The Housman Society Journal

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The Housman Society

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Chairman's Notes 2013

This year has marked the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Society so it is appropriate to repeat the announcement in *The Times Literary Supplement* of 5th December 1972, which was quoted by Joe Hunt's elder son Max, when he told the story of the early days of The Society in the last Newsletter.

> It has been decided to found a Housman Society, preferably based on Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, the birthplace of the brothers A. E. and Laurence and their novelist, engraver sister Clemence. Its object will be research into the life, work and genealogy of the Housman family. It would seek to found its own Journal and to collate and publish research done on the lives and work of the Housmans. Would any person interested in joining the proposed Housman Society communicate with me so that in due course they may be advised of the date place and time of the inaugural meeting.

Max Hunt told of the extraordinary energy of the founders, Joe Hunt and John Pugh, who established the basis of the Society in a very short time. The Journal immediately set out the Society's academic credentials as the early issues contained articles from distinguished Housman scholars of the day, providing, as they did, an important resource for biographers of the future. Many dinners were organised at prestigious venues such as Trinity College, Cambridge, and St John's College, Oxford, where key speakers were very ready to contribute to the recognition of A. E. H as an iconic figure in both the classical and poetic worlds. Ludlow Commemorations began in 1977 and from the beginning had the support of the Town Council, whose retinue carried their incredibly valuable silver maces at the head of the procession through the town. In 1983 the first Chairman, John Pugh, led the campaign to erect a statue which would be the focal point in the pedestrianisation of Bromsgrove's High Street. £22,000 seemed a formidable sum to raise in

those days but with a generous donation from N. V. H. Symons and support from the District Council the target was reached, and on 22nd March 1985 the statue was unveiled by the Duke of Westminster.

John Pugh resigned shortly afterwards when he was appointed Traffic Commissioner for the West Midlands and Joe Hunt was elevated to President when he took on the onerous job of being Administrator of the Birmingham and Midland Institute. Other key people like Betty Barley (who ensured that Bromsgrove Library kept records of the Society's doings), Reg Stone and Kath Braithwaite had also departed from the scene and when I was elected Chairman in 1988 there were only two members of the old committee left – Geoffrey Hardy and Raymond Grove.

When new blood had been injected into the committee and we were established as a group we felt that a new direction was needed with more emphasis on discussion of A. E. H.'s poetry and classical scholarship. It was obvious that some new initiative was needed to keep the Society's profile high and increase membership, so we identified the centenary of the publication of *A Shropshire Lad* in 1996 as a real opportunity and appointed a sub-committee to drive it forward. I don't think we had fully realised how the media loves a centenary and a succession of carefully planned high profile events kept making news. Celebratory events at St John's College and University College London drew big audiences, as did the concert at Ludlow Parish church by the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra. Ludlow also hosted a literary weekend as well as the finals of the National Poetry Competition and a Shropshire Civic Service, and Bromsgrove saw a musical weekend of extraordinary diversity. But the climax came in September when a window was dedicated to A. E. H. in Westminster Abbey's Poets' Corner and no one there will forget the contributions of the Dean, the Very Reverend Michael Mayne, Enoch Powell, Alan Bennett or Ian Bostridge – or indeed the reception afterwards in the House of Commons.

We had anticipated a quiet period after that memorable year but to everyone's amazement in 1997 Tom Stoppard produced his play *The Invention of Love*, based on the life of Housman, and the sell-out performances at the National Theatre kept the impetus going – especially as

it gave us an outlet for the books which we had published for the centenary year. Robin Shaw had written his invaluable *Housman's Places*, and Jeremy Bourne contributed *The Westerly Wanderer*, undoubtedly the best short biography available. Roy Birch's *Unkind to Unicorns* was the best seller and led to a second edition to which Archie Burnett added his stamp of authority by agreeing to edit it. Further performances of *The Invention of Love* at Salisbury and student productions at Oxford and Cambridge kept the ball rolling.

Succeeding years have been more routine but a succession of new initiatives like *The Name and Nature of Poetry* Lecture at the Hay Festival of Literature, A Bromsgrove Birthday Commemoration, The Schools Poetry Speaking Competition, the Newsletter, the Greetings Cards (which have been a valuable source of extra income), the development of a website and a succession of triennial weekends – the last three of which were held in Housman Hall. Summer events have been diverse, including walks in 'Housman country' and visits to libraries with important Housman collections. Publication of books have continued, with Elizabeth Oakley's *Inseparable Siblings* being especially important because of its focus on Laurence and Clemence. Other notable titles have been *Three Bromsgrove Poets*, *Housman and Heine* and *Soldier, I Wish You Well*, *Three Bromsgrove Poets* and a reprint of Housman's 1933 lecture *The Name and Nature of Poetry*. All these are the result of dedicated work by members of our talented committee.

One unusual event this year has been the splendid restoration of the memorial to John Adams in Bromsgrove's cemetery. John Adams is an important figure in the Housman story but the reasons for him coming to Bromsgrove have always been somewhat sketchy. John Pugh, in his 1974 book *Bromsgrove and the Housmans,* reckoned that he came in 1819 but Joe Hunt's younger son, Julian, has done some valuable research which reveals that he actually came to Bromsgrove much earlier. John Adams was born in Ashby de la Zouch in 1766 and it was in Leicester in 1788 that his sister, Jane, met and married Robert Housman, then a young clergyman from Lancaster. Adams worked for one of the progressive hosiers in Leicester and

with industrial disturbances rife there he was sent to Bromsgrove in 1792 to manage the spinning frames in Bromsgrove's former cotton mill. There was no opposition in Bromsgrove to the new machinery and the mill was to employ 150 men, women and children, making John Adams the largest employer in the town. He lived at Perry Hall (which now, as Housman Hall, is a sixth form boarding house for Bromsgrove School). When his first wife Dorothy and infant son died in 1796, John Adams, known as Captain Adams because of his role with the Bromsgrove Volunteers, was left without an heir, so he promoted the careers of his sister Jane's three sons. The youngest, Thomas Housman, became the first Vicar of Catshill in 1838 and when John Adams died 20 years later, the Rev. Thomas Housman's son, Edward, by this time a Bromsgrove solicitor, moved into Perry Hall. It was here of course that Edward Housman's son, A. E. H., grew up. John Adams was buried in Bromsgrove's new cemetery on 14th January 1858 and the fine cross, commissioned by his nephew, the Reverend Thomas Housman, and Dr Collis, Headmaster of Bromsgrove School, was erected as a memorial to him.

Commemoration of Housman's birthday in Bromsgrove this year saw our Vice President Robin Shaw as the guest of the day and after the Ludlow Commemoration Jane Caulcott led us on a most individual walk which took us into all sorts of nooks and crannies that were new to most of us.

The Schools Poetry Reading Competition in November saw keen competition and North Bromsgrove High School's run of five successive winners of the Housman Cup was broken by an outstanding performance from a Bromsgrove School Fifth Former, Emily Collie.

Our sponsored lecture at Hay on *The Name and Nature of Poetry* was another very successful one because hearing Wales' premier woman poet, Gillian Clarke, on the subject was most thought provoking and the lecture delighted the large audience who were present. Gillian Clarke broadened the discussion of poetry that lies at the heart of the lecture's title by introducing the idea of 'A Company of Poets', and we are delighted to be able to reprint her lecture later in these pages.

The summer event in July, on what must have been the hottest day

of the year, saw members climb Bredon Hill where we read a favourite 'summer' poem on the summit. The success of this day however was based on the generosity of members Maurice and Beverley Juggins, who live on the Bredon side of the hill, as they invited us to eat our picnic lunches in their garden and provided a refreshing tea after the taxing ascent.

My 25 year retrospective earlier in these Notes gives me the chance to pay tribute to past and present members of the committee who have enabled the Society to continue its success. Alan Holden, Robin Shaw (with much input from his wife Kate, who now bears the onerous task of being Membership Secretary), Jennie McGregor-Smith and Elizabeth Oakley were there from the start, and over the next five years we were strengthened by the addition of Paul Tay, Christopher Page, Valerie Richardson, Roy Birch, Jeremy Bourne and Dieter Baer. Andrew Maund joined in 1994, Tom French in 1997, Stephen de Winton, Ray Bloomfield and Stuart Hopkins in 1998. David Butterfield, Ann FitzGerald, Sonia French, Kate Linehan, Peter Sisley and Diane Sisley are other names that resonate in the last decade and my thanks go to them all, both for their creative and administrative input.

Jim Page

The Housman Lecture: May 2013
The Company of Poets

by

Gillian Clarke

I am calling this talk 'The Company of Poets', because I believe that the work of a poet, dead or alive, can keep us company in a way no other kind of literature can. All good writing influences our way of thought, of looking at the world, but a poem can stay in the mind whole, word for word, like no other literature. Poetry remains in the memory more readily than prose because it came into being before literacy, as word-music, as song, as something spoken aloud, memorised and passed on. And just as our sixth-century ancestors heard and remembered poetry and passed it down the generations centuries before monks in their scriptoria recorded what they heard onto the page, so we too when we were children began by listening and repeating what we heard. As a child I heard songs, lullabies, nursery rhymes, the work of poets like Walter de la Mare, A.A. Milne, and many others. I still hear the beat and the rhyme, still remember lines, verses, whole poems from my own childhood. Then there are poets like Emily Dickinson, Emily Bronte, Christina Rossetti, Tennyson, Keats , Shelley, and Shakespeare, whose poems or parts of poems are often included in children's anthologies. Gathering words, or lines of verse, into memory begins early. It comes with listening, remembering out loud, then, later, reading, and those poets' words learned as we read, listen, live and observe, fall into step with us, become part of our syntax, enter our thought patterns, become part of our way of thinking right from the start, where human language, word by word, begins. So does the poet keep us company. One good word can be a pleasure, to finger like a pebble in your pocket, to tongue like a sweet. A few words together can be music, a sound to remember. A rhyme. A poem.

On the drive from Ceredigion to Hay, there comes a moment where the road rises over a brow and we catch the first distant sight of Pen-y-Fan, that most distinctive peak in the Brecon Beacons, and at once A.E.

Housman is beside me, speaking four familiar words in my ear: 'those blue remembered hills.'

> What are those blue remembered hills
> What spires, what farms are those?

A four beat line followed by a three beat line. Traditional in sound, reflective in mood. The hills are now too far for Housman to reach. 'That is the land of lost content,' he says, and it 'cannot come again.' They stand for lost childhood, his vanished youth. What stay with the reader are those four words, real and imagined horizons of distant hills, the Black Mountains above Hay, the Shropshire hills or the uplands of Brecon and Radnorshire seen from the train travelling the border. But in Housman's poem the hills are layered not only with veils of distance but with time and loss, the nuanced beauty of mountains and melancholy contained in the rhythm of those few words. This means we see all distant hills tinged with his loss. His are the right words in the right order. Try paraphrasing it, or reversing 'blue' and 'remembered', and it is not poetry. It is not memorable. It is the poet's ear for the beat that matters, the phrase-music that makes the exact sequence of words stay in the memory, as word arrangements in other literary forms, however perfect their syntax, rarely do. The pleasure of beautiful prose is in the reading and re-reading of it, reader and writer travelling the prose together, then the complexity, the developing after-taste, like good wine. Poetry is different. If it lives for us we remember it in lines, verses, either fragments, or whole poems, because it is music. This is how the dead poets keep us company.

Keats has been talking to me since my childhood when my mother read me a few lines of his verse from a children's anthology of the four seasons, long before I studied his work for my A-Level English exam. Keats is eloquent about bitter cold, so there has hardly been a silent moment from him these past few winters of ice and snow. I recall these lines about winter from that child's anthology:

St Agnes Eve – Ah, bitter chill it was!
The owl, for all his feathers, was a-cold.
The hare limp'd trembling through the frozen grass,
And silent was the flock in woolly fold.

I loved those lines, and I still do. 'The owl for all his feathers was a-cold', and 'The hare limp'd trembling through the frozen grass.' They made me shiver with excitement as well as cold. Then I hear Christina Rossetti speak her beautiful lines about winter, 'Earth stood hard as iron, | water like a stone,| ... in the bleak mid-winter, | long ago.' Because of the preceding lines of that poem, even the common phrase 'long ago' is woken from its ordinariness to move us again, conjuring as it does that 'long ago' of another century, as if we move through a door in time to live that winter in its silence before cars, before electricity.

Such enlightenment is what poetry is for. That is why great poetry leaves its music in the mind, especially in the mind of a child, unfolding the thrill of its mystery and meaning slowly, over a lifetime. Coleridge joins the wintry conversation with 'Frost at Midnight':

The Frost performs its secret ministry,
Unhelped by any wind. The owlet's cry
Came loud - and hark, again! loud as before.
The inmates of my cottage, all at rest,
Have left me to that solitude.

And how solitary, how still and silent it is, the poet with his pen, his sheet of paper, his sleeping child in its cradle beside him, the fire burnt low, and outside the cry of an owl, and the frost performing its secret ministry. I must have heard those lines as a child, because it is winter in my first childhood bedroom that I associate with the image of the window panes of our unheated rooms etched with ferns and flowers, frost's 'secret ministries'.

Now, in spring, when the chestnut opens its first leaf, it is Larkin who murmurs in my ear:

> The trees are coming into leaf,
> like something almost being said.

This April, when instead of April showers, bitter winds drove snow from the north, no grass grew, when 'earth stood hard as iron, water like a stone', and in the hills countless pregnant ewes and new-born lambs died of cold, starvation or snowdrift suffocation, it was the voice of T.S. Eliot warning me that 'April is the cruellest month'. The complete verse says something more ambiguous, more personal maybe:

> April is the cruellest month breeding
> Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
> Memory and desire, stirring
> Dull roots with spring rain

In April 2013 nothing stirred, and nothing came out of the dead land in the coldest spring we could remember. Dylan Thomas recalls a warmer awakening, as a child at his grandparents' house, Fern Hill:

> and the farm, like a wanderer white
> With the dew, come back, the cock on its shoulder.

And I hear his striking lines whenever a red kite flaunts itself over our garden. He watches a bird of prey:

Over Sir John's hill,
The hawk on fire hangs still;
In a hoisted cloud, at drop of dusk, he pulls to his claws
And gallows, up the rays of his eyes the small birds of the bay.

Surely Thomas's hawk was influenced by Gerard Manley Hopkins' poem, 'The Windhover'.

Caught this morning morning's minion, king-
dom of daylight's dauphin, dapple-dawn-drawn falcon in his riding
Of the rolling level underneath him steady air, and striding
High there, how he rung upon the rein of a wimpling wing
In his ecstasy!

In contrast, R. S. Thomas is more measured. In this poem, syntax and metaphor are quietly exact:

The Cat and the Sea

It is a matter of a black cat
On a bare cliff top in March
Whose eyes anticipate
The gorse petals;

The formal equation of
A domestic purr
With the cold interiors
Of the sea's mirror.

‘October is marigold,’ Ted Hughes reminds me every autumn, and the rest follows, flowing fluent into my mind:

October is marigold, and yet
A glass half full of wine left out

To the dark heaven all night, by dawn
Has dreamed a premonition

Of ice across its eye as if
The ice-age had begun to heave,

until

plate and rivet on pond and brook;
Then tons of chain and massive lock

To hold rivers.

Robert Minhinnick watches a dolphin swimming

through the grey wall slow to fall in rubble,
through the white wall it has mined yet flies above.

Carol Ann Duffy, hearing a train at night, brings us this perfect metaphor,

the distant Latin chanting of a train.

To all these poets I say Yes. Yes. Yes. And I want to add my observations to theirs, to listen and to work out how a few words conjured an image from thin air, to fathom the nuances of the trick. And conjuring it is, because poetry is a kind of magic, a spell to make a few words bring a reader in to the conversation, to join the company of poets.

A year or so ago, while musing on the wonders of email, the mysteries of time and space, of past, present, future, and trying to guess where technology might go next, I had a fantasy that one day we will be able to talk back to the dead. We human beings have still not satisfactorily explained Time. I struggle with 'String Theory'. As soon as I grasp it, it wriggles away, tangles into knots, and I am lost again, as I was with quadratic equations long ago in school. One thing I am sure about is that time is not a straight road out there in the universe running somewhere between the Big Bang and nothing, with an abrupt beginning and, one day, a sudden end. What would a sudden end be? A precipice? A blackout? An explosion? A road-block? No wonder humans have mythologised such a moment into flood or fire. No wonder that, as a child, I kept myself awake with the thought of 'Forever and ever and ever', or the terrifying question, 'Who made God?' So, in the hope that all time, past, present and future, might in fact be simultaneous, and therefore somehow crossable, I thought I would write a message to one of my favourite dead poets. I take issue with Keats about his objection to science explaining the rainbow. It waits in the 'sending' box of my MacBook. The T in the title stands for Time. '*A T-Mail to John Keats'*

Dear John Keats,

I write to suggest that poets never die.
The old poetry drums in the living tongue,
phrase and image like bright stones in the stream
of common speech, its cadences a beat
that resonates as long as language lives.

I want to talk with you of the new nature,
of your grief at science for *unweaving the rainbow.*
But listen to the poetry of light,
the seven colours of coronas, glories, haloes,
how no two people see the same rainbow.

Oh, soon may science solve time's mystery!
Already words can take flight from our hands
over land and continents and seas,
with the small sigh of a shooting star.
If words can cross space, why not time?

