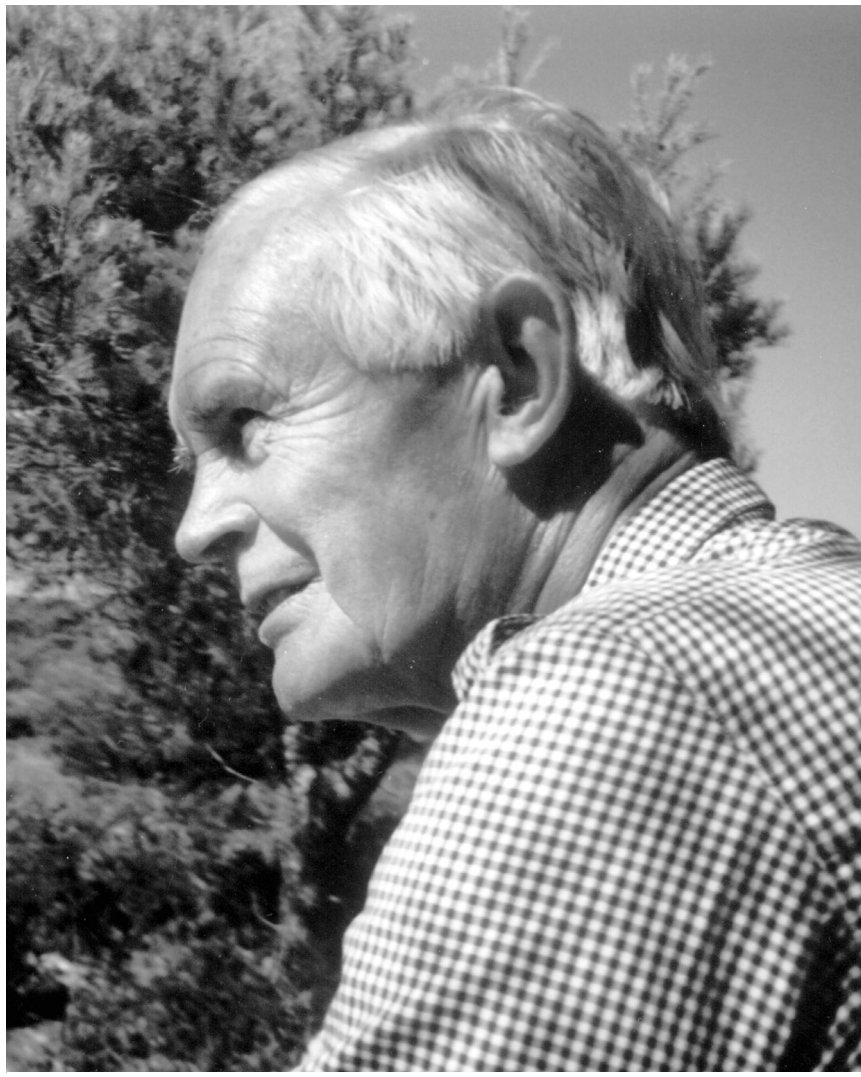

HENRY LOYN

Henry Royston Loyn
1922–2000

HENRY LOYN was born on 16 June 1922 in his grandparents' house in Keppoch Street, in the Roath Park district of Cardiff. He was the only child of respectable lower middle-class parents: Henry George Loyn and Violet May Loyn (née Thomas).

Background and early life

On the paternal side the Loyn family had all been shopkeepers, normally living in rented accommodation. His great grandfather (Henry Loyn, 1819–97) had been an ironmonger in Aberaeron. Both his grandfather (Henry, 1853–1927) and his father (Henry George, 1895–1939) managed shops in Cardiff; one of his uncles had his own shop, a small drapery in Pembroke Dock, while an aunt married the owner of a big store in Neath. His father, who was the ninth and youngest child of the family, had been apprenticed as a draper and was to work as a shop manager for Morgan Davies of Cardiff Bon Marché for almost all his career, opening two new branches in the city, first at Ely and later at Whitchurch. He had been wounded in 1918 and never regained full health. But he cycled to work every day and to Roath once a week to collect his disability pension of 12 shillings; he also made occasional visits to the wholesale agents in the city centre.

His mother, Vi, was the youngest of the eight children of a railway worker (William Thomas, d. 1936). She had been a bright pupil at school

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with ambitions to become a librarian but, being told that that 'was not for the likes of for her', had left at thirteen to earn her living as a shop assistant. At least she had avoided 'going into service', which she would have considered a catastrophe. 'Never do other people's work for them!' had been her mother's advice, which she made a rule for life. But the Thomas family's support was strong and all through his schooldays Henry was to lunch with 'Granny Thomas' in the house in Donald Street near Roath Park where she lived with her widowed daughter, Bertha Prendergast, and the three Prendergast children.

Henry had therefore been born into an extended family, very firmly localised in one neighbourhood of Cardiff. It was to be his foundation and his springboard. After a few years in nearby rented accommodation, his parents (very much it would seem at his mother's instigation) made the momentous decision in 1928 to purchase, with the aid of a twenty-year mortgage of £500, their own house for £650. They settled in what was then still the village of Llanishen, on the northern edge of Cardiff, a twenty-minute bus-ride from Roath. In a world of limited communications (neither the Loyn, nor the Thomas families had telephones) this seemed to the rest of the family a step beyond civilisation. Granny Thomas, for example, was to visit the Llanishen house just once in twelve years. Money for the Loyns was always tight—his father never earned more than £4 a week—and of course they never owned a motor-car. His father smoked, but drank very little. His mother, Vi, managed the family finances with great caution. Henry was their first and only child. She seems to have suffered from post-natal depression after his birth and decided that thereafter there would be no further children. But his parents remained devoted to each other and to their son. Henry was brought up in the security of a happy home. Social life chiefly centred upon the large Loyn and Thomas families, but Henry also remembered evenings of Meccano and stamps, of card playing and chess with his father. His parents were not churchgoers. Vi was a true blue Tory and Henry believed that his father, despite some liberal sympathies, always voted Tory. It seems clear that their dearest wish was to enable their son to better himself and have opportunities that they had missed.

