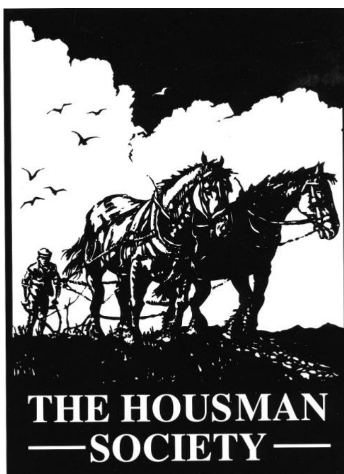
The Housman Society Journal

Volume Forty-Five 2019



The Housman Society
7 Dowles Road
Bewdley
DY12 2EJ

Charity Number 100107

ISSN 0305-926X
Website: www.housman-society.co.uk
E-mail info@ housman-society.co.uk

The illustration on the cover is from the drawing of A.E. Housman
by Francis Dodd, 1926
Reproduced by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London

The Housman Society

Founders John Pugh and Joe Hunt

President Sir Christopher Ricks MA, BLitt., FBA

Vice-Presidents Prof. Archie Burnett MA, DPhil
Peter Clague MA, MBA
Prof. Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV
Sir Andrew Motion FRSL
P.G. Naiditch MA, MLS
Jim Page MBE, MA
Prof. Norman Page MA, PhD, FRSCan.
Sir Tom Stoppard OM, OBE

Chairman Peter Waine Bsc

Vice Chairman Jane Allsopp B.Mus

General Secretary Max Hunt MA, Dip.Ed.

Treasurer Richard Aust OBE, M.Ed., Msc, Dip.Sp.Ed.

Journal Editor

Newsletter Editor Julian Hunt FSA

Committee Pat Tansell
Jo Slade BA (Hons) Econ.

Housman Society Journal

Volume Forty-Five **December 2019**

		Page
Chairman’s Notes	Peter Waine	4
A.E. Housman Found in Church Stretton, Shropshire	Alan Brisbourne	6
The Housman Family at Lyme Regis	Julian Hunt	18
Recollections of N.V.H. Symons (1894-1986)		28
Brexit as Banquet: Housman on the History of Classical Scholarship	Christopher Stray	40

Chairman's Notes 2019

AEH never ceases to surprise me. Many a time I have attempted to engage in conversation about the great man to be met by a total blank, but mention 'those blue remembered hills' and it is like a passport to the inner soul. With the door ajar I slip in other well-known pieces and, if a friend or associate whom I will meet again, I return to the subject a little later. Some are hooked. I insist, when visiting the barber, and the request is mutual, that I have the same person each time despite my few remaining hairs so that we can resume our chats about AEH.

We are not therefore some minor fringe group who are attempting to perpetuate the memory of a distant poet, of his era and of questionable genius. Never have the words of Coleridge been more true in the case of AEH: 'prose = words in their best order; poetry = the best words in the best order.'

Meanwhile, our Society continues to offer an eclectic feast to satisfy our constant hunger for the best words in the best order. In recent time we have enjoyed visits to St John's and to Christ Church, Oxford; a talk and tea with the Rector of Lincoln College, himself a Housman enthusiast and great-grandson of Alfred W Pollard; walks up Bredon Hill with glimpses of abbey, of barn and homestead, with patchwork fields and the hump of the Malverns, ushering in the harsh wild beauty of the beyond.

And now, in reviewing events of the immediate past year, I am again struck by the variety of the programme. From the Dyson Lecture in Pembroke College Cambridge when the Master, Lord Smith, chose Housman as the featured poet, we moved on to the Bromsgrove Commemoration in March. With guest the Rev. Kelvin Price, Rector of St Laurence's Ludlow, this was a deliberate exercise in the linking of hands over the Clee Hills. The importance of the Ludlow side of our celebratory axis was further emphasised by support for the annual

Festival of English Song and, at the AGM in April, by the confirmation of long-time member Jane Allsopp as our new Vice-Chairman. It was good also to be able to welcome once again the Mayor and Mayoress to the Commemoration at St Laurence's.

A major innovation for 2019 was the launch of our partnership with the Evesham Festival of Words. On a very hot June day members enjoyed a tour of the ancient Abbey Precinct before hearing Julian Hunt's beautifully illustrated "Worcestershire Lad" presentation within a stone's throw of Bredon Hill. We look forward to developing the relationship with Evesham as the new setting for the annual Housman Lecture.

Just three weeks further on, and the focus for the 2019 Summer Visit was an investigation of the background to AEH's only recorded stay in Shropshire, at the Church Stretton Hotel in 1899. We were indebted to Linda Hart for a detailed presentation in which she reflected upon a variety of explanations for the poet's visit a century before. The afternoon perambulation was somewhat less energetic than the previous summer's assault on Bredon, but still gave members a taste of the delights of the Carding Mill Valley.

To round off the year's programme I was delighted that we were able to make another visit to the magnificent Wren Library at Trinity College. Society member and Wren Librarian Dr Nicolas Bell had brought together a number of contemporary authors to celebrate the college's strong poetic tradition as well as sharing with us some of their own work. The non-classicists among us were then challenged by Professor Christopher Stray's lecture 'Brexit as Banquet', setting Housman in the history of nineteenth-century classical scholarship. We are fortunate in now being able to print the full text; I'm sure it will repay further study.

So we are, I believe, a Society in good health as we plan ahead for another decade. Already on the horizon is the 2022 centenary of *Last Poems*, for which the committee is already considering appropriate

commemorative activity. Perhaps the *Last Poems* centenary will inspire members, over the coming months, to submit articles about any poem in the volume that they find especially moving, inspiring, unusual. The Classicists among us are always encouraged to submit material on themes relating to that side of Housman's life.

Peter Waine

A.E. Housman Found in Church Stretton, Shropshire

By Alan Brisbourne

In July 1899, only days before the outbreak of the Boer War, the poet and classics scholar Professor A.E. Housman stayed for nearly a month at The Hotel in Church Stretton, Shropshire, sleeping among his 'blue-remembered hills'.[1]

Although this discovery is but one isolated record which confirms Housman's presence in the county, it is nonetheless significant for Salopians, historians of the county and Housman scholars and enthusiasts. I appreciate that there will be readers of this *Journal* who, better informed than I, can proffer suggestions and provide the wider context to this visit, particularly at this time in AEH's life. This find will similarly, have to be assessed by future AEH biographers. To assist this revision, I offer some further background, much of which is new information and, if I may be indulged, venture some suggestions of my own.

The discovery of Housman's stay at 'The Hotel' in Church Stretton has come about accidentally during research into the Edwardian history of the settlement, which lies mid-way between Shrewsbury and Ludlow. Church Stretton is a town which has forgotten its illustrious history. In late Victorian times, Church Stretton was a small town of less than 1,000 inhabitants which became identified by London-based speculators as a settlement with potential for future growth. It was then a small health resort, with two high-class gentlemen and ladies asylums and two water-bottling/ginger beer manufactories. Situated among the Shropshire hills, the town's inhabitants and visitors enjoyed clean spring waters, fresh mountain air and unspoilt walking country. In the late 1890s, Church Stretton began to develop as a superior health resort and in response to this growth, a local weekly newspaper, the *Church*

[1] *Church Stretton Advertiser and Visitors' List*, 6 July 1899

Stretton Advertiser began publication in July 1898.[2] Its primary aim was to report and promote the activities of the town. One of the chief items included in this newspaper was a Visitors' List which provided detailed local information for the visitor and also recorded the names of the guests staying in the town at the various hotels, boarding houses, private apartments and especially, at The Hotel. The Hotel was the primary hotel in the town and aspired to be such in the county. The lease was held by the Southams, wine-merchant brothers from Shrewsbury who, through their company Church Stretton Hotels Ltd., also operated The Feathers in Ludlow, the Hawkstone Park Hotel near Wem and other prestigious hotels around the county. The Manageress at The Hotel was a Miss Jelly.

The Hotel, Church Stretton

[2] *Church Stretton Advertiser*, 1898-1938 British Library MF 44487-44519

Instinctively, given AEH's academic and private reputation, the reader will give consideration to the company AEH is among at The Hotel. The following is a list of guests staying with AEH at The Hotel during the second week of his visit:

> Rev G F Smith, Brighton
> Mr and Mrs Marsh, Manchester
> Mr A E Housman, London
> Mr Kent, Scarborough
> Mr F Welsh, Canada
> The Rev R Winfield, Bromsgrove
> Mrs and Miss Darrell, Chester
> Mr R B Jones, Southport
> The Rev and Mrs Woodhouse, Wolverhampton
> Miss Teace, Wolverhampton
> Mrs and Miss Champion, Corfton Hall
> Miss Bird, Worcester
> The Rev Canon & Mrs Moore, Bensfield Rectory
> Miss Gryor, Edgbaston
> Mr A Glazebrook, West Derby
> Mr H Glazebrook, West Derby
> Mr F Glazebrook, West Derby
> Miss Daniels, Malvern Wells
> Mr E D Morrison, Bromborough, Cheshire
> Mr G M Morrison, Bromborough, Cheshire
> Mr and Mrs J B Morley, Bournemouth
> Mr and Mrs Sedderley, Handsworth
> Mr and Mrs Bell, Hampstead
> Miss Cowper. Hampstead
> Mr and Mrs Milner, Birmingham
> Mr Goldingham and Friend, London
> Miss Sodem, Sutton
> Mr Stamps, Sutton[3]

---

[3] *Church Stretton Advertiser*, 13 July 1899

At first sight, and ignoring the spellings, there does not appear to be an obvious or significant name. In trying to progress any of the given names, I have drawn a blank. It would be pleasing to hear that some of these names can be associated with him either in a personal or professional capacity, but I rather suspect AEH is visiting alone. This is his summer vacation from the University of London (UCL). It is possible to provide the guest lists at the other public houses and boarding houses during his stay in the town but again, no name appears significant. There is the additional drawback to this line of investigation that guests staying privately with residents of the town (as many friends and relatives did during *the season's* summer months), would not be listed.

One must wonder if AEH is travelling incognito. On the assumption that he has not visited the town before, this is possible but I rather doubt it. One name on the above guest list which suggests that AEH's cover would have been revealed had he attempted this course, is that of the Rev. R. Winfield from Bromsgrove. Jim Page, your Society's chairman, informs me that the Reverend was a latecomer to the Bromsgrove district and that the Housman family ties to that neighbourhood had weakened by this time. However, the Rev. Winfield would likely have been familiar with the name of a *son of his district*. Admittedly, AEH has not provided his title of Professor, but this would not have been unusual at this establishment, where senior military personnel, churchmen, doctors and landed gentry were among its usual guests. This omission of title at The Hotel, where many visitors were VIPs, does prevent identification of other significant visitors with popular surnames. However, it should be recognized that AEH has not attempted to disguise his name, which would have been easily possible. If he had been in company and wished to remain unannounced, the list would have given the party leader's name '… and party.'

While Housman's *A Shropshire Lad*, published in 1896, had not been widely sold or circulated by the time of his visit in 1899, it had likely been read by some residents of the town and visitors to The Hotel,

many of whom came from the metropolis. There would be copies of his work in The Hotel's Borrowing Library. Similarly, by the century's end, there were some readers, such as Thomas Hardy, who would have understood the sub-text of AEH's work. I mention Hardy for reasons which will become evident. AEH does not appear to be averse to the publicity of his presence at The Hotel and in residing for over three weeks, neither is he eager to depart in light of this publicity. The Hotel was a quiet and respectable haven. It enjoyed an enviable reputation and was held in high regard by its clients. Visitors both frequented and returned to The Hotel in the knowledge that the company was discreet and varied. Perhaps, and it must be a thought of all Salopians, AEH was making a re-visit to this establishment where he had previously penned some of *A Shropshire Lad*. Church Stretton was a popular base and easily accessible. In 1899, Church Stretton was only four and half hours by rail away from London. Train services were regular and efficient. A century later, this cannot be said and while the main-line railway remains, London is now further away in time. Ludlow town in Shropshire, where Housman's ashes were buried, was and remains accessible half an hour down the line from Church Stretton.

The town of Church Stretton together with the surrounding area was, at the time of Housman's visit, portrayed as *The Highlands of England*. It was in this regard that syndicates representing The Church Stretton Land Company, based in The Strand in London, marketed its developments. Church Stretton was intended to grow as Malvern in Worcestershire and Cheltenham in Gloucestershire had similarly developed earlier. The hills around the town – Caradoc, Ragleth and Long Mynd – were part of Housman's *blue-remembered hills*. For a scholar of the classics, Caer Caradoc, towering above the town, the most prominent of the hills alongside the Roman road of Watling Street, must have been tantalizing through its association with Caractacus and Rome. The subject of Caractacus, his origins and battles, was a personal obsession of Jasper More, the local Member of Parliament, who regularly addressed meetings in Church Stretton and would stay at The Hotel. This ubiquitous and highly regarded MP could hardly write a sentence, make a speech or talk to someone-new without mentioning

Caractacus. Jasper More would certainly have known of Professor Housman. Only months before AEH's visit to Stretton, Jasper More together with Stretton's squire Benson, had founded in London, the Shropshire Society, based at Hotel Cecil in The Strand. The formation of this society begs the question as to whether it was inspired by AEH's book of poems. Jasper More, a Salopian to his core, would regret that Housman had not been born *a son of the county.* More trawled London to identify all of the county sons and invited those who deserved recognition to the annual dinner of the Society, to which *uitlanders* such as P.G. Wodehouse and Housman, as *foreign sons*, would have been similarly invited. One must wonder if the editor of the Church Stretton Advertiser newspaper knew of Housman or his work, or perhaps resentful, elected not to acknowledge either. When Keri Berne living in Ormskirk, published a volume of 54 poems in 1900, the newspaper commented that 'the author of this little volume of verse is a Salopian, and it will, no doubt, be welcomed in the county which has not as yet produced a writer of verse of any great eminence.' [4] Even if AEH was not a son of the county soil, his verse would, with the Boer War in progress at the time of this comment, represent the greatest reflective tribute the county had ever received.

