chapter by Madge Dresser takes the period 1660 –1835 when Bristol borough was redefined. Despite the expansion of trade and affluence, 'the economic and social contributions of women were often rendered invisible'. Women's political influence likewise was informal but vigorous. Very few broke into the narrow group of freemen or burgesses. Women were over-represented amongst the city's labouring poor and among those claiming poor relief, and those with more prominence inevitably came from more leisured and educated backgrounds. Domestic service was the major female occupation. Some women can be seen supplying food, drink and accommodation; a third of pubs and innkeepers in Broad Quay named in Sketchley's Directory of 1775 were women and there would obviously have been many lesser shops and hostelries which were not listed in this early trade directory. The other more common female employments were in clothing, and in the 'caring' professions, a situation which did not change after the end of this period. The point is graphically illuminated in the 'drop-in' by Victoria Barnes, the only statistical exercise in the book. At the same time a considerable variety of women's occupations have been found and listed.

The two authors of Chapter 3, covering the period 1835–1914, June Hannam and Moira Martin, have the advantage of all the exploding range of statistical material collected and published by increasingly socially conscious and bureaucratic governments, but the chapter is largely descriptive. There is also the enormous advantage of photographs. A rich fund of organizations in Bristol was initiated by women, and there was a clear drive to include more working women in them. Some organizations were female only, but women were also taking part in 'mixed sex bodies', perhaps a description which ought to be bettered. Organizers also came from outside the city, sent by national bodies. Women's active roles in social work and also in political campaigns are illuminated by quick sketches of personal lives which place them in their social context: 'one of 12 children from a vegetarian family'; 'an Admiral's daughter who was described by Emily Sturge as "diffusing benevolence"'; 'the daughter of an Anglican vicar'; 'one of nine daughters of an established Quaker

family'. Nonconformity was one thread in the story of women's achievements outside the home. The amount of detail available in this chapter and the next makes it difficult to summarize.

The final chapter by Madge Dresser and June Hannam has to cover the whole gamut of 20th-century history, for women can be found in every area of the city's activity, from war work and engineering to academia and politics. 'Two world wars, economic depression, the growth of the Labour Party, the development of the welfare state and the rise of a consumer society were just some of the momentous changes affecting women in the 20th century'. Bristol can claim a number of 'firsts': during the First World War sending food parcels to prisoners of war started in Bristol; the Venture Club in 1920 was the first women's professional association; the first woman billionaire was Mary Perkins of Specsavers; the first women were ordained priest in 1985; the first woman president of the Royal Aeronautical Society was a Bristolian, and there many other examples. It is appropriate to have the career of the first woman chairman of the National Society of Archivists and Bristol City Archivist, Elizabeth Ralph, described. Not until 2003, however, were women allowed to become members of The Society of Merchant Venturers. The exceptional, however, is a small part of the story, which is of many women organizing, contributing, serving their community and taking on a growing political role, both locally and nationally. While much work was undertaken voluntarily, the range of jobs expanded dramatically. In 1961 Bristol women reportedly comprised nearly a fifth of all those employed in engineering and electrical goods industries, and a third of those in the chemical industry, although many were servicing the enterprises rather than in production; but only 10 per cent of those in the aerospace industry were women. The structural decline in Bristol's diverse manufacturing base after 1945 affected women in particular. Pay differentials have remained into the 21st century, and Feminism and Women's Lib are dealt with.

Women and the City is a serious book. With all the ground-work done, it will be possible to place women beside men in any general social history of the period. Madge Dresser has tried to place the female public role in perspective, although in her conclusion she notes that 'more research is needed before we can fully assess how women's increased presence as both formal and informal activists and workers has shaped the modern city'. Was Bristol typical? How would it compare with another great city? There is a hint that it had fewer women in manufacturing than elsewhere. Was its prominence as a centre of Nonconformity a factor in the scale of female activism? The range of sources on which the story is based is remarkable, particularly the archives of many important national women's organizations. Yet more sources might lead to comparative appreciation of women's public sphere. It would be interesting to know about members of trade unions, and how many were involved in other associations. This book is an amazing catalogue of names, but from this base specialist studies and general studies, both, can be built. Madge Dresser and her co-authors have succeeded in achieving their ambitious target and (with two exceptions) are themselves evidence of women's widening horizons.