Schooling

With that background the five-year old Henry, already knowing his letters and able to read, joined the infants' class at Roath Park primary school

in autumn 1927. Many of Henry's cousins had preceded him there and, once his parents had moved out to Llanishen during his second year at Roath Park, Henry took the bus there each day, going for his lunch to Granny Thomas's. Henry soon graduated to the more academic ('A') classes and in year 4 to the 'scholarship class', where the bright pupils were nurtured. Henry, who was quick at arithmetic and loved reading, was lucky in his teachers and in his fellow pupils. In his last year, when he was eleven, boys from Roath Park took the top four places in the city's annual scholarship exam for grammar school places (with Henry coming fourth) and another Roath boy in ninth place. The school's remarkable success was celebrated in the local press.

By entering Cardiff High School in September 1933, something that only one of his many cousins had achieved, Henry began to fulfil his parents' ambitions. There he found himself in a highly competitive Anglicising institution, which provided middle-class boys of the city with an education closely modelled upon English public schools, but without the boarding element. Henry was one of the youngest in his year and his progress was steady. Like his fellows, he lost his Cardiff accent and learnt how to keep out of trouble. He was relatively weak in Physics and Biology, but his interests in English, Latin, and Maths sustained him. He enjoyed playing cricket for the juniors, but disliked rugby, where his great height—he was already six feet by the age of fourteen—made him ungainly. His chief passion was chess. He was the school's best player from his second year and under the guidance of the classics master (Mr Michaels) he served both as secretary and captain of the chess club, organising matches with other schools from Cardiff, Newport, and Bridgend. In the sixth form he concentrated on English, History and (perhaps ill-advisedly) French. He might have done better to continue with Latin, but was reluctant to start Greek, which budding classicists were expected to take up at that stage. He joined the Air Squadron and played tennis, squash, and fives for the school. Though sharing his family's conservative political support for Baldwin, Chamberlain, and the appeasers, he had enough contact with several of the Jewish boys and teachers in the school to be aware of the shame of Munich and of the dangers of Fascism. In the Higher School Certificate in summer 1939 at the age of just seventeen he attained excellent grades in English and History and passed in French with oral proficiency. These results secured him a local scholarship to University College, Cardiff, but the decision was taken that he should rather stay on for a third sixth-form year in the High School and sit for Oxford scholarships in the winter. He became Deputy

Head Prefect at the start of that year but within a few weeks all these plans had to be changed.

University, war, and TB

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 meant that the seventeen-year old Henry now faced the prospect of call-up into the RAF after his eighteenth birthday the following June. More immediately, his father's health had been deteriorating for a year and at the start of September forced him to give up work; by mid-November he had died of tuberculosis. As a consequence Henry's mother, on her modest widow's pension, could not afford his further year at school; and the prospect of Oxford was no longer realistic. Instead, Henry immediately took up his scholarship at University College. That both paid all his fees and provided an income of £20 per year. There his four first-year subjects were English, History, French (all continued from school) and Economics. These choices strikingly anticipated his later interests. He was introduced to medieval history by Gwen Whale and to 'Anglo-Saxon' by Gwyn Jones, but he particularly enjoyed economic and social history with Dorothy Marshall, who later became a colleague and good friend. He took part in the Debating Society, played chess and bridge with John Silkin and—after years of single-sex education—formed a close and romantic friendship with a third-year student, Hilda Thomas, with whom he attended meetings and beside whom he sat at lectures. After the death of his father, the house in Llanishen had been let to a local tradesman. Henry and his mother therefore resided with his Aunt Bertha and his three Prendergast cousins in Bangor Street. Henry occupied an attic room there and walked each day to the University, using the students' union as a second home, where he could meet Hilda in particular.

In the summer of 1940, however, events conspired to prevent Henry from sharing the wartime experience of most of his contemporaries. Just after his June exams and a day spent playing tennis, Henry suffered a serious haemorrhage at night in his bed; in his ignorance he dismissed it as a nosebleed. Astonishing as it now seems, neither any doctor nor his mother had ever arranged for his chest to be X-rayed for tubercle after his father's death. A week later a more serious attack led to the immediate diagnosis of TB and his transfer to a clinic in Cardiff. While he was being assessed there, Hilda had visited him from Bridgend and had taken him on idyllic outings to Tintern and Chepstow. She had hoped that they

might get engaged, but the young and doubtless frightened Henry—uncertain what course his disease might yet take—did not feel able to make (or to expect) such a commitment. They agreed to part and in spring 1942 she married a member of the Free Dutch forces. After the war she settled and raised a family in The Hague. On 16 August 1940, some six weeks after his first haemorrhage, Henry took the train from Queen Street to Brecon and then an ambulance to the South Wales Sanatorium at Talgarth.

Talgarth, on the edge of the Black Mountains in Brecknockshire, was to be his home for the next two years. The sanatorium housed some 150–200 patients in twenty-five huts or chalets, with the hospital block, the kitchens and the great hall in the main house. Without antibiotics, the regime consisted of bed rest, followed by an operation to collapse the lung and repeated treatment thereafter, which continued until 1945. Good food (so far as wartime permitted), fresh air and a changing balance of bed-rest and, in time, of moderate exercise provided the daily routine. For over six months Henry was confined to bed in the hospital block—though he was soon allowed up to wash. He then moved on to a regime of walks of gradually increasing length and frequency, before transferring in the summer of 1941 to garden work, also of graded levels. His fellow patients provided varied and interesting company and the political consensus was left-wing; some were communists. Escapist literature was provided by the weekly library van and Henry tested his memory by writing down the Horace odes that he had learnt by heart at school. Henry's principal recreations were bridge, draughts and, of course, chess. His epic twenty-five-game match with the Czech Jewish engineer, Arthur Rosenrauch occasioned much betting throughout the hospital.[1]

By the spring of 1942 Henry was deemed to have been stable for long enough to allow his departure from Talgarth after one further surgical intervention.[2] He was adjudged fit enough to return home on 29 May 1942. He had reached 12 stone—a more natural weight for his height of 6 foot 3 inches. But, operating on one lung, he was forbidden to run or to overtire himself in any way; bedtime had still to be at nine o'clock. He joined his mother at Llanishen, where she had taken in permanent lodgers to assist with the mortgage. There was, of course, no possibility for Henry of service in the armed forces or indeed of any strenuous employment at

[1] Arthur defeated Henry in the final game to snatch victory by 13–12.