It is a possibility that AEH was viewing the Stretton Highlands with the intention of purchasing one of the building plots which the Land Company had on offer at its regular land sales, held in the town. The advertisements for these sales would appear in the London presses with special trains from Paddington provided for potential buyers. These late Victorians who in every respect were Edwardians, used any and every device to promote their burgeoning inland health resort, including a commissioned poster of the town seen on a London railway platform showing 'snow-capped alpine peaks'. One must wonder what the British Alpine Society thought when they held their Easter break in the town some years later.

[4] *Church Stretton Advertiser*, 7 February 1901

It is not possible to identify what AEH was doing during his stay in the Church Stretton. I suggest that Housman, like the other high-class visitors to the town, tramped the surrounding hills, picking wimberries (bilberries) at leisure, which would be in season during his stay. Visitors followed the suggested itineraries recommended by the local guide books available in The Hotel and Stretton shops. AEH would almost certainly have walked up Carding Mill Valley, now a property of the National Trust which together with Wenlock Edge forms the charity's Shropshire Hills holdings. Wenlock Edge was a purchase inspired as a direct result of Housman's celebration of the escarpment. In addition, AEH would have cycled the lanes, following tours further afield, especially that along the crest of the wooded-edge, past Lutwyche to historic Much Wenlock. It could be that AEH was at the same time becoming better acquainted with his landscapes while investigating the *errors of poetic license* highlighted by some of his readers, not least being the absence of a steeple on Hughley church. Across the road from The Hotel was a posting establishment where horses and carriages could be hired for tours of the district. The town railway station lay but a few hundred yards away from The Hotel from where it would be easy to explore Shrewsbury, Roman Wroxeter (Urinconium), Ludlow and Hereford.

Although Strettondale can today be described as something of a backwater, there were writers of national renown who stayed in the area during the town's aspirational days. Mark Twain had earlier visited nearby Condover on several occasions to stay with the Cholmondeley family, who would become through marriage, relatives of the squire, Ralph Beaumont Benson. Benson, mentioned above as a founder of The Shropshire Society in London, was the estate squire of much of Church Stretton, which included The Hotel at the time of AEH's visit. Ralph Benson, a tormented soul, lived at Lutwyche Hall, a cold and lonely family home situated high on Wenlock Edge. His Church Stretton residence, Brook House, lay opposite The Hotel, where he could overnight if needed. At their town house in London, the Bensons gave parties to which Housman may have received an earlier invitation. Benson's estranged daughter, Stella Benson, would later become an

acclaimed writer of feminist literature, as was her maternal aunt, Mary Cholmondeley.

Residing during the summer months in All Stretton, one mile away from The Hotel, was Hesba Stretton, the great Victorian novelist whose works at times outsold Dickens. Her mawkish, sentimental and evangelical writings were popular and important, but are unfashionable today. Although having little in common, AEH may have called upon her in recognition of her reputation. Over in Much Wenlock, the Milnes-Gaskell family regularly entertained John Ruskin, Henry James and Thomas Hardy among others. Hardy, a keen cyclist, would no doubt during one of his stays, have cycled from Much Wenlock to take luncheon at The Hotel in Church Stretton. If Housman had met Hardy in 1899, I cannot say, but Hardy certainly bumped into AEH some months later in early 1900, when Hardy invited AEH to stay with Emma and he at their home. Housman, together with Edward Clodd the biographer of Shropshire's Charles Darwin and Arthur Symonds the poet, descended with their bicycles onto the Hardys in August 1900. Martin Seymour Smith, in his biography of Hardy,[5] suggests that Hardy invited 'lonely Housman, whose plight one may be sure that Tom (Hardy) had appreciatively and sympathetically spotted from the poems of *A Shropshire Lad*.'

There is one further aspect to AEH's stay which may be significant. While AEH was at The Hotel, there was being prepared in the large rear-garden grounds of the premises, a Superior Bazaar to raise monies for a hospital established in Cawnpore, India. This hospital was sited alongside a church which had been built on the site of what was one of the most gruesome atrocities experienced during the mutinies in the sub-continent. Be warned, the massacre conducted there by the natives and the subsequent British retaliation is not for reading by the faint-hearted. The hospital which had opened needed a supply of appliances, drugs and at least £100. The event was organized by Miss Bromley of

[5] Martin Seymour-Smith *Thomas Hardy – a Biography*, Bloomsbury, 1994, p. 630

Clungunford Hall of the Women's Mission Association; the mission being the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. At this time ‘Remember Cawnpore’ was a rallying cry to many and defined the mission of empire and the fears of all decent Christian people. Hearing the appeal cry would loosen most Victorian purse-strings.

Miss Bromley's Superior Bazaar was held on Thursday 27 July 1899, in marquees in the grounds of The Hotel. The bazaar was opened by Lady Lyttelton, while Lord and Lady Forester from Willey Park, Much Wenlock (on whose estate, the county T.B. Sanitorium would be sited) circulated among the 700 visitors, which included the Rev Bather, archdeacon of Shropshire and Viscountess Boyne from Burwarton. Viscount Boyne owned the Brown Clee or Abdon Burf as AEH knew it to be. The various stalls with their many fancy goods of toys, glass and cushions were supervised by ladies of the district. In proposing a vote of thanks to Miss Bromley and the assistance provided by Mr Cobbold, the archdeacon went on to say that ‘they were there to avenge the massacre at Cawnpore by heaping coals of fire upon the heads of the descendents of those natives who perpetrated the murders.’ Above the hear! hears! he said that he ‘was sure that this was a true Christian revenge to take.’ [6]

The name of Edgar Sterling Cobbold associated with this bazaar may be of interest to AEH scholars. E.S. Cobbold, a gentleman civil engineer at this time, lived with his invalid wife, locally in All Stretton. Cobbold developed an expert amateur interest in the local geology and fossil record. As secretary of the Caradoc Field Club, he knew many scientists, some of whom were now residing in India. Visitors to the Stretton area, be they students of archaeology, geology or inquisitive amateur fossil-hunters, would introduce themselves to him and be conducted by Cobbold to suitable trilobite and graptolite bed exposures in the neighbourhood. Among Cobbold’s closest friends was W.W. Watts, a true Shropshire Lad who hailed from nearby Broseley, where

---

[6] *Church Stretton Advertiser*, 3 August 1899

Cobbold had spent much time at his Reverend uncle's and where he met his own wife. Watts would occupy the new Chair of Geology soon to be created at Imperial College, London. One professor from London University is perhaps understandable, but two professorial chairs seems like clutter. I suggest Cobbold knew Professor Housman: if not, he would certainly have encountered him during the preparations for the bazaar. Cobbold was editor of a number of local books and guides which AEH would have used during his stay in the town. As to whether Housman had been invited to the Bazaar by Cobbold, Watts, Benson, Jasper More or any other acquaintance, or gravitated there because of his vicarious interest in the sub-continent, or was re-living previous memories, is a question left to others. It must be assumed that AEH did attend the function and departed not long afterwards. This would explain why AEH's name does not appear on the following weeks' Visitors' List. Given the size of this bazaar, there would have been great pressure on accommodation at The Hotel, where Lady Lyttleton herself had taken up residence. Although AEH is still at The Hotel on the 20th, he is not amongst the residents listed on the 27 July.

There are no further records to show that AEH revisited Church Stretton. Stretton's development and the fortunes of many members of the London syndicates suffered serious reversals during the late Edwardian era. Although it underwent extension, The Hotel experienced financial and operating difficulties compounded by the effect of competition from the newly built Hydro in the town, the advent of the motor car and air travel which, delivered the wealthy visitor to foreign climes, AEH included. The Benson's estates were dissolved after the Second World War. More tragically, a serious fire at The Hotel in 1968 claimed the lives of five people, three of whom were children. The Hotel, which had been the premier hotel in what the Edwardians wished to become a premier resort in the Highlands of England, closed. Various businesses, shops and a public house now occupy its rooms while its grounds have been used for housing. Fortunately, the main corner lounge (visible in the photograph) where Housman would have looked out over Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee fountain and the horse-drawn traffic passing along the main Bristol

Road, is still accessible to the public. Although the hills and the hotel shell remain, the fountain and the horse traffic are long gone. This lounge is now the Ragleth Gallery, displaying the works of local artists. Should the reader be travelling along the old Bristol road from Ludlow to Shrewsbury, do visit this room. It is rather special. The reader can learn more about the town at www.churchstretton.co.uk. Be assured: if this visit by AEH is accepted by The Housman Society and scholars, the town will quickly lay claim to its visitor as indeed will Shropshire. While AEH was but one of The Hotel's many distinguished guests, it is perhaps possible that in the future, The Housman Society will give consideration to acknowledging AEH's stay in the town. Despite its terrible end, The Hotel should be allowed some rehabilitation and recognition for the part it played at the heart of the English Highlands, if only for providing shelter to one of the nation's great scholars and poets, A.E. Housman.

Editor:
This article was originally published in an abridge form in the *Housman Society Newsletter* in 2009. It is reproduced here in full in order to reach a wider audience and to compliment the report of the Housman Society visit to Church Stretton reported in the *Newsletter* in September 2019.

The Housman Family at Lyme Regis

By Julian Hunt

Recent Housman Society visits to Woodchester and Church Stretton have focused on landscapes and places which were especially important to A.E. Housman. Another such locality was Lyme Regis, where A.E. Housman's grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Housman, retired in 1867. His widow, Ann Housman, lived there until 1882 and their house, named Roseville or later Rose Hill, remained in the ownership of the Housman family until 1920.

Lyme Regis was a small fishing port and parliamentary borough in the eastern extremity of the county of Dorset. It sent two members to Parliament until the Reform Act of 1832 reduced its representation to one. It was disfranchised entirely by the second reform Act of 1868. Its fine sea views and reputation for healthy air made it a popular resort, particularly after Jane Austen used the harbour at Lyme for the most dramatic scene in her novel 'Persuasion,' published in 1818. The population in the 19th century barely exceeded 2,000, its growth limited by the lack of a railway station. This situation was remedied in 1903 when the branch line from Axminster to Lyme Regis was opened. The town's fame was further increased when it featured in John Fowles's acclaimed novel, *The French Lieutenant's Woman*, published in 1969. In 1981, the book was made into a highly successful film starring Meryl Streep.

From 1838 until 1864, the Rev Thomas Housman was Curate of Catshill, a growing community of nail-makers and market gardeners, situated in the north part of the parish of Bromsgrove. As Christ Church, Catshill, was a perpetual curacy, there was no vicarage. The Rev. Housman therefore lived at the nearby Clock House, a large country house with extensive grounds which had been purchased by his

father-in-law, Joseph Brettell, in 1831.[7] Joseph Brettell died in 1847, leaving the Clock House to his daughter, Mary Brettell,[8] who continued to live there with her brother-in-law, the Rev. Housman, until her death on 11 May 1867. Although Mary Brettell's will gave the Rev. Housman a life interest in the Clock House,[9] he may have already decided to buy a house of his own and to move to the more agreeable climate of Lyme Regis.

The official reason for the Rev. Housman's retirement from the curacy at Catshill is given in the *Bromsgrove Messenger*, 5 March 1864:

> Catshill: Christ Church
> The inhabitants of this village and the neighbourhood will hear with regret of the loss of the services of their respected incumbent, the Rev. T. Housman, as their pastor, he having, we understand, on good authority, resigned the appointment which he has held since the formation of the district in 1838. The failing state of the Rev. Gentleman's health is the sole cause of his taking such a step and which will alike call forth the sympathy of all classes in the immediate neighbourhood. The appointment of a successor rests with the Rev. G.W. Murray, the incumbency being in the gift of the Vicar of Bromsgrove, and having been formed unto a separate ecclesiastical district out of the parish of Bromsgrove.

Although the Rev Housman had resigned his curacy in 1864, he did not leave the Clock House until 1867. A three-day auction of his furniture and effects was held there on 11-13 December.[10] The Rev. Thomas Housman had by this time already moved to Roseville, a pretty villa just off Silver Street, Lyme Regis, on the road out of the town towards

---

[7] Conveyance, 27 November 1831, Library of Birmingham (LoB) MS 3375/1/1/84

[8] Will of Joseph Brettell 13 March 1847, proved PCC 14 May 1847

[9] Will of Mary Brettell 26 April 1865, proved Worcester 23 October 1872

[10] *Worcester Journal*, 30 November 1867

Uplyme. It had a glazed veranda on two sides, with French windows to the garden and excellent views over the town towards Lyme Bay.[11] The house had been built in 1823 for Rebecca Maria, widow of Richard Hammett.[12] Rebecca was born in 1778, the daughter of Charles Bowles, glass manufacturer, of Stepney, Middlesex. Her first marriage was on 13 August 1803, to Richard Hammett, son of the Rev. Richard Hammett, Rector of both Clovelly and of Heanton Punchardon in Devon. Her second marriage, 21 June 1824, was to the Rev. Richard Pennell, one-time chaplain to the British merchants at Porto and himself the son of a wine merchant. The Pennells called their new house Prospect Place,[13] and lived there for over 20 years, during which time the Rev. Richard regularly assisted the Vicar of St Michael's, Lyme Regis. When the couple moved to Surbiton in 1845, Prospect Place was sold to Daniel Carter for £800.[14] Carter was a landed proprietor and J.P.[15] The house was sold again in 1851 to Frederick Edward Bourne, another landed proprietor and J.P. for Dorset, who appears to have renamed the house Rose Villa or Roseville.[16] In 1865, Frederick Bourne was involved in an embarrassing court case arising out of an altercation with a Captain Hussey in the street at Lyme.[17] This caused him to resign as an alderman and may have induced him to sell Roseville.