ANTHEA JONES
Cheltenham

Jeff Bishop, *Bristol Through Maps: Ways of Seeing a City* (Bristol, Redcliffe Press 2016). 175 pp., 35 maps/plans. Cardcovers, £20.00 [ISBN: 9781908326997].

Maps are important. They impart information; help us find our way about; tell us distances and where one thing is in relation to another; point us to car parks and such post offices and public conveniences as remain; advise us how to escape fire. They warn seafarers, electricians and archaeologists of dangers, and show the military what to aim at. For historians they can be

evidence of how and where things were. A map can also be a structure or framework on which other things can be plotted: data about the past, as in *Know Your Place*, towards the extension of which from Bristol into south Gloucestershire this Society has made a grant; or proposals or projections for the future, as in planning applications and local authority development plans. Maps can be used to assert and demarcate ownership and empire, both conventionally coloured pink. They can be works of art. We carry maps in our heads: of home, locality, school, workplace, shops and how to get there.

At the same time, maps have limitations. The need to reduce to scale forces the mapmaker, like the history writer, to select and omit, and to use symbols, which may be out of scale. Like a history book, a published map is the result of compromises and trade-offs. The mapmaker's selections and omissions may be influenced not only by the purpose of the map, but by ignorance, prejudice, cost, marketing considerations and the need to keep sponsors and subscribers onside. Legibility may be constrained by scale, or by the limits to the capabilities of surveying, engraving and printing technologies. As with a textbook, time passes between survey and publication and, once published, a map may become out of date. Some maps are downright corrupt: just as you can pay Google to advance your name or product in internet search results, so you can bribe it to mention, give prominence to or accentuate the location of your premises on its maps, a cartographical version of product placement.

Bristol Through Maps presents in chronological order about 30 maps, panoramas and map-based plans of the city or its core. It starts with Ricart's 1480 prospect of the walled, gated and towered town in *The maior of Bristowe is kalendar*, then progresses through Millerd, the Donn(e)s and the Ashmeads (the subject of a warmly-applauded talk by Alan and Jane Bambury to the Society's Bristol section in September 2015). Then comes the classic 1:1,250 Ordnance Survey of 1930, its successors plagiarized by Bartholomew, and the base for a selection of map-based plans. Each map and plan is reproduced in fine colour, as a whole, shrunk to fit a page or spread. An essay explains who the cartographer and publisher were; how the map came about; and why it is significant in terms of mapmaking. Contextual history, but drawing mostly on Latimer's *Annals* and George Stroud's *Bristol as it was* (1909) follows. Across the footers of each page marches a timeline with a selection of events, contemporary with the map but not related to either Bristol or mapmaking, from which we learn, for example, that while Benjamin Donn(e) was working on the topographical delights of Bristol, Horatio Nelson was similarly occupied on those of Emma Hamilton.

The book's focus is the city's maps, not its history. The author emphasizes that this is not a history book. But because there is so much history in the book, criticisms must be made. There are errors of fact: the camp in Leigh Woods, for example, is not Roman; Stoke House in Stoke Gifford was not built in 1760; slavery was not abolished in the colonies in 1807; Heath House still stands and is not a school site; and so on. Sharper editing would have forestalled minor errors: for example, the price of a Lavars panorama, 3*s*. 6*d*., is converted to £18 in present-day money, but to £70 one page later. Eleonora Carus-Wilson gets mis-spelled throughout, albeit consistently. There are historical misunderstandings: for example, the Nortons' house and St Peter's hospital were not different buildings; the reason why Ashmead 1828 does not show Stoke Bishop developed is that it had not yet happened; most historians think the New Cut, though facilitatory, was subsidiary to the Floating Harbour, not the other way round. The author represents as 'unexplained' or 'unknown' many places, people or events which are trite knowledge or well-researched, e.g. Mason's madhouse, Bishport, and a clutch of 18th- and 19th-century worthies. Stylistic oddities include the use of ' rather than " to denote inches; referencing without page numbers; and italics to denote not emphasis but quotation: fine in a modernist novel like Will Self's *Umbrella* (Bloomsbury 2012), where italics alert the reader to intertextual allusion, but confusing in a nonfiction text until the reader gets the hang of it.