[2] Henry received a phrenicectomy to collapse the lung, so that the regular refilling of the pneumothorax with air to keep the lung deflated could be done outside thereafter.

all. So, in October 1942, Henry resumed his course at University College, though initially the aim was just to cope physically. Almost all his school and college friends were now in uniform; Hilda had graduated in June and then married her Dutchman. Henry also had very little money; the £20 scholarship, though supplemented by his aunts and a kind neighbour, left little for paper, let alone for books. His doctor's orders were to do no more than two hours of academic work a day. His hope was to qualify for a Pass Degree, but in the event his results in June 1943 secured his entry into the final year of English Honours.

A holiday job was essential and Henry was delighted to secure one as a 'holiday master' in a Jewish boys' public school, Whittingeham, which had evacuated from Brighton to rural Carmarthenshire. Some pupils were unable to go home in the holidays, so Henry was paid £4 per week and his keep for relatively light duties supervising games and scouting, organising bird-watching, fishing, theatrical performances, and concerts. The countryside was a naturalist's paradise and Henry's skill at chess and bridge ensured his reappointment in both 1944 and 1945. By the time that he returned to College, he had had a brief holiday and still had £15 to supplement his scholarship. At College he found himself one of just twelve students studying for Honours English Language and Literature, though he also continued subsidiary Medieval History with Gwen Whale, whom Henry remembered as a poor lecturer but a marvellous tutor. As his health improved he began to get more involved with student societies, especially the Debating Society, which he recognised both as a key to learning to speak well and as a source of friends of different political persuasions. In his Finals in June 1945, he achieved first-class marks on his language papers (in Old English, Old Norse, and Middle English), where J. R. R. Tolkien was the external, but only good 2(i) marks on his literature papers. Nonetheless his 2(i) was the best English result in his year.

Until that time his expected career had been the Civil Service or school-teaching, but his health and continuing three-weekly treatments still excluded such employment. Since he had already taken subsidiary History, he found that his scholarship could be extended for a final Honours year of History to enable him to achieve a double degree. He chose to concentrate mainly upon medieval courses, thoroughly enjoying Stubbs's *Charters* with Gwen Whale and a special subject on the thirteenth-century Welsh church with Professor William Rees. He also studied Tudor economic history with Dorothy Marshall, whose friendly tutoring Henry greatly admired. In June 1945 he emerged from his finals (David C. Douglas was the external) with clear first

class Honours in History to add to the 2(i) that he had previously attained in English. By any reckoning that result was a triumph over adversity and a testimony to Henry's ability to pace his efforts.

An academic future now beckoned. Henry was awarded a newly created University Research Studentship of £150 to embark on a two-year MA with a possibility of extending it to a doctorate, if a Fellowship could be obtained. On Henry's behalf, William Rees sought advice from Sir Frank Stenton concerning an early medieval topic that might be studied in Cardiff, with its more limited library resources than those of Oxbridge or London. Stenton suggested that work on the terminology of the Alfredian translations, particularly in relation to secular ranks and authority might be ideal for someone with Henry's combination of historical and philological gifts. The advice was warmly appreciated and created a sense of debt to Sir Frank—the greatest early medieval English historian of his age—that Henry retained throughout his life. This advice was perhaps particularly valued precisely because the start of his research had to be delayed while a greater opportunity presented itself.

Marriage and employment in Cardiff

By the autumn of 1945 those demobilised after the war were beginning to return to University. In the Cardiff History Department Gwen Whale's health was too fragile for an increased teaching load. Though there were not funds for a full post, William Rees was able to invite Henry to take on her teaching of the subsidiary class in European History at £100 per term. The job involved lectures to a large class, marking students' essays and holding seminars for groups of eight to ten students. He loved the work and by the spring of 1946 was able to start on his research. While a research student Henry was President of the Debating Society and he found some of his pupils among his committee, many of them older and more experienced than he. By June 1946 the pressures of student numbers led Cardiff to advertise an Assistant Lectureship in Medieval History. Such job opportunities do not often occur in life and Henry did not hesitate. He was appointed from a short list of two, and thus achieved some financial security for the first time in his life—and in his home city and home university to boot.

But the summer of 1946 had another life-changing event in store. Long before there had been any possibility of an academic post, Henry had committed himself to his usual summer holiday 'teaching' at

Whittingeham School, now back in its own buildings in Brighton and now taking sisters of some of the boys. This time, however, he did not really settle. He was pre-occupied by the teaching and lecturing load that was awaiting him at the start of the Cardiff term. However, a new 'holiday-teacher' at the school, a young Englishwoman on vacation from Bedford College London, Patricia Haskew, did attract his attention. Pat lived near St Albans but had been evacuated during the war years to the USA. She had had four years of American secondary schooling before returning to Britain to start an English degree at Bedford College London, in October 1945 in preference to taking up the scholarship, which had been offered her at Columbia. In two brief weeks at Whittingeham an attraction was formed that was to develop quickly into a romance, to their engagement in August 1949 and their wedding on 14 July 1950. Though Pat was never made to feel that she met Vi Loyn's full expectations for her only son, she and Henry found from the start that they shared not only a love of history and literature, but also of walking in the countryside and observing nature—birds, plants, and wildlife. They enjoyed a broad range of intellectual and word-gaming interests together: puns, limericks, clerihews, Ogden Nasherie, and crosswords. At times they liked to read Latin poetry together or to explore aspects of the inter-relations of languages—especially between English, German, and Norwegian. Henry also delighted in mathematical games and puzzles. He would factorise the registration numbers of passing cars. Some initial recognition of shared interests and of profoundly complementary temperaments as well as of romance had been ignited in that fortnight at Whittingeham.