In hope, I send this message into space.
May we meet over a verse, a glass
or two of the *blushful Hippocrene,*
a draught of vintage that hath been
cooled a long age in the deep-delved earth
in the ice-house of our refrigerator.

In esteem

GC

Keats is also good at the pleasures of spring, the nightingale in a wood, warm days, autumn ripeness. He is with me if I lie sleepless, seeing how many of the eight, ten-line verses of Ode to a Nightingale I can remember before I drop off,

Not charioted by Bacchus and his pards,
But on the viewless wings of Poesy.

And still, after all these years, as I typed out those lines I realised I had never understood the word ‘pard’, and I acknowledge that the not-quite-understood is part of the allure of poetry for me. In the interests of learning, and at the risk of a small personal loss, I looked up the word. It is not listed in Chambers Dictionary, but further investigation reveals it to mean ‘leopard’. Is the magic lost in that discovery? Not at all! I kept it secret from myself long enough to relish its physical quality of sound and taste. By now, understanding is a gift, and the leopard gives the phrase energy, beauty, danger. I recall my daughter, reading aloud from a children’s anthology, relishing:

I’m in love with the janitor’s boy and he’s in love with me,

not knowing, and not wanting to know, just yet, the meaning of ‘janitor’. ‘Don’t tell me! It’s my favourite word!’ I remember loving the sound and subversion of:

Girls and boys come out to play
The moon doth shine as bright as day.
Come with a whoop, and come with a call,
Come with a good will or come not at all
Leave your supper and leave your sleep.
And join your playfellows in the street.
Up the ladder and down the wall
A penny loaf will serve us all.

What did it mean? What were those strange words, 'doth', 'playfellows'? And is it a 'whoop' or a 'hoop', a cry or a toy? I didn't ask. I didn't want the joy of it spoilt too soon by a lesson. The key is, understanding, but not yet. Let mystery lie in the cadence for a while, let it be as abstract as music, let it sink into memory, let it first become part of the body's rhythms. This is how Welsh was to me as a child, the language my mother would not let me speak, the forbidden tongue, my father's words, his last words to me before he died, '*Hwyl fawr, Fach*.' My grandmother's words, calling me, *Cariad,* or, on her lap, *fy Nghariad i*. This is how we learn the meanings of words before the intellect steps in. Let language happen to us, early. Let poetry sing to us as soon as we are born, before there is intellect, when there is only the body. Let words and their meanings open slowly in the child's mind flowering to full understanding through living and loving them. Poetry is a physical sensation. Writing poetry is informed by the breath, pulse, heartbeat, gait, of the poet, your feet in the track. Many poets talk of walking a poem into being. Alice Oswald, Jean Sprackland, and others, have spoken of poetry coming to them as they walk. And, indeed, Wordsworth. The message is, do something physical, and a poem will come to mind.

Words deepen as we live them, gaining nuance with experience, until they have not just definition, but real meaning. Let children be protected from those who want them to learn lists of words. I believe it is David Crystal who points out that the learnt list is as quickly lost, and more words are learned in a day playing out in the street than from any parroted catalogue.

The language we speak is full of what the poets have given to it. Fragments of poetry lie in the spoken tongue, informing the way we think. Those shining bits of poems, gold coins preserved in the deep earth of language, lines of chance iambic pentameter, phrases of Shakespeare, Donne, Keats, Wordsworth, Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, of R.S. and Dylan Thomas, Hughes, Plath, Duffy, are part of our common speech. People who never read a poem quote poetry without any idea they are doing so. 'Hope springs eternal'; and a thousand other fragments that help us say a lot in a small phrase. They are stolen as titles for plays, films, novels. A few words appeared on a giant screen beside the M4: STRONG

WINDS… and at once my husband and I said aloud, 'Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May', all of its lovely iambic pentameter woken by a motorway warning. I wish I could persuade the Highways Department to change STRONG to ROUGH, but it carries a poem anyway.

Shakespeare is everywhere – all the world's a stage. 'A laughing stock', 'A sorry sight', 'Dead as a doornail', 'Eaten out of house and home', 'Fair play', 'Wear my heart upon my sleeve', 'In a pickle', 'In stitches', 'In the twinkling of an eye', 'Mum's the word', 'Neither here nor there', 'Send him packing', 'Set your teeth on edge', 'There's method in my madness', 'Too much of a good thing', 'Vanish into thin air' – all Shakespeare. Not all are jewels, most eventually become cliché, but thus have the poets made the language useful, and sometimes beautiful.

Why poetry? When did it begin? What was its purpose? In our own infancy, it begins with nursery rhymes. In the infancy of British culture the earliest poetry we know dates from the sixth century with Aneirin and Taliesin, the first named poets of these islands. The language they spoke and sang was Brythoneg, the British language, now known as Welsh. It was spoken throughout the island as far as the Highlands of what is now called Scotland. The oldest extant Welsh poem of all is *Y Gododdin*, carried down the centuries by word of mouth, by listening, and remembering, and eventually scribed into a manuscript in the middle ages. It was composed by the poet Aneirin somewhere between Northumbria and southern Scotland. Its subject is a great and tragic battle where all but three of the warriors from the Celtic tribe of the Gododdin were slaughtered by invaders.

Poetry was war reporting, news, history, myth, epic, praise and lament, memory and genealogy. Aneirin's repeated opening lines to a series of verses about those killed at the battle of the Gododdin, 'Gwyr aeth Catraeth' ('men went to Catraeth') are haunting and memorable; and in the common phrase from a poem by Taliesin, 'ar bore dydd Sadwrn', 'on Saturday morning', make me shiver whenever I find myself using it, which, of course, I often do. When shall we do the shopping? Ar bore dydd sadwrn. The most ordinary word sequence, common language to this day, moving in the context of a poem composed so long ago.

‘For God’s sake let us sit upon the ground’, says Shakespeare, in the voice of Richard II, ‘And tell sad stories of the deaths of kings.’ Such simple language. So ordinary. Its music lies in that simplicity and understatement, ‘And tell sad stories of the deaths of kings.’

In those early days before print, before literacy, poetry sung to the harp did its job as story, entertainment, epic, news, genealogy, history, the considering of mysteries, the praise of kings and leaders, gods and the heavens. It comforted the people, shored up the state. Stories too used poetic tricks to make them memorable. Repetition. Sound pattern. Number. The beat in a traditional story has much in common with poetry. Poetry is song. Words for ‘poem’, in both our languages, recognise this, words like *cân, cerdd,* lyric.

Long before literacy, by telling, listening and repeating, we passed on our humanity one to another through poetry. And so it is for all of us, how we first understood through those earliest singing words, as children, and as a nation, how our culture remembers its oldest stories. We walk, whether we know it or not, in the company of poets.

Housman Abroad

by

David McKie

From the time when easier financial circumstances and increased opportunity for leisure allowed, A.E. Housman became a regular and devoted traveller abroad. Much information about his journeys, from the earliest expeditions to Italy to his later deep concentration on France, is contained in his letters, and the appearance of Archie Burnett's indispensably complete edition[1] has made construction of a detailed account of Housman's travels no very hard task. That, however, is not the aim of this article, which is rather to take further, if possible, certain aspects of the topic and, as ever in Housman studies, to give consideration to misapprehensions already received, in the event that the fuller study of his time spent abroad should one day be written, or the existing accounts of his life be revised.

(i) Housman's dream-diary of 1932

In all the biography of A.E. Housman one matter of unfinished business stands out, unexpectedly and as yet obdurately pre-eminent: the significance of a list which survives in his hand from the visit he made to Paris in May and June 1932. To say that the interpretation initially – if in the event unwarrantably – placed on the list led to disbelief and, in near-equal measure, to a flurry of further related speculation would be no understatement. To say that the enduring legacy of the interpretation has been, in the absence of any ultimately attractive or acceptable alternative, one of puzzlement would be no more than a statement of current fact. It is the purpose of this first section to suggest ways in which that puzzlement may be reduced.

First, some statement of the evidence is needed.[2] What survive are three small pieces of beige card, slightly less than 4″ x 2½″ (98.5 x 63.5 mm) in size, used by Housman as bookmarks and found in one of the books from his library which were sold at Blackwell's after his death. All three contain writing by him in pencil. The first, Card 1,[3] contains the names, addresses, and regional speciality of two Parisian restaurants:

> Nine, 34 rue Victor Massé (Marseillais)
>
> Albert Galan, 36 Boulevard Henri IV (Bearnais)[4]

Either these details were prospective in the sense that they were restaurants which Housman intended to search out or, quite possibly, the card was to serve retrospectively as an *aide-memoire* when he came to write, two days after his return flight home, the final instalment of his running commentary consisting of no fewer than five letters or postcards to Grant Richards on the restaurants in Paris and its surrounds which he visited in the course of his sixteen-day stay in the capital. There,[5] in the closest possible agreement with Card 1 and with only the most minor of variations, the same details resurface:

> The chief discovery I made in Paris was a new Bearnais or Bordelais restaurant, Albert Galen,[6] 36 Boulevard Henri IV: very good and plentiful;... A tiny, crowded, rather plebeian restaurant, called 'Nine' after its proprietress, 34 rue Victor Massé, is Marseillais, and has the best bouillabaisse I have ever eaten outside Marseilles.
>
> 16 June 1932 Trin. Coll. Camb.

For Housman, apart from communicating his assessments, the most important thing was that Richards should be given accurate addresses[7] for use in his own visits to Paris, and the bookmark will have preserved these

until the postcard note was written on his return.

It so happens that in the case of one of these restaurants we know exactly when it was visited by Housman. For Card 2 is a list, patchy and incomplete (the reason for which we shall return to),[8] of the restaurants at which he lunched and dined over those days:

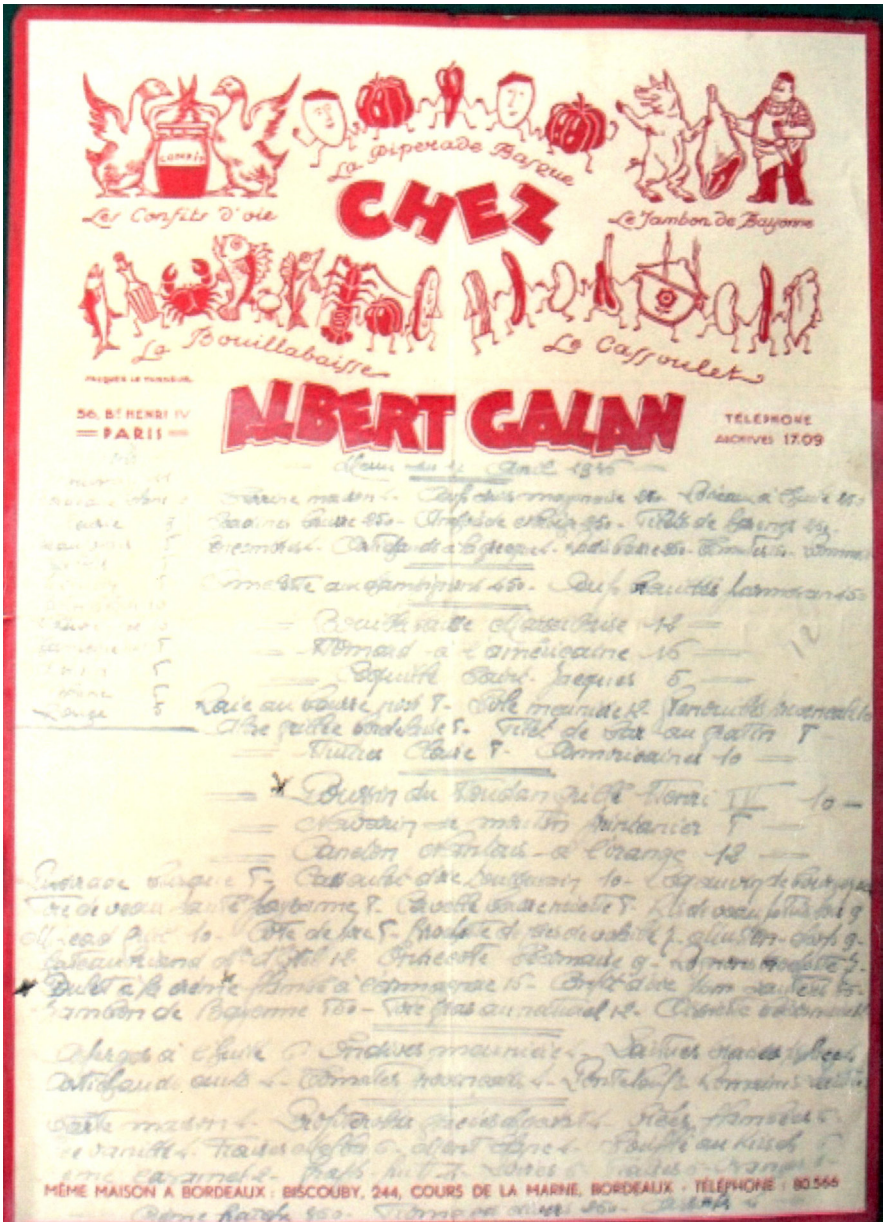
	Dej.	Din.
S.	Continental	Montmartre
M	-	Ecu de F.
Tu	-	? Beaugé
W	-	? Escargot
Th		
F	– Nine	
Sa		
Su		
M		
Tu		
W	Nine	Mon Pays
Th	S. Cloud	
F	Provins	
Sa	Jouy	Progrès
Su	Prunier	

The bouillabaisse at Nine would appear to have called for a second visit, and those two days may be listed in full as Friday 3 June and Wednesday 8 June. The fact is that Housman's 1932 visit to Paris is, with the sole exception of the famous 1927 tour of Burgundy and the Jura described in near-complete detail by Grant Richards,[9] the most minutely well-known of all Housman's trips abroad. For, by great good fortune there also survives the daily itinerary, the cumulative 'acompte', of his chauffeur company, listing the places travelled to, together with distances covered, from the time when Housman was collected at the airfield at Le Bourget on Sunday 29 May to when he was returned there again on the morning of Tuesday 14 June.[10] Thus on both Friday 3 June and Wednesday 8 June Housman is confirmed by the itinerary to have been in Paris during the earlier part of

ACOMPTE Mr. HOUSSMAN [sic]

:-

Sun.	Mai 29	Paris. Le Bourget. Paris Föret de Montmorency Föret de l'Isle-Adam et courses dans Paris	177 kms.
Mon.	30	Paris. Tournon. Coulommiers. Meaux. Paris et courses dans Paris	184 "
Tues.	31	Paris. Gisors. Paris et courses dans Paris.......	193 "
Wed.	Juin 1	Paris. Vanne-Rouge. Paris et cours dans Paris	197 "
Thurs.	2	Courses. Dîner à Marly................................	78 "
Fri.	3	Paris. Bicherel. Vallée de Chevreuse et courses dans Paris...	156 "
Sat.	4	Paris. Les Andelys. Paris et courses dans Paris	266 "
Sun.	5	Promenade au Bois et dîner au Tilleul...........	137 "
Mon.	6	Paris. Beauvais et courses dans Paris	195 "
Tue.	7	Paris, Föret de Senlis et de Chantilly et courses dans Paris..	178 "
Wed.	8	Paris, Föret de St. Germain, Paris. Bois de Verrières et de Meudon. Courses dans Paris...	151 "
Thurs.	9	Courses dans Paris et Pac de St. Cloud...........	79 "
Fri.	10	Paris. Provins et courses dans Paris	231 "
Sat.	11	Paris. Chartres par la Vallée de la Bièvre et de l'Eure. Dîner à Neuilly et promenade au Bois	294 "
Sun.	12	Föret de l'Isle-Adam et Promenade au Bois de Vincennes..	167 "
Mon.	13	Paris. Fontainebleau. Montereau et courses dans Paris	225 "
Tue.	14	Paris. Le Bourget	41 "
			2049 kms.