With the post-Second World War maps and plans the book shifts gear. The Ordnance Survey provided the meticulously surveyed and expertly drawn base for most maps and plans produced by public authorities and by professionals concerned with law, rating, engineering, architecture and planning. The author gives as examples the City Council's war damage map of 1951; the map for visitors of 1955; and for comparison the present-day three-shades-of-blue walking map. The city centre development plans of 1966 and 1998–2001 are expertly compared, explained, analysed and deconstructed. The author gives some penetrating and historiographically valuable insights. One is how plan styles reflect changed civic attitudes, from top-down authoritarianism to grassroots-up participation, from dogmatic prescription to facilitating and empowerment, plans not as diktats of what will be but as indications of opportunities and possibilities. Also included are John Coats' *Bristol Pubstops* map, parodying Henry Beek's 1933 map of the London underground; maps by the artists Emmeline Simpson and Gareth Wood and by the graphic designers Jon Lane and Chris Rogers, similar in concept but different in content; and an exploration and explanation of the concept of a memory map, showing how people (and age groups) differ in how they visualize and label their environment. An innovative multidimensional, multi-oriented map generated by local people in Westbury Park highlighting what they like about the area and how it could be improved is followed by a plan for Old Market, generated with professional help by its local community. The book ends by drawing some themes out of the maps' historic contexts, and relating them to changes and developments in mapmaking.

Despite its 'this-is-not-a-history' disclaimer, and notwithstanding the criticisms above which disregard that disclaimer, *Bristol Through Maps* is in fact a valuable, if sometimes misinterpreting and historically inaccurate, contribution to Bristol's historiography. Particularly useful are the details about the mapmakers, their engravers, printers and publishers, their techniques and innovations, the impact of technologies, and the changes in the uses to which maps are put, often corresponding to social changes. Impressive is the sheer diversity of the ways information and ideas have been presented graphically. Particularly useful are the perspectives on the post-Second World War city, which local historians, apart from contributors to the booklet *Post War Bristol 1945 –1965: Twenty Years that Changed the City* (Bristol Branch of The Historical Association no. 100) have not really got to grips with yet. The author's enthusiasm is infectious. Readers will want, accompanied by the book, to examine the originals in Bristol Archives or the city museum or their reproductions on the internet, perhaps via the *Know Your Place* website, where detail can be enlarged on screen. What more could the reader ask?

WILLIAM EVANS
Bristol

R.W.H. Miller, *Dr Ashley's Pleasure Yacht: John Ashley, the Bristol Channel Mission and all that followed* (Cambridge, Lutterworth Press 2017). xvi + 147pp., 1 map, 10 ill. Cardcovers, £20.00 [ISBN: 9780718894505].

Revd Miller's biography of Dr. John Ashley supplies a long-standing need for an authoritative account of the man who is officially, but not wholly accurately, described as the founder of the Missions to Seamen. The author's task is not an easy one. Ashley, besides being difficult, peppery and litigious was, whilst eloquent, an unreliable and contradictory witness about both himself and his work, ambiguous, shifty and on occasion downright dishonest. His personal generosity, which included providing much of the money for the first yacht used by his Mission in the Bristol Channel (which he is believed to have funded, at least in part, with the compensation that his

family received following the emancipation of the slaves on their Jamaica plantation), his love of dogs and horses and his tireless dedication to the spiritual welfare of mariners (often undertaken in hazardous conditions in extreme weather) were qualities offset and, in part, nullified by his demerits. Unasked and unanswerable questions are posed by the nature of the breakdown of his first marriage and his curiously detached relationship with the five daughters – Catherine, Ellen (1828–67), Jane (1835–73), Elizabeth (1836–83) and Mary (1844–1903) – who were alive at the time of the 1861 census, the year before the breakdown of his marriage, and appear to have sided with their mother, and make no further appearance in the narrative.

Ashley, who had property in Ireland, bears many similarities in character to Revd Thomas Connolly Cowan (1776–1856), a fellow graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, who was curate of Clifton during Ashley's period of residence, and at the end of his life called himself 'an increasingly thankful seceder' from the Church of England.