Henry left no account of his early fortunes as a new lecturer at Cardiff, but from the start he seems to have taken on a key role in introducing Cardiff students to European medieval history in their first year and to the British Middle Ages in their second. As the Department's early medievalist, the bulk of his lecturing to first- and second-year students tended to be concentrated in the first term. From 1946 until *c.*1960 in Michaelmas Term he normally had to give three lectures a week to audiences of about a hundred students. Of course other teaching extended across the whole of the Middle Ages and over the whole year, but Cardiff History students encountered Henry in particular in the first weeks of the university year. Conscious of his own huge debt to his teachers, he was very clear that lecturing was a craft, which needed to be worked at meticulously. In the lecture room his height, his broad forehead, dark eyebrows and smiling eyes, his melodious voice and the oratorical skills that he had

developed in the Debating Society now stood him in good stead. He had the advantage of an imposing physical presence and was certainly, as David Bates testifies, later to be renowned among Cardiff students as a superb lecturer, particularly as one who gave beginners a lasting taste for his subject. It seems likely that that reputation had been won from the very start of his career. His predominant interests in social and economic history and in the operation of the state were, however, somewhat unusual among medieval historians (save among left-wing or Marxist scholars). His particular experience of missing war-service and of the remarkable social mix at Talgarth had not radicalised his approach to history, but had rather confirmed his cautious instincts. It had, however, left him with relatively little interest in battles or conquests or even the details of political struggles The development of a society that supported effective government was ever his dominant concern.

The university was not, however, his only stage. As a matter of principle he determined to accept all invitations to lecture to outside audiences and was soon much in demand as a lecturer to local school and church groups, and especially to branches of the Historical Association. By the 1960s there would be at least one such extra-mural lecture every month. Henry built up a formidable hand of stock lectures on major themes of interest (the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, the Anglo-Saxon language, the coronation of King Edgar in 973, Anglo-Saxon coinage, Norman Castles, the Bayeux Tapestry, many aspects of Domesday Book, and so forth). They were up-dated and revised to suit particular local audiences and changing interpretations.

Having undertaken a heavy load of university teaching immediately after the completion of his BA in History, without any period of uninterrupted research, it naturally took Henry some years before his researches began to reach publication. But encouraged by his Head of Department, William Rees, he had made steady progress on the topic that had been sketched out by Sir Frank Stenton, who continued to advise his graduate work.[3] He obtained his MA in 1949 and was promoted to a full lectureship that same year. A few years later he sent off to the editor of the *English Historical Review* the first of two remarkable articles emanating from this research. Together these papers announced to the scholarly world the emergence of a major scholar with important ideas about early English society and equipped with the philological

[3] Henry recorded Sir Frank's support and encouragement during his graduate studies in the preface to his first book. See below, n. 8.

skills to resolve them.[4] What was especially impressive about this early work was his ability to identify semantic shifts in the meaning of the English and Latin words used to denote rank in the tenth and earlier centuries, and his ability to subject Latin and Old English sources to a sophisticated analysis. Two years later he was to show in an article in *History* that he also had the ability to set these themes against a much wider analysis of the development of English society.[5] In so doing, he aligned himself very clearly with the school of J. H. Round, F. M. Stenton, and F. L. Ganshof, which would allow no hint of feudalism in the relations of thegns with the Anglo-Saxon king. He was, however, already exploring the concept of 'territorial lordship' to fill the consequent vacuum.

For the first three years of their married life in Cardiff Henry and Pat had rented a flat in 19 Llwyn-y-grant Road. The house belonged to the mother of Max Ede, who had been Henry's mother's solicitor when she had remortgaged the house in Llanishen. In return for keeping an eye on the wellbeing of 'Granny Ede' (as they soon came to know her), they enjoyed a low rent. They also had on their walls some of the pictures from the remarkable art collection kept in the house and gathered by her son, the connoisseur and dealer, Stanley (Jim) Ede,[6] and they were accepted as honorary members of the Ede family. Indeed three generations of Edes were to become close friends of the Loyns and their children. While Henry and Pat lived in the flat, their first son was born (Richard, 1951), to Granny Ede's great delight. After her death in 1953 the Loyns initially moved back to his mother's in Llanishen before purchasing a Victorian house in Fidlas Road, Llanishen, with a large garden in June 1954 for £2,000. That was to remain their home until they left Cardiff in 1977 and while they were there two further sons, John

[4] H. R. Loyn, 'The term *ealdorman* in the translations prepared in the time of King Alfred', *English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), 513–25; H. R. Loyn, 'Gesiths and thegns from the seventh to the tenth century', *English Historical Review*, 70 (1955), 529–49. Henry had given an initial account of these researches at the Anglo-American conference of July 1952 and had been elated at their reception by Stenton, Helen Cam, May McKisack, and others.

[5] H. R. Loyn, 'The king and the structure of society in late Anglo-Saxon England', *History*, 42 (1957), 87–100. This article was the first to show his gift for synthesis of a major theme in a highly readable, yet scholarly, format.

[6] The collection included works by David Jones, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Ben Nicholson, Christopher Wood, Paul Nash, and the Cornish primitive, Alfred Wallis; much of it was later moved to his house in Kettle's Yard in Cambridge and given to that university. Stanley was a figure of some controversy with an eye for an art bargain, buying in bulk the work of little known artists.

(1954) and Christopher (1958) were to be born and raised. The joy of a happy and successful family, raised in the security of a good home with the support of a growing body of friends, who enjoyed the Loyns' hospitality, was to be a source of great pride and pleasure to Henry throughout his life. His family came first.

Following the publication of Henry's first articles in the *English Historical Review* in 1953 and 1955 and in *History* in 1957, he began to be much sought out, both as a reviewer and an author. From 1954 he reviewed an average of four books every year, initially just for *History* and the *English Historical Review*.[7] The overriding qualities of his reviews (as well as their quantity) reveal much of Henry's character. His reviews always convey the content of the book clearly; they are predominantly charitable (even where some would have thought charity inappropriate) and notably well written; they were also evidently produced on schedule. It must also have been in the mid- or later 1950s that Henry was approached by Asa Briggs to write the first volume in Longman's series on the social and economic history of England. The book was to be published in 1962.[8] In some respects Henry planned it to parallel Sir Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*. Like Stenton, he included the reign of William the Conqueror, which made it possible to discuss evidence from the whole of Domesday Book. Henry's interpretation of the English social economy was also broadly Stentonian, particularly on such issues as the freedom of Anglo-Saxon peasant settlers, the origins of the manor or the scale of the Viking settlements.[9] It was therefore a deeply conservative book. It did not ignore the challenges to traditional interpretations that were, at that time, being advanced by Trevor Aston, Ralph Davis, Peter Sawyer, Eric John, and others. But rather than meeting them head on, it consistently sought to widen and to defuse the debate. He emphasised the evidence of the English language for the nature of both the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian settlements. He gave pride of place to

[7] The reviews up until 1992 are listed in H. R. Loyn, *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c.600–1200* (Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 6, University of London, 1992), 462–73.