The Rev. Thomas Housman and his wife Ann moved into Roseville about the middle of 1867. The house was conveyed 20 June 1867 to the Rev. Thomas's solicitor son, Edward Housman, of Perry Hall,

---

[11] Lyme Regis Society, *Historic Houses of Lyme Regis*, Pt 3, pp 16-20
[12] Conveyance, 7 August 1823, Edward Hillman to Rebecca Hammett, LoB Ms 3375/1335
[13] Pigot's Directory of Dorset, 1830, 1842
[14] *Exeter & Plymouth Gazette*, 6 September 1845; conveyance 31 December 1845 Rev. Richard Pennell and Rebecca Maria his wife to Daniel Carter LoB Ms 3375/1335
[15] 1851 Census Lyme Regis
[16] Appointment & release from Daniel Carter to Frederick Edward Bourne 23 June 1851 LoB Ms 3375/1335
1861 Census for Lyme Regis
[17] *Dorset County Chronicle*, 5 October 1865

Bromsgrove, acting as a trustee for his father.[18] The property was described as:

> All that piece of land then converted into a lawn or garden containing one rood thirty two perches were the same more or less bounded on the north west by land of Harry Burrard Farnell Esq. (formerly a field called Rack Close) on the north east by land belonging to Robert Holmes Esq. on the south west by a garden called the Kitchen or Corporation Garden then the property of Robert Hillman Esq. and on the south west by a stable and garden belonging to the said Robert Hillman which plot of land hereby assured contains from south east and to north west 87 feet or thereabouts from south west to north east 162 feet or thereabouts from north west to south east 120 feet or thereabouts and from north east to south west 200 feet or thereabouts which piece of land was therein on a plan &c.

The purchase price of Roseville was £1,150. It is not clear whether the Rev. Thomas Housman had sufficient means to make such an outlay, but a mortgage for the higher sum of £1,500 was soon arranged, again in the name of Edward Housman.[19] The description of the property mortgaged differs somewhat from the wording in the conveyance of 25 June:

> All that piece or parcel of land now converted into a lawn and garden containing 1 rood and 32 perches be the same more or less situate in the parish of Lyme Regis in the County of Dorset bounded on the north west by land of Harry Burrard Farnell Esq {formerly a field called Rack Close) on the north ~~west~~ east by land belonging to R Holmes Esq on the south east by a garden called the Kitchen or Corporation Garden now the property of R

---

[18] Draft conveyance 25 June 1867, Frederick Edward Bourne of Lyme Regis Esq. to Edward Housman of Bromsgrove gent., LoB Ms 3375/1335

[19] Draft Mortgage, 5 November 1867, Edward Housman to Henry Whitehair of the Foxwalks, Grafton Manor, near Bromsgrove LoB Ms 3375/1335

Hillman Esq and on the south west by a stable and garden belonging to the said Robert Hillman which piece of land hereby assured contains from south ~~east~~ west to north west 87 feet or thereabouts from ~~south~~ north west to north east 162 feet or thereabouts from north west to south east 120 feet or thereabouts and from ~~north~~ south east to south west 200 feet or thereabouts which piece of land is shown on the plan described on the back of these presents & thereon is coloured pink together with the messuage or dwelling house and buildings now standing thereon all which premises are now in the occupation of the Rev Thomas Housman ...

Rose Hill, Lyme Regis

The Rev. Thomas Housman and his wife had two unmarried daughters, Mary Brettell Housman and Jane Housman, who soon engaged themselves in Lyme Regis society, helping at a soup kitchen for the poor and performing at local concerts. There were also two female

servants living at Roseville. The Rev. and Mrs Housman were soon to be joined by their youngest son, the Rev. Joseph Brettell Housman, who was appointed Curate of Symondsbury, 10 miles east of Lyme, in 1868.[20] The Rev Joseph supported cultural events both in Lyme and Symondsbury and played cricket for Lyme.[21] In 1871, he married Sarah Felicia, daughter of the Rev. Henry Rawlinson, Rector of Symondsbury.[22] The Housmans were visited at Lyme by their eldest son, Thomas Brettell Housman[23] and no doubt by other members of the family, possibly including their grandchild A.E. Housman.

The Rev. Thomas Housman did not enjoy a long retirement at Lyme for he died at Roseville, 24 January 1870. His remains were taken back to Catshill, where he was buried on 29 January 1870. The inscription on his grave reads:

> Here rests Thomas Housman, priest, to whom was first entrusted this church, this God's acre, this parish. He deceased on the 24th day of January 1870, aged 74 years.

The Rev. Thomas Housman received a respectful obituary in the *Bromsgrove Messenger*, 5 February 1870:

> The Late Rev. Thomas Housman
> In our obituary last week, we chronicled the decease of the Rev. Thomas Housman, of Lyme Regis, Dorsetshire. Mr Housman was the third son of the late Rev. Robert Housman, of Lancaster, by Jane, sister of Captain Adams, who was so long an inhabitant of Bromsgrove. He was born in the month of September 1795, at Leicester, where his father was then assisting Archdeacon Robinson, as curate; and after taking his degree at St John's College, Cambridge, he was ordained deacon and priest by

---

[20] *Western Daily Press*, 4 August 1868
[21] *The Field*, 17 July 1869
[22] *Morning Post*, 6 May 1871
[23] *The Field*, op. cit.

> Bishop Ryder, and appointed to the curacy of Bisley in Gloucestershire. He shortly afterwards became curate at Kinfare, near Stourbridge; and in the year 1838 was appointed the first incumbent of the chapelry of Christ Church, Catshill, now a vicarage. In this charge he remained till age and infirmity obliged him to relinquish it in 1864, and after a stay of rather more than two years at Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, he painlessly and peacefully passed away there at midnight on the 24th day of January last. The funeral took place on Saturday last, in the neat and quiet graveyard of Catshill Church. The remains of the deceased having been brought to Bromsgrove on the previous night were conveyed in a hearse to the school room at Catshill on Saturday. Here the coffin, covered with a handsome violet pail, surmounted with a cross, was entrusted to six bearers, residents of the parish, who proceeded to the church followed by the relatives of the departed, and a large number of parishioners. The procession was met at the churchyard gate by the Vicar of the parish, accompanied by the Vicar of Bromsgrove, the Rev. H.H. Rose of Erdington, the Rev. H. Aldham of Stoke Prior, the Rev. Ll Jones, and eighteen members of the choir, all surpliced. The sentences and psalms were said by the clergy and choir, the lesson being read by the Vicar of Bromsgrove. Before leaving the church, the nunc dimittis was chanted by the choir. The service at the grave, which was said by the Vicar, concluded with the beautiful hymn "Brief life is here our portion." Although there was a large gathering of people in and about the churchyard, there was perfect quietness during this simple but impressive ceremony. Mr Housman's last act of kindness to the parish was a donation of £15 towards the erection of a parsonage house, with a promise of a further donation if necessary.

It may well be that by the time of his death, the Rev. Thomas Housman's affairs were in disarray, for the three trustees named in his will renounced their executorships. His heir at law, his son Thomas

The Rev. Thomas Housman, 1795-1870

Brettell Housman, died in 1874, leaving it to the younger son, Edward Housman, to apply for administration of their father's estate in 1875. This came at a time when Edward Housman's own affairs were in utter turmoil. He had moved his large family into the Clock House, which he could ill afford to maintain, and kept Perry Hall as his office in Bromsgrove. Edward Weaver, who was owed £1,100 on security of

Perry Hall, foreclosed on the mortgage and advertised that property for sale.[24] Both Bromsgrove properties belonged to a family trust and not to Edward Housman himself. Nonetheless, Edward Housman was a bidder at the 1875 auction and bought back Perry Hall in the name of a gullible family friend, Edward Tuppen Wise, of Woodchester House, Gloucestershire. The recriminations in the Housman family were such that the Rev. Thomas's widow, Ann Housman, along with her children Mary Brettell Housman, Jane Housman, and the Rev. Joseph Brettell Housman, began proceedings against Edward Housman in a lengthy court case known as Housman v. Housman. By decree of the Court of Chancery, it was arranged that Roseville should be vested in Ann Housman, free of the mortgage for £1,500. It was conveyed to her by indenture of 5 June 1875.[25]

Ann Housman remained at Roseville for another seven years. In 1881, she was living there aged 81, with her daughters Mary and Jane, aged 48 and 46 respectively.[26] Ann Housman died 6 June 1882 and was buried at Catshill on 13 June. The funeral service was performed by her nephew, the Rev. Henry Housman, of Chichester. She left her property to her son, the Rev. Joseph Brettell Housman, with life interests for her two daughters. Jane Housman moved to Weymouth where she died in 1889. Mary Housman stayed on at Roseville until 1888 when she moved into rented accommodation in the town. Her furniture at Roseville was auctioned on 19 July 1888.[27] In 1891 she was renting two rooms in Broad Street. By this date, the *Bridport News* was listing important visitors to Lyme Regis. In September 1891, staying with Miss Coles at 'The Cottage,' were Miss Housman, Lyme Regis, and Mr Laurence Housman, London.[28] In July 1893, staying at Clarence House, Broad Street, were Miss Housman and Professor Housman.[29] There are

---

[24] *Worcester Journal*, 30 November 1875
[25] Housman v. Housman LoB Ms 3375/1347-8
[26] 1881 Census, Lyme Regis
[27] *Bridport News*, 8 July 1888
[28] *Bridport News*, 4 September 1891
[29] *Bridport News*, 21 July 1893

no known letters written by A.E. Housman from Lyme Regis, which might suggest that he was not a regular visitor, but it is gratifying that he found time to visit his Aunt Mary at least once. He does mention the village of Symondsbury and the surrounding area in a letter to Grant Richards, 22 August 1917, his knowledge perhaps acquired during a visit to the Rev. Joseph Brettell Housman when he was curate there. He refers to the Rev. Joseph Brettell Housman as 'Uncle Joe' in a letter to Kate Symonds, 19 December 1928.

Mary Brettell Housman was still living in Broad Street, Lyme Regis, in 1901. Her tenant at Roseville was William Maling Wynch, aged 65, living on his own means. By 1911 the house, now known as Rose Hill, 21 Silver Street, was occupied by Lionel Maling Wynch, aged 46, of the Indian Civil Service. He was a Deputy Director of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture. When Mary Brettell Housman died at Southernhay, Exeter, 23 February 1917, ownership of Rose Hill passed to her brother, Joseph Brettell Housman, Rector of Cheriton Bishop, near Exeter. He sold the freehold of Rose Hill to Lionel Maling Wynch by indenture of 13 October 1920.[30] By September 1939, Rose Hill had become a private hotel run by Frank Bushrod, a retired railway superintendant.[31] By 2005, Rose Hill was almost derelict, but it has been lovingly restored and now belongs to Mr Ian Chivers and his family.

---

[30] Sale by direction of the Executors of Helen Dorothy Stanley Graham, 23 September 1964

[31] 1939 Register

Recollections of N.V.H. Symons (1894-1986)

These personal recollections of the Housman family were compiled by Norman Victor Housman Symons, youngest son of Katharine and Edward Symons and nephew of A.E. Housman. N.V.H. Symons was the first President of the Housman Society in 1973 and probably wrote these notes to assist John Pugh, who was then writing his book Bromsgrove and the Housmans. A typescript version of these recollections has recently come to light and is reproduced here with only minor typographical corrections.

The union of the Housman and Symons families was foreshadowed by coincidence several years previously. It happened like this. My father, Edward William Symons, who was born on 13 March 1857 (the year of the Indian Mutiny), and so was almost exactly two years older than my uncle A. E. Housman who was born on 26 March 1859. My father, who was a brilliant mathematician, was a scholar at University College, Oxford, where he got a double first in 1879. In 1880 he became a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. At that time there was an undergraduate at St. John's College called A.E. Housman who had done brilliantly in Classical translations in which he got a first class. I am not aware that the young Fellow and the young undergraduate knew each other but they dined in Hall every night and it is probable that some other don at the High Table pointed out to my father the young A.E.H. as somebody who had a brilliant classical future in front of him. My father did not stay long at St. John's College. In those days a Fellow had to be a bachelor and my father was a marrying man. So he resigned his Fellowship and went to Clifton College as a master and from there to Bromsgrove School as second master when H.M. Millington was headmaster. He acted as headmaster when Millington was ill. There he became a friend of the Housman family at Perry Hall, fell in love with my mother Katharine Elizabeth, married her in 1887 and took her off to Huddersfield College, of which he had been appointed headmaster.

My father's mathematical brains had been inherited from his uncle the illustrious Bishop Colenso of Natal, his mother's brother. Bishop Colenso was a great scholar as well as being a great mathematician. He wrote books on higher mathematics as well as teaching the subject at Harrow. I believe he has a Second Wrangler[32] and he set about translating the Holy Bible into Zulu.

In the course of this work he came to the conclusion that parts of the Pentateuch were forgeries – later additions to the original text. He published his findings which brought down on him a storm of indignant vituperation from fellow clerics and others who believed that, the Bible was the Word of God and that to cast any doubt on this was heresy. He was unfrocked and ex-communicated but was restored by the Privy Council and died in harness as Bishop of Nata1 in South Africa. There is an account of his saintly and incredibly hard-working life in the Dictionary of National Biography. Wherever, in South Africa, the name of Colenso occurs it relates to him.