Written by a former member of the Missions to Seamen, the author has fully mastered the sources available to him. It is commonly received that the Mission was founded by Revd John Ashley, who, whilst on holiday in Clevedon, became concerned about the spiritual welfare of the lighthouse keepers and fishermen on the islands of Flat Holme and Steep Holme in the Bristol Channel. The story as it unfolds shows that Dr John Ashley (1800–86) was often not only casual about the truth, but wilfully misleading.

Born at Ashley Hall, Vere, Jamaica, he was the son of John Ashley (1775–1850), a sugar planter and magistrate, who spent much time at his Bristol residence in Royal York Crescent, Clifton. The young John Ashley was educated at Winchester College (1813–17), the Middle Temple (1819–20) and Trinity College, Dublin (1820–3), where he inherited an important property in the environs of the city. In 1824 he married Catherine (1802–67), daughter of Charles Ward of Merrion Square, Dublin, and Holly Mount, Queen's County, who was well connected and bore him a large family.

Ordained deacon by the bishop of Salisbury in 1823, Ashley held curacies at Sutton Veny and Downton (both Wilts.) and Croscombe (Somerset), where he served the well-known writer and absentee incumbent, Revd Richard Warner (1763–1857). The author clarifies Ashley's confused and contradictory accounts of his ordination and curacies. Between 1828 and 1835 Ashley lived the life of a country gentleman, driving his carriage and looking after his bulldogs. As he was financially independent he did not need to be employed in parochial work.

Without independent verification nothing can be wholly accepted at face value. The following narrative is consistently told and relates to his residence in Weston in 1835 when his attention fixed upon the islands of Flat Holme (in the parish of St Mary, Cardiff) and Steep Holme (in the parish of St Stephen, Bristol). He claimed that he enquired about their spiritual oversight and then, on hearing the answer, supplied it himself. His concern was extended to the frequently becalmed fleet of vessels off Penarth Roads, which he visited by boat, distributing Bibles and tracts and preaching. In 1839, following a recommendation from Dr Howley, the archbishop of Canterbury, he formed the Bristol Channel Mission (renamed the Bristol Channel Seamen's Mission in 1845). In 1839 he ordered his own cutter complete with chapel and library called Eirene or Peace, which, completed the following year, greatly aided his work. Between 1837 and February 1843 he visited 6,990 ships.

The author details with great clarity the Mission's implosion in 1844 and the numerous intemperate exchanges in the press and by letter which passed between Dr Ashley, the committee of the Mission and others. Ashley was asked not to visit Caldey Island and accused of holding onto monies paid to him for the work of the Mission. His refusal to compromise led to the resignation of all the members of his committee, including the influential Charles Pinney (1793–1867), Master of the Society of Merchant Venturers.

Evidence of the Mission's continuation after 1844 is shadowy. The author shows that Ashley's private income was much reduced after 1846 due to the import of cheap sugar from Cuba. In

spite of the loyal assistance of a small number of friends, the work of the Mission was severely curtailed by the diminution in subscribers, his serious illnesses and an accident. The Mission was renamed the Bristol Mission to Seamen on the Coast of England and Wales in the Bristol Channel. Again much confusion is caused by Ashley's contradictory statements and wilful, or involuntary, obfuscation. He appealed for funds, preached widely and received the support of the Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin and Lord Shaftesbury.

The Bristol Channel Mission, mired in debt, ceased to function in 1856. W.H.G. Kingston, the children's writer, took up the mantle and became, in effect, the founder of the Missions to Seamen in London. Attempts to merge with the Bristol Channel Mission foundered initially on the latter's debts, but the union was successfully completed by 1858 and Ashley was appointed a vice president.