[8] H. R. Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1962), 472 pp. There were numerous subsequent impressions, a paperback version in 1970 and a revised second edition in 1991.

[9] Quite apart from his personal debt to Sir Frank in his initial research, it should be noted that Stenton's volume in the *Oxford History of England* had been published in 1943, the year that Henry had returned to his studies from Talgarth. It must have seemed a godsend to him then, and even more so in the summer of 1946 when he was first creating a set of lectures on early medieval English history without any years of research under his belt.

the Old English lawcodes in his account the growth of English lordship and of urban life in the tenth and eleventh centuries—a subject to which he would often return in later writings.[10] Despite its traditional conceptual framework, however, this was a work rich in new evidence for all its readers.

While this volume was at press in autumn 1961, Henry was promoted to senior lecturer. The timing suggests that Stanley Chrimes (who had been appointed to the chair of History in succession to William Rees in 1953) had taken the opportunity of the book's acceptance by Longmans to advance his colleague. Henry shared with Chrimes a deep interest in the development of English government and institutions. Meanwhile Henry was building up his activities outside the Department. His lecturing to branches of the Historical Association increased substantially in the 1960s. He also became in 1963, at the invitation of its secretary, Max Ede, one of the twenty members of Cardiff's 'Fortnightly Club' of leading citizens and academics, which met through the winter for coffee and conversation and an expert talk from one of its members.

The mid-1960s were a time of opportunity for historians of late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England. With the nine hundredth anniversary of the battle of Hastings approaching, British publishers vied with each other to secure new textbook accounts of the Norman Conquest. Henry's *The Norman Conquest* was commissioned for 'Hutchinson University Library' and provided a succinct and up-to-date textbook, which demonstrated his skill in synthesis. It was one of the best of that crop and among the first to be published. It met a need in the market and deservedly went to three editions.[11] It was therefore no surprise that Henry was immediately asked to assist with another volume created for the Hastings anniversary, namely to provide a brief account of *Norman England* to be illustrated by Alan Sorrell's superb reconstruction draw-

[10] Produced at much the same time and evidently as a by-product of it, was H. R. Loyn, 'Boroughs and mints' in the Festschrift for Sir Frank Stenton: *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961), 122–35. The same year saw H. R. Loyn, 'The origin and early development of the Saxon borough, with special reference to Cricklade', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 62 (1961), 7–15. Some years later he added a chapter on 'Late Anglo-Saxon Stamford' to *The Making of Stamford*, ed. A. Rogers (Leicester, 1965), 15–31 and a study of 'Towns in late Anglo-Saxon England' to the Festschrift for Dorothy Whitelock: *England before the Conquest*, ed. K. Hughes and P. Clemoes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 115–28.

[11] H. R. Loyn, *The Norman Conquest* (London, 1965), 212 pp.; 2nd edn., 1967; 3rd rev. edn., 1982. Henry's promotion to a readership followed in 1967.

ings. He enjoyed writing for a wider public and also collaborating closely with the artist.[12]

His next enterprise was a very different work, marking a venture into a new type of historical enquiry. In Cardiff Henry had not had access to any archive of early medieval manuscripts. He had never researched in the great repositories of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: the British Library, the Bodleian, or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He was therefore delighted to be suggested by Dorothy Whitelock as a suitable editor for a volume in the expensive but prestigious series, *Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, which was to be devoted to BL, Cotton Nero A.1. This composite manuscript contained important texts of works of Archbishop Wulfstan II of York, some of them annotated in his own hand. These were bound up with a later collection of episcopal texts, possibly to be associated with the saintly Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester. Henry's substantial introduction identified the component parts of the manuscript and its sources. He established its codicological and palaeographical details with exemplary clarity. He built on foundations laid by Karl Jost, Dorothy Bethurum, Dorothy Whitelock, and Neil Ker, but resolutely refused to push the evidence for the manuscript's coherence or its associations with either of the Wulfstans further than was warranted. As a result his work has continued to be a good starting point, and subsequent scholars have been able to find in the facsimiles some additional reasons for regarding the two parts as having been separate until the Reformation.[13]

It may be that his work on this manuscript helped to turn Henry's research interests more towards issues of governmental and institutional history. At all events when he edited—with his Cardiff modernist colleague, Harry Hearder—a festschrift in honour of Stanley Chrimes's retirement from the chair and Department of History, he contributed a notable opening chapter on the working of the late Anglo-Saxon hundred and its court.[14] He focused upon what he saw as the constructive role of

[12] H. R. Loyn with Alan Sorrell, *Norman Britain* (London, 1966), 48 pp. In 1977 Henry was to collaborate again with Alan Sorrell (and Richard Sorell) on *Medieval Britain* (London, 1977), 48 pp. The following year, also in popularising mode, he produced H. R. Loyn, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1967), 67 pp.

[13] R. Torkar, *Eine altenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins 'De virtutis et vitiis'* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie, 7, Munich, 1981), pp. 168–85; P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, I (Oxford, 1999), pp. 224–8.