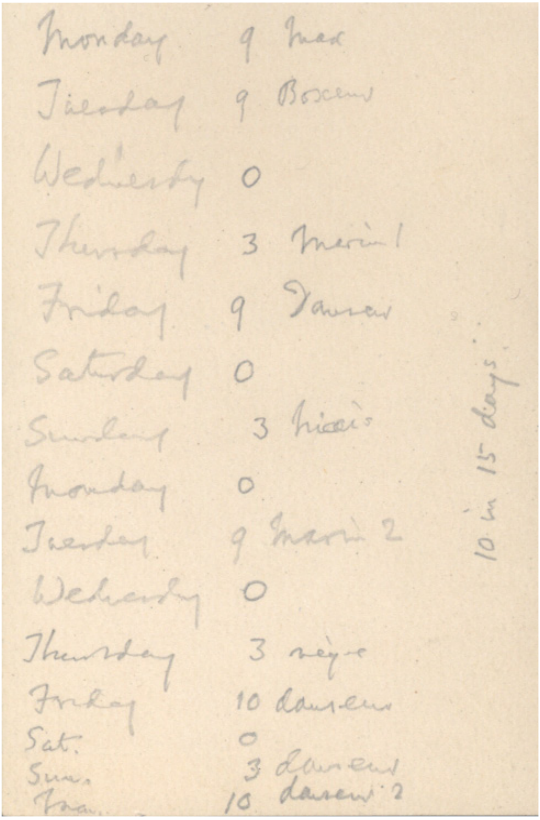


Albert Galan, menu of 17 April 1936.

the day without long excursions later. When Card 2 records lunch at St. Cloud on Thursday 9 June and at Provins on Friday 10 June, the itinerary duly shows him to have been in exactly those places.[11] Lunch at Jouy on Saturday 11 June is explained in the itinerary by the most far-flung excursion of all, to 'Chartres par la Vallée de la Bièvre et de l'Eure',[12] and Jouy, as Housman informs Richards,[13] 'a few miles this side of Chartres', contained at the time a simple but commendable restaurant preferable to those of the city itself. The importance of the itinerary is therefore considerable, and it is in fact no very difficult task virtually to complete in the light of its evidence the patchy information provided by Card 2 of Housman's progress through the restaurants of Paris and outlying areas, bringing into account the details of his letters to Richards of 31 May,[14] 3 June,[15] 10 June,[16] 12 June,[17] and, as seen above, the personal triumphs recorded on 16 June. The scenic drives and frequent entry 'promenade au bois' need, for Housman, no further explanation. The significance, however, of the 'courses dans Paris' with which so very many[18] of the daily entries in the itinerary conclude is something to which as a matter of importance we shall return later.[19]

At this point we are ready to turn to Card 3. Its contents are these:

Monday	9	Max	
Tuesday	9	Boxeur	
Wednesday	0		
Thursday	3	Marin 1	
Friday	9	Danseur	
Saturday	0		
Sunday	3	Nicois	10 in 15 days
Monday	0		
Tuesday	9	Marin 2	
Wednesday	0		
Thursday	3	nègre	
Friday	10	danseur	
Sat.	0		
Sun.	3	danseur	
Mon.	10	danseur 2	



Card 3 (original size)

The regularity of print obscures, as may be seen from the illustration,[20] aspects which will prove to be important of the naturally haphazard arrangement of a list accumulated by stages.

It is to the credit of R. P. Graves that, in the course of research for his biography of Housman, still the fullest in existence, he uncovered[21] in a private collection the cards which are of interest to us here.[22] Less creditable, however, was his hasty, and possibly captious, supposition – which may have been aided by a failure to recognise from the beginning quite how late a time in Housman's life the cards relate to – that the list in Card 3 refers

to Parisian male prostitutes with whom, at the rate of ten in fifteen days, Housman records his dealings and that the numbers represent the prices which he paid for their services. It is the signal merit of P.G. Naiditch[23] to have established beyond doubt both the date to which the cards refer and the impossibility that the numbers in Card 3 represent prices paid for such services.[24] Speculation has nevertheless proved irrepressible, and two views amongst the very many variations of Graves' theme which have found more favour than most are, first, that of D. R. Shackleton Bailey,[25] who saw the matter as 'part of some private game or fantasy, or a combination of both',[26] and, second, that of G.P. Goold,[27] who believed that Housman recorded, not his own sexual escapades, but, with some interest or amusement, those of the French companion of his holiday. Both of these, though they somewhat shift the ground, do not essentially alter the nature of the interpretation.

It is time to argue that Housman's recording of '10 in 15 days' does indeed refer to experiences relevant to himself, that the numbers do in fact represent scores, and that the subject-matter of the list is dreams, which Housman, curious at their recurrence, noted as they accumulated. What would of course be easy at this point, given the nature of speculation hitherto, is immediately to form the idea that these were erotic dreams. That is a notion which may in the end prove to be in some sense not wholly capable of exclusion. But a far more likely explanation, much closer-to-hand and more in keeping with the evidence, shows itself to be a good deal more innocent than that and perhaps even to border on the conventionally mundane.

For, amongst the others, what the boxer, the dancers (in all four of their appearances), the negro and the sailors have in common is that they are all figures of the music hall.

What, we may ask, after the daily walks and excursions, the lunches, the dinners back in (or close to) the centre of Paris, did Housman do with the rest of his evenings? Return to his hotel room to examine further the inadequacies of Mr Marx's commentary on the fragments of Lucilius? No, he was on holiday, and he will have done what he had always done when free to amuse himself in a capital city and visit his favoured form of evening light entertainment, the music-hall show, still thriving at the time and until

the onset of the second world war in the multiple halls, cafés, and small theatres of Paris. That is the significance of the repeated end-of-day 'courses dans Paris' listed in the itinerary: not, as may be imagined, agreeable motor-car rides to view the charm of busy streets in the lengthening evenings but more purposeful routes through the city – from hotel to restaurant, from restaurant to theatre, from theatre to hotel – the destinations each time varied in the pursuit of pleasure, visually and mentally diverting no less than gustatory.[28]

The dreams which Housman encountered, and noted as they occurred, will therefore belong to a particular type, those which are stimulated by the visual impact of performance, by colourful caricatures or fancifully made-up figures singing, dancing, or moving under bright light. Lucretius, in a well-known passage on dreams,[29] draws on common experience when he describes how our daily preoccupations return to visit us again at night and how, beyond others, the vivid images and movements of dancers[30] witnessed amongst the colours and light of the theatre remain etched on our minds over several days. Anyone, whether at home or on holiday, can have ten dreams in fifteen days and think no more of it, but ten dreams of a similar recurring type arising from visual stimulation known to have arisen shortly before sleep may well be thought worthy of noting, and that is the point – recorded by single-word captions, dreams being notoriously difficult to catalogue at length – of Housman's list. The significant fact remains that, whereas Housman had already (as his letter to his sister and the itinerary both confirm) had what counted as a full day of his holiday on Sunday 29 May, the list of entries in Card 3 does not begin until the next day, the first Monday, and then continues each day until the last full day, Monday 13 June. The entries, being dreams, belong in each case to the morning of the following day.

Alone on the list the single proper name 'Max' stands out. This too is without difficulty assigned to the theatrical orbit, as the name, a shortening familiar in the context, is well known to vaudeville[31] and as *compère*, *diseur*, *chanteur*,[32] or indeed any supporting act,[33] the performer would naturally appear on Housman's list under the name by which he was known to his audience.[34] Naturally also the list goes on to record the succeeding types of performer according to their descriptions in French.It

may be wondered what the act of the 'man from Nice',[35] seen in the middle of the list, entailed, but, unless a regularly stereotyped routine (or comic appearance) is at issue, this too may be actor-specific and now beyond our precise finding-out. The other entries are all, as has been seen, untroublingly generic in nature, and it will in particular be remembered for how very long the figure of the blacked-up white man, made especially famous in America, continued in song-and-dance acts, outliving even the demise of the music hall itself.[36]

What then of the system of scoring? What do the numbers have to tell us about the images recorded in the single-word descriptions? It was always a problem how, if the numbers represented an ascending scale of appreciation of services rendered, so few grades were used, and how, when accompanied by the absence of any description, the figure '0' could represent an assessment at all.[37] In the case of dreams, such difficulties are resolved: dreams involving a vivid or long-enduring image score highly, whereas dreams with slighter involvement score less, resulting in the use, in essence, as is in keeping with dreams, of only two scores, high or low.[38] Where no dream could be recalled, or, far more importantly, a dream did indeed occur[39] but contained nothing of the same sort of recurrent image, then the figure '0' would be very much in place, expressing as a score the lack of occurrence in the dream of the sort of image being recorded. It has also been questioned whether, in assessing the performance of others, Housman would be likely ever to have awarded what seems to have been a full score of 10 (or even, in such profusion, the nearly full score of 9). That difficulty too disappears in the more objective registering of images received and, if you like, the exercise of assessment by Housman on himself.

Now it is possible to ask whether any further aspects of the construction of the list by Housman have been made clearer by these considerations. When is he likely to have started such a list? It seems entirely probable that two significant instances would serve to initiate the process. And that is what may be seen in 'Monday 9 Max' and 'Tuesday 9 Boxeur', written at perhaps one and the same time closely parallel to one another.[40] It is important to see that Housman did not at that stage go on to list in advance the remaining days of his holiday. At that point he could have had no knowledge as to whether further images would recur.

Instead he naturally constructs the rest of the list piecemeal, and the last three days, abbreviated, are crammed into the end. On the first Thursday '1' will naturally have been added to 'Marin', as soon as, on the second Tuesday, a second, and different, *marin* had been encountered.[41] Similarly the three instances of 'danseur' which precede 'danseur 2' on the final day suggest a recurring image followed at the end by a second and different one.

It is to be observed throughout that no two positively-scored instances are ever followed by a third, and sometimes a single positive instance is not followed by another. That fits entirely with dream patterns, where expectations of immediate recurrence are frequently found to be frustrated.[42] In all, however, ten examples of recurrence in fifteen days represent a significantly high figure, and this doubtless accounts for Housman's noting of the final total transversely, where space allowed, in the right-hand margin of the card.[43] It is perhaps also the reason why his four high scores of '9' are followed at the end by a final high two of '10': not that the later images need have been appreciably more intense, rather that, by then, those which counted as strong had by their very number increased in significance, and '10' would seem to have been called for.[44]

We may now return to an earlier question. Were Housman's dreams erotic? That, it has been contended here, is not at all needed as a reason for his having recorded them. The list is more naturally explained as a record of images which had so vividly or strongly imprinted themselves on his mind as to resurface later in sleep when released by the subconscious. All the same, Housman considered himself to be homosexually oriented. It must come then as a matter of small surprise to discover that one whose poetry was filled with the masculine types of soldier, ploughman, athlete, exile, criminal, thief, should find such recently seen figures as sailor, boxer, dancer, or negro coming at night into his sleeping mind. If that is eroticism, his dreams were to that extent erotic, but no more erotic than that.

Finally it may be asked whether Housman is known from other sources to have taken an interest, whether more than usually strong or not, in dreams. Again, as a poet, he did. He was intrigued by lines which came to him not just through the process of sleep but which he seemed positively to have dreamed of. Such, he told his brother, had been the origin of what

had become one of his best-commemorated phrases, 'the coloured counties' (*ASL* XXI.8), suggested to him by a dream in which it took the form 'painted counties'.[45] Other whole stanzas came this way.[46] Dreams are referred to in letters to Grant Richards[47] and to Moses Jackson.[48] A scenic dream – one of some recurrence – is recorded by Richards.[49] Among the earliest recommendations made by Housman to the Trinity Book Club, shortly after he had arrived in Cambridge, was that of Havelock Ellis' recently published *The World of Dreams* (London, 1911).[50] His interest in dreams, by no means obsessive, would appear at the same time to have been the object of more than passing attention.

Let us not say in the light of any of this that the content of Card 3 is finally put beyond doubt. It may never be. But perhaps we now have a line of interpretation which would at least not cause Housman to turn his head in disdain from a credulous posterity ever eager to find scandal where scandal does not exist, or lead him to rue the day when, moved by curiosity or by mild surprise, he entrusted the noting of perhaps no more than fleeting reflections, matters of mere moment, to a bookmark.

(ii) Housman's hopeful companion

It is well known that in his later years Housman made use of the services of a companion to share his journeys in France, but so few and so guarded have been his references known to us in this area that considerable uncertainty exists as to how many different companions may have been involved and in which years, and a certain degree of speculation has even arisen as to their nature and to the nature of others, if separate from companions, whom Housman is known to have met in Paris. It is high time that such light as is available to us should be brought to bear upon the area.

Here we shall explore what is known, starting from what until very recently was the earliest reference known to us. Mysterious enough in itself,

though all along recognised as likely to relate to a companion, it is contained in Housman's letter of 18 May 1932 to Grant Richards, written in advance of his impending trip to Paris:[51]

> I shall be in Paris at the Continental[52] from May 29 to June 14. I cannot offer you anything of an invitation, for I shall have a friend with me who would not mix with you nor you with him; but if by chance you should be there I hope you would come to dine or lunch with me one day.

Interpretation of this has been enormously facilitated by the arrival of new evidence in the form of a previously unknown letter written by Housman to his godson Gerald Jackson on 9 November 1925 and first released in 2010 from the Jackson family archive. The full contents of the letter, sold at auction to an undisclosed bidder, are not available to us, but the catalogue note of the auctioneers[53] has made public the information that Housman included in his letter a description of his recent visit to the Pyrenees, from which the following extract is given:

> I had a French friend with me, one of those delightful people who enjoy making arrangements, taking rooms, using telephones, and all the things that I hate, so I had no troubles. But like most Frenchmen he would not walk, and required a pony or donkey if the way was rough or steep.[54]

This adds vital information, for it shows that Housman, even as early as 1925, had done what many a single person of affluence might do under the circumstances and employ a person to take the difficulty out of foreign travel and provide some of the companionship otherwise naturally lacking on journeys by car and on visits to places of interest. The description as 'friend', as we shall go on to find, is by no means out of place in respect of the involvement entailed, necessarily close for the period of time required.[55]

The new evidence gives much fuller background to the meaning of Housman's words to Richards on 18 May 1932 and to such other references as were to follow in other years. By then, not just on expeditions to the more difficult and further-flung parts of France but also in his programme of excursions in that year from Paris,[56] Housman had come to desire the usefulness and social convenience[57] which a companion could provide. By 'I cannot offer you anything of an invitation' what Housman means in the context of Richards is something like the splendid occasion in 1928 when, staying at the Pavillon Henri IV at St. Germain-en-Laye just outside Paris, 'one of the most expensive hotels in France',[58] he entertained his publisher to a sumptuous stay of four nights at the hotel, with daily lunches and dinners there and elsewhere, walks in surrounding forests and excursions further afield. It is clear that Housman had no other companion with him on that occasion. In 1932, however, a companion must already have been booked for the daily events of the entire two weeks, though that would not exclude the possibility of lunch or dinner with Richards alone on any one occasion.

For two of the next years, 1933 and 1935 (Housman's final visit abroad) – but not, let it be noted, 1934 – we are surprisingly well informed about companions. There are reasons for this. 1933 was a difficult year for Housman. Suspected heart irregularity put him in the Evelyn Nursing Home for a week, and, writing from there to Percy Withers on 7 June, he listed, amongst complaints of other difficulties afflicting him at the time, the fact of his having been 'disappointed of a companion for France in August'.[59] And, again, to Katharine Symons on 24 July: 'My intention was to go abroad on Aug. 22 for a motoring tour with a French friend'.[60] Later the problem over the companion was resolved,[61] for he writes on 10 August to Withers that 'I am hoping to go to France on 22nd and make a motor tour of about three weeks,... I expect to have a French companion, though not one of much education, and, though amiable, he may be bored'.[62] And, again, to Katharine Symons on 18 August: 'I shall have with me a French companion, a nice young man, not much educated, who regards me as a benefactor'.[63] Just on the point of setting out, however, he contracted a form of virus which severely affected his throat, but, not wishing to upset the arrangements which had been put in place, set out all the same, and

paid for it with 'two days of the most violent and frequent pain I have ever undergone',[64] adding that 'My companion has been kind and as helpful as can possibly be imagined', and, on 31 August: 'I am weak and low, but my companion takes all trouble on his shoulders, and really does not seem to be bored'.[65]

In 1934 a trip was planned for the early part of the year,[66] this time in the company of Richards, to Algiers, but at a late stage, on 7 January, Housman pulled out of it.[67] Instead a more conventional, though decidedly not unadventurous, tour in France was later substituted, as detailed to Withers on 20 April: 'I expect to go... to France... probably Lorraine and that region... I hope to take a French friend with me'.[68] In the event no mention of a companion is made in the details Housman later gave to Katharine Symons on 18 August in advance of the trip[69] or in his account to her on 18 September on his return.[70] But it must now be inconceivable in the light of the new information that at this stage, on a three-week tour of some complexity using locally hired cars, Housman was unaccompanied.

A trip in 1935 to Dauphiné and Savoy (including a brief detour into Switzerland), despite Housman's increasing weakness, went ahead. No mention is made of a companion in letters to Withers and Katharine Symons either before or after the trip, and again we would need to infer the existence of a companion from Housman's need, except that, in a letter to the wife of his Trinity colleague, Sir James Frazer, he described the trip on 26 September as having been 'a pleasant tour with a helpful companion'.[71] This mention arises solely in connection with a matter of amusement to do with a cut which he took to his head on entering a taxi in Lyon on the first day. His wound, though not serious, required stitches in the local hospital, and, to cover any unsightliness of the resulting shaven patch, he bought a soberly ornate item of French headgear known as a *calotte*.This led to his companion, who can hardly have been left in doubt as to his employer's scholarly propensity from his detailed interest in chateaux, castles, churches, and cathedrals, remarking that he 'might be taken for a great scholar'. With that *bon mot* begins and ends any mention by Housman of his companion in that year. Further light, however, as we shall go on to find, is shed by a separate source.[72]

What is remarkable in all this is how very closed up Housman was about the existence of a companion. Wherever possible, he avoids mention. In writing to Withers and to his sister, it is really only help with the difficulties incurred by his health[73] which evinces mention of a companion. The story to Lady Frazer could only be told in connection with the companion's existence. The earlier mention to Richards in 1932 was defensively crusty and off-putting. Only with Gerald – perhaps of rather similar age to the companion and, as one who had carried out sterling work with his father Moses on the ailing farmstead during the war years, therefore perhaps to be thought of as having some sympathy for the help needed by one of his father's generation – could the account be straightforward and unaffected. For the reticence there can only be one reason, a fear that the relationship could be open to misinterpretation. Where this has since happened, or has come close to happening, it is of course Housman's very reticence that is to blame.[74] But there could probably be no helping that. The advantage of our present position is surely, in the light of the letter to Gerald, to enable us to see the aspect of defence for what it was.