In 1859 Dr Ashley moved from Bristol to 13 Grosvenor Place, Walcot, Bath, where he resided until 1865, by which time his marriage had failed. His wife died at 28 Gay Street in 1867. Subsequently, he moved to Kilburn (Middx), where he was married in 1868 to Miss Elizabeth Treadwell, formerly of Bristol, at Marylebone parish church. He filled an interregnum in Gosfield (Essex) where his ministrations were much appreciated (1871). His churchmanship was markedly Protestant, a position reinforced to his proximity in Kilburn to the advanced Anglo-Catholic church of St Augustine. In 1871 he published pseudonymously *The Church of the Period*, which was reprinted with a Sequel in 1874. He attacked: 'the childish effeminacy of tawdry finery, and changes of gaudy vestments … choirs …crosses, vestments, candles, flowers, incense-burners and processions of decked out men and women bearing lights, with scenes that throw Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatre into the shade'. He attacked the supine complicity of the episcopacy; the apostacy of the Established Church and opined that: 'there are no "good" Catholics in existence'. He announced his intention to leave the Church until she ceased to be defiled by popery.

Notwithstanding this determination, he served as curate-in-charge of Somersham (Suffolk) between 1872 and 1875. Whilst there, he was involved in a court case Ashley v. Haward (1874) involving liberties of an amatory kind which it was alleged took place between a local farmer and a Miss Spencer, a guest in the home of the Ashleys. Dr Ashley forbade Haward his home, but, following an intemperate letter from Dr Ashley, Haward tried to gain entrance to the house on a Sunday morning and a physical altercation ensued during which Ashley claimed he was assaulted. The cross-examination of Ashley elicited answers which can be shown from other sources to be a strange amalgam of falsehood, obfuscation and fact. For example, he stated that his first wife came to him 'without a fortune', but we know that she brought to the marriage several thousand pounds-worth of Government bonds. He claims that he had not seen her since 1862, that she had transferred her affections to another and denied him conjugal relations for the last 25 years of their marriage, although a number of children were born to him in the specified timeframe. The doctors who attended Ashley after his alleged assault could find no evidence of injury. Ashley's letters were of a most unpleasant and abusive kind. Although awarded £50 in damages, Ashley's character is portrayed in a most unflattering light and the most charitable interpretation of the discrepancies in his evidence would be 'confusion', although this scarcely explains why he wore a sling for some weeks after his alleged assault and yet was observed during this time by the parish clerk to use his arms with histrionic and flamboyant effect in the pulpit whilst preaching. The court case echoes many features of Ashley's behaviour when conducting the Bristol Channel Mission.

After his departure from Somersham, the Ashleys returned to London where he died at 6 The Grove, Clapham Common on 30 March 1886 aged 85. He was buried at Holy Trinity, Finchley (Middx), where his memorial stone remains.

This is a well-written and highly readable account of a deeply-flawed man who had undoubted gifts and performed valuable work in the early years of his life. It poses many questions which cannot be answered. It places Ashley's work into its contemporary context among the bewildering

number of organizations dedicated to the mercantile marine and the Royal Navy in the first half of the 19th century through preaching and the supply of Bibles, New Testaments, Books of Common Prayer, Homilies and tracts. Short sections are devoted to the work in Bristol (pp. 97–100), the London Episcopal Floating Church Society and the Liverpool Mariners' Church Society. This book is warmly commended, particularly to those with an interest in the history of maritime Bristol, the Bristol Channel and ecclesiastical history in the 19th century.

MARTIN CROSSLEY EVANS
Bristol

Rose Hewlett, *Frampton Remembers World War I* (Stroud, Amberley Publishing 2016). 192 pp., 100 ill. Hardback, £18.00 [ISBN: 9781445651989].

The centenary of the First World War has prompted many communities to research the men who lost their lives and are commemorated on the local war memorial. Some have also researched the effect of the war on their community. As a result of this many books have been published of varying interest and quality. The availability of material such as census returns, newspapers, civil registration, parish registers, directories and electoral registers on the internet has made the tracing of men's lives and their families before the war relatively straightforward. However, there is a challenge in following their service during the war as over 60 per cent of the First World War service records were destroyed by a German bombing raid during the Second World War. This also poses a problem in identifying those who served during the war and returned home safely.

Frampton on Severn is fortunate in having a memorial in the village hall which not only lists the men who lost their lives but also those from Frampton who served. Frampton is also fortunate to have an experienced local historian and author, Rose Hewlett, who has taken up the challenge of producing a book telling the story of the village during the war years and the men who served. The second half of the book tells the story of each of the men listed on the memorial with service history, where known, and life after the war.