[14] H. R. Loyn, 'The hundred in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *British Government and Administration: Studies presented to S. B. Chrimes*, ed. H. Hearder and H. R. Loyn (Cardiff, 1974), 1–15.

governmental development. His interest was not in the problems of the origins of the hundred and of private jurisdiction that had dominated the founding fathers of legal and social history (Maitland, Chadwick, and Vinogradoff). Rather he demonstrated how the vernacular lawcodes, charters, and writs showed the hundred to have operated within the new kingdom of England. The same sources, enhanced with some notable literary reinforcement, underlay his analysis of the role of kinship in Anglo-Saxon England.[15] He demonstrated how limited was the kin's role in disputes over the inheritance of property in the tenth and eleventh centuries, at exactly the same time as it had growing legal responsibilities in the maintenance of law and order in relation to its members. Such nicely balanced paradoxes and sympathy for the individuals portrayed in the sources were ever his great strengths. Unlike some of his contemporaries, he did not seek illumination from the social sciences to elucidate the role of early medieval kindreds, nor thankfully did he adopt sociological terminology. His explanations were, therefore, jargon-free—though for some disturbingly bland. The same virtues and the same limitations may be seen in the paper he delivered to the *Regularis Concordia* millennial conference of 1973 on church and state in tenth- and eleventh-century England.[16] He preferred to see the extension of reformed monasticism, of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of tithes as examples of royal and ecclesiastical 'co-operation and support for God's acres' rather than as new burdens on the labouring classes. And he made good use of his detailed knowledge of BL Cotton Nero A.1 to illuminate Archbishop Wulfstan's pursuit of a Carolingian ideal of monarchical authority, however divorced that model may have been from the realities of Æthelred's England.

Within University College Henry had begun in the 1960s to play an increasingly important role, culminating in his stint as Cardiff's 'Dean of Students' from 1968 to 1970 (and again in 1975–6). This office, which involved pastoral and disciplinary responsibility in non-academic matters, became of critical importance in 1969 when radical student challenges to political and institutional authority were spreading contagiously through British universities from their origins in Paris and Berlin. Henry's

[15] H. R. Loyn, 'Kinship in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, iii (1974), 197–209. There is a striking contrast with J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's view of the role of the kin in feud (deriving from a reading of Max Gluckman and Margaret Hasluck) in his 'Blood-feud of the Franks', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 41 (1959), 459–87, reprinted in his *The Long-haired Kings* (London, 1966), pp. 121–47.

[16] H. R. Loyn, 'Church and State in England in the tenth and eleventh centuries', *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975), 94–102.

willingness to listen, his gift for friendship and his ability to persuade the college to grant student representation on key bodies defused any potential troubles. It must have been partly in recognition of this service that he was promoted to a personal chair in 1969. Within the Department of History he also had a growing role. Young lecturers, like David Bates, found Henry's interest in their teaching and first researches both practical and encouraging.[17] Typical of Henry's concern for a colleague was the volume of translated sources devoted to *The Reign of Charlemagne* that he published jointly with the ancient historian, John Percival. Henry had planned the volume in a new series (devised by Geoffrey Barrow and Edward Miller) which aimed to make the sources for the major issues of medieval history available to students, whose ignorance of Latin otherwise made the period a closed book.[18] This was Henry's only substantial publication devoted to a topic outside Britain, but the design for the book was very much his. Percival's interests in Roman estate management had already led him to the Carolingian *polyptiques*, so he welcomed the chance to investigate them further and undertook the bulk of the translations; Henry provided most of the commentaries and the introduction. It was a particularly effective collaboration and the book remains a wonderful tool for introducing undergraduates, coming afresh to the early Middle Ages, to a central figure.

In spring 1974, in advance of Stanley Chrimes's retirement, Henry's personal chair was converted into an established chair in Medieval History—a timely recognition of his scholarship.[19] But since the Headship of the Department was thereafter to be separated from the Chair of History, it surprised some colleagues when the first stint was given to Harry Hearder, who was no administrator. This outcome may have reflected the fact that the Principal, Bill Bevan, and Henry had little in common, although they had co-operated well when he was Dean of Students. In the early 1970s, however, there were compensations in other directions, particularly where Henry's gifts for good company and positive thinking were appreciated. He had become one of the University's two members of the

[17] Professor Ken Dowden, then a young classicist at Cardiff, has also told me of the encouragement that he drew from Henry's interest and conversation.

[18] *The Reign of Charlemagne*, ed. and trans. H. R. Loyn and J. Percival (London, 1975), liv + 176 pp.

[19] Harry Hearder had come to Cardiff as Professor of Modern History in 1967. Gwyn Williams from York was appointed to succeed Chrimes with effect from autumn 1974, but not to head the Department. Henry Loyn's inaugural lecture, entitled 'The Free Anglo-Saxon', was published in 1976 and is conveniently reprinted in his *Society and Peoples*, pp. 279–98.

Cardiff Rotary in 1970, and much enjoyed meeting city businessmen. He served a stint (1971–4) as Vice-President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology. In 1975 he became President both of the Glamorgan History Society and of the Cardiff branch of the Historical Association, after many years in its service. One year later he became the national President of the Historical Association. That three-year office involved council meetings in London, consultations at the headquarters in Kennington and (by then often chauffeured by Pat)[20] a phenomenal load of visiting and lecturing to local branches up and down the country. Henry loved and welcomed this work, and the Loyn years were later to be seen as a golden time in the HA. The regular stream of beautifully crafted textbooks also continued to flow from his pen. When Batsford sought a volume that would profit from the great public interest in the Vikings, aroused by exhibitions, excavations and films, Henry responded with a fine volume, covering the whole island of Britain. A notable off-shoot of this book was his Dorothea Coke Memorial lecture on 'the Vikings in Wales' where he pulled together scattered fragments to present a convincing and thought-provoking picture.[21]

The Westfield years

In the light of the growing reputation both of such works and of his valued role in national bodies, it is not surprising that, when the Chair of Medieval History at Westfield College London became vacant (Christopher Brooke having returned to Cambridge in 1977), Henry was the chosen successor. Cardiff's loss was Westfield's gain. To some the Loyns' move to London from their beloved Cardiff seemed extraordinary, but it was well considered. They found a lovely house in Cunningham Hill Road, St Albans—very much Pat's home territory—whence, however, Henry had a simple daily train journey to Hampstead. Henry, moreover, believed in federal universities, so the move from a college of the University of Wales to one of the smaller colleges of the University of London posed no great problems. Westfield, formerly a women's college, still only had some 1200 students in 1977, of whom two thirds were in Arts

[20] The Loyns had had a car since 1960, but Henry never learnt to drive.

[21] H. R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain* (London, 1977), 176 pp; H. R. Loyn, *The Vikings in Wales* (Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture, Viking Society for Northern Research, London, 1977), 24 pp.

subjects and two-thirds were women. It was a distinguished, somewhat conservative, and united college. Henry was made very welcome.