What impression is it now possible to draw from this of the nature of the companion's position? Clearly it is very much one of employer and employee. In this respect, however, G.P. Goold would appear to have it considerably wrong in his view that the companion was 'probably a young Parisian whom he had got to know as a chauffeur and had taken a liking to'.[75] A chauffeur would be very much below consideration, and all references by Housman to his drivers are in line with this. Rather, the position of gentleman's companion would be filled by discreet enquiry at management level in one of his hotels of high rank or, quite possibly, through recruitment of one known by family connection to acquaintances in Paris, to whom we shall turn in due course. On the other hand and at the other extreme, it should be said that Naiditch can only be mistaken in arguing that the friend mentioned to Richards in 1932 could not have been a paid companion: 'Housman was unlikely to refer to an employee as a 'friend''.[76] This he justifies by the demonstration, easily and truly established, that Housman never referred to Andrea in Venice as his friend but always only as 'my gondolier'.[77] But contrary evidence stares us in the face when we find in passages already quoted here Housman referring in

one letter to his sister in 1933 to 'a motoring tour with a French friend'[78] and then saying in the next 'I shall have with me a French companion'.[79] The letter to Gerald in 1925 describes 'a French friend' and to Withers in 1934 he said 'I hope to take a French friend with me'.[80] In respect to 1932 Naiditch must surely be multiplying the entities beyond necessity in seeing evidence for yet another – and socially higher-placed – occupant of Housman's time than the companion. Such was the nature of a companion's position that, despite awkwardness, 'friend' was the only truly suitable and, indeed, polite description which Housman could use.

Are we now in a position to determine in which years, despite Housman's reticence, a companion was used, or how many different companions there may have been? Is any identification possible?

As it happens, the last of these questions admits without difficulty of an answer. For Laurence Housman, in one of the series of letters he wrote to Andrew Gow in the wake of Housman's death,[81] refers in no uncertain terms to the contact established with him by a certain Monsieur Gaston Roy:

> He professes unutterable grief – but as I expected – asks for money, assuring me that A.E.H. promised to remember him in his will.
>
> This I don't believe; so I am not sending any, but I am indicating that I am well aware of his previous importunities, which Alfred sometimes met with difficulty, and I think occasionally with reluctance.[82]

We are guaranteed no certainty in this that a previous companion of Housman's is meant, but who will not see in the complaints of Laurence Housman the 'companion..., not much educated, who regards me as a benefactor'[83] of his brother's description in 1933? If so, the solicitude of the companion in seeing Housman through his travails of that year would seem,

as often in the case of the vulnerable elderly, to have had, for all its well-meant and beneficial effect, something of an ulterior motive. The companion of 1933 was not only helpful, he was also hopeful.[84] But Housman, while dealing with minor requests, was evidently clever enough to put off the major reckoning until such time as he should himself be well out of harm's way. Unknown to the companion of 1933, the will of November 1932 had already been written. Nor was any further will ever made.

As to use of a companion, we have so far seen evidence in the last four trips undertaken by Housman, in 1932-35, together with – noticeably earlier – 1925, the year of his visit to the Pyrenees. The unexpected arrival of evidence relating to that year should now lead us to look more inquisitively at other years also.

For most years, however, this will draw a blank. It is clear from the evidence which survives to us that when Housman began his concentration on France he relied, when not accompanied by Richards, on his own resources, together with those of his chauffeurs, to see himself around. Thus 1914 finds him in the hands of an 'amiable meridional chauffeur who knew the country',[85] and, resuming his habits after a gap in the war-years of 1916-18, he was grateful to find at Brive 'a proprietor of a garage who was a great connoisseur of the local scenery and delighted to take me by the best routes to the best spots.'[86] The nature of his trips in many other years, being sometimes brief or solely Paris-based, suggests no need for a companion, and in some years there is direct evidence against the use of a companion.

Especially is this true of 1927, the year in which Housman, arriving in Paris when Richards was already there with his wife and step-daughter, put into action his privately conceived ploy of abstracting him from his family for the lavish men-only two-week tour of Burgundy and the Jura which he had in mind, to be effected by a bribe to the ladies in the form of Ch. d'Yquem 1900 at lunch.[87] It is clear that no companion had been booked for that year. Nor, we have found, was a companion in the offing in the following year when Housman stayed at St. Germain. In 1929 a trip was again planned with Richards, but back trouble prevented him at the last moment from coming, leaving Housman at the mercy of a chauffeur rather lacking in sense of direction.[88] 1926 had seen Housman's last trip to Venice,

with consequently less time in Paris, and 1930, when he motored out at will from Paris, shows no sign of a companion. It seems safe to conclude that in none of the years from 1926 to 1930, following the earlier further-flung trip to the Pyrenees in 1925, did Housman make use of a companion and that this should be taken, until his last years, to be his normal practice. Amongst other trips, only two, we are now able to see, form exceptions to this.

The first is 1923. Again, in that year there is an obliquely-phrased and somewhat off-putting reference made to Richards: 'If we are in Paris together, I probably should not be free in the evenings but should be during the day'.[89] It is the anticipated regularity of this which stands out, an obvious anomaly amongst Housman's established patterns. Again, however, the existence of a companion provides resolution. What is at issue is that Housman intended a two-week tour of Brittany,[90] preceded by three days in Paris and rather more at the end. Such tours require planning, and in the same letter he thanks Richards for all his 'maps, books and other aids'. What would not be at all surprising in the light of the information we how have is that Housman also in this year secured the services of a companion for help in tackling the complexities of a region still even then considered remote and, for the traveller, undiscovered. While he would occupy himself during the days of the initial period in Paris, meetings could take place over the three evenings to review bookings entered into by the companion and to consider what further arrangements would be needed. With a sufficiently firm outline of these in place, they could then set out, as planned, for Le Mans. In this respect the tour of 1923 would greatly resemble that of 1925 in the south. It gives, by virtue of its difficulty, every sign of being the first time that Housman engaged the help of a companion.

The second year to stand out as an exception is 1931. Here there is a distinct lack of corroborative evidence, but an extensive trip took place in this year to the south of France, including Bordeaux and, for the second time, the Pyrenees. It can be little more than a guess, built on observation of Housman's practice, that – in a year which in addition lacked the involvement of Grant Richards – he resumed his employment of a companion to handle the intricacies of the area. A further element adds support to the guess. We have seen how, in advance of his trip in 1933, Housman was able to give a description of his companion to his sister and

to Percy Withers,[91] the companion evidently being already well known to him from a previous year. In turn the same is true, and in very similar terms, of the otherwise mysterious companion described in advance to Richards in 1932 as being one who 'would not mix with you nor you with him'.[92] Again the knowledge goes back to acquaintance already established, and in this case the most likely candidate can hardly be other than the companion of the previous year, 1931. If so, the connection from year to year gives strong, if not ultimately certain, indication that the companion we hypothesise for 1931 and the companions we know of in 1932 and 1933 will have been all one and the same person.

Perhaps we are now in a position to assess the extent of Housman's involvement with the persistent, but eventually disappointed, Gaston Roy. Here a final piece of evidence is added by Percy Withers, who provides the information,[93] that Housman was accompanied in 1935 'by a French acquaintance with whom he had never travelled before.[94] This adds a slight complexity to the final years, though not one which effectively alters the picture we have so far received. Clearly this companion is not to be identified as Gaston Roy, since Laurence Housman's description of 'previous importunities, which Alfred sometimes met with difficulty and I think occasionally with reluctance', suggestive of a process of some length, will scarcely fit one known to Housman in only the last few months of his life. Instead, Gaston Roy remains the companion of 1931 to 1933, a year in which Housman's indebtedness to him will have been increased not just by the care he gave but by the likelihood that, initially unavailable for the requisite dates,[95] he had subsequently put himself out to accommodate Housman's wishes. Though already ill, as we have seen, when the time came, Housman still set out, as 'I could not disappoint those who were expecting me and depending on me',[96] words which well capture the obligation he had incurred. The indebtedness makes it wholly unlikely that he did not then turn again to Gaston Roy in the next year, 1934, when, we have found, it is inconceivable that he did not fulfil his intention of going accompanied.[97] Indeed, Withers' hint of anxiety as to the use of a new companion in 1935 points to the unusualness of the event. Why Housman did not employ Gaston Roy once more in that year cannot be said. Perhaps, again, he was unavailable. Perhaps, finally, the importunities had become

too great.[98]

Was Gaston Roy also, then, the companion on the earlier trips to Brittany in 1923 and to the Pyrenees in 1925? That too cannot be said. But a young man in his early twenties at the time of the first two trips would still be only in his early thirties at the time of the final series, and it would make a certain sense when returning to the Pyrenees in 1931 to have sought out again the services of the same helper who had so effectively, if unambulatively, contributed to the success of the previous trip to the region in 1925. It may be remembered how Housman, ever a creature of habit when it came to people, preferred the inconvenience of lodging in Pinner to the search after close on twenty years for a new landlady unfamiliar with his ways. Truly then, by dint of service going back perhaps to 1923, if first found satisfactory then, might Monsieur Roy press for benefactions in the years towards the end, reserving his greatest hopes for beyond, the bequest which never came.

What finally of other references to friends of Housman in Paris? With most of what might seem mysterious or ambiguous resolved, little now remains to perplex. In 1919 Grant Richards found Housman engaged on three evenings (though free on others),[99] in 1927 Housman had an engagement for dinner in Paris on the day they returned from Burgundy,[100] in 1928 'Housman after dinner went off to keep some engagement'.[101] Any of these could be as run-of-the-mill as an agreement to meet up with a colleague from Cambridge or London when in Paris. And what of helpful librarians or booksellers? Or the friend L.M. Brandin mentioned in 1903, who collated manuscripts of Juvenal for him?[102] Or the young married couple due to call on him in 1920?[103] That Housman had at least a scattering of 'friends and acquaintances' in Paris seems assured by his need to notify them in 1921 when arrangements seemed uncertain.[104] All of which seems very routine, and in the case of any but Housman might be unlikely to be thought worthy of the slightest adverse consideration. For some, however, it would appear that there can be nothing more infuriating than that a sphinx should have no secret.

(iii) The letter to Powell

Among undergraduates at Cambridge one of those most fervently drawn to Housman's teaching in the final years was J. Enoch Powell. Rapidly falling under the spell of Housmannian logical rigour in textual analysis, Powell was moved to write to his lecturer with a textual suggestion of his own.[105] Housman, clearly not wishing to restrain the enthusiasm of a keen novitiate, wrote back in terms of terse commendation, undoubtedly welcome to the ear of the recipient, yet notably stopping short of personal commitment to the solution:

> Dear Mr Powell,
>
> You analyse the difficulties of the passage correctly, and your emendation removes them.
>
> Yours sincerely,
>
> A. E. Housman[106]

The text of the letter, presented thus and made public in his article by Powell, appears now at II.333 in Burnett's edition, where the editor – following, as he says, Powell's indications[107] – adds the place of writing as 'Hotel Continental, Paris' and the date as 'c. 5 Mar. 1933'. Of these the first is clearly correct,[108] but the second, for those cognisant of Housman's movements abroad, as we hope now to have become, can only lead to the most terrible difficulties.

What it presupposes, though it is not in theory impossible, is that Housman, otherwise known to go abroad only once a year, took the opportunity in 1933, in addition to his tour of the Loire valley and beyond beginning in August, of slipping over briefly to Paris in March. Conveniently for this view, there is a gap between letters known to have been sent by him from Trinity on 5 March and 11 March. Where the impossibility comes

in, however, is that these dates fell entirely within University Full Term, which ended that year on 16 March, a term throughout which Housman was committed to lecturing on Lucretius, Book 6.[109] Would one who in the very next year[110] chose to decline what, however ironically, he described as his life's 'chief ambition', an invitation to the Colchester Oyster Feast, because it clashed with his regular appointment to lecture at 11a.m. on a Friday, be likely to have absented himself for the chief working days, Monday to Friday, of an entire week, days which included one lecture on the Wednesday and another on the Friday? That, in Housmannian terms, is the true impossibility.[111]

What has gone wrong here? The answer is that Burnett has not, as he believes himself to have done, followed Powell's indications correctly. But it is also, to take matters further, the case that Powell, in this and other matters contained in his recollection, was wrong anyway.

It is true that Powell recalls that, when he wrote his letter, 'Term was just ending', so that he had 'some days to spend in expectation of the lightning'. But he also says that he wrote 'At the end of my second term at Housman's feet'. This can easily be dated, for Powell, at the age of eighteen, had entered Trinity College in October 1930. Already greatly advanced in his study of the classical languages, he chose to take the (chiefly linguistic) Part I of the Tripos after one year,[112] in place of the generally more normal two years, leaving two years, in place of the more normal one, for Part II,[113] an arrangement which has only recently ceased to be possible. It was thus as an incipient Part II student, as would not be unusual, that he came in the first term of his second year to sit at Housman's feet,[114] and, as he recalls elsewhere, 'I heard six courses of Housman's lectures, one each term in the last two years of my three undergraduate years'.[115] Powell's second term as a Part II student thus came to an end not in March 1933 but in March 1932.[116, 117]

But we are still no better off, because, as it is no less easy to show, Housman was not in Paris in March 1932 either. Instead he was in Cambridge, giving his lectures on the text of Plautus, *Captivi*. What has happened is that Powell, by an unfortunate slip or perhaps by an enhanced memory of the precocity he showed at the time, has written 'second term' in

place of 'third term'.[118] With this change in place, his reference to the term being about to end makes perfect sense. For lectures in the Easter Term were customarily concluded before the period of examining, held within term, began.[119] At that point, his formal duties over, Housman was free to leave Cambridge, even though term itself still had some days to run.[120] And, as has been seen in section (i), he was most certainly in Paris at the conclusion of the Easter Term in 1932. The period from 29 May to 14 June constituted his single annual visit to France in that year.[121]

The correct date of Housman's letter to Powell should consequently be any one of the early days of his stay, allowing for the forwarding of his post from Trinity. On Tuesday 7 June he had the leisure to reply, in similarly brief terms, to an emendation advanced by Professor D'Arcy Thompson. Perhaps on the same day he replied also to Powell.[122]

But there are inconsistencies in other matters in Powell's account, to which it may now be instructive to turn. Reflecting on the 'inner furnace of passion for truth and logical thought' evidenced for him by Housman's lectures, he rises to a potent conclusion: 'No one, I believe, ever heard Housman on Horace, *Epistles*, 1.7.29, the passage where Bentley by conjecture restored *nitedula* (fieldmouse) in place of the nonsensical *uolpecula* (little fox) of the manuscripts, without receiving the moral enlargement of a great sermon'.[123] But, as David Butterfield has acutely observed,[124] the chances of Powell or indeed anyone else having heard Housman extol the achievement of Bentley in this passage are small: neither did Housman ever lecture on the *Epistles* of Horace nor is any trace to be found of oblique references to Bentley's emendation in the many volumes of his lecture notes on those authors he did cover. Cogently Butterfield argues either for faulty reminiscence on Powell's part or, quite possibly, a positive desire to weave one of the best-known examples of Latin textual controversy into his narrative. By associating Housman with the intellectual independence of his great predecessor, Powell would add rhetorical reinforcement to the wider point he was at pains to argue.[125]

Nor is this all in this respect. Powell claims to have heard Housman lecture on Virgil: 'The lectures were on the Latin poets. My particular share happened to include Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Catullus'.[126] This is

demonstrably false. As Butterfield politely but concisely opines, 'Virgil is presumably a mistaken inclusion',[127] as Housman gave no lectures specifically on Virgil and even included references to him in lectures on other authors only seldom. But again we see a rhetorical purpose being served. The somewhat more mundane reality is that the lectures Powell heard were as follows:

Michaelmas 1931:	Horace, *Odes* 4
Lent 1932:	Plautus, *Captivi*
Easter 1932:	Catullus 64
Michaelmas 1932:	Plautus, *Captivi*[128]
Lent 1933:	Lucretius 6
Easter 1933:	Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1[129]

What therefore Powell has done here is to adjust the account in two respects: while Plautus, poet of the vulgar comic stage, is omitted from his list altogether, the grandeur of Virgil is substituted for the essential frivolity of Ovid's less significant mythological epic. In this Powell's greater point is served: Housman, to reinforce the higher moral purpose discerned by Powell, should be seen to have lectured only on the truly great among Rome's poets.[130]

The historian of Housman will not therefore in these several respects turn to Powell for utter reliability. Housman, at least with regard to his 1892 *Introductory Lecture*, knew that, when being rhetorical, he was 'not wholly sincere'.[131] Powell – as added earnest, it would seem, of his sincerity – felt moved at several turns to heighten the degree of his rhetoric. But, in doing this, he had hardly learnt well from his master, for whom the purpose of logical rigour was ever the pursuit of truth.

(iv) The true text of the letter to Powell and a second letter

After the above had been written and was ready for publication, the author, urged by an inner sense that Powell – who in his earlier scholarly career had held the detailed consideration of evidence, and its survival, in deep respect – was unlikely ever to have disposed of his letter from Housman, resolved to see whether its existence could still be traced. He had not far to look. Since 2001 the papers of Enoch Powell have joined others of 20th-century political importance on long-term deposit in the Archives Centre of Churchill College, Cambridge. There – amongst speeches, writings, and a vast correspondence – nothing, it seems, in a long and eventful scholarly, military, and political life had been discarded, and, sure enough, in a file not fully catalogued by item, the letter was placed. Also to be seen was a second letter, otherwise unknown, from Housman to Powell. Both letters, together with such other material in the archive as is relevant to the present enquiry, are now presented here.[132]

The text of the first letter[133] runs as follows:

3 June 1932

Dear Mr Powell,

> As you see, I am not in the most favourable position for passing judgment on your proposal; but I think that you analyse the difficulties well, and that the change gives a sati[s]factory result and is also really much easier than *solitae* would be.