The book opens with a look at life in the village prior to the war, mainly based around the 1911 census. It was not an isolated village as it bordered both the Gloucester and Berkeley Canal and the Gloucester to Bristol road, so there were continual contacts with surrounding parishes and Gloucester. The Clifford family, whose ancestors can be traced back to the time of the Norman Conquest, owned much of the land and in 1911 Henry Francis Clifford was lord of the manor. Although essentially rural, there had been a gravel extraction industry and a mill at nearby Fromebridge produced animal feed.

The following chapters, one for each year of the war, give a summary of the state of politics in the country (do I detect the hand of John Howe?) together with an overview of the military situation and then a look at what was happening in Frampton. This helps to put the local events into a national context. Life in the village continued during the early war years much as before, but in 1916 a factory was opened by Cadbury bordering the canal to pasteurize milk from the many dairy farms of the Berkeley Vale before shipping to Bournville. This immediately provided employment for women, in addition to the National Shell Filling Factory in Quedgeley. Conscription, commencing in 1916, caused problems on the local farms which had already lost some of their labourers through enlistment. In 1917 the Cadbury factory began producing condensed milk which was sent to the troops. At the end of 1916 gravel was supplied for a new shipyard construction site at Chepstow and during 1918 more gravel was needed for two further shipyards at Chepstow. Railways were constructed to transport the gravel to vessels on the canal and as production continued to increase 500 German prisoners of war were brought in and housed in a camp.

This book is a joy to read giving an important record of how a village adapted to life in wartime and is a fitting record of the thousands of hours of research by volunteers on the Heritage Lottery-funded project 'Frampton Remembers World War One'.

JOHN LOOSLEY
Stroud

Derek Tait, *Gloucester in the Great War* (Barnsley, Pen & Sword Books 2016). 123 pp., numerous illustrations. Cardcovers, £9.99 [ISBN: 9781473828070].

In my time I have read a book or two, having worked in the publishing industry for many years, reviewed books for BBC Radio and as a director of a history and literary festival. There is always at least one positive something one can say about a book. Sadly, this book is an exception. It doesn't redeem itself in any way.

Gloucester in the Great War is a clone; part of a series of books on towns' experiences during World War I. It demonstrates the danger of these kinds of books, especially when the author has no local knowledge. One example is the errors with local names, The Duchess of Beaufort becomes 'Beaumont', Churchdown becomes 'Churchtown', Robinswood Hill becomes 'Robinshood'. There are serious omissions such as no mention of Gloucester docks or Gloucester cathedral during the war or of the vital munitions work in the city or any industrial history. In fact the book lacks any real history of the city during this period. It is the waste of a good title.

The blurb on the back cover of the books in the series covering the cities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Bath and Glasgow is exactly the same wording with the insertion of each city's name. Each book promises: '(a) … powerful account of a city that showed great courage and determination in a time of adversity … ensuring that (Gloucester's) people … are remembered for their immense contribution towards the war effort', and yet what the reader comes away with is a random retelling of court cases from the local newspaper, letters from soldiers to the newspaper and reports of which songs were sung by whom at fund-raising concerts. As an Amazon reviewer wrote of the book *Exeter in the Great War*: '… I found the book disappointing. It is a collection of newspaper items thrown together'.

The book promises to tell us of '… the key role (the city played) … supplying vital munitions'. To write this book with no mention of the National Shell Filling Factory No. 5 at Quedgeley is a significant mistake. This munitions factory covered 308 a. with 250 buildings, 9 miles of internal rail tracks, employed close on 7,000 people at its height (80 per cent were women aged 18–35) including 5,644 from Gloucester, Cheltenham and Stroud and assembled and filled more than 17 million shells and cartridges. The on-site construction was carried out by 1,100 men of The Gloucester Constructionists Limited, which was formed by an amalgamation of three Gloucester contractors. The railway company provided five trains by day and two by night each way from Gloucester 3½ miles away. The Chairman of the Advisory Committee responsible for the factory organization was MD of one of Gloucester's largest employers, the Gloucester Railway Carriage and Wagon Company, John Julius Steinitz. Incidentally, Mr Steinitz changed his name to Macgregor, his mother's name, in July 1917! The only reports about the munitions factory were court cases, two of which were of offenders carrying matches (who were fined heavily) and a couple of fundraising events. The contribution of Gloucester's industrial community has been completely ignored.