He threw himself into the opportunities that London presented, as well as the responsibilities it offered. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1979, and served on its Council from 1983 to 1986; he was also Vice-President of the Society of the Antiquaries of London from 1983–7 and much enjoyed the four meetings each year of its 'Hats' dining club. He was also President of the Society of Medieval Archaeology in 1983–6 and Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society in that same period. So committee meetings proliferated, where his calm and informed counsel was highly valued. But at that very time his responsibilities at Westfield were increasing. In 1980 at the request of the Principal, Bryan Thwaites, Henry became one of the college's two Vice-Principals, in which post he was renewed for a second three-year term in 1983, seeing into office the new Principal, John Varey (1984–89). When major surgery necessitated Varey's standing down for several months in 1986, Henry became the Acting Principal in his stead. Throughout these duties Henry remained Head of the History Department and he carefully nurtured History of Art as well. These were critical times for Westfield. The Thatcher government's financial cuts of the early and mid-1980s had brought increasing pressure upon a British university system, accustomed to decades of evolutionary growth. Within the University of London, the role of small colleges like Westfield, which had no space for expansion and occupied a site of prime real estate, was increasingly called into question. Its small Science Faculty had been removed, disastrously as it proved, just before government squeezing of the funding of Arts students made the whole college unviable. Henry had devoted himself to the defence of Westfield's independence, but when that battle was lost, he sought to ensure that the interests of Westfield staff and students might be retained through negotiations for a merger, first with King's College but then (after his retirement) with Queen Mary College.[22] What is striking is that throughout the whole agonising debates Henry inspired the loyalty and trust of both the academic staff and the administrators of the college to secure the best available deal. As John Varey declared in his valediction: 'Henry's calm strength of purpose in that critical period has placed all the college in his debt.'

[22] Earlier, in the late 1970s, ideas of a merger with Bedford had got nowhere; Henry's preference was for the King's College merger.

With such commitments some downturn in his publications might have been expected. The reverse was true. Invited by Professor A. L. Brown of Glasgow, Henry produced in 1984 the first volume (typically also the first to be published) of a series on 'The Governance of England'.[23] This was constitutional history by another name, since criticism of Stubbs's dominance of History syllabuses in Britain had made that term increasingly unfashionable since the 1960s. Henry adopted Stenton's date-limits of 500–1087 and boldly divided that period into two. He saw the reign of King Alfred (871–99) as the 'watershed' between an early period of 'tribal' kingship and a later one characterised by a single English monarchy, the rise of a 'territorial state' and of a powerful aristocracy. His account of tenth-century royal government, of the problems of the royal succession, of taxation, of rent and coinage, of boroughs, hundreds and tithings and of the vernacular records was both masterly and optimistic in its progressive faith. Above all it enthused students by directing them again and again to the sources. It was very much a teacher's book.

The year 1986 was the nine-hundredth anniversary of the production of Domesday Book, England's first public record. As the leading historian based in London who actually used Domesday Book extensively in his researches, Henry had naturally been consulted. Typically he had soon become deeply involved in planning the Domesday Exhibition in the Public Record Office and then in the preparation of the associated facsimile edition by Alecto Historical Editions. He advised on the contents, captions, and catalogue of the exhibition. He joined the Alecto Board, gave vital advice to the editors of several counties and wrote an opening chapter, which summed up current understanding of the survey's purpose and methodology. This introduced a volume of expert studies on aspects of the survey, whose authors Henry chose.[24] Henry continued to attend Board meetings regularly after his retirement, even

[23] H. R. Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (London, 1984), xvii + 222 pp. The same year saw the publication of two other innovative articles on neglected topics: H. R. Loyn, 'The conversion of the English to Christianity: some comments on the Celtic contribution', *Welsh Society and Nationhood*, ed. R. R. Davies *et al.* (Cardiff, 1984), 5–18 and 'Peter's Pence', *Friends of Lambeth Palace Library Annual Report for 1984* (1984), 10–20. These were reprinted in Loyn, *Society and Peoples*, pp. 20–44 and 241–58.

[24] H. R. Loyn, 'A general introduction to Domesday Book', *Domesday Book Studies*, ed. A. Williams & R. W. H. Erskine (London, 1987), pp. 1–21. Henry also gave the opening paper to the major Domesday conference of 1986, which was published as H. R. Loyn, 'The Beyond of Domesday Book', *Domesday Studies*, ed. J. C. Holt (London, 1987), 1–13.

contributing to the launch of the facsimile of *Little Domesday* in his final year. The extent of his passionate enthusiasm for Domesday issues was also signalled by the astounding number of lectures on Domesday Book—no less than forty—that he delivered in 1986 to Historical Association branches the length and breadth of the country. He never liked to turn down a request from a branch secretary of the organisation that had so enriched his life.[25] Yet that was a year in which he was also Acting Principal of Westfield, President of the Society for Medieval Archaeology, and Vice-President of both the Royal Historical Society and of the Antiquaries. Lecturing was indeed his life-blood.

It must nonetheless have been with some relief that in September 1986 he stepped down as Vice-Principal and handed over some teaching for a term to Professor Rosalind Hill. That was the nearest that Henry ever came to sabbatical leave, since Cardiff had had no regular system. It gave him a chance to develop the rethinking about William the Conqueror's reign that his year of immersion in Domesday had provoked and gives us the chance to gain something of the flavour of some of those forty lectures. He placed his study of Rayleigh in Essex, very appropriately, in the festschrift for R. Allen Brown, doyen of Anglo-Norman studies. This focused upon the fief of Sven, the son of Edward the Confessor's Norman favourite, Robert Fitz Wimarc, and one of the men 'who transformed an ancient monarchy into one of the most successful feudal states of medieval Europe'. His reflections on William's bishops were delivered to the Battle Conference and the fundamental question '1066: Should we have celebrated?' was addressed to the 1989 Anglo-American conference in London. His answer—a cautious but definite yes—was notable particularly for its characteristic refusal to identify modern nationalism with the Anglo-Saxon past.[26]

[25] In 1986 he was honoured by the award of the Historical Association's W. N. Medlicott Medal for services to history.