Yours sincerely

A. E. Housman

The date of the letter requires no further commentary here.[134] The bombshell, however, though not entirely unenvisaged, lies in the content: Powell's 1974 version of the letter, no more than a summary, departed

considerably from the original. His quotation was not, though presented as such, direct at all, and the text he gave as the entire letter, however admirably convincing in terms of its Housmannian terseness, turns out to be Powellian pastiche of Housman's style.[135] What is remarkable is that the true text of the letter is very much kinder to the aspiring undergraduate than the later reported version. Powell, starting from one of the earlier attempts at emendation of the passage which he subsequently discussed in his published article,[136] had evidently set out in his own letter the reasons for his emendation. Housman, working from the information given and with due acknowledgement of his lack of access to books, gives what for him amounts to commendation ('satisfactory result') of the new suggestion, commendation withheld in Powell's account. In later reporting only the gist of the letter and in the way he reported it, Powell in effect did himself something of a disservice.[137] Though it was open to him to quote directly from the letter still in his possession, he chose instead to create a different version of his own. For this we must find a reason. It lies, as perhaps we shall find in due course, in the second letter.

The archive turns up also many other matters of closely related interest. One of them is the original typescript of Powell's 1974 *HSJ* article.[138] It is not in all respects identical with the published version. The joint-editor of the journal, Graham Speake, questioned[139] certain aspects of the typescript, from which two of current interest to us here will be selected.

Describing his first sighting of Housman, Powell's published version reads:

> There was a sudden gleam of light as the Fellows' door into the cloister opened; and a taut figure strode rapidly to a nearby staircase and disappeared up the wooden stairs with a twitch of the gown.

But here is his original version:

> There was a sudden gleam of light as the fellows'[140] door into the cloister opened; and a taut figure in scarlet – it must have been one of the nights when doctors wear scarlet at dinner – strode rapidly to a nearby staircase and disappeared up the wooden stairs with a twitch of the gown.

Speake wrote:

> 'a taut figure in scarlet' – was Housman a doctor? I always thought that the only honour he accepted was an honorary fellowship at St. John's, Oxford – but I may be wrong!

He was of course not wrong. Housman took no doctorate, and can never have worn scarlet. Faced with this objection, Powell replied:[141] 'Memory strongly suggests scarlet, which of course means an actual D. Litt.,[142] not an honorary degree;[143] but we had best play safe and leave out from "in scarlet" to "dinner".' Again, it would seem, by false memory Powell had magnified the event in his mind.

But, interestingly enough, he did not leave off in his belief. In January 1990 an article by him on Housman in *The Independent*[144] prompted E.J. Kenney, himself a former holder of Housman's chair at Cambridge, to raise matters with him of Housman's academic influence and also to express puzzlement over the scarlet gown, this detail of the story again having been related.[145] To the basic point already, we have seen, put to Powell he added the further aspect that he knew of no University Scarlet Days in early January.[146] This time Powell was compelled to admit defeat: 'I must obviously be wrong about the scarlet gown, which only shows how fallible an apparently clear recollection can be, especially over a period like sixty years'.[147] This represents a notable retraction, especially since, etched thus in his memory, the event was presented each time by Powell as having been a significant turning-point in his life.[148]

A second uncertainty arises in respect of Powell's recollection of

Housman's change of rooms towards the end of his life. In the original draft of his article he wrote:

> It was the same staircase up which, in his last declining year or two, he used to 'go up the steps, two at a time, hoping to drop dead at the top', and from which he was too late persuaded to move to the Great Gate where a lift had been installed for his benefit – a benefit reaped instead by the less spare Dr. Kitson Clark.

It seems reasonably clear from this that Powell, whose quotation of Housman's well-known words is quite correct,[149] understood him to have been too unwell to make the intended move to Great Gate when the time came for it. Prompted by Speake's observation that his description could be taken to mean that Housman had actually moved to the Great Gate, Powell for greater clarity altered his last sentence to include 'In fact he had to be moved instead to ground-floor rooms in Great Court', as seen in the published version of the article. But in this he brought out even more how, perhaps by imprecise knowledge of the unfolding of events at the time but in any case giving greater point to his narrative, he conflated the earlier intended move of 1933 with the actual move of 1935. Perhaps the rhetorical antithesis between the old but still sparse frame of Housman and the ampler proportions of the young Kitson Clark presented too inviting a twist for him to lose.[150]

A further matter of Powell's correspondence has direct bearing on the second letter he received from Housman. As we have seen above, Paul Naiditch made contact with Powell in 1993,[151] enquiring about the first letter from Housman. Naturally this interchange of letters is also to be seen in the archive.[152] Taking for granted, as was reasonably to be expected, that Powell's quotation of the letter was accurate, Naiditch was interested in its date. Advancing his own estimate of its belonging to about 5 March 1933, he ended by asking whether Powell had also any additional letters from Housman. Powell's reply runs:

Dear Mr Naiditch,

In reply to your letter of 13th July, I regret I did not retain the letter which I quoted in HSJ, nor do I possess other letters from him. The date of the letter in question would have been around Easter 1933, as you surmise.

In the light of this, discovery of a second letter in the archive, no less of course than that of the first, must come as a complete surprise. Why, having not quoted the first letter directly, did Powell wish to deny its continued existence, as well as the existence of any other? For this a reason must be sought. If an answer is to be found, it lies perhaps in the content of Housman's second letter, to which we may now turn. Here is its text:[153]

Trinity College

3 March 1933

Dear Mr Powell,

It is not likely that my statement came from any more recondite source than Korn-Ehwald on Ouid. met. XV 309, 'Nach Angaben (neuerer) Reisender ist die Temperatur abends 60, mitternachts 100, morgens 80, mittags 40°C,' which is so circumstantial that I suppose I thought I could trust it.

Yours very truly

A. E. Housman

If they send you offprints of your paper in Hermes I should be grateful if you would give me one.[154]

How is the content of this to be explained? Why should Housman be quoting to Powell the commentary by A. Korn (revised by W. Ehwald) on Ovid, *Metamorphoses* at line 309 of Book 15?[155] The answer to this is to be found in Herodotus, long a primary figure of interest to Powell and shortly later to become a leading area of his study.

At this stage Powell was now in his third year as an undergraduate, and was approaching the end of the second term of that year. Amazingly he had already had five articles published in learned journals, and a sixth was appearing at the time Housman wrote.[156] In the main these consisted of short notes (if on an astonishingly wide range of subjects), but the sixth, 'Das Niltal bei Herodot', published in *Hermes*,[157] was a detailed calculation of distance relevant to a passage in Herodotus' description of the Nile in Book 2 of his *History*.[158] It is natural to think of this being the article Housman refers to in his postscript.[159] But it turns up no relevance to Ovid. Powell, however, was clearly already at work on a second article on Herodotus for *Hermes*, 'Die Quelle des Rā bei Herodot', and it is to this we now should look. Given that he received notice of its acceptance from Germany in a letter of 27 June 1933,[160] he may well in March have been at an advanced stage in the writing of it, and for this further evidence will emerge.[161] The timing is vital to Housman's letter.

For the subject of Powell's article was the description by Herodotus,[162] one echoed by many later authors in antiquity, of the remarkable fountain of Ammon Zeus (to be equated with the Egyptian sun-God Rā) at the Siwa oasis some 400 miles to the north-west of Thebes on the Nile. The peculiar property of this fountain, as related by Herodotus, was that at dawn its water was lukewarm, but as the day wore on it paradoxically grew colder, becoming especially frigid at midday; then, towards sunset, it became increasingly warmer, returning to its lukewarm condition, until at midnight it reached its opposite extreme and 'boiled furiously'. Powell's point was that such supernatural activity was not to be taken, as it was by commentators on Herodotus, as true on a literal level, the phenomenon being attributed by them either to the extreme changes of ambient air temperature in the desert by which the temperature of water in the fountain was outpaced, making it feel cooler by day and warmer by night (otherwise other fountains would also be so described) or to the presence of sulphurous

bubbles in the water giving the appearance of boiling (the bubbles, being present at all times, could not explain the fountain's maximum coldness at midday). Rather, he argued, such elements as these had been mixed in with, and greatly overtaken by, mystical veneration of the fountain deriving from specific connection of it with the religious mythology in Egypt of Rā's nightly passage through boiling water in the realm of the dead, with the result that the story of the physical activity had been received and reported as fact by Herodotus, whose exploration of the country had in all probability not extended so far in that direction as to lead to personal inspection of the site. Of crucial importance to Powell's argument was the paramount point that the physical activity described by Herodotus was not actually to be observed in the fountain still in existence in the oasis at Siwa.

Now the relevance of Housman's letter becomes clear. For in March 1933, as we have seen in the previous section, Housman was lecturing on Lucretius, Book 6, lectures which Powell was attending. Lucretius at 6.848-78, as also Ovid at *Metamorphoses* 15.309-10, were among the later authors who made use in their own works of the story told by Herodotus and received as true in antiquity. Even without the survival of Housman's lecture-notes, it would be easy to predict that Housman had accepted the uncritical (in Powell's view) trust of modern commentators no less than ancient authors in the essential veracity of Herodotus, and that Powell had ventured to question him on this.

And so it turns out to be. Here is the text of Housman's lecture when he reached the relevant point in Lucretius:

> 1-78 The῾Ηλίου κρήνη near the oracle of Hammon in Libya: accounts in Diod. Sic. 17.50.4-6, Curtius 4.7.22, Ou. met. 15.309-10, etc.[163] Plin. nh. 2.228, Antig. hist. mir. 144, Herod. 4.181.3-4. Modern travellers relate that the story is true: the temperature is 100° centigrade at midnight, 40° at noon.[164]

It is not hard to see what there was in this which will have immediately

arrested Powell's attention. Where, he wrote to ask,[165] had Housman got his significant (but, as his own sources led him to believe, questionable) information about modern travellers from? The answer, we now see, is that Housman had made use of the commentary of Korn-Ehwald on Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, and had repeated from it the information given there.[166]

So far then we have Powell's enquiry of his lecturer and the indication Powell conveyed to him that he would be arguing the contrary opinion in an article which he hoped would soon be appearing in *Hermes*. Would that he had left it at that. Alerted, however, by Housman's reply to a further current source of false information, he worked an extra footnote into this article:[167]

> Eine Warnung! Über die Quelle der Ammon-Oase bemerken Korn-Ehwald zu Ovid Met. 15, 309 (s. u. S. 109 A. 1) in Anführungszeichen folgendes: »Nach Angaben (neuerer) Reisender ist die Temperatur abends 60, mitternachts 100, morgens 80, mittags 40° C.« Dass dies vollkommen aus der Luft gegriffen ist, bestätigen sowohl frühere Berichte (bei Rawlinson), wie auch Arthur Silva White, der die Stätte im J. 1898 besucht hat. Aus seinem Buche 'From Sphinx to Oracle, through the Libyan desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.' London 1899, schreibe ich einige Sätze hier aus (S. 225): »The fountain of the sun... circular in shape, eighteen feet in depth, the ancient masonry of its sides as firmly set as if built but yesterday, this perennial, effervescing pool, the largest and most bounteous spring in the oasis... The water is brackish,... and, as it appeared to me, also sulphurous to the taste. I t s t e m p e r a t u r e i s u n i f o r m l y a b o u t 8 5° F a h r. d a y a n d n i g h t. «[168]

> A word of warning! The following observation appears in quotation marks in Korn-Ehwald on Ovid *Met*. 15.309 (see below p.109 n.1): "According to (modern) travellers the temperature is 60 degrees centigrade in the evening, 100 at

> midnight, 80 in the morning, 40 at midday." That this has been entirely plucked from the air is confirmed no less by earlier reports (to be found in Rawlinson) than by Arthur Silva White, who visited the site in 1898. From his book... (p.225) I reproduce some extracts...'.[169]

The warning constituted a standing rebuke by the twenty-year old undergraduate to all those unwary enough to be so taken in by the apparent specificity, the circumstantiality, of the report in Korn-Ehwald as to accept it as truth. Perhaps, in adversarial scholarship – learnt, he may have believed, from Housman's lips – he knew of no other way of proceeding. Whether or not Housman felt the rebuke as such, he had the magnanimity to alter his lecture-note accordingly. In pencil he bracketed the sentence he had written recording the modern information and substituted 'So says Korn-Ehwald at Ou. met. XV 309; but see J.E. Powell herewith'.[170]

Perhaps now the questions raised in this section have received an answer. We must conclude that, when Powell came in later years to recall the figure who had given him his intellectual motivation, the propagator of 'moral enlargement', it suited the narrative he wished to construct to relate how, greatly daring, he ventured to suggest a conjecture of his own, and got a terse, somewhat oracular and even, as from an oracle, only rather ambiguously favourable reply.[171] It most certainly did not suit his narrative to say that, no more than a year later, he had put a question to the oracle which he, and not the oracle, could answer correctly, and so had brought it to the ground. In this we may see a reason why he preferred to the end not to quote Housman's first letter directly but to create a version of his own and why subsequently he was unwilling to pursue the existence of the letter further or to contemplate the existence of the second which so badly complemented the first. Had he, in playing down from the beginning the praise he had received in the first, attempted in some sense to make atonement for the second?

Whether by 1993, when he replied to Naiditch, he had come truly to believe that there had only ever been one letter (and that in the form he had given it)[172] or whether he chose rather to leave the whole matter for at

least his own lifetime in the image in which he had created it, cannot now be said.[173] In respect of the renewed correspondence, Housman would appear to have held nothing against the undergraduate who had so palpably brought him to book, but it is possible that Powell, to judge from his subsequent absolute silence in the matter, was never able entirely to forgive himself. For that, if so, he would seem to deserve some credit.

NOTES

1 Archie Burnett, *The Letters of A.E. Housman* (Oxford, 2007), to which all subsequent references to Housman's correspondence will refer. Important additions, it should be noted, continue to come to light. Citations of these will be found at the relevant points.

2 This, though adequate for the purposes envisaged here, is in no way to be taken as intended to replace the clearest possible explication of the facts given by P.G. Naiditch, *Problems in the Life and Writings of A.E. Housman* (Beverly Hills, 1995), chap. 30, 'A.E. Housman in Paris' (Contents title), 48-59, essential starting-point for any enquiry hoping to be based on accuracy. Here more use will be made of the attendant details of Housman's trip.

3 There is no significance in the numbering given to the cards, a system introduced here purely for convenience of presentation and of further reference. In fact, as we shall find, the order of their composition is likely to bear little relation to the order in which it is helpful for them to be first described.

4 Correctly 'Béarnais'. Housman's relative insousiance as to accents, along with other aspects of French spelling, is evidenced further below (notes 35 and 108).

5 *Letters* II.300.

6 'Galen' for 'Galan' is an error forgivable in a classicist. A hand-written menu from the restaurant, not far removed in date, is reproduced on p.25.

7 He found himself frequently correcting inaccuracies in restaurant information provided by Richards.

8 Note 44 below.

9 Grant Richards, *Housman 1897-1936* (London, 1941), chapters XXVI-VII, 223-38.

10 The ‘acompte’ is reproduced overleaf from Naiditch (n.2 above), 53. For convenience of reference the days of the week, absent in the original document, have been added to the left of the dates.

11 For ‘Courses dans... Pac de St. Cloud’, ‘Parc’ must clearly have been intended: lunch will have been followed by a drive through the area of scenic beauty. ‘Vanne-Rouge’ on 1 June is presumably La Vanne Rouge at Montigny-sur-Loing, a restaurant well-known to Housman and to Richards (*Letters* II.191, 295) and even the subject of some difference of opinion as to who had discovered it first: Richards (n.9 above), 261, n.2. It still exists. As to Bicherel (3 June), the Moulin de Bicherel had been favourably recalled by Housman to Richards on 24 May (*Letters* II.294).

12 Not the most direct route, but then, as on other trips, Housman was intent on seeing as many new and attractive localities as possible.

13 *Letters* II.298.

14 *Letters* II.296 (Burnett’s supplement at para. 2, line 3, stands in rare contrast with his usual sure-footedness).

15 *Letters* II.296.

16 *Letters* II.298.

17 *Letters* II.298.

18 That is, eleven.

19 For information as to Housman’s flights both to and from Paris and indeed the varying patterns of weather which he encountered in his time there, the letter of 15 June to his sister Katharine Symons (II.299-300) may be consulted. The matter of the friend mentioned to Grant Richards in a letter of 18 May written in advance of setting out (II.293) forms the subject-matter of the second section here.

20 Reproduced with kind permission of the President and Fellows of St John’s College, Oxford.

21 R.P. Graves, *A.E. Housman: The Scholar-Poet* (London, 1979), 155, with note at 282-3.

22 Owned at the time by Mr T. Martin Higham, they were bequeathed by him in 1984 to the library of St John’s College, Oxford: Housman Cabinet I, row b, shelf 6.