My parents had four sons of whom I was the youngest, having been born in 1894. In 1896 my father became headmaster of King Edward's School, Bath where he stayed for 25 years till his retirement in 1921 and my Housman uncles and aunt were constant visitors so that I got to know them from my youngest days. My recollections of course were those of a very ordinary boy and contain no penetrating analyses of character. My grandfather Edward Housman had five sons and two daughters and one would have thought if anyone had ensured the perpetuation of his name, he had. But only one of his sons married and he had no children and it was left to my mother to carry on the family but not its name. She was the centre of the family life and interest. She did her part well, not only by ready hospitality, but by maintaining continuous correspondence with her brothers and sister and their' cousin and step-mother, Mary Housman.

---

[32] [Ed.: one who has been placed in the first class in the mathematical tripos at Cambridge]

In many families there is a resemblance between the members of the same generation but among my mother's generation of the Housmans I would say that there was not the slightest physical resemblance that I could detect.

The uncle who took the most trouble over his nephews was my godfather Robert, the second son of Edward. He was an engineer and scientist employed by Kynochs of Birmingham and the word went round in the family that he had invented smokeless powder. He always used to bring a present for all of us, always something of poor quality and interest such as a horizontal steam engine or a Polyphon musical box which had discs you could put on, just like gramophone discs, only they were made of metal and had the notes punched in the metal As you turned the handle which made the disc rotate, it pressed down and then released springs which made little bells vibrate and play a tune. It could play chords as well as single notes and the tunes were charming. There was a pile of records so that we could play a chord many times and it gave us much pleasure. In addition to this he always tipped us when he left so he was definitely a good uncle.

Alas, he died early when he was staying with us in 1905 when he was 45 years old and I was 10. He was an enthusiastic photographer and went out into the country one day to take some photos. To get a particular view he started to wade into the river Avon and went on and on till he was up to his waist and then had to get home all sopping wet. It was too much for him and led to a chill on the kidneys and fever and he died in a few days. The whole family carne to his funeral and he was buried in a very pretty cemetery on Bathwich Hill called Swallcombe Cemetery. The family put up a headstone in the shape of a sundial standing on an octagonal base on one side of which was carved 'The children of Edward and Sarah Jane Housman' and on the remaining side as each of them died a name plate was added with their name and dates. The last plates were added 50 years after when the ashes of my father and mother and my Aunt Clem were interred in 1955. So there is the complete record of that generation of the family though none of the others are actually buried there. Alfred was buried at Ludlow in

Shropshire, Basil at Tardebigge near Bromsgrove, Laurence at Street in Somerset and Herbert in a military cemetery in South Africa.

Robert was a pioneer of motoring and owned a motor tricycle. He sat on a saddle at the back and in front was a seat which could take two passengers. He used to take us rides on this contraption which were always in the nature of adventures because the engine often conked out. Sometimes it took a good deal of re-starting and my uncle used to utter a number of words we had never heard before but which left us with the impression that he was displeased with something.

Our eldest uncle was Alfred who came regularly and was a most generous tipper. During our boyhood he was not famous except in classical circles and as far as we boys were concerned he was a quiet and pleasant visitor who did something obscure in London. Although *A Shropshire Lad* had been published in 1896, it was not, as he himself has said, until 1915 that it became universally well known. When I lost an arm in action in 1917 he wrote me a letter of condolence calling me 'My poor Dear fellow' and saying he wanted me to have the best possible artificial arm and I was to get this and send him the bill. This I did and as I was in a limbless hospital in Cardiff there were several private limb makers to choose from who were kept employed by the coal miners.

He had me to stay with him for a few days at Trinity College, Cambridge, and did me proud. We had meals in his rooms in Whewell's Court, brought over by his manservant from the college kitchen and luncheon always included a large bottle of Trinity Anvil Ale which has the colour of Port and was about as strong. Dinner we always had at the High Table in Hall and it was followed by the delights of 'Combination' – a large panelled room with a long gleaming mahogany table in which were reflected the silver candelabra which stood at intervals on it. Also reflected were beautiful cut wine glasses and porcelain dishes containing fruit and nuts and, last but not least, two or three cut glass decanters of vintage port. No monarch could do himself prouder than did these dons!

In the mornings, he showed me the University's treasures, silver, paintings, manuscripts and books. Every door was open to him without question and he was treated everywhere with the greatest deference and respect. One day he took me by car to see Ely Cathedral and he told me what he considered to be the correct procedure to observe in looking at a Cathedral for the first time. To start with, walk round the outside of the building and take note of its architectural features. Then go inside with your eyes cast down and walk up to the East end. Then, turn round and look up, and take in the whole picture before going round it in detail. As far as I can tell I am the only person, alive or dead, who has been his guest at Trinity for more than dinner, bed and breakfast. This historic occasion was in 1924 on my first leave from India.

In 1936 I was at home on leave again and attended his funeral. Eleven years before his death he had written the hymn to be sung at his funeral and even chose the music for it. It was in the paper Order of the Funeral service of which we all had a copy. A.E.H. had a hatred of printers' errors and, sure enough, there on the front page was one of them. After the simple ceremony in Trinity College Chapel, the coffin was placed on a wheel bier and was moved slowly towards the front gate followed by the choir and the mourners, mainly University dignitaries in their robes. The family mourners were my uncle Laurence, my brother Dr A.D. Symons and myself.

When we got to the front gate a very beautiful (and to me a quite unexpected) thing happened. The choir, unaccompanied, started to sing very quietly and in perfect harmony the Nunc Dimittis – 'Lord now lettest Thou Thy Servant Depart in Peace.' The body was then taken over by the family and taken to Golder's Green for cremation. The ashes are, most suitably buried at Ludlow.

My aunt, Clemence Housman, was a frequent visitor and was very kind to us boys though her conversation was mainly with our elders, particularly and naturally, with our mother. She was very handsome and thought there was a lot wrong with the world in general and the police

in particular. There was a police station within sight of her home at Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, Kensington and she was full of tales of the rough handling by the police of the drunks of whom there were a good many in those days. She smoked cigarettes which was very unusual for a woman at that time. She was a great perfectionist and excelled in all she did. For instance, she had a 'dumb' piano which had no strings but could be made to click when a key was pressed or released or both so that the player could tell if the right value was given to each note. And, of course, there was an unforgiving metronome to tick out in its unrelenting and menacing way the correct general speed. I used to love hearing her play Chopin's Nocturnes which, even to my untrained ear, was very beautiful.

Things like invisible mending of torn clothes and cleaning recalcitrant spots she did to perfection and she was a great gardener and knew a lot about botany. She was also a wonderful embroiderer and took on really big jobs like banners to be carried in processions. She was an ardent suffragist, so ardent that she went to prison in the cause. It came about like this. She rented a room somewhere in Kensington into which was put furniture belonging to some of her fellow suffragists. The room was assessed for rates and the demands started coming in which she refused to pay and was summonsed and a distress warrant was issued which the bailiffs found to be because none of the furniture belonged to the debtor. In the end she was committed to Holloway Prison and was taken there in a taxi by prison officers the fare of which came to more than the judgment debt! She had not been there long before the Prison chaplain paid her a visit. He turned out to have been a curate at Bromsgrove who was a friend of the family at Perry Hall and he was outraged to find Clemence in a cell. So he went to the Governor and protested and somehow or other she was released shortly after. I was very fond of her and she of me and I used to call her my 'other mother.' I shall have more to say about her after I have written about my uncle Laurence.

Laurence Housman was the warmest and liveliest of our uncles. He devoted quite a lot of time amusing us, especially when we were small. He told us any number of stories which he made all the more interesting

by giving different voices to the characters so that they all came alive. There was one game he played endlessly and we never found out how he did it. He would hold up a coin between thumb and finger and then appeared to grasp it with his other hand. Really he dropped it down his sleeve. Then he showed us both hands empty – mystery of mysteries – but there was more to come. He let us select a volume of Punch which he would pull out of the bookshelf, open it and, lo and behold there was the coin! He must have got pretty sick of this game but he always seemed to enjoy it.

As we got older these childish things ceased and we used to enjoy listening to his amusing talk. In I906 when I was twelve he and my Aunt Clem had me to stay with them at Pembroke Cottages for a week or so and they really put themselves out to give me a good time. My uncle met me at Paddington and he asked if I would rather go to their house on a bus and see all the sights or by underground. The underground won easily and it was a great adventure. It was the days of the Tuppenny Tube when you could go anywhere in London for twopence. It was before the days of electricity and the trains were drawn by steam engines so that the air was full of sulphorous smoke and was really very unpleasant. One or other of them took me somewhere every day including a Promenade Concert at Queens Hall conducted by Henry Wood and a violin concerto at the Albert Hall where the soloist was Mischa Ebrau. He was then about fourteen but looked much younger because, poor kid, he was dressed in a little Lord Fauntleroy suit of green velvet with a lace collar and knee-length velvet trousers. To see this little Nancy-boy fiddling away while there were several middle-aged violinists in the orchestra puzzled me and as we went out I asked my uncle if Mischa could play as well as the men. Madame Tussauds was another treat and l went into the Chamber of Horrors but my uncle did not. I was terrified and that night when I went up to my little top bedroom with my candle I really hardly knew what to do. I was so frightened and thought that Charles Peace or one of the other murderers might pounce on me. Many years later I went to the Chamber of Horrors again to see how it would strike me as an adult. I

found it tedious and rather disgusting because it was not kept properly dusted and everything looked neglected.

It was all hansoms, cabs and horse-drawn buses in those days and I remember one day the conductor was on top when the bus stopped to pick up a passenger and when it was time to start again he stamped twice and said ‘Right be’ind, Bill’ whereat off we went. My uncle said that in the Boer War many London bus horses were sent out to pull the guns and wagons. On one occasion a gun got stuck going over a river and nothing could get it moving, till one of the gunners had a bright idea and stamped twice on the tail-board and said ‘Right be’ind Bill’ whereon the horses leant into their collars with a will and the gun got free. I had a glorious time and enjoyed every minute of it and it was really very noble and self-sacrificing of my uncle and aunt to take so much trouble over a small boy, but I bet I was appreciative.

When I was in the Army in the 1914 War they often used to put me up when I had a day or two’s leave. On one occasion I was in hospital in Cadogan Road with a wound and went to an investiture at Windsor Castle where we stayed to lunch. The next day I went to see my avunculars and described a very striking painting of Queen Victoria wearing the Star and Ribbon of the Garter which was hanging on a wall near me. My uncle, who was art critic for the *Manchester Guardian*, said it was well-known in art circles and that when it was finished the Queen came to inspect it and said that it was very nice except that the Garter ribbon was too light a blue. “Oh, ma’am,” said the artist, “that is the effect of the light from the window which would make it look that colour.” The Queen nodded and went away. Presently a page appeared with a sealed envelope and the artist thought it would contain a bank note or some other payment for the picture, instead of which there was a sheet of note-paper on which was pinned a piece of dark blue ribbon and underneath, in the Queen’s handwriting, the words “You see I was right. Victoria R.I.”

I also used to stay with them after the end of the war when they lived at New Milton in Hampshire, quite close to Lymington. Only two things

stick in my memory about those visits. One was seeing my aunt make a mayonnaise. Like everything else she did it was meticulously careful. The olive oil had to be added literally drop by drop with vigorous stirring of the mixture and the process took nearly two hours – but what a marvellous result! I have never tasted a mayonnaise anything like it. The other was my uncle. We hired a couple of cycles and he took me all over the New Forest. I remember in particular Minstead, where Conan Doyle is buried. It has a three-decker pulpit. The bottom seat was for the priest's clerk, the middle one for the parson to conduct the service, and the top one for the preacher. There was also the pew, if you can call it a pew, for the squire and his family. It was like a small drawing room, with a fireplace and easy chairs. The entrance was by a private door in the churchyard and inside it looked straight into the chancel so that none of the congregation could see into it and note who was there and what they were doing.

It was a lovely day and all round Bournemouth, before the days of tarmacadam the road surfaces were all gravel which gave a cheerful impression of being in sunshine even on dull days. I don't think my uncle ever stopped talking and so enjoyed himself tremendously.
He quoted reams of his poetry and plays and on one occasion when I thought he might be getting tired, I told him I had written one poem and would he like to hear it. There was a faintly disapproving assent so I favoured him with my one and only poem which I composed and wrote in the autograph book of a Red Cross Sister in a hospital in France where I got away from the trenches in 1917 with a sprained ankle:

> "For broken limbs and achings medley
> Report forthwith to Sister Smedley;
> She guarantees to kill or cure
> In fourteen days or even fewer."

(N. B. I found I could not get any further with this metre so I tried a different one)

“She sits and she rubs with powder snow white
Her fingers so soft and her touch so light
That you think you would like to be massaged all day
But not when she’s finished, not then Oh Nay
After five minutes rubbing she seizes your foot
And then through the mill you are very soon put
She turns it and twists it both this way and that
And on the most tender parts gives it a pat
If it hurts very much you cry in alarm
This must be doing a great deal of harm
But when in the end the massage is done
You find you can walk and very near run
So take my advice both young men and old
And when being massaged do what you are told
And your aches and your pains will decrease quite readily
Thanks to the massage of kind Sister Smedley.”

This example of poetic genius was received without enthusiasm by my uncle who was then able to resume his monologue.

I, surprisingly, had a longish letter from him when I had been in the Indian Civil Service for about ten years and was a District Magistrate in Bengal. He tried to show me how wrong it was for the British to be ruling India and how much better the Indians could do it themselves. I wrote a long letter back giving him the facts as I saw them and disagreeing that the Indians would be better administrators. A short disapproving reply from him ended the correspondence, but I think he always, after that, saw me with horns and tail.