[26] H. R. Loyn, 'Rayleigh in Essex: its implications for the Norman settlement', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, C. Holdsworth, & J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 235–40; H. R. Loyn, 'William's bishops: some further thoughts', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1988 for 1987), 223–35; H. R. Loyn, '1066: Should we have celebrated?', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 119–27. These papers were reprinted in *Society and Peoples*, pp. 339–49, 374–97, and 322–38.

Retirement

Retirement allowed Henry more time in St Albans. He enjoyed the progress of Martin Biddle's excavations near the cathedral searching for the dark-age transition from Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon Christianity. He played a growing role in the cathedral's Fabric Advisory Committee, becoming chairman in 1991. He and Pat were able to make several further visits to their son Richard in Australia, to see more of the antipodean wildlife and flora and to give lectures in leading universities there.[27] They also devoted more time to their lovely garden. Their tradition was to share the major chores, like the lawn-mowing, until Pat's brush with breast cancer for a time curtailed her activities. The flow of Henry's publications continued unabated with works that could be largely written in his own library and from a lifetime's experience of teaching. He was the editor of Thames and Hudson's encyclopaedia of *The Middle Ages*, choosing the items for inclusion, selecting the expert authors and writing many entries himself. Students and laymen were provided with succinct but up-to-date summaries of current knowledge on key individuals, events and themes of European history between *c.*400 and 1500.[28] Two years later he summed up, for the same publisher, his life's teaching on English history and English government between the tenth and the thirteenth century.[29]

Ever since his time in the Talgarth sanatorium in 1941–3 Henry had learned how to take care of his health. He avoided over-exertion and loved the walking (which kept him fit), regular food and plenty of sleep. In forty-one years of university teaching he had only missed two days through illness. Nonetheless the heaviest years at Westfield in the 1980s had taken their toll. A medical check-up in 1986 had revealed some diabetes. In the summer of 1989, after a strenuous day involving lawn-mowing and walking home after an FAC meeting, angina was diagnosed. That was controlled with tablets until the autumn of 1993, when he had a very successful quadruple heart by-pass. He was soon back home, recuperating in the sun and beginning to resume a normal life.

[27] Their first Australian trip had been in 1977 (when Henry had given 7 lectures in 6 universities in 9 days); another in 1984. Post-retirement visits followed in 1988, 1991, 1995–6, and 1998.

[28] *The Middle Ages: a Concise Encyclopaedia*, ed. H. R. Loyn (London, 1989); rev. edn., 1991. There were subsequent editions in Portuguese, Spanish, Polish, and Japanese.

[29] H. R. Loyn, *The Making of the English Nation* (London, 1991), 191 pp.

Indeed Pat and Henry took the decision to leave their beloved St Albans home and its half-acre garden and to return to Henry's roots in the Cardiff area.[30] In July 1994 they moved into a fine house in Clinton Road, Penarth with a compact garden. There he was able to resume close contacts with his alma mater, University College and with its History Department.[31] He continued to travel regularly up to London for meetings. These included the Medieval section of the British Academy, the Academy's committee for the Sylloge of the Coins of the British Isles (which he chaired from 1979 to 1993), the councils of the Selden Society and the English Place-Name Society, the Alecto Board and the Westfield Trust. Mostly these could be managed as day-trips, but sometimes he stayed overnight at the Athenaeum. As ever his interest was directed towards securing the promotion of outstanding younger scholars and helping projects towards publication. He also had one remaining book to write himself. At David Bates's request he produced for Longman's series on 'The Medieval World' a brief account of the English church from the beginnings of the tenth-century monastic reform movement to the mid-twelfth century.[32] Henry did not find it easy to write, having never been an ecclesiastical historian, but his ability to interest his readers remained with him to the end. That end, when it came, was unexpected. A diabetic crisis had led to heart failure and to his sudden death on 9 October 2000 at the age of seventy-eight.

The boy, who had been close to death from tubercle when just eighteen, had had a remarkable life. He had conveyed his enthusiasm for early medieval history and English culture to generations of Cardiff and London students. He had a wonderful gift for friendship and for bringing out the best in people. His sparkling eyes and mellifluous voice revealed the caring man, who wanted the best for all he met. Friends, like Peter and Dorothy Lewis, who had first been met on a family holiday in the Gower peninsula, found themselves joining the Loyns for family holidays for some fifteen years in succession. The Berner family, whom Henry and Pat first met in Norway in 1948, likewise maintained a continuing family friendship with them. Four generations of Edes have also interacted with the Loyn family at key stages. Henry was a devoted father to three sons. His and Pat's warm hospitality at their homes in Cardiff, St Albans, and

[30] The move brought them close to two of their sons' families.

[31] He gave the first lecture in the college's new Centre for the Study of Medieval Society and Culture and was made an Honorary Professor of the Centre.

[32] H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940–1154* (London, 2000), x + 174 pp.

Penarth is legendary. In all human relations he sought to be a peacemaker, being by nature a gentle man. Save when he encountered what seemed to be blatantly disruptive behaviour (whether by students or scholars) his chosen response to problems was to find ways of avoiding them. He had no belief in battle nor taste for self-advertisement. Indeed after 1944 he never applied uninvited for a job nor sought a publisher; they came to him, in recognition of his qualities. His scholarship was devoted to transmitting understanding of English history, rather than to changing interpretations of it. It is as a teacher and a wonderful friend that he will be remembered. He left a positive mark on all the institutions he served.

NICHOLAS BROOKS
Fellow of the Academy

Note. In compiling this memoir I have had unstinted assistance from Pat Loyn, Henry's widow. She gave me access to his papers and library in their home in Penarth, in particular to various hand-written autobiographical notes on his family background and life up until 1946. There is a full bibliography of his publications until 1992 in the volume of his reprinted essays: H. R. Loyn, *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c.600–1200* (London, 1992), pp. 457–73. Subsequent books and the major articles are referred to in this memoir. For information on Henry's later years at Cardiff; I am indebted to Professors David Bates and John Percival; for his impact at Westfield to Michael Sumner and to Alan Deyermond's appreciation in *Society and Peoples* (pp. xix–xxviii) and for his contribution to the Alecto Domesday project to Elizabeth Hallam.