23 Note 2 above, including reference to the earlier dissemination of his findings.

24 If francs, far too low; if pounds, far too high. Though he omits the possibility of shillings, the rounding-out of original French sums would continue to

be suspect, and his basic demonstration that money cannot be involved continues to hold.

25 *Grand Street* 4 (1984), 153, reprinted in *Selected Classical Papers* (Michigan, 1997), 338.

26 This would interpret the numbers as scores. Further forms of interpretation are to be found in Naiditch (n.2 above).

27 In A.W. Holden and J.R Birch (eds.), *A.E. Housman: A Reassessment* (Basingstoke, 2000), 135-7.

28 For Housman's unashamed delight in the experience of the music hall we need look no further than the invitations in his letters to Grant Richards, Walter Ashburner, William Rothenstein and even the august Gilbert Murray to accompany him there: 'When are we going to the music-hall?' (I.121); 'In order that you may not be lured into any horrors for which you are unprepared, I should explain that, as I do not belong to any club, after dinner we adjourn to a box in the adjacent Palace (the most proper of all the music-halls, not meet to be called a music-hall), and that when the Palace closes there is no refuge but Bow St. police station; which is the reason I put the hour so early.' (I.133); 'The form which these orgies take is that after dinner we go to a music-hall, and when the music-hall closes... we are thrown on the streets and the pothouses: so you know what to expect.' (I.202). Further references at I.156 (complaint of a temporary dip in quality); I.166; I.169 with Richards (n.9 above), 62; I.182. These invitations belong to the London years. Subsequent immurement in Whewell's Court, Trinity, will have much restricted the chances of indulging his interest. Foreign travel, however, together with the very many stays in Paris, will have offered the ample prospect of compensation, and, it is here argued, did. For low-life experience abroad we perhaps need look no lower.

29 4.962-83.

30 Housman, we have seen, lists four.

31 Compare in Britain Max Miller, the ultimate 'cheeky chappy'.

32 'No more the Hackney Empire | Shall find us in its stalls | When on the limelit crooner | The thankful curtain falls': Betjeman, 'The Cockney Amorist', *High and Low* (London, 1966), 61.

33 Like 'Magnus', visually memorable to Propertius at 4.8.41-2, he may even have been unusually small or dwarfed. Barney the dwarf supports the act of Uncle Nick, 'Ganga Dun', in J.B. Priestley's *Lost Empires* (London, 1965).

34 Let it be said for the record that the notion, should it arise, that Max Beerbohm,

'the incomparable Max', could be meant is firmly to be discounted. Though known (if not especially well) to Housman – details are to be seen in P.G. Naiditch, *Additional Problems in the Life and Writings of A.E. Housman* (Los Angeles, 2005), Chap. 16 – and even, by coincidence, mentioned by Housman in a letter written to Grant Richards just twelve days earlier, on 18 May (*Letters* II.293), he would not fall into the category of immediate visual stimulant. By contrast, Housman's companion would fall into this category. But then, as the next section here will aim to show, his name was far from being Max.

35 Housman's writing of 'Nice' altered to 'Nicois' would appear to be no more than an error, immediately corrected. Omission of the cedilla causes little surprise (n.4 above and, further, n.108 below).

36 Even so, the following image, relevant to Frankfurt-am-Main at the turn of the 19th/20th century, may not itself be out of place: 'He sees the portals of the theatres..., he stands dazzled in the unearthly light that spills across the pavement from music halls and vaudeville houses, in front of which, perhaps, some gigantic Negro, his countenance and purple costume blanched by the white brilliance, towers fabulously in tricorn hat, waving his staff...', Thomas Mann, *Confessions of Felix Krull Confidence Man*, trans. D. Linley (London, 1955), Part two: chap. 4.

37 'To assign a mark, 0, when nothing worth evaluating has occurred is to say the least peculiar': Naiditch (n.2 above), 57.

38 The distinction between 9 and 10 will be explored further below.

39 There may well – few nights being entirely dreamless – have been fifteen dreams in fifteen days.

40 Other entries come in at other angles. Conceivably the two '9's in question were added later, when, on Thursday, a slighter dream was encountered, and relative scoring then seemed desirable. Generally, the column of numbers is more cramped than may have been the case if initially planned for. Nicholas Barker is reported by Naiditch (n.2 above), 57, as thinking it possible that the figures '0' are later additions, which also seems possible (though probably not, it should be added, in the case of the second Saturday, which seems to have depressed the next entry and may therefore be thought to have been the starting-point for the addition of the previous three '0's).

41 It is likely to be only coincidence that one of the restaurants Housman recalls to Grant Richards on Friday 10 June (*Letters* II.298) was called 'Marins'. But décor, or dress of the waiters, could conceivably have led to a vision equally valid for the list. But, if so, this would apply to 'Marin 2' only, as

Card 2 would suggest that the restaurant had not been visited in time for 'Marin 1'. Definitely in that case a different *marin*. It seems far safer to confine both sailors to the stage. That the descriptions in Card 3 could refer as a list to restaurants was conclusively disproved by Naiditch (n.2 above), 57 n.3.

42 And will explain also why 'courses dans Paris' in the itinerary are not to be expected to correlate in each and every case – though very many do – with dream scores for the following day.

43 He closes his list on his final full day in Paris.

44 The patchiness of Card 2 is also now explained. Only compiled towards the end, it too was an attempt at diary summation. By then, however, memory of lunch taken at the Hôtel Continental (where he stayed throughout) on arrival from the airfield, as also dinner on the first two days, was clear, but the allocation of exact days to the multitude of restaurants visited in the meantime proved insufficiently precise to list by day – there are question-marks and hesitations – until the last, more recent, run. At that point the last day and a half were evidently yet to come, but the patchy exercise was in the event probably considered not worth concluding.

45 Laurence Housman, *A.E.H.: Some Poems, Some Letters and a Personal Memoir by his Brother* (London, 1937), 102-3.

46 Archie Burnett, *The Poems of A.E. Housman* (Oxford, 1997), 184, Notebook Fragments XLII 'I dreamt I was reading a passage of George Eliot, in which was quoted, printed in italics as prose, the verse...', 278, Light Verse and Juvenilia (a quatrain), 279 (a couplet). *AP* IX was first circulated in 1930 by John Sparrow and John Carter as 'A fragment preserved by oral tradition and said to have been composed by A.E. Housman in a dream' (*Letters* II.444, with Burnett's n.3).

47 Richards (n.9 above), 71 (*Letters* I.192), letter of 11 March 1906.

48 Sotheby's, New York, sale of 18 June 2010, lot 41: 'For some reason or other I have been dreaming rather a lot about you in the past six months, and your behaviour has been rather less disagreeable that it usually is either in dreams or in real life', letter of 14 October 1917 (catalogue note).

49 Note 9 above, 320.

50 Naiditch (n.34 above), 122 n.2.

51 *Letters* II.293.

52 By this stage Housman had come to stay exclusively when in Paris at the Hôtel Continental, first mentioned by him in 1911. Others earlier favoured

had included the Normandy, the Terminus St. Lazare, and the Royal Monceau.

53 Sotheby's New York, sale of 18 June 2010, lot 42.

54 One of the two pages shown in the illustration in the catalogue adds the detail, also previously unknown, of the forced landing in Kent of Housman's aeroplane on the return journey. He had been flying each year since 1920, apparently without mishap. The page demonstrates also, in his closing witticism 'Most people in this College have been dying or marrying this year, but I have escaped hitherto', his habit of re-using material in letters to close friends or relatives, for his letter to Percy Withers of 26 May (I.590), though much earlier in the year, had already made the point.

55 That Housman had come into a position of relative affluence when he took up his appointment at Cambridge is beyond doubt. It should be remembered that the salary of a Cambridge professor at the time stretched to the owning, and running with domestic help, of a large household, from which undertaking Housman was free. His only nod in this direction, luxurious in the context and somewhat reminiscent of his Oxford days, would appear to be the employment of a personal manservant (so referred to in his will), George Penny. This took him considerably beyond the basic college provision of the traditional staircase bedder and – still then in existence – gyp, employed to see to the minor needs of food and drink of the undergraduates. It is clear, to judge from the story of Housman's aviation suit recorded by Jeremy Bourne, *The Westerly Wanderer* (Bromsgrove, 1996), 108, that Penny accompanied Housman when he moved to B staircase in Great Court for the last months of his life, initially a source of terror to his new bedmaker there, though, as his brother informs us (n.45 above), 120, she came to develop affection for him. After Housman's death, Penny is shown by A.S.F. Gow, *Letters from Cambridge 1939-1944* (London, 1945), 12, to have migrated to the service of Gaillard Lapsley, a Trinity bachelor don cast in similar mould, of whom Housman himself had approved: *Letters* I.341. The belief is taking hold in modern times that, in distant Shakespearian echo, Penny received by formal bequest the elastic-sided boots habitually worn by the poet; 'leather boots... which – here comes the fact – I left in my will to my college servant': T. Stoppard, *The Invention of Love* (London, 1997), 101. The fact is disproved by Housman's will, in which his bequest to Penny was of twenty pounds: P.G. Naiditch, *HSJ* 36 (2010), 60. Eloquent as to books and even as to wine, the will does not descend to Housman's boots. Given these to dispose of, however, when Housman's rooms were cleared, Penny found them too small for his own use and too impossibly old-fashioned to arouse interest in any

other quarter: Richards (n.9 above), 30 n.1. Those interested in the origin of the myth may perhaps find it in the fanciful paragraph of intentionally over-detailed biographical writing constructed by Norman Page at *A.E. Housman, A Critical Biography* (London, 1983, 1996[2]), 7. Generous with loans whose repayment he did not realistically expect, Housman usually aimed to use up his income: 'As I have nobody dependent on me I have always spent nearly up to my income', letter to Richards of 20 October 1921 (I.474). His single journey abroad each year, opulently conceived, will have gone a good way towards achieving that aim: 'I was not used to such travelling *en prince*', Richards (n.9 above), 224, a reference to 1927.

56 Not in its way undemanding: the itinerary of his chauffeur company, as seen in the preceding section, records more than 2000 kms travelled in two weeks. Housman's initial intention was to spend some time outside Paris (making, we may imagine, more use of his companion's skills), though in the event he decided against: letters to Katharine Symons of 27 May (II.296) and 15 June (II.299).

57 Including lunching and dining, always less approachable alone.

58 Richards (n.9 above), 242.

59 *Letters* II.352.

60 *Letters* II.366.

61 See further text to n.95.

62 *Letters* II.369-70.

63 *Letters* II.371.

64 Letter to Katharine Symons of 24 August (II.373).

65 *Letters* II.375. Similarly to Withers on 10 November: 'My companion... was all that could be imagined in kindness and helpfulness' (II.386).

66 It was due to take place during the Lent Term, the one and only period of sabbatical leave Housman ever took.

67 *Letters* II.402. Algiers was presumably chosen because of French aeroplane connections with the colony. And the passage had the added attraction at the time of appreciable hazard, as readers of Antoine de St.-Exupéry will need no reminding. In the event, however, Housman's 'spirits and patience' proved too low. It should go without saying that, where possible (as notably it had been in 1915 and 1927), travel with Richards held greater attraction for Housman than that with a paid assistant. For the most part, however, coincidences of their being in Paris at the same time (of which there were

many) were the norm. Lest the description 'roguish' – influentially applied by Goold (n.27 above), 135 – come to be too readily attached to Richards in modern references to him, the great personal affection as well as respect which, as a genuine lover of literature, he inspired in those who knew him ought to be recalled. Of this Alec Waugh's appealing character sketch prefaced to the second, posthumous, edition of Richards' *Author Hunting* (London, 1960), xiii-xix, forms more than adequate testimony. Although Waugh's intimate understanding of the alarming volatility of a publisher's financial position following World War I does something to explain but little to excuse Richards' 'nefarious' conduct in the matter of Housman's American royalties – expertly elucidated by Naiditch (n.34 above), 27-8 – Housman himself came fully to forgive his friend, and, after a period of coolness lasting for nearly all of 1924, went on to savour some of his most enjoyable times abroad in his company.

68 *Letters* II.418.

69 *Letters* II.437-8.

70 *Letters* II.440.

71 *Letters* II.494.

72 For the later history of the *calotte*, we are indebted to the account of its current possessor, James Diggle, in D. Butterfield and C. Stray (eds.), *A.E. Housman: Classical Scholar* (London, 2009), 261-3. It is to be seen in the photograph (taken in the room formerly used by Housman as a sitting and dining room) which appears on the front cover of the book's dust jacket. Though the room was indeed densely packed in his time with the collection of non-classical books which in 1932 Richards benevolently rearranged for him, it is incorrect to describe this as Housman's study. That room, where Housman worked and kept his classical books, was on the other (for most of the day somewhat gloomier) side of his set, overlooking the junction of Sidney Street and Jesus Lane: Richards (n.9 above), 335. Tucked into the north section of the tower on the Whewell's Court side, Plate 37 in Graves (n.21 above), was his narrow bedroom, now a supervision room, and it will doubtless have been at this window that undergraduates on opposite staircases, if they caught the right moment, might catch a glimpse of him – mindful perhaps to avoid poetic thoughts – shaving in the mornings: J. Morrison in D. Wright (ed.), *Walter Hamilton 1908-1988, A Portrait* (London, 1992), 17. The small single window below this gave at an angle on to the private lavatory – accessed at the lower level of what was then the entrance to the set – to which Wittgenstein is said once vainly to have

craved admission: Graves *ibid.*, 249. Housman's acquaintance, the actress M. Anderson de Navarro (whose reminiscence, very likely arising from the meeting mentioned by Housman at *Letters* II.507, is cited by Diggle and is usefully also to be found at *HSJ* 16 (1990), 34), thought that the *calotte* gave him the appearance of 'some old Venetian doge'. For Arthur Prior, later Head Porter but a very young porter when he first joined Trinity in 1935, the impression was somewhat different. Whenever he entered Housman's rooms, he found him sitting at his desk 'with an extraordinary hat on'; this for some reason always 'reminded him of a coalminer': D. Reindorp, 'A Profile of Arthur Prior', *Trinity Review* 1980, 2.

73 A usual subject of his correspondence in the case of Withers in particular.

74 The reflections by Norman Page (n.55 above), 121-2, even with regard to the companion, make in places for some uncharacteristically uncomfortable reading. Over his later and more generalised evaluation in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* vol. 28 (2004), 295, that 'It seems likely that these visits [to Paris] also provided opportunities for homosexual adventures', it is perhaps best that a decent veil should be drawn.

75 Note 27 above, 137.

76 Note 2 above, 58.

77 A description which, as Norman Page (n.55 above), 123, rightly infers, gave some pleasure to Housman in his assumed role as *grand seigneur* (even though, of course, Housman was not the sole employer of his gondolier or even such for any but the shortest of intermittent periods). But Andrea knew how to flatter through obsequiousness, and it is not insignificant that, on his death, Housman likened his devotion to that of the family dog of his childhood (*Letters* II.221, with Burnett's n.2).

78 Note 60 above.

79 Note 63 above.

80 Note 68 above.

81 Trinity College, Cambridge Add. MS a 71[138], letter of 2 June 1936.

82 No less forcefully, though naturally more guardedly, when it came to putting the matter in print in his *Memoir* (n.45 above), 106: 'applications for aid... which, in one case, persisted with brazen effrontery even after his death.' The 'one case', on the evidence of the letter, can only refer to M. Roy.

83 Note 63 above.

84 Well might Housman's style of travelling, described as 'milord' by Richards

(n.9 above), 224, have done much to spread the illusion of great underlying wealth, an impression to which, even amongst the truly opulent foreign travellers in Venice, it is clear that Andrea – as later his family – had not been immune.

85 Letter to Richards of 9 May 1914 (I.324).

86 Letter to Withers of 18 January 1920 (I.428)

87 He got his desire but also his come-uppance when told by the eighteen-year old Hélène that the wine had been good but just a little too sweet for *her* taste: Richards (n.9 above), 41-3.

88 Letter to Richards of 14 September 1929 (II.141)

89 Letter of 24 July 1923 (I.546)

90 For the consummate classical linguist – not without an element of hyper-correction – always, and clearly deliberately, 'Britanny'.

91 Notes 62 and 63 above.

92 Note 51 above.

93 *A Buried Life: Personal Recollections of A.E. Housman* (London, 1940), 115.