So now I come to the last of my Housman uncles, the one of whom I saw the least in my boyhood but came to like best – Basil Williams Housman. Whilst I was a boy he was a busy G.P. and so did not have much in the way of holidays. I only remember him and his wife, my Aunt Jeannie, coming to stay once or twice at Bath and yet I came to like him best of my uncles. There was a warmth about him – a humanity and the gift of getting on with people – which must have

made him a splendid doctor. He had a winning smile and a great fund of anecdotes which made him very good company. He had good brains and did very well at Bromsgrove School.

Of my other uncles I liked and admired Alfred for his great and unusual intellectual gifts, poetical and scholastic, and particularly for the unique quality of his poetry, unlike anything that had been published before. And with all this there was not the slightest trace of pomposity as there might so well have been – just a quiet friendliness which always made him welcome to us as boys and as we grew into men. He just quietly became one of the family.

If A.E.H. was a rather reserved introvert, Laurence was the opposite, a warm and forthcoming extrovert. He had plenty of brains and imagination and lots of moral courage which led him to plunge whole-heartedly into causes for which he felt sympathy. The first was women's suffrage for which he stumped the country speaking at hostile meetings and enjoying himself thoroughly. He had a brush with the police outside the Houses of Parliament when, with a few others, he staged a demonstration. He was roughly handled for his pains but was not arrested. This may, in part, have had something to do with his sister Clemence's dislike of the police. In later years the cause he espoused was the Peace Pledge Union for which he spoke indefatigably whenever and where ever he was asked to and, in addition, because he was well-off financially after the success of Victoria Regina as a book, a play and a film, he gave the P.P.U. a lot of money.

As an instance of his imaginative gifts, he wrote about a King – John of Jingalow – and, in the course of the novel, he described in detail the safety precautions, particularly at night in the Royal Palace. He was approached by Scotland Yard and asked how he knew what went on in Buckingham Palace because his description was correct in every detail. In the end they reluctantly accepted his assurances that it was pure imagination on his part!

He talked a lot and laughed a lot and could be most entertaining. He and his sister went to live at Street in Somerset, so as to be near their Quaker friends the Clarks who had a shoe factory there. They built a sort of studio at the end of the garden which he typically called the ‘Elbow Room’ and in which he did his writing. My aunt told me that she would hear roars of laughter coming from his retreat as ideas came flowing in and he captured them on paper.

But, to get back to my uncle Basil, I well remember a great treat he and my Aunt Jeannie gave me in 1909. We had a seaside house at Swanage and they carne down to stay for a week or so. I was there because I was too young to go to the O.T.C. camp on Salisbury Plain, the minimum age for which was 15, an age which I should not attain till November of that year. My uncle and aunt took me on a steamer trip to the Isle of Wight and round the Fleet. I had never been on a steamer before so that was a wonderful treat in itself, but when it came to having lobster mayonnaise for lunch in the Dining Saloon and served by stewards in uniform my cup of happiness brimmed over – I had never had lobster in my life before. So, although it is over 70 years ago and in itself was fairly commonplace, to me at that impressionable age it was like several red letter days rolled into one and I am still greatly grateful to my uncle and aunt for their kindness to me.

A few years later on, during the 1914 War, they had me to stay with them several times at Tardebigge near Bromsgrove. My uncle had been given a commission as a Major in the R.A.M.C. and every morning after breakfast used to walk a couple of miles or so to Barnt Green Station to catch the Birmingham train where his hospital was. I used to walk with him so that we had about half an hour’s solo conversation and got to know each other fairly well and to like each other.

Brexit as banquet: Housman on the history of classical scholarship

By Christopher Stray, a paper read at the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, 19 October 2019

It is a privilege to be able to address the Housman Society, especially here in this building. In his 1911 inaugural lecture, Housman declared that we should get rid of our own tastes and acquire those of the classics, not 'to come stamping into the library of Apollo on the Palatine without so much as wiping our shoes on the doormat, and cover the floor with the print of feet which have waded through the miry clay of the nineteenth into the horrible pit of the twentieth'. When I read that reference to the library of Apollo, I think of the Wren Library, and wonder what Housman would have said of the twenty-first century. In my talk today I shall discuss Housman, books and journals and the role of failures and refusals in the history of scholarship. Not all of you will be interested in all these topics, but I think I can guarantee that while I shall doubtless bore some of you some of the time, I shall not bore all of you all of the time.

Let me begin by explaining the first part of my title, which was inspired, as you will have guessed, by the confusion between Brexit and Breakfast in recent political discourse. In 1903, in the preface to his edition of Manilius's *Astronomica*, A.E. Housman wrote (pp. xlii-iii):

> History repeats itself, and we now witness in Germany pretty much what happened in England after 1825, when our own great age of scholarship, begun in 1691 by Bentley's Epistola ad Millium, was ended by the successive strokes of doom which consigned Dobree and Elmsley to the grave and Blomfield to the bishopric of Chester. England disappeared from the fellowship of nations for the next forty years. [English classical scholars,] …having turned their backs on Europe and science and the past, … sat down to banquet on mutual approbation, to produce the

> *Classical Museum* and the *Bibliotheca Classica*, and to perish without a name.

Let me explain right away that the *Classical Museum* was a journal, and the *Bibliotheca Classica* a series of editions of classical authors. Both had their inception in the period from 1825 to 1865 denounced by Housman. As you can see, my title refers to what Housman wrote; 'Brexit as banquet' echoes his reference to food ('sat down to banquet'). 'Disappearing from the fellowship of nations' is a very good definition of Brexit. 'Perish without a name' is typical of his polemical writing in its biblical tone, though like other such Housmanian phrases it is not a direct quotation. The nearest equivalent is in *Ecclesiasticus* in the Apocrypha, 'perished as though they had never been'. We might compare his comment on work produced by Siegfried Sudhaus, the pupil of the distinguished scholar Franz Buechler: 'Mr. Buechler, when he first perused Mr. Sudhaus's edition of the Aetna, must have felt something like Sin when she gave birth to Death'. As the late Harry Jocelyn commented on another such pronouncement of Housman's, 'it was English blood that he wished to freeze'.[33] Here as elsewhere Housman was developing an earlier statement by the German scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in this case from his celebrated edition of Euripides' *Heracles*, published in 1889.

> English classical scholarship developed on strictly determined lines, from Bentley's letter *ad Millium* to the ill-fated year 1825, when Peter Dobree sank into the grave which had scarcely closed over Peter Elmsley; … England wholly retired from the stage.[34]

---

[33] 'H.D. Jocelyn discusses C.O.Brink's *English Classical Scholarship*', *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 12.7, July 1987, 112.

[34] Wilamowitz, *Einleitung in die Griechisch Tragoedie* 1907 [1889], 228, 230. Elmsley died on 8 March, Dobree on 24 September 1825

Wilamowitz's statement refers only to England, but Housman's version proposes a German parallel, suggesting that in 1903 the great tradition of 19th-century German classical scholarship, Alterthumswissenschaft, was coming to an end. I'll come back to this later on.

In his preface, Housman evokes the idea of a res publica litterarum linking several countries, in which however classical scholarship was dominated by one country, Germany. The forty-year period identified by Housman in which Britain was separated from the fellowship of nations, beginning with death and ecclesiastical promotion, ended in 1864 with the publication of Hugh Andrew Johnstone Munro's edition of Lucretius. This was widely seen as the first modern British classical work that could stand up to comparison with German scholarship. Munro, a fellow of Trinity, was the first holder, in 1869, of the Cambridge chair of Latin to which Housman himself was elected in 1911. As an Oxford undergraduate, Housman had attempted in vain to acquire a photograph of his hero.

Housman's *damnatio* cast the *Classical Museum* and the *Bibliotheca Classica* into the outer darkness. My aim in this talk is to bring them back into the light, and to reassess Housman's judgement. In doing so, I shall be looking at the relationship between British and German classicists, and at Housman as both a scholarly hero and a historian of scholarship.

For most of the 19th century, the dominant position of German classical scholarship was unquestioned in this country. Its leading men were spoken of with reverence, the schoolbooks written by its lesser men constantly plagiarised by English textbook writers. Yet the theological speculations of German biblical scholars often alarmed the more conservative English classicists. An example of the resultant ambivalence can be found in the preface to the deeply conservative Cambridge scholar Thomas Mitchell's edition of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, published in 1841 by the equally conservative publisher John Murray. I should warn you in advance that this English sentence possesses the longueurs for which Englishmen often criticised German writers.

> Synoptical views of all that has been done great and glorious in literature since the world began – inquiries ethical, oeconomical, political, all in short that enables nations to become wiser and better – deep investigations into the origin and tendencies of the fine arts; in the drama, searching inquisitions as to the great principles on which it is founded – in metre, what are the laws of harmony by which the passions may be excited and regulated – in mythology, by what methods history may be disentangled from fable, and new rules gained for purifying the annals of nations – such are some of the pursuits in which the scholars of Germany* occupy themselves.

The asterisk takes us to a footnote in which Mitchell added that:

> * It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that I speak exclusively of the classical literature of Germany; with her disgraceful and offensive productions, her novels and her divinity, I have nothing to do.[35]

The Classical Museum

Let me turn first to the *Classical Museum*, which was published in quarterly issues between 1843 and 1849. One of its two editors was a Prussian, Leonhard Schmitz, who had married an Englishwoman and taken British citizenship. In Prussia he had taught the young Prince Albert. In this country, where he settled in 1836, he was at different times headmaster of the Royal High School in Edinburgh, tutor to Albert's son the prince of Wales, and classical examiner to the University of London. Schmitz was a crucial link between German and English scholarship. He translated his teacher Niebuhr's work on Roman history into English and Thirlwall's *History of Greece* into German; he also translated Gustav Wigger's *Life of Socrates* and Carl Zumpt's Latin grammars into English. Schmidt's co-editor was the London-based William Smith, a Nonconformist scholar famous in his

[35] Thomas Mitchell, *Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus*, J. Murray 1841, v-vi.

day as an editor of a series of classical dictionaries, some of them still in print in the 1940s.[36] Their surnames are so similar that it was suggested at one point that they were the same person rather than two.

The history of classical journals in nineteenth-century Britain is largely one of failure or of only short-term success. The *Classical Museum* was one of several short-lived classical journals in that period, till we reach the *Journal of Philology* in 1868, which lasted, not without difficulty, for fifty years, and from 1879, journals which still survive, beginning with the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. A fuller account would include the *Museum Academicum*, planned in Oxford in the early 1840s by Arthur Stanley, Benjamin Jowett, Henry Liddell and Robert Scott, which was stillborn because its potential printer discovered how much the printer of the *Philological Museum* had lost and backed out. The *Classical Journal* of Abraham Valpy survived as long as it did because its owner and editor was also its printer and publisher. Monk and Blomfield's *Museum Criticum* was run by two followers of Richard Porson, fellows of Trinity, who practised the narrowly language-based scholarship their hero exemplified. The *Philological Museum*, edited by two younger fellows of Trinity, broke away from the Porsonian tradition. Hare and Thirlwall both read German and used the journal to bring the larger vision of Alterthumswissenschaft into Britain – the vision that so alarmed Thomas Mitchell. In fact the *Classical Museum*'s conductors saw it as a belated continuation of the *Philological Museum*. Schmidt and Smith's supporters included Thirlwall, as well as George Cornewall Lewis, George Grote, George Long, Baron Bunsen, and William Smith – a notably metropolitan group, indicating the emergence of a separate London focus for classical scholarship independent of Oxford and Cambridge.

The German style, as we've seen in the case of Thomas Mitchell, brought with it overtones of radical theological positions, and the

---

[36] See C.A. Stray, 'Sir William Smith and his dictionaries: a study in scarlet and black', in *idem*, *Classics in Britain: Scholarship, Education, and Publishing, 1800-2000* (OUP, 2018), 187-206.

conservative alarms his reaction typified were reflected in the advertisement to the first issue of the *Classical Museum* in June 1843.[37] The editors, after listing the subjects covered, declared that 'Biblical criticism and all subjects of a religious or theological nature will be excluded'. The journal appeared quarterly from 1843 to 1849, its parts being bound up as annual volumes.[38] The dates often given for it, 1844-50, are those of the bound volumes. I offer these details since I believe that the printing and publishing history of journals helps us to understand their readership, their impact and their success or failure; and I note that the latest Housman Society Journal suggests that at least some of the Society's members have bibliophilic interests.

As with other part-published books and journals, very few individual issues survive; I know of only three. A copy of part xvii held at the British School at Athens uniquely retains its original covers. It is a paradoxical and regrettable fact that while books are taken into libraries to preserve them, their accessioning often leads to the loss of significant evidence. The case is similar with the fascicles of the 9th edition of Liddell and Scott's Greek lexicon, issued between 1925 and 1940; unbound copies are very hard to find, but a complete set, once the property of the great Italian ancient historian Arnaldo Momigliano, has recently been deposited in this library.

Part and subscription publishing was common in the mid-19th century. William Smith's classical dictionaries were brought out in parts: his *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* appeared in 28 parts, before being bound in a fat volume of over 1100 pages. His celebrated encyclopedia of the ancient world began to appear in 1840, at about the same time as

---

[37] This was reprinted as a preface in the bound volume.