As for the troops, the book was to inform us of '… thousands of soldiers … billeted in the city', but there does not appear to be any mention of billeting. Many of the Gloucestershire Regiment battalions mentioned were formed in Bristol. There are 112 photographs in the book: 28 are of soldiers in the 'Gloucestershire Regiment', and seven photos (including the front cover) are of

Tom Wiltshire, a soldier not even from Gloucester. A soldier from the 1/6th Battalion, which was formed in Bristol, he was born, brought up, lived and died in Bedminster, Bristol. Surely a soldier from Gloucester could have been featured? There are photos of 18 soldiers from Gloucester who died during the war and the text and photos are a direct lift from the local newspaper. There are three pictures of military horses and, as it so happens, the farm on whose land the munitions factory was built was a convalescent home for shell-shocked horses at the start of the war. There is a wealth of photos of First World War Gloucester events and people available for publication, but of the 112 photos in the book at least 41 carry no Gloucester connection at all.

A valuable addition to the book would have been the event on 1 September 1914 when 350 recruits from Gloucester formed long lines at Shire Hall to be seen off to training camps by the mayor, with the words: "Men of Gloucester, I shall call you the fighting men of Gloucester … how proud we are of you men … Now boys go and do your duty and God bless you". Many of these men joined the 10th Battalion of the Gloucestershire Regiment. The most heartbreaking early loss of life for the 9th and 10th Battalions was during the Battle of Loos in September 1915. Many of the men were from Gloucester. One of those recruits, Hubert Butler, who worked for Messrs Fielding and Platt in Gloucester, was only 16 years of age. He lost his life along with at least ten other men from Gloucester, but *Gloucester in the Great War* does not mention the Battle of Loos!

The book contains three photographs relating to the St John Ambulance and Red Cross Voluntary Aid Detachments in Gloucester to support the blurb's claim that 'the city played a vital role caring for the many wounded soldiers …'. Unlike Cheltenham, which had eight VAD hospitals, Gloucester had but two. Hillfield, opened in September 1915 with a capacity of 50 beds, and Gloucester VAD Hospital with (eventually) 272 beds in the Gloucester Union Workhouse at Great Western Road. The photograph on page 51 of the staff at the opening of Hillfield omits the most interesting story which could have been told; that the hospital was eventually moved in 1916 to the bishop of Gloucester's palace to increase the capacity to 100 beds. The name of the Lady Superintendent has been misspelt as 'Courteau' and should read 'Courteen'. On the same page of the *Gloucester Journal* on which the Hillfield photograph appeared was also a photograph of Berkeley Agricultural Society's entrants for the milking competition; all ladies, as one would expect. Both these photographs appear on the same page in the book, and for the latter the author has used the heading 'Women and war work'. The women of Gloucester (Berkeley is 17 miles away) did more than milk cows for war work!

It is intriguing to read in the 'Newspaper' section at the beginning of the book that there is a quotation from *The Montana Yellowstone News*! Perhaps the author should have read a few more pieces of resource material on Gloucester in the First World War that are readily available from Gloucestershire Archives. The 221 war letters of Maynard Colchester Wemyss, Chairman of Gloucestershire County Council during the war, Chairman of the Gloucestershire War Agricultural Committee and also temporary honorary Chief Constable, would have provided not only a fascinating insight into what was happening at various levels in Gloucester, but also thoughts and opinions from a very perceptive man. Colchester Wemyss had written in one letter: 'perhaps, 100 years hence, someone will unearth them and read them with interest'. Whilst Colchester Wemyss and his son Frank, who was in charge of Gloucestershire Red Cross, appear in the book three times, there is no entry in the index for either of them. What a pity Derek Tait did little more than venture further than an online newspaper website on his computer for his research. His 'powerful account of a city' and 'tremendous celebrations in the streets' (of which there is no report) amount to a rather weak account and a non-existent celebration. Gloucester deserves better than this.

NEELA MANN
Cheltenham