94 Though Housman himself gives no indication of this in his letters, there is no reason to doubt Withers' testimony, as the information could well have been given to him on what turned out to be his last visit to Housman on 6 December 1935, recounted by him at pp.117-23 of his book. It fits also with the companion's remark about Housman 'being taken for a great scholar', implying no long knowledge of his employer. It is curious, however, that Withers concludes his mention of the companion with the words 'and of whose solicitude and care he wrote most warmly when the holiday was over' (p.115). This is not the case, as Housman's surviving letter to Withers of 21 September 1935, in which he describes his trip and his accident (II.493), contains no such acknowledgement and is indeed, as has been seen, entirely silent as to his companion. Although, again, the information could well have been verbal, it is almost certainly a transferred reminiscence from Housman's report to Withers of the companion of 1933 who looked after him in his far more substantial health difficulties of that year: 'My companion... was all that could be imagined in kindness and helpfulness' (II.386). In general the biographer will approach a number of the chronological and other indications provided by Withers with a degree of caution, for, in order primarily to maintain the pace of his narrative but also in some respects to make smoother the picture of a friendship which in truth could never

have been wholly unforced, he is not averse to conflating, and sometimes rearranging, matter contained in different letters written to him by Housman. Once again, a great debt is owed to the completeness of Burnett's edition in enabling the reader to make the necessary adjustments. For present purposes relating to Housman's final years the following may be noted:

p.104: It suits the drama of Withers' account to represent Housman's description of his low physical condition as being a result of his trip to France in 1933. In fact the letter of Housman's (of which Withers provides only excerpts) preceded that trip, and the return Housman refers to was from a family visit in England which had even included lunch with Withers himself (II.369).

p.105: Letters of 4 May (II.470) and 20 May 1935 (II.471) are, for convenience, conflated. Oddly, but modestly, the 'common firend' referred to by Withers is none other than Withers himself, as again the full text of Housman's letter makes clear.

pp.116-17: The urgency of Housman's decline – together perhaps with Withers' anxiousness not to have seemed to have overtaxed or to have pressed himself on his weakened friend – is highlighted by distortion of dating in the correspondece which led to his final visit. This is done, as is noted by Burnett, by assigning the date 'December 1' to Housman's undated letter (II.507) which can only have preceded his subsequent confirmation of the arrangement in a dated letter (II.508) – conflated as to content with the first by Withers – of 30 November. Withers would seem to have determined already on a visit, but Housman is more effectively presented – though again full context reveals his own tone as more measured and a good deal less alarmist – as the messenger of his own decline.

95 Text to notes 59-63.

96 *Letters* II.373.

97 'I hope to take a French friend with me' (n.68 above).

98 The impression gained by Laurence Housman, who had the opportunity after Housman's death to read Roy's letters, was that he was 'an adept at sponging' (n.81 above). One of his letters calling for support, passed on by Gow to Laurence Housman, had evidently arrived at Trinity. It was Laurence Housman's news that Housman had died which elicited the protestations of 'unutterable grief' (*ibid*.). It would seem that, as with his Venetian gondolier, Housman felt (or wished to feel) in a position of benign responsibility towards one he had employed. But, as with Andrea, the end-result, less happily, was much the same.

99 *Letters* I.416

100 Richards (n.9 above), 237.

101 Richards (n.9 above), 243.

102 *Letters* I.150, with Burnett's note.

103 *Letters* I.451.

104 *Letters* I.471.

105 His account of the matter was first (and most fully) given in 'A Personal Recollection of A.E. Housman', *HSJ* 1 (1974), 27-9, at 28.

106 At Virgil, *Aeneid* 9.214, a line whose semantic unevenness had been apparent since late antiquity, Powell wished to read *aut solitas* in place of *solita aut*, the reading given by the manuscripts. He went on to publish his suggestion in *Philologus* 89 (1934), 386-9. The problem was perhaps that his emendation did not remove quite all of the difficulties. It has taken the acumen of G.P. Goold to see that, if coupled with a suggestion previously advanced elsewhere in the line but treated by Powell in his article only as an alternative to his own suggestion, the emendation will indeed make excellent sense, and the two proposals – the second requiring re-attribution to Hoffmann, its original author – now shine forth together in his revised Loeb edition of 2000.

107 But he follows also, if tacitly, Naiditch's interpretation – (n.2 above), 166 – of Powell's indications. The basis of the interpretation is explored further at n.116 below.

108 'What arrived was a letter from Housman's favourite hotel in Paris' (Powell). With the adjective no one would quarrel (n.52 above). The editor perhaps omits the accent from 'Hotel' on the assumption that, as in other cases, the hotel's own writing-paper, with its name printed in capitals, would have been used, not because of any presumed laxity on Housman's part (n.4 above). But in that case, as in other letters from the hotel, the capitals should be retained.

109 For information on Housman's schedule of lectures in his time at Cambridge we are indebted to David Butterfield's revision on a more useful chronological basis of the list given by A.S.F. Gow in *A.E. Housman: A Sketch* (Cambridge, 1936) at 60-1: 'Housman's Cambridge Lectures', *HSJ* 35 (2009), 122-48, at 132-3. Note 129 below adds correction.

110 Letters to Katharine Symons of 18 September and 3 December 1934 (II.440, 454).

111 Nor did the vacation from 16 March onwards hold out in practical terms other opportunity of absence. For 1933 was the year of his Leslie Stephen lecture, to be delivered early in the next term on 9 May, a lecture which, not wrongly, he anticipated would give him 'a great deal of trouble to compose' and remove any enjoyment from the vacation: letter to Katharine Symons of 17 March 1933 (II.334). Given that the lecture was subsequently reported by Housman to have been held by a leading progressive to have done in one hour harm which it would 'take twelve years to undo' (*Letters* II.347, with Burnett's essential n.2), the trouble would not seem unreasonable.

112 Highly successfully, gaining a First, with distinction for composition in Greek and Latin verse.

113 Again highly successfully, gaining a First, with distinction not only in History but in the exam as a whole.

114 'It was at the beginning of the next academic year...' (n.105 above), 27.

115 Philip Roth, *Enoch Powell: Tory Tribune* (London, 1970), 20.

116 The origin of the error may lie in the opening words of Powell's article: 'The first time I remember seeing Housman was on a freezing and foggy night in early January 1931. I was up before term started, to take the University scholarships examination'. These were not, as might be assumed, entry examinations (which Powell will have come to take at Trinity at a similar time – in fact before Christmas – in the previous year) but a series of examinations taken, once already admitted to a college and resident there, in order to win prestigious scholarships, then of some value, as prizes at university level. Had the scholarships in question been entry exams, Powell would indeed have reached, after entry in the next October (1931), the end of his second term at Housman's feet in March 1933. But the whole process was, as we have seen, one full year ahead of that.

117 A second matter of erroneous dating in the letters is relevant to Housman's travels at the time. In 1930 he visited the American novelist Edith Wharton at her house and garden in the suburbs of Paris, relishing the opportunity to make use not of her chauffeur but of his own. Housman's two letters, arranging and confirming the visit, are dated by Burnett to 30 June and c. 1 July respectively (II.192). This produces an evident absurdity in their post-dating the immediately preceding letter of 29 June in which, writing from Trinity, he describes to Grant Richards his by then completed stay in Paris (II.191). Other letters show him to have been back in Cambridge since 18 June (II.189-91). The difficulty is easily unravelled. Writing – by now a usual precaution in case of mischance – to Katharine Symons, he says on 30 May

(II.188): 'I shall leave here on Monday, sleep at Croydon, and fly to Paris on Tuesday for about a fortnight'. Those days are Monday 2 June and Tuesday 3 June. The two letters to Mrs Wharton are not extant but are reconstructed from the account of them given by Richards (n.9 above), 339 n.1, into whose possession (or at least knowledge), as an indefatigable pursuer of Housman memorabilia, they had come. He is the source of the date of 30 June given to the first. For this, in clear contradiction with his own pp.253-4 (where also he means 'shall show', not 'have shown'), an easy misprint is to blame. Since Housman is likely to have written his first letter, hoping to arrange his visit within the next week of his stay, on the afternoon of the day of his arrival at his hotel, the date of that letter should be 3 June, 1930, not 30 June, 1930. The date of his visit as arranged will then be Tuesday 10 June – for he will have flown back on Tuesday 17 June – and the date of the second letter, notable for the information it gives us as to the correct contemporary pronunciation in French ('Oozman') of Housman's name (at I.255 he renders the same courtesy to Richards) – will, given Richards' information that it was written 'immediately', be 4 or 5 June. Again the editor has proved to be rather too immediately trusting of his source.

118 It was, we have seen, his second *year*.

119 As is shown in Housman's letter to the non-student attender of his lectures, B. Goulding Brown, of 22 May 1933: 'At the end of the week my audience, excepting you, will probably disappear into the Tripos' (II.349).

120 It ended that year on Friday 10 June.

121 Examinations for Part II of the Tripos began on Monday 30 May. With a fine sense of timing Housman's visit to Paris began the day before. It is in the light of his stay there that the main thrust of an otherwise obscure letter of 9 October 1931 to D.S. Robertson (II.260-1) is to be interpreted, that he did not wish to serve as a Part II examiner in 1932: 'So I am not disposed to take up additional work which incidentally will keep me here in June when I particularly wanted to be abroad'. Robertson was Chairman of the Part II examiners in that year. As in 1930, Housman had a wish to be in Paris in the earliest weeks of the summer, which Tripos examining would preclude. His letters also contain a number of references to his distaste at being in Cambridge in the period of post-exam festivity. In fact the request made of him to examine in Tripos, doubtless timidly advanced, was wholly unusual, occasioned by the difficulty of the text set in that year. Housman was Tripos examiner (only ever for Part II) in 1913 and 1914 (when, under the old regulations, few candidates went on to take the more specialised Part

II) and in 1920 and 1921 (when, in the final years of the old regulations, there were no candidates in the area of literature), and acted as assessor for the new paper in textual criticism in 1929 (reflected in letters of the year at II.117, 123, 135, 137, 138, some measure of the administrative trouble involved). Instead his efforts were expended in very many years (with respite only on average every third year) on the far more exalted and highly demanding University Scholarships (n.116 above), no less taxing of the examiners than of those they examined: 'But if you ever have to examine for University Scholarships you will find as I do that all one's leisure is fully occupied by wishing that one was dead' (I.304, a letter of 1913), 'The University has relieved me of the examination which is the chief terror of the winter' (II.500, a letter of 1935), though a lighter approach to his labours is displayed, when he first examined, in his telling parody of a hapless candidate's attempts at Latin verse composition, to be seen in Burnett's edition of Housman's poems (n.46 above), 291-2, with translation and valuable annotation at 567-9. Several times (1918, 1919, 1920, 1930) Housman acted also as one of the examiners of the Members' Latin Essay prize. This is the background to his letter to Robertson of 8 December 1920 (I.457), where Burnett's n.1, taking it as equivalent to its modern instantiation, gives a seriously anachronistic description of the nature of the prize (as also of the Hare Prize in n.2), which had at the time no connection with the Tripos nor, as listed in the General Index s.v. Cambridge (II.555), any specific connection with Trinity College. By sad mischance the final two paragraphs of this letter are erroneously reprinted by the editor in a separate letter to Robertson of 22 May 1924 (I.563), a year in which Housman did not examine the prize, and it is impossible for the reader to tell whether the repetition may have dislodged any true material from that letter. Though not in place there, the editor's second note on the Hare Prize greatly improves on his first, except that the prize was awarded not annually but triennially and even, within the earlier part of Housman's time, quadrennially. A further form of repetition affects letters at I.490 and II.276 in that both are said by the editor to be addressed at a distance of ten years to the same D.B. Harden. In the context of the Classical Reading Society at Trinity, organised by and for junior members, this is an extreme unlikelihood, incompatible in any case with the biographical details of Harden – where, crucially, read '1920' for '1922' – given at I.xxxiv. The editor has been cruelly miseld in that Housman wrote the second of these letters to an undergraduate named T.M. Horder, and it will have been Horder who added it in 1932 to the envelope earlier addressed to Harden and passed down from one student organiser to

the next, at the same time adjusting Harden's 1922 note 'A.E.H. to be asked again Easter Term 1932' to read 'Lent Term 1942'. Doubtless a long-term student joke is at issue, but the underlying probability is also that Housman, having after the due passage of ten years fulfilled his promise, ended the meeting in 1932, grimly jocular, with the suggestion that he attend again in yet a further ten years, a meeting he knew he could never see. It is uncertain on what basis the editor identifies the recipient of the first of the three letters in this series (I.465) as J.F. Duff, son of the Trinity classics Fellow J.D. Duff, rather than his younger brother, P.W. Duff, later himself a Fellow. Though still at Trinity in April 1921, J.F. Duff had already graduated after taking Part I Classics under the old regulations and was reading for Part II in Economics. P.W. Duff, at that time at the mid-point of his full undergraduate Classics career (1919-23), would seem to be the more likely candidate. For '*Moselle*' in that letter read '*Mosella*': it would be highly uncharacteristic of Housman to use a modern, and not a Latin, title for a work written in antiquity.

122 It may be thought curious that Powell, for reasons which he would seem to have taken with him to the grave, found himself unable to date Housman's letter more closely than Naiditch's suggestion of c. 5 March 1933, when approached by him in writing: 'Mr Powell is unable to date the letter more closely than my conjecture (*per litt.* July 20, 1993)', (n.2 above), 166 n.1. But then correction of Naiditch at that point would, we now find, have led to correction of himself. It is worth observing that, for memory of the text itself of Housman's letter (which was not, it seems, preserved), we remain dependent on Powell alone.

123 Note 105 above, 28.

124 Note 109 above, 142 n.15.

125 If Powell came to think that he, or others, had heard Housman on this passage, how may this have arisen? It is to be noted that in his Inaugural Lecture at Cambridge in 1911 Housman made intellectual capital, supporting Bentley, of an equally famous Horatian *crux* at *Odes* 1.23.5-6: 'When Horace is reported to have said *seu mobilibus ueris inhorruit adventus foliis*, and when pedants like Bentley and Munro object that the phrase is unsuitable to its context, of what avail is it to be assured by persons of taste – that is to say persons of British taste, Victorian taste, and sub-Tennysonian taste – that these are exquisite lines? Exquisite to whom?'. The lecture remained unpublished in Housman's time but, edited by John Carter, saw the light in the Times Literary Supplement of 9 May 1968, followed by separate

publication at Cambridge in the following year. (In both versions *adventus* for *aduentus*, Housman's invariable spelling, is owed to the typescript discovered by Carter.) Either, and probably both, of these would have been well known to Powell a few years before his 1974 article. Perhaps, not stopping to verify his reference, he transferred his received recollection of the lecture from one passage treated to Bentley to the other. He may even have felt that Housman, if he dealt with the first passage, would have dealt also with the second. But there he will have gone too far. The factors at issue in the two passages, though both concern the natural world, are very different, and it is far from certain that Housman, no uncritical follower of Bentley right or wrong, would, if he agreed with him in the one passage, have agreed with him also in the other.

126 Note 105 above, 28.

127 Note 109 above, 142 n.14.

128 Repeated from the previous year, a pattern which became regular under the new regulations, designed to facilitate the reading for Part II (when necessary or chosen) over two years. After the new regulations came in (examined first in 1921), Housman relinquished his stance of total free choice in the subject matter of his lectures and, beginning in 1923 and thereafter continuously from 1925, lectured in one term of the year on the Latin text centrally prescribed for examination.

129 Butterfield (n.109 above), 133, at this point lists Catullus 61-2, 65-6, though Gow's report of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1 is supported by announcements in the Lecture Lists published at the beginning of each term in the Cambridge University *Reporter* of 1932-3. Any last-minute change of plan by Housman would seem to be ruled out by his writing towards the end of the Easter Term (*Letters* II.349): 'I shall lecture on to the end of the book', applicable to Ovid but not to Catullus. Gow also indicates in his list that Horace *Satires* 1 was the prescribed text (see preceding note) lectured on in Lent 1936, and this too (i.e. 'Textual criticism of') should be included by Butterfield. These lectures were repeated in the following year from Housman's notes by L.P. Wilkinson, who shadowed them in 1936 in case of Housman's inability to see them through to the end: *HSJ* 1 (1974), 32-3. It is not given to all to lecture from beyond the grave.

130 It was open to Powell, when he returned to Cambridge in May 1935 to take up his Fellowship at Trinity after a period of research abroad, to attend, as Fellows were known to do, further lectures of Housman's. The full courses he could have heard in this way were on Ovid, *Heroides* 1-6 in Michaelmas

1935 and Horace, *Satires* 1 in Lent 1936 (preced. note). Although H.H. Huxley gives some indication at *Vergilius* 44 (1998), 24, of Powell's attendance at the course on Ovid, Powell himself nowhere makes mention of his having returned to Housman's lectures, and, even so, there would still have been no Virgil.

131 Houston Martin, *Yale Review*, Winter 1937, 288.

132 It has seemed best, by leaving the content of section (iii) untouched, to allow the process of discovery and development to unfold in its original order. The Society of Authors is thanked for its assent to the publication of matter reproduced here whose copyright lies within its domain.

133 Contained in Churchill POLL 1/6/11 (see further note n.138 below).

134 Nor does its format surprise: it is written on the notepaper of Housman's hotel with, in small capitals, the address HOTEL CONTINENTAL | PARIS | FACE AUX TUILERIES centrally embossed at the head (cf. n.108 above). Designed for reverse folding, the paper (180 x 270 mm) makes it possible in practical terms to use only the outer side of the first leaf (180 x 135 mm).

135 Perhaps not the most difficult of tasks for one who, in his entrance exam in Greek prose composition at Trinity, is reputed to have written one piece in the style and Attic dialect of Thucydides, then, changing his mind, to have rejected it in favour of a whole new piece, still written within the time of the exam, in the style and Ionic dialect of Herodotus: Robert Shepherd, *Enoch Powell* (London, 1996), 16; Simon Heffer, *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell* (London, 1998), 12-13, two accounts whose details the reader must square as seems fit.

136 Note 106 above, 387, where the correction *solitae* is attributed to G. Wagner and to Forbiger.

137 '[The] phrasing is such as to suggest that [Housman] did not accept his correspondent's emendation': Naiditch (n.2 above), 166. Cf., further, n.171 below.

138 Contained in Churchill POLL 1/1/23. It is to be noted that all such references are to entire files, within which individual items are not identified by subdivided number.