[38] The *Museum* was initially published by the firm of J. W. Parker of London, who printed 1000 copies of the first issue, but then reduced the print run to 750. The journal then passed to Taylor and Walton, publishers to the University of London. Only 3 issues appeared in 1843 because of a delayed start. A few individual issues survive: iv (V and A), xvii (BSA), xxii (Aberdeen). The BSA copy is unique in retaining its covers.

its German rival edited by August von Pauly, which later grew under successive editors into a monster of over eighty volumes. There's a copy in the Catalogue Room downstairs. The *Classical Museum* was edited by Smith, a nonconformist, and by Schmitz, a Lutheran; thus both men were free of the problems of previous editors of classical journals, who had been removed from scholarship by preferment to positions in the Anglican Church. This was the fate of James Monk and Charles Blomfield, editors of the *Museum Criticum*, and Julius Hare and Connop Thirlwall, editors of the *Philological Museum*. Hence Housman's remark in his Manilius preface about Blomfield being removed to the bishopric of Chester. Another difference was that the *Classical Museum* was London-based, unlike the *Museum Criticum* and *Philological Museum*, whose editors were all fellows of this college. It can thus be seen as part of a shift of power in English classical scholarship that gradually built up a metropolitan alliance between the British Museum and the colleges of the University of London.[39]

The most remarkable aspect of the *Classical Museum*, in the light of Housman's denunciation, was that far from 'turning its back on Europe', it welcomed Europe, especially Germany, with open arms. I won't bore you with the details, which were first discussed by Paul Naiditch nearly 40 years ago. The journal listed several German correspondents, including Theodor Bergk, Friedrich Welcker and Carl Gustav Zumpt, and included significant numbers of translated German and Dutch articles.[40] Housman was thus completely wrong in his

---

[39] The Committee of the journal was assembled less to run it than to show the world what distinguished men supported it. Its 25 members included eight clergymen, 2 members of parliament, 3 noblemen, 4 professors, and the editors of the *Philological Museum*, Hare and Thirlwall. They were all British except for the most celebrated British link with German culture, Baron Bunsen, previously Niebuhr's secretary and at this point Prussian ambassador to the English court. (No connection with Robert Bunsen of Goettingen, inventor of the Bunsen burner.)

[40] Among the foreign articles, all translated, were: in vol 3 Wex on the Leges Annales, in vol 4 Zumpt on Roman religion; in the final volume Hermann on

complaint.[41] His antipathy to the Museum surely sprang from his commitment to a narrowly linguistic textual scholarship, precisely the old Porsonian style from which Smith and Schmitz were trying to break free. The Museum carried very little textual criticism in the manner of Bentley and Porson, the scholars probably referred to in Housman's phrase `science and the past'.

Why did the journal collapse? In the final issue of December 1849, the committee referred to the declining support of British scholars as the reason for closing it down. But five years later, in 1854, William Smith was consulted about a newly planned Cambridge classical journal, the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. One of its editors, John Mayor, later Housman's predecessor in the Cambridge Latin chair, asked Smith why the Museum had failed, and Smith told him that 'the Classical Museum … we gave up, not for want of friends, for it paid its expenses, but because the articles were for the most part so poor that I was really quite ashamed' [42]

Much of the journal's content was supplied by a small group of British scholars, who though they made up only seven percent of the contributors

---

the date of the Laocoon, and Platner's reminiscences of the celebrated scholar Gottfried Hermann. All these were translated from German, but Dutch articles also appeared, such as Groshans' Zoology of Homer and Hesiod in vol 4, and Miquel on Homeric flora in vol 5. These had been previously published, but original articles also appeared by Welcker, Puchta, Bergk, Lersch, Zumpt and others. Furthermore, from vol 2 onwards reports from foreign correspondents were a regular feature, several of them associated with the University of Bonn, Schmidt's alma mater, where he had been taught by Niebuhr, Ritschl and others.

[41] See P. G. Naiditch, 'Classical studies in nineteenth-century Great Britain as background to the "Cambridge Ritualists" ', *The Cambridge Ritualists Reconsidered*, ed. W.M. Calder III, Illinois Classical Studies Supplement 2, 1991, 123-52, at 132-9.

[42] William Smith to John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, 18 Feb 1854. Mayor papers, Trinity College Library, B.15.2.

provided more than 40 per cent of the total text.[43] By the fifth volume, most of them had stopped contributing, and this must have dealt a serious blow to the editors in their search for articles. It was not long since Smith had assembled a large team of scholars for his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, published as I've mentioned in 28 parts in 1840. Of the 19 contributors, the most prolific apart from Smith himself contributed well over 100 articles each. Leonhard Schmitz, Smith's co-editor for the *Classical Museum*, wrote 264 articles, and George Long 188. Long is a good example of the overlap between the dictionary and the journal: he provided nine articles (157 pages) for the *Classical Museum*, and later several volumes for the Bibliotheca Classica. In fact if one compared the contributors to Smith's Dictionary, the *Museum* and the Bibliotheca Classica, it would be possible to identify a, if not the, community of classical scholars in Britain at mid-century.

The Bibliotheca Classica (1848-98)

This series of classical textbooks belonged to a different world from the *Classical Museum*. It was aimed at the newly expanding public schools, and in particular the proprietary schools (founded as companies, with parents taking shares). These mushroomed in the 1840s and 50s, attracting new waves of aspirant middle-class parents who wanted their sons to become gentleman. And the classical curriculum was seen as crucial to this process of transformation. One of these schools was Brighton College, founded in 1846, and it was the headmaster and second master of the school, Arthur Macleane and George Long, who set up the Bibliotheca, whose publishers were two well-established textbook publishing firms, George Bell and George Whittaker.

Macleane and Long were both graduates of Trinity College, Cambridge, but with very different career routes. Macleane was Fourth Classic (that is, fourth in the first class of the Classical Tripos) in 1843, and principal of Brighton College from 1846 to 1853. Long had been placed in the first class of the Cambridge mathematical tripos in 1822, and won several classical prizes. The mathematical tripos was at that point the

[43] Naiditch (n.9), 139

university's only honours examination; the first examination for the Classical Tripos, a voluntary examination, was not held till 1824. In that year Long became the first professor of ancient languages at Thomas Jefferson's new University of Virginia, then professor first of Greek, then of Latin, at the new University of London, resigning in 1846. After being Reader in Jurisprudence at the Inner Temple for three years, he joined Brighton College as a classical master in 1849, retiring only in 1871. (The Inner Temple was one of the four Inns of Court, where most English lawyers were trained; the Inns, founded in the 14th century, constituted in effect a third ancient university.) Long was widely respected as an expert on Greek and Latin, but also on ancient law and geography, on which subjects he wrote extensively for William Smith's classical dictionaries. He was also, as I've mentioned, one of the core contributors to the *Classical Museum*. Long's translation of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, published by George Bell in 1862, was the most widely-read English translation of the work in the 19th century. Long, then, though technically junior to Macleane at Brighton College, was very much the senior editor of the series, and after Macleane's premature death in 1857, he ran it through to its final title in 1872, and then handled revised editions till his death in 1879.

The Bibliotheca consisted of 15 titles, each ranging from one to four volumes. Nine were editions of Greek authors, 6 of Latin. The rationale of the series was set out in a privately-circulated Scheme issued in the autumn of 1847. This declared that the series was aimed at the upper forms of public schools and at undergraduates. A list of ten editors and 13 authors was given; of these, only 4 editors and 10 authors were ever published, except that some editions appeared under replacement editors. The non-publishers included William Smith, listed as editing Livy – whether complete or not is not specified. Other non-performers were Benjamin Kennedy, headmaster of Shrewsbury school and later professor of Greek at Cambridge, whose Iliad and Odyssey never appeared, and also editions of Tacitus, Xenophon, Hesiod, Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics and Sallust.

I want to stress the importance of such failures, in this case books which were planned but never published. If we are to assess the living history of a literary canon, we need to consider human intentions, not just successes; plans, not just those which were realised. I shall return to this point later on. If we add the unpublished to the published volumes in the Bibliotheca, we can see that Long and Macleane's coverage fell well within the conventional canon of classical literature. The Scheme I mentioned earlier stated that 'priority of publication will be given ,…to such works as [the editors] may judge to be most in demand'.[44]

The use of English, rather than Latin, in schoolbooks had been a controversial issue for some decades. Some scholars thought that English lacked the precision of Latin; others felt that it opened up Classics to a wide and potentially unruly class of readers, including the increasing numbers of working-class autodidacts. English was the common language, but the ambiguity of 'common' reflected the tension between ideas of patriotic community and of class hierarchy.[45] Long

[44] Here we can see the boundaries of the canon reinforced by the nature of the market. There are two possible exceptions. One might think the proposed edition of Aristotle's Nicomathean Ethics to be marginal to or more difficult than the works in the canon. But in 1850 Aristotle's hold over the Oxford curriculum was still very strong, and the Platonic movement which was to supersede it by the 1880s was still in its infancy. The other possible exception is Hesiod, not an author much read in Victorian England. Paley's edition was not the first published in this country (he had already published an edition in the 1840s [single plays 1844-5; collected edn, 2vv 1847], but it was the first with English notes, a format he enthusiastically supported, as did Long and Macleane. Paley was keen on Homer, and I had thought the Hesiod was his own idea, but the 1847 Scheme lists an edition by Edmund Lushington, professor of Greek at Glasgow. Paley saw Hesiod's poems as close to those of Homer, and his title reflects this in calling them 'the Epics of Hesiod'.

[45] A powerful intervention in this debate was made by Henry Liddell and Robert Scott on 1843 in the preface to the first edition of their Greek-English Lexicon. 'It may be asked', they wrote, 'whether such a Lexicon should not be in Latin, as in the old times; whether the other is not an unworthy condescension to the indolence of the age.' Their response distinguishes between a lexicon and notes to classical authors. The latter, they claim, are best couched in Latin, which has an established technical vocabulary and is universally understood; English, however, is far better equipped to render the 'richness, boldness, freedom, and variety of Greek words'. They conclude

and Macleane's series thus represented a radical move. The movement from Latin to English is an important one, since it was part of the rise of vernacular usage which pulled English classics away from the old res publica litterarum, both named and run in Latin.

Several of the volumes in the series were later abridged for the publishers' other series: a 'Grammar School Classics' series (text and commentary but cut down by about 75%) – aimed at the middle forms of schools; and 'Grammar School Latin and Greek Texts' (text only) – lower still. The phrase 'grammar school' hints at a large market of schools of lower status than public schools. Such redeployment of published work was a common strategy among educational publishers. Why did Housman disapprove of the series? I think because it was aimed at schoolboys and undergraduates, rather than, as his own editions were, at scholars. In fact, the titles of his editions of Lucan and Juvenal included the phrase 'editorum in usum'. Schoolbooks had long been entitled 'in usum scholarum', for the use of schools; in his own phrasing Housman treated editors as if they were schoolboys. It was a calculated insult.

The rhetoric of historiography

Even as I speak, the fellowship of nations is being threatened by nostalgic fantasies of Britain as it has never been. Not so much blue remembered hills as blue imagined hills, one might say. By the early nineteenth century, as I've suggested, the old res publica litterarum was already being undermined by older nationalist fantasies, especially during and after the Napoleonic wars, Germans (or rather Prussians, in what was not yet Germany) responding to defeat by the French, just as the French did later on, after the battle of Sedan in 1870. And this brings me back to the rhetorical historiography of Housman's Manilius preface. During the 40 years of British isolation, 1825 to 1865, one scholar stood out, for him, as a possible exception, only for his light to be snuffed out. Charles Badham, the one English scholar of the mid-

---

that 'A Frenchman may have reason for using a Greek-Latin lexicon; an Englishman can have none' (Liddell and Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (OUP, 1843), iii).

century whose reputation crossed the Channel, received from abroad the praises of Duebner and Nauck and Cobet, but at home was excluded from academical preferment, set to teach boys at Birmingham, and finally transported to the Antipodes.

After graduating from Oxford with a third-class degree in 1837, Badham spent several years on the continent working on classical manuscripts. On his return he settled in Cambridge, apparently thinking its scholarly climate more to his taste than Oxford. He was ordained, but failed to secure a college fellowship because of his religious liberalism. He was headmaster of three schools, the last in Birmingham, and in 1867 was appointed professor of Classics in Sydney, where he became a notable promoter of public education in New South Wales. That in short is the narrative characteristically pointed and dramatised by Housman: 'set to teach boys', 'transported'. It's worth noting, I think, that Badham's experience in some ways parallels Housman's own. They both did very badly in Oxford, and later moved to Cambridge, where the vestiges of the Porsonian tradition of exact linguistic scholarship offered a more congenial home.

If we step back from all these particularities of person, time and place, we can see that Housman was doing what we all do: we shape the past in the way we want it. What's different about Housman is simply the clarity of his vision and his ability to represent it in memorable phrases. What we can see, which Housman did not see because he was not interested, is the way in which the economics and politics of publishing affects the inauguration, maintenance and survival of journals and book series. In their different ways, both depend on buyers. Subscription publishing, which was common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, kept publications afloat by guaranteeing a stream of income. The same technique was used for concert series. This was used by the *Classical Museum*, but as we've seen, it could not protect it from a fatal decline in the supply of good-quality articles. The Bibliotheca Classica successfully targeted a new and expanding school market from the early 1850s, its large editions cannibalised to produce small editions and plain texts. Housman saw the words on the page, but not the cost of

buying the paper, printing and binding, marketing and distribution. Yet he was interested in the production and pricing of his own books, as his correspondence with his publisher Grant Richards shows. Today we live in a largely virtual world where 'hard copy' is a residual category. Not so in the nineteenth century, where hot metal, stereotype and electrotype reigned. The fellowship of nations was maintained by this commercial world of communications.

Housman's account of the history of scholarship relied for its rhetorical effect on a series of turning points, dated events on which his historical narrative hinged. For Britain these were the publication of Bentley's letter to Mill in 1691, the death or ecclesiastical promotion of Dobree, Elmsley and Blomfield and the publication in 1864 of Munro's edition of Lucretius. For the Continent they were Napoleon's defeat of Prussia at Jena in 1806, the German victory over France at Sedan in 1870, and the 'second Jena' of the first world war. The two plots are not completely parallel, since the first concerns one country, Britain, and the second deals with relations between two, France and Germany. But both have a tripartite structure, moving from A to B to C.

England: A 1691 Bentley's letter to Mill
B 1825 death of Dobree and Elmsley, preferment of Blomfield
C 1864 Munro's Lucretius

Continent: A 1806 Napoleon's defeat of Prussia at Jena
B 1870 German defeat of France at Sedan
C 1918 Allied defeat of Germany

A similar tripartite structure underpins a conventional narrative in the history of British classical scholarship, in which three disciplinary heroes, Bentley, Porson and Housman, are singled out as the giants of its history. This pattern is reflected in the subtitle of Charles Brink's 1986 book on English classical scholarship: *Historical Reflections on*

Bentley, Porson and Housman.[46] Brink was to my knowledge the first classical scholar to comment on Housman's account.[47] But Brink comments only very briefly on Housman's denunciation: 'These volumes are chronicled without a breath of criticism by Sandys; they patiently awaited Housman's thunderbolt which duly fell in 1903'. Then after quoting Housman's verdict, Brink adds, 'This is too hard on some of them, but one sees what he meant'. Note Brink's rhetorical notion of history: 'they patiently awaited … duly fell', a picture of predestination surely modelled on Housman's own rhetoric, though Brink acknowledges that both Wilamowitz and Housman dramatised and slightly caricatured the events they were chronicling.[48] The reference to Sandys is unfair: Sandys's history of classical scholarship consists largely of a listing of scholars and their writings. We would not expect criticism or praise in the brief account and short footnote that Sandys devotes to the Bibliotheca Classica, of which only a selection of titles is mentioned.[49]

The narrative offered by Housman and lightly critiqued by Brink emerged from the period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when classical scholarship was becoming professionalised and specialised. Professionalisation involved detachment from the old alliance of Classics and religious faith, long embedded in the ancient universities. One symptom of the condition was the loss of able men to scholarship after they were promoted to bishoprics. As we have already seen, a good example is the elevation of Charles Blomfield, fellow of this college, to the see of Chester in 1824, an event which Housman, as we have seen, identified as a symbol of the end of the great period in English scholarship inaugurated in 1691 by Bentley's letter to Mill. Professionalisation also involved a shift from the old world of the

---

[46] The book was offered to CUP but declined: Cambridge University Archives, CUP press syndicate minutes, 14 Feb. 1986.
[47] See C. O. Brink *English Classical Scholarship* (J. Clarke, 1986), 114-49, quote from p.117, and my critique, `England, culture and the 19th century', *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 13.6, June 1988, 85-90.
[48] Brink, *English Classical Scholarship*, 117.
[49] See Naiditch (n.9).

Victorian gentleman amateur to a brave new world of scientific scholarship in which the study of texts and practice of composition was joined and then dislodged by the new fields of archaeology, ancient history and comparative philology. These were embedded in the Cambridge classical curriculum when Part II of the Classical Tripos was established in 1880, but the traditional linguistic and literary course continued in Part I, which was until 1918 sufficient to gain a BA degree. This was in striking contrast to the Oxford curriculum, in which the first part of the classical course, Honour Moderations, resembling the Cambridge Part I, led to Greats, which was dominated by philosophy and history. Housman was by no means the first student to shine in Mods and then fall to defeat in Greats. He would have done much better here in Cambridge. He could have sat for Part I and then chosen to concentrate on more of the same in the literature section of Part II; or he could have simply sat Part I and gained a degree. He would thus have avoided his fall into what he called the gutter, his time at the Patent Office.

As you know, when Housman was asked why he concentrated on Latin after his earlier work on both classical languages, he replied, 'I found I could not attain to excellence in both.'[50] This change took place in a period when specialisation was taking hold in British academic life more generally. In 1879, at about the same time as the Tripos was reformed in Cambridge, the Hellenic Society was founded in London with the object of promoting the study of classical archaeology. The first volume of its journal, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, appeared in the following year, and received a perceptive review by the Oxford Homerist David Binning Monro.[51] Monro identified several new features in the work published in the Journal, including: first, 'the idea of development, which impels us to look at the continuous history of a literature or a nation, rather than to dwell exclusively on brilliant epochs.' Secondly, 'the idea of science, which tends to put all

[50] A.S.F. Gow, *A.E. Housman: A Sketch*… (CUP, 1936), 15.
[51] Monro, review of *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1 (1880), *The Academy* 454 (15 Jan. 1881), 38-9.

phenomena on the same level, rather than choose out this or that portion as especially worthy of study'. All these ideas are distinctively modern; and their influence may be seen in the province marked out by the new *Renaissance*. That province is not classical antiquity, or even antiquity as a whole; it is best described by the word 'Hellenism' – Hellenism of every period and in every exhibition of its spirit. And the success which has so far attended the movement is due, not merely to the literary *prestige* of 'Hellenic Studies', but still more to the consciousness that what they offer is in a supreme degree the conditions of scientific interest.' What Monro identified was a movement away from the longstanding use of classical antiquity as a timeless exemplar of value. Timelessness was undercut by the new emphasis on development; exemplary value was marginalised by the scientific spirit which regarded facts as primary. Fifth century Athens would no longer be an exclusive subject of study, but a brilliant epoch which was part of a longer history.

Three years later, in 1884, the Cambridge classical scholar Arthur Tilley published an article on 'The development of classical learning' in which he described the passing of a long-established tradition of scholarship:

> The old type of 'scholarship', the name by which we have been accustomed to honour 'a minute acquaintance with the niceties of two dead languages', is rapidly falling away from us. No longer is the skilful emendation of a Greek play the royal road to a bishopric; no longer do grave statesmen and men of learning beguile their leisure moments with doing Humpty Dumpty into Latin verse; a classical quotation in the house of Commons is almost an event; a false quantity there falls on unheeding ears. Yet, on the other hand, we have Greek plays, and museums of casts from ancient sculptures, and Hellenic societies; and Professor Jebb says that 'probably the study of classical

> antiquity in the largest sense has never been more really vigorous than it is in the present day'.[52]

The 'scholarship' Tilley refers to is the practice of Porson and his followers. This did indeed still have a few practitioners, and some can be identified in more recent times. In his history of classical scholarship, Wilamowitz ends his account of English scholarship with a mention of Dobree and Elmsley, but in his introduction to the English translation, the Oxford classical scholar Hugh Lloyd-Jones, with the charm and sympathy for which he was celebrated, had this to say: 'At Cambridge the Porsonian tradition kept up a kind of life, like that of a decapitated snake'. [p.xxi] Looking around this room now, I think I can see a piece of the headless body quivering gently on the tiles.

Who was 'Professor Jebb', mentioned by Tilley, who appears to need no introduction? The Greek scholar Richard Jebb was the most celebrated classical scholar of late Victorian England, famous for his complete edition of Sophocles, which brought him a knighthood in 1900. He was also MP for his university, and became the leading champion of the humanities in national and parliamentary debates; in 1905 he was awarded the Order of Merit. In a Romanes lecture he gave at Oxford in 1899, Jebb stated that:

---

[52] A. Tilley, 'The development of classical learning', *The National Review* 4.20 (1884), 163-76, at 163. The quotation is from Hartley Coleridge's life of Richard Bentley, in his *Lives of Illustrious Worthies of Yorkshire, &c* (Hull: J. Noble, 1835), 66. Tilley was referring to the Porsonian tradition of minute linguistic scholarship: see Stray, 'The rise and fall of Porsoniasm', *Cambridge Classical Journal* 53 (2007), 40-71. Bishopric: see A. Burns and C.A. Stray, 'The Greek-play bishop: polemic, prosopography and nineteenth-century prelates', *Historical Journal* 54.4 (2011), 1013-38. 'Humpty Dumpty' probably refers to Henry Drury, editor of *Arundines Cami*, in which he included his own Latin elegiac version of the rhyme (Drury 1841, 110-11). Greek plays were produced from 1882 in Cambridge, which was also the home of a cast museum opened in 1884. Both plays and museum belong to the emergence of the supra-textual formation discussed above. Jebb is quoted from his life of Bentley (1882), 223-4.

> Within the last fifty years, many special branches of classical study have either sprung into existence, or become more methodical; comparative philology; epigraphy; palaeography; archaeology …. In quite recent times, the exploration of ancient sites … has yielded results of fascinating interest. All these developments have lent new life and freshness to classical studies generally; they have given a new reality to antiquity. The ideal of humanism has thus been reinforced in a manner which brings back to us something of the spirit of the Renaissance … For the enthusiasm of the Renaissance was nourished by the monuments of classical art scarcely less than by the masterpieces of classical literature. … But the very progress made in recent times has brought us to a point at which the larger aims of humanism become harder to harmonise with the new standards of special knowledge.[53]

Incidentally, Jebb was also, not long after his death in 1905, the target of pungent criticisms in Housman's lectures, criticisms which shocked some of the local dons. Some of you will know the splendid account of this by James Diggle.[54] Let me recall at this point Housman's reference to 'Europe, science and the past' in his Manilius preface. The late Victorians I've been quoting associated science with an amoral naturalism which was destructive of moral and aesthetic value, but for Housman, scholarship was a science, and its abandonment by English scholars a crime.

The specialisation I've referred to has had consequences for writing about Housman. Diggle is a distinguished classical scholar, indeed a carrier of the Housmanian flame, and owner of Housman's cap and pen. Similarly Andrew Gow, fellow of Trinity and friend and protégé of

---

[53] R.C. Jebb, *Essays and Studies* (CUP 1907), 524-5.

[54] J. Diggle, 'Housman's Greek', in P.J. Finglass et al (eds.) in *Hesperos: Studies in Ancient Greek Poetry Presented to M.L. West on his Seventieth Birthday,* 2007.

Housman, wrote his study of his mentor as an accomplished scholar. Others who have published studies of Housman have no such advantages. Norman Page solved the problem pragmatically by quoting at length from Gow's book. Peter Parker, in the preface to his book *Housman Country*, is able to avoid dealing with Housman's scholarship, and can thus declare with equanimity that 'There remain whole areas of Housman's life and work – notably his career as a classicist – that do not come into this book.' It was to counter the avoidance of this part of Housman's life that David Butterfield and I assembled our book on Housman as a classical scholar, which was published in 2009 and whose dust wrapper shows Housman's cap and pen displayed in his Trinity room.[55]

I'd like now to step back to gain perspective and consider the continental scene, especially that in Germany, the home ground of the new style of scholarship identified by Monro. The first years of the Hellenic Society coincided with the emergence in Germany of what Theodor Mommsen in 1890 was to call Grosswissenschaft, big scholarship. Wilamowitz had his own term for it, Dampfmachinewissenschaft, steam-engine scholarship – industrialised, we might say. This was the age of large-scale collaborative projects like the Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum, the Monumenta Germaniae Historica and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.[56] These enterprises, as Suzanne Marchand has shown in her book Down from Olympus,

---

[55] N. Page, *A.E. Housman: A Critical Biography* (Macmillan, 1983); P. Parker, *Housman Country: Into the Heart of England* (Farrar, Strauss & Giroux, 2012); D.J. Butterfield and C.A. Stray (eds.), *A.E. Housman, Classical Scholar* (Duckworth, 2009).

[56] These were the grand enterprises referred to by Wilamowitz in a letter to his friend Hermann Diels as 'DMWissenschaft', a term interpreted by the editors as Dis manibus wissenschaft. They had in mind the common use of DM on gravestones: dis manibus, a dedication to the spirits of the dead. The problem with that, of course, was it didn't make much sense. Much better sense was offered by Robert Fowler in a review of the edition (BMCR 97.3.13): Damfmaschinewissenschaft, steam-engine or industrial-scale scholarship,

involved specialisation and hierarchy, and thus the suppression of the individual personality whose cultivation lay at the heart of the older aesthetic ideal of Bildung or personal development – Bild meaning a picture. The new modern form of classical scholarship threatened to destroy the Humboldtian basis on which it had built. As Marchand remarks, 'If *Bildung* was about the cultivation of the individual personality, *Grosswissenschaft* was about its suppression'.[57]

Of the large-scale German scholarly projects I've just mentioned, it was the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* that impinged most directly on Housman's work. It was begun in 1894, and its staff are now working on the letters N and R, with completion of the alphabet predicted for 2050. The letter D had been reached in 1911, Housman's attack on its practices in his 1911 Cambridge inaugural concerned a word beginning with A, aelurus, a cat. The *Thesaurus* was based then, as it is today, in Munich: hence his reference to the ergastulum, the slave workshop, at Munich. It was here that the disappearance of the word from an authoritative edition of Juvenal led to the disappearance of the Juvenal reference in the article on the word 'aelurus' in the Thesaurus.

If Housman was severely critical of Grosswissenschaft, he was more than willing to acknowledge the merits of individual German scholars, especially in opposition to scholars whose judgment he distrusted. Just after the Great War, in 1919, J. S. Phillimore, Professor of Latin at Glasgow and a committed Francophile, delivered a scathing attack on German scholarship in a lecture at the annual conference of the Classical Association, and sent Housman a copy. In thanking him and offering some praise, Housman wrote that

> Some of your attacks on German scholarship have something of the intemperate zeal of the convert, like attacks on the Church of Rome by runaway monks. I should say that for the last 100 years individual German scholars have been the superiors in

---

[57] S. L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970* (Princeton UP, 1996), 75-115, at 76.

> genius as well as learning of all scholars outside Germany except Madvig and Cobet; and that the herd or group vices of the German school which you particularly reprehend took their rise from Sedan, and may be expected to decline after this second and greater Jena: though indeed they have already been declining since the early years of the century. [58]

Here is Housman's scheme of history again, with the Great War described as a second battle of Jena, in other words another defeat of Germany. The reference to runaway monks and the zeal of the convert is a wicked thrust: Housman must have known that Phillimore had converted to Catholicism in 1906. Incidentally it's intriguing that Housman's assessment effectively demotes his hero Munro.

Failures and absences

The failure of the Munich lexicographers and the consequent absence of a reference to Juvenal brings me back to the point about failures and absences that I made in connection with the *Bibliotheca Classica*, several of whose initially listed titles never appeared. When we look at Housman's life and work, what are the things that didn't happen? His most famous failure of course is that referred to in his application for the Cambridge chair of Latin in 1911: 'In 1881 I failed to obtain honours in the Final School of Literae Humaniores'. Less well-known, but familiar to you I'm sure, is the rejection of his edition of Propertius. The text on which he had had been working since 1879 was in 1885 rejected by both OUP and Macmillan. Having worked on the Press archives in Oxford, I can confirm that the Delegates of the University Press declined the book on 11 November 1885; Housman then offered it to Macmillan, who also declined it. The MS was destroyed by Gow after Housman's death.

Other absences in the historical record were due to Housman's own refusals. In 1919, he was asked to stand for election as Public Orator of

[58] Trinity College Library, Add. MS c.112/9 = A. Burnett (ed.), *The Letters of A.E. Housman* (OUP, 2007), 1.422.

the University, on the retirement of Sir John Sandys after 43 years in the post. It was a matter of pride for members of a college to vote for their candidate for such high offices; Sandys was a Johnian, and here was a chance to replace him with a Trinity man. Previous elections had led to the putting on of special trains to carry loyal supporters to Cambridge to vote. Housman was a loyal college man, but was unwilling to take on a job that involved a lot of composition of speeches to order and at short notice. The post went to another Johnian, and since then has never been held by a Trinity man. The word 'public' was removed from the title in 1926; it simply meant that the Orator was a university and not a college official. (Similarly the University Library was known in the nineteenth century as the Public Library.)[59]

Another request Housman refused also related to composition to order and at short notice: in 1926, when the Trinity Latinist John Percival Postgate died, he was asked to provide an obituary for the Times. The two men had clashed on several occasions, though their mutual respect was considerable, and it would have been very good to be able to read Housman on Postgate. This refusal is not I think generally known about: I only discovered it earlier this month, after tracking down the autobiography of the man who did write the obituary. [60]

In 1912, the vice-principal of Newnham College, Blanche Athena Clough, wrote to Housman offering election to the college council. He declined election with the words, 'I am an enemy: not indeed to the existence of Newnham or of colleges for women, but to their existence in the neighbourhood of ancient and monastic Universities, and to the

---

[59] Trinity College Library, Add. ms c.112/10 = Burnett, *Letters,* 1.426-7.
[60] The obituary was provided by J.A. Nairn, sometime headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School and later author of Nairn's Classical Hand-List, who mentions Housman's refusal in his autobiography *Threaded beads of memory* (1954), 14. I know of one copy in the UK (private collection, copy mislaid) and one in the US (University of Kansas Library, whose staff kindly sent me a scan of the text).

rivalry of young men and maidens in study and examinations.'[61] Women, though technically not members of the University, had been examined since the 1870s by supportive male dons who also went to Girton and Newnham to teach and opened their lectures to women. The women's examination results were printed separately in the university calendar to avoid embarrassing comparisons, but the time came when it was evident that women had scored higher than men in some examinations: Agnata Ramsay in the Classical Tripos in 1887; Philippa Fawcett in the Mathematical Tripos three years later. You'll have noted Housman's archaic language: monastic, maiden: he wrote as if from the middle ages. Other fellows of Trinity had been strong supporters of Newnham, and Housman's predecessor in the Latin chair J.E.B. Mayor of St John's likewise. Housman having held the chair at UCL, where he had to lecture to mixed audiences, Newnham must have thought he might be sympathetic. They didn't know their man.

In the peroration of his inaugural, Housman urged his audience to 'think more of the dead than of the living'. Trinity College was in fact the original home of the Society for Psychical Research, founded in 1882; the founders, Henry Sidgwick, Frederic Myers and Edmund Gurney were all fellows. They thought a lot about the dead, and at times tried to make contact with them. What has this to with Housman? In 1959 Charlie Broad, a Trinity psychologist who was familiar with psychical research, sent Gow a note recording a meeting between Housman and Margaret Verrall, wife of the Trinity classicist Arthur Verrall and a keen student of the paranormal, in May 1912. This was the year after Housman's arrival here. Margaret Verrall's record of the meeting mentioned 'Mr Winstanley' and the word 'tilt'. Denys Winstanley was a young fellow of the college, but the word tilt suggested that they had tried table-tilting, a procedure aimed at producing messages from the dead. Gow was dismissive, being confident that Housman would have been very sceptical about such procedures. My own guess is that the two men paid a social call on the Verralls at their home in Selwyn

---

[61] Quoted in G. Sutherland, *Faith, duty and the power of mind* (CUP, 2006), 188.

Gardens, just across the river from Trinity, and that the tilting was done at Mrs Verrall's initiative.[62]

I end with a third case of Housman being refused: the rejection of his article on pornography in Latin texts, Praefanda, written in Latin. In 1931 he sent this to the *Classical Quarterly*, whose editorial board minutes show that the article was voted down, though narrowly. When the embarrassed editor Reginald Hackforth gave Housman the news, he replied, "Dear Hackforth, The average Englishman is a sexual monomaniac; and if you and I have escaped the taint we may be thankful…" [63] The article was later accepted by a German classical journal.

This curious incident brings us back to some of the themes I've already touched on. Housman's use of Latin was very unusual, at a time when the everyday use of the language, even in academic settings, survived only in the ritual speech of formal occasions, as by the Orator – the role Housman had refused to take. In the early 1870s the vice chancellor of Cambridge had delivered his annual report to the Senate in English instead of the traditional Latin: he was hissed. It is significant that he made the attempt, presumably because his Latin was not up the task that faced him. The fact that Praefanda was published in Latin in a German periodical also brings us back to the fellowship of nations, the fellowship which Housman accused Victorian scholars of having abandoned in his *Manilius* in 1903, and which we are all of us in danger of leaving at the end of this month.[64]

---

[62] Trinity College Library, Broad papers, letter of 15 May 1959.
[63] Housman to Hackforth, 12 March 1931.Trinity College Library, Add. MS c.112/42 = Burnett, *Letters*, 2.237.
[64] This final sentence was delivered in October 2019, when Brexit was threatened for the end of that month; it is now committed to print in January 2020, when Britain's departure from Europe is guaranteed for the end of this month.

Biographies of Contributors

Alan Brisbourne is a retired teacher living in Much Wenlock. He is a keen student of all matters relating to South Shropshire and is a historian of and guide to Church Stretton.

Julian Hunt is the younger son of Joseph Hunt, co-founder of the Housman Society. He was educated at King Edward's Five Ways School. Birmingham and joined the staff of Birmingham Reference Library in 1968. His first book. *Arriving at Dinas Mawddwy*, dealing with the impact of an English landlord on a Welsh village, was published in 1973. In 1976, he became Local Studies Librarian for Oldham in Lancashire. He moved to Buckinghamshire County Library in 1988 and has written several histories of Buckinghamshire towns. He published his first Worcestershire book, a *History of Halesowen*, in 2004 and is now working on a history ol Bromsgrove.

Dr Christopher Stray has been an honorary research fellow in the Department of Classics at Swansea University since 1988. He has also held visiting fellowships at the universities of Cambridge, London and Yale, and at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. He has published on the history and sociology of classical teaching and scholarship, examinations, textbooks and institutional slang. His books include *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities, and Society in England 1830-1960* (1998) and *A. E. Housman: Classical Scholar*, edited with David Butterfield (2009). He is currently working on chapters for a 3-volume history of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The Housman Society and Journal

MEMBERSHIP

The Housman Society was founded in 1973, its main purpose being to bring together all those interested in the lives and works of the Housman family and to generate interest in literature and poetry. The subscription year starts on 1 May and the current annual subscriptions are:

Single Membership (UK)	£15.00
Double Membership (UK)	£17.50*
Single Membership – under age 23	£5.00
Overseas Single Membership	£20.00
Overseas Double Membership	£25.00*

* Carries voting rights and gives tickets for events at members' rates to both parties, but one set of correspondence and one Journal is sent to one address.

Members are encouraged to pay their annual subscriptions by Banker's Order and sign a Gift Aid declaration. All membership correspondence should be addressed to the Treasurer, Richard Aust, 31 Meadow Road, Catshill, Bromsgrove B61 0JJ e-mail: richardaust4@gmail.com

THE JOURNAL

The Journal, which is published annually and sent free to members, exists for the publication of critical researches related to the poetry, prose and classical scholarship of A.E. Housman and the works of other members of his family, and for the review of books concerned with the same. It also exists for the publication of documentary evidence relating to the family. The 2020 Journal will be published in December of that year. Articles intended for publication, or books for review, should be sent to the Secretary If possible please send as an attachment to an e- mail, preferably in Microsoft Word, to maxhunt468@gmail.com

All quotations in articles intended for publication must be cleared for copyright, and copies of letters of clearance submitted with articles. There is a

note of guidance about this under *Notes for Contributors*. The Society acknowledges the help it has received from the Society of Authors.

The Journal is on sale to the public at £15.00 in the UK and £20.00 overseas. All these prices include postage and packing, surface mail in the case of overseas orders. For copies please contact Max Hunt, 7 Dowles Road, Bewdley, Worcestershire DY12 2EJ.

OVERSEAS REMITTANCES

Payments may be made to The Housman Society by going to the Paypal account using the Secretary's e-mail address: maxhunt468@gmail.com Otherwise payment is possible by sterling drafts or money orders, but as exchange costs levied on other currencies are high, £6.00 should be added to all prices quoted before calculating the non-sterling equivalent.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Those submitting articles for publication should observe the following conventions:

Articles submitted for the Journal are much preferred in digital form in Microsoft Word format using Times New Roman font 11 point for the body and double-spaced throughout and ideally as camera-ready copy sized to A5 with narrow margins. Articles should be sent either as an attachment to the editor's e-mail address or as a file on a CD-Rom to the editor's postal address (as above). If submission is only possible in hard copy, articles must be typed, double-spaced and paginated. ltalic, which should be employed for titles of books and articles, and for quotations and words in languages other than English, is indicated in typescript only by underlining. Please use italics in digital files. Quotations from other languages, from whatever source, should be enclosed within single inverted commas; quotations should be enclosed within double inverted commas. Greek quotations may be included in articles, if submitted digitally. Contributors are asked to state the Greek font they have used; if in hard copy, Greek should be written clearly by hand.

Lines of poetry quoted within a sentence should be indicated by the siglum |: e.g., I to my perils | Of cheat and charmer | Came clad in armour | by stars benign.
Numbers of poems, where appropriate, should be in upper case Roman numerals: e.g., ASL II (not ASL ii). Authors are reminded that the Editor reserves the right to edit and his or her decision is final.

COPYRIGHT

All material submitted for publication must be fully cleared, and accompanied by copies of the correspondence giving proof of this. These notes may be of help to intending contributors.

l. A.E. Housman

Copyright in the author's poems expired in 2006 but any queries regarding the writings of A.E. Housman should be addressed to his estate which is represented by the Society of Authors, 84 Drayton Gardens, London SW10 9SB www.societyofauthors.org. Works published during Housman's lifetime are now in the public domain in most parts of the world (though some material in this category remains protected in the USA). Other categories of work including all unpublished and certain posthumously published material remains fully protected by copyright, and permission to quote from such material must be sought from the Society of Authors and permissions fees paid if appropriate. Attention is drawn to the ownership of letters.

The physical material of a letter by A.E. Housman is owned by the recipient, his/her heirs or anyone to whom the letter may have been sold (e.g. a university or library). Copyright in the content of the letter however belongs to the A.E. Housman estate and the ownership of an unpublished A.E. Housman letter does not confer the right to publish it in whole or part. These notes are intended to give an outline of the situation only. Advice on the copyright status of specific works and general guidance on copyright matters in A.E. Housman's work should be sought from the Society of Authors, tel. 020 7370 9808, email: estates@,societyofauthors.org.

2. Clemence Housman

The literary executor until her death in 1984 was Ethel Mannin. The Society still has no information about who is now the lawful owner of the copyright of Clemence Housman.

3. Katharine E. Symons (nee Housman)
The copyright of her writing is owned by The Housman Society.

4. Laurence Housman

The copyright of his writing is owned by Random House UK Ltd., 20 Vauxhall Bridge Road, London SWIV 2SA. Please note that letters to any of the owners of copyright should enclose a stamped addressed envelope or International Reply Coupons if posted from abroad.

THE HOUSMAN SOCIETY JOURNAL 2019

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior permission of the Housman Society. The views expressed in this Journal are the views of the authors and not necessarily those of The Housman Society or the Editor.

THE SOCIETY'S WEBSITE
The Hypertext
Housman

The Society's website address usually comes up at the top of the list if "Housman Society" is typed into Google. The actual address is www.housman-society.co.uk and recent Newsletters and Journals are now available to view on the site or download. Andrew Maund's Hypertext - A Shropshire Lad Annotated - is available from the home page by clicking on "The Hypertext Housman" which is in a box under the heading "NEW".