139 Letter of 6 March 1974.

140 The correction in the published version is the editors'.

141 Letter of 15 March 1974.

142 'D. Litt.' for 'Litt. D.', the Cambridge higher doctorate.

143 There is confusion also in that, whereas an honorary degree (conferred at university level) entitles the recipient to scarlet, honorary fellowship of a college does not.

144 *The Independent Magazine,* 27 January 1990, reprinted at *HSJ* 19 (1990), 47-9, one of several such returns by Powell to the theme of Housman in his later years including the first Housman Lecture, *HSJ* 14 (1988), 7-13 (suitably academic, yet apparently based on the misapprehension that Housman's paper, *The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism*, had not by then been twice reprinted), a television programme for Channel 4 in December 1991 and a Radio 4 interview in May 1995. By then, and especially in the last, the nature of the 'great sermon' had become more clearly defined: 'Have the courage to be right, when all others are wrong'. Doubtless Housman found himself at times in this position, but was this for him the driving force – allegedly a life-lesson learnt from him by Powell – of textual criticism? It must be wondered.

145 It had in addition served also as the striking opening image in Powell's 'The Hem of the Garment', *HSJ* 7 (1981), 16-19.

146 Churchill POLL 1/1/40, letter of 29 January 1990.

147 Letter of 1 February 1990.

148 'If he could manage, for a full span of life, to hold his own against intellectual and emotional isolation, so could I', *HSJ* 7 (1981), 17. Though it seems most likely that there has been an element of aggrandisement in Powell's thinking that Housman could only have been distinguished by a gown of higher status, the possibility must also exist that, if a dinner requiring scarlet (such as the feast currently, though not in Housman's day, held on Twelfth Night) was held in that year, and Powell had never seen Housman before, the sighting may even have been a case of mistaken identity.

149 Letter to Laurence Housman of 9 June 1935 (II.476), words perhaps often repeated by Housman in conversation. His letter, with characteristic precision, gives the number of stairs as forty-four.

150 Contemporary photographs of G. Kitson Clark as a young Fellow of Trinity are to be seen in D. Wright (n.72 above), facing p.16, and in E. Homberger et al., *The Cambridge Mind: Ninety Years of the Cambridge Review* (London, 1970), plate 5, between pp.152-3. Since a degree of imprecision in the matter of Housman's moves extends also to the biographies and even to the early studies of him, it may be as well to see whether some greater definition can yet be achieved. Only in 1933, after continuous residence in Whewell's Court over twenty-two years, – though it had been open to Housman, had

he wished, to move to larger or more attractive rooms on many occasions during that period – was a move first contemplated and for a while seemed definite. By the early summer of that year, following the delivery of his Leslie Stephen lecture in May, the condition of Housman's heart was causing his doctor such concern that, given the impracticability of installing a lift on K staircase Whewell's Court to relieve him of the burden of climbing the stairs to his rooms, his move to a set on a different staircase in college, where a lift could be installed, seemed necessary. From his bed in the Evelyn Nursing Home in early June Housman wrote of his impending move in the autumn as an already arranged event. It may at first sight seem strange that the rooms above Great Gate, the imposing Tudor tower which constitutes the main entrance to Trinity, and in which the set, by the physical limitations of the tower, was divided over two storeys with access and internal connection only possible by narrow turret stairs, should have been chosen for the declining Housman. But, apart from the knowledge received from Powell, we have the evidence of Percy Withers (which, as above, n.94, may well have been verbal, for it is contained in no letter to him) that Housman's move was to be to 'a suite of rooms in the gatehouse': (n.93 above), 121. Housman himself referred to the move, with some meiosis, as being rather simply to 'an older and more architectural part of the college': letter to Katharine Symons of 24 July (II.366). It must be presumed that installation of a lift in the north-west turret of the tower was thought sufficient to cure the problems of access to, and movement within, the set. Of greater interest is the reason why Housman did not proceed with the move. In June he was arranging for repairs and the new furniture needed, and, by July, had received notice of the cost of £324 needed for the lift: letters to Percy Withers of 7 June and to Grant Richards of 7 July (II.352, 359). By the end of that month, however, he had cancelled the move: letters to Katharine Symons of 24 July (II.366) and to Jeannie Housman of 26 July (II.367). It is true that his heart was then giving him less trouble, but Percy Withers, looking back with amazement at Housman's failure to move, put it down to fear of upheaval, however temporary, and change: (n.93 above), 122. In this he is supported by Housman himself, who writes to his sister that 'it was such a bother that I have given it up' (II.366). Curiously, however, Richards (referring to this move, as there was no other ever intended) says that 'The idea came to nothing, for the rooms did not after all fall vacant': (n.9 above), 266. And in this he is supported by the fact that, throughout all the time Housman was contemplating his move, as well as afterwards, the rooms above Great Gate were occupied, as they had been for many years, by R.V. Laurence.

How are these two very different accounts to be reconciled? The answer must lie in Housman's great friendship with Laurence. Withers pays tribute to the, in his experience, unique place of affection which Laurence held in Housman's heart and the warmth with which Housman spoke of him: (n.93 above), 34-6. Given to good living, as is elsewhere attested by A.C. Benson in his diaries, quoted by D. Newsome, *On the Edge of Paradise: A.C. Benson, the Diarist* (London, 1980), 189, he is referred to by Housman as 'one of my best boon-companions' (II.453), a status enlivened by the anecdote he tells (II.185) of Laurence's cure by Burgundy of symptoms ('well earned') of gout. When he died, to Housman's regret, at the early age of 58 in October 1934 – even ten years earlier Benson had commented that 'He looked incredibly old in his lofty rooms': T.E.B. Howarth, *Cambridge Between Two War*s (London, 1978), 82 –, he had been ill for some two years, impressing Housman by his bravery in that 'he had arranged and intended to lecture on the day he died' (II.451), something which Housman himself was soon to come as close to emulating as he could. The answer to the question why Housman was contemplating a move to the Great Gate in 1933 can only be that Laurence (who had an address also outside Cambridge, and may have been willing to use other rooms when resident in college) had, with great generosity, offered to make way for Housman in his own illness. It would surely not be surprising if, when his heart had appeared to recover, Housman then felt that, unless wholly necessary, he did not after all wish to trespass on his friend's kindness – to evict, as it were, a dying man from his rooms – and that this played a major part in his decision not to proceed with the move. So it was that in due course, in April 1935, Kitson Clark inherited Housman's lift and Laurence's high-ceilinged set, where Powell, returning to the college in May, will have found him. Only in November of that year did the deterioration of Housman's heart finally make a move imperative, and it was then that, at short notice, he moved to ground-floor rooms on B staircase in Great Court, his last, if briefly held, place of residence in Trinity.

151 Note 122 above.

152 Churchill POLL 3/2/3/24, letter of 13 July 1993 from Naiditch, carbon copy of Powell's typescript reply, 20 July 1993.

153 Churchill POLL 1/6/12.

154 The letter is written on a single sheet of paper neatly folded so as to form a bifolium of 7½" x 4½" approx. (176 x 114 mm). Unlike the opulent design of the notepaper of the Hôtel Continental (n.134 above), this format readily takes writing on the recto side of each of its two leaves. Here the division

comes between 'Temperatur' and 'abends'. On 1^{r} 'Angaben' is a correction from 'angaben'. The verso pages are both blank, except that 1^{v} contains in Housman's hand, nearly opposite the gap between signature and postscript on 2^{r}, the calculation '40 x 180/100' (originally 280) altered by a series of crossings-out to '8 x 9'. This represents a simplification technique for working out the fraction, comprising the following stages: 1) take away the noughts from the right-hand numbers, producing 18/10; 2) divide the product by 2, producing 9/5; 3) divide the 40 on the left-hand side by the 5 on the right, producing 8; 4) the result is 8 x 9, now easily calculable. But why Housman should wish to know what 40 x 180/100 came to, is unclear. It does not relate to any calculations of temperature relevant to the letter or to distances on the Nile (on which see further below). It would seem to be a calculation made on the paper before its conversion to writing-paper and thus extraneous to the content of the letter.

155 'According to (modern) travellers the temperature is 60 degrees centigrade in the evening, 100 at midnight, 80 in the morning, 40 at midday.'

156 A full list is provided by R.B. Todd, 'Enoch Powell's Classical Scholarship: A Bibliography', *Quaderni di Storia* 42 (1995), 89-96. Inaccuracies of reference, though few, are owed to the author's trust in his source, *L'Année Philologique*.

157 68 (1933), 123-6.

158 Powell was still in his state, before the shock and disillusionment brought about in him by the Nazi purge of the 'Night of the Long Knives' on 30 June 1934, of seeing Germany as a spiritual homeland, and published his work for preference in German periodicals, for which – by no means a condition of acceptance – he wrote in German.

159 Accepted for publication by one of the editors of *Hermes*, W. Schadewaldt, on 2 June 1932 (Churchill POLL 1/6/11), the article emerged by 23 February 1933, the date of accession in the University Library, Cambridge, of the fascicle of *Hermes* in which it appeared.

160 Churchill POLL 1/6/11. The article appeared in the next year in *Hermes* 69 (1934), 107-12.

161 Notes 165 and 170 below.

162 4.181.

163 A line of cancellation is put through this word.

164 Cambridge University Library MS Add. 6895, fol. 57^{r}.

165 His letter survives (n.170 below).

166 Of this there is further confirmation, should any be needed, which enables us to see into the very composition of Housman's note. The line which cancels the 'etc.' following his reference to Ovid (n.163 above) is made in the original ink. At this point then in his writing we see him actually reaching for the commentary of Korn-Ehwald: for the references to Pliny, Antigonus, and, of course, Herodotus are the very three reported by the commentary, and Housman, cancelling his 'etc.', has proceeded to add the details found there into his own note. Then follows his paraphrase of the modern information given in the commentary. The text of Korn-Ehwald (3rd edition, 1898) placed inverted commas (which Housman reproduces in his letter) round the sentence containing the modern information, but lacked any attribution of the authority cited. These were omitted in subsequent editions. With his habitual thoroughness Powell eventually tracked the reference down to a 19th-century geographical handbook, and added quotation of it in full in the margin of his own bound copy of his Adversaria (Churchill POLL 1/6/3), not omitting to add his characterisation of the source on which the passage was itself based as being 'a combination of guess & mere imagination'.

167 (Note 160 above), n.4 at p.108.

168 The emphasis in the final sentence is Powell's.

169 That Powell's footnote is a later addition to his work is shown by the way in which, at n.1 on the following page, he reaches Ov. *Met*. 15.309 in the natural course of his discussion, leading him to add the anticipatory cross-reference to it in line 2 of the note in question. At n.1 on p.108 he similarly worked in at a late stage reference to a passage of Hippocrates suggested to him by Schadewaldt (n.160, with n.159 above).

170 Powell's two letters of 3 and 6 March 1933, the first raising his objection, the second acknowledging Housman's reply and taking his point further, are now catalogued separately from the book of lecture-notes in which Housman inserted them: Cambridge University Library MS Add. 7339/177-8. In his census of Housman correspondence at *HSJ* 24 (1998), 95 Naiditch placed by conjecture the first letter Powell received from Housman between these two dates (c. 5 March 1933), but it should have been evident that that letter, responding to Powell's suggestion in Virgil, concerned an entirely different subject. The preservation of Housman's books of lecture-notes is owed to Gow, who persuaded Housman of their future value to others and saw to their removal to the University Library on Housman's death. The relations (not always easy) between Powell and those responsible for guiding his undergraduate studies, Gow and F.H. Sandbach (who – unduly

late in Powell's view – first suggested that he might draw benefit from Housman's lectures), lie beyond the scope of this study, but the interested reader is directed towards Churchill POLL 1/6/11 (letter from Gow to Powell of 20 February 1939) and 1/1/41 (letter from Powell to E.J. Kenney of 16 December 1991) together with Patrick Cosgrave, *The Lives of Enoch Powell* (London, 1989), 44 (report of a personal interview with Gow).

171 Shepherd (n.135 above), 22: 'Powell was never sure whether or not Housman approved of his suggestion, 'but at least it was not a put down'.'

172 By then often repeated. It causes some disquiet that by 1997, six months before his death, in response to an enquiry from W.S. Watt, the form, now memory of a memory, had become 'You analysed the difficulty of the passage well. Your emendation removes it.' (Churchill POLL 3/2/3/24, letter of 4 August 1997).

173 Could the second of these be his reason for not disputing in 1993 the date given to the first letter by Naiditch, clearly known by him (as often related) not to refer to his third undergraduate year? That the second letter bears nearly exactly the date conjectured for the first by Naiditch will hardly have led to confusion.

War Memorials and A.E. Housman

by

Brian Young

Next year sad thoughts will be upon us, as we recall the dead of two world wars. It would seem a pity to let the year pass without giving the mind to attempts by Housman to draw our memories to those who died young in battle. It is true that his lines often refer to earlier wars, but his place as a moving commemorator is worth recording.

The one clear piece about WWI was published in the Times: 'These, in the day when heaven was falling' (*LP* XXXVII) is known to everyone. The first two lines of each quatrain are splendidly thunderous. But I find it hard to enjoy the next two of each, with their sensations of bathos and bitterness. They make no sense at all (except as a sneer) if you do not know what the Kaiser is believed to have said about our 1915 army. The end, with its plainly deliberate shock of the two final words, conjures up a picture of crude earthly payment setting right divine impotence. But it is surely only believers in day-by-day heavenly intervention who have the task not only of praising God's deliverances but also of explaining his abandonments. What is Housman doing here? I much prefer the poem which follows (*LP* XXXVIII).

That said, I would like to salute a few words by Housman (taken, admittedly, from a Ludlow fair, rather than a War Memorial): 'They carry back bright to the coiner the vintage of man, | The lads that will die in their glory and never be old.' (end of *ASL* XXIII). I could wish that these words (almost those of a believer) were used, at least in churches, rather than Lawrence Binyon's well-worn caution. They have a pleasing freshness, and even something of a look forward.

But the lines which most of us love best commemorate (in their most explicit form) the sacrifice made by the war dead: 'Here dead lie we because we did not choose | To live and shame the land from which we

sprung. | Life, to be sure, is nothing much to lose; | But young men think it is, and we were young.' (*MP* XXXVI). This gives us the satisfying brevity for which Simonides was famous. This contains full recognition of the poignancy of death in action. Or does it?

There would seem to be no reason why a poem of such power and grace should not be published in Housman's lifetime. But it seems to me that two doubts, one serious and one trivial, held him back.

The serious doubt, which I have not seen expressed elsewhere, is this: do young men find dying in war 'nothing much to lose', or is the opposite true? Logic suggests that the words 'young men think it is' should show agreement with the poet. Yet 'but', rather than 'and', runs the other way. I would strongly take the view that the norm is for young men to feel sure that being killed is the worst loss possible (whatever a poet in gloom or a carefree lad from Ludlow might feel): when lying wounded, a man would think only of his chances of ultimate survival, with any suffering bearable provided he comes out alive, and eager for that assurance, whether truthful or not, to be given him. And this, of course, makes the sacrifice all the greater. Yet a poem like 'O hard is the bed they have made him' (*LP* IV) implies, for all its beauty, that lads really are in love with the grave. Was Housman really sure which of the two he meant?

The less serious question about publishing might have been simply a semantic one. 'Sprang' rather than 'sprung' would surely appeal to a writer as fastidious as Housman, if rhyming allowed it. It is true that dictionaries give allowance to 'sprung' as a past tense; but we know what cowardly permissions they often give to the wrong word just because some users fancy it their way. But Housman would surely have spurned both this and a fudge like 'we're sprung' or 'we've sprung'. Better to leave it; and how very lucky we are that this (and many other beautiful pieces in *MP* and *AP*) can still survive to delight us.

I can think of only one other example of Housman's words being used in a real war memorial. At the end of WWII someone in Burma recalled, a bit faultily, this: 'They braced their belts about them, | They crossed in ships the sea, | They sought and found six feet of ground, | And died for you and me.' (*LP* XXXII, but not quite). This, though heartfelt, is surely

a most unpleasing distortion. It has a last line that Housman would never have written. Moreover it loses the whole point of a forceful contrast – that the poet dreamt of saving others, but in the end it was they who saved him.

Its only merit is that, like many others, it carefully avoids saying anything which could upset either believers or unbelievers. And in that area I am very fond of another neutral war memorial, not by Housman although I believe he would have approved of it: it simply says 'Desideratis adnumeremini'. The message, which had to be coaxed into an Alcaic line very recently, would require at least twelve words of English to express it properly – 'You also should be counted among those whom we have loved and lost.'

There are, of course, many Housman poems which are not specifically memorials but full of soldiering and death. In *ASL*, 'Far I hear the bugle blow' (*SL* LVI) is an admirable variant of the exchange between Sarpedon and Glaucus in the 'Iliad': here there is no poetic charm, but a matter-of-fact acceptance that all must die. But there is great charm in 'On the idle hill of summer' (*SL* XXXV), which many of us have probably found occasion to quote. (Nor is it totally ruined by knowledge of a joker who won a competition for wrecking a line by changing a single letter: he offered 'women' to start the last line.)

LP also has some fine verse which falls little short of a war memorial: ' 'Tis mute, the Word' (*LP* XXV) and 'wake not for the world-heard thunder' (*LP* XXIX) are good examples of this. The latter carries, for the soldier who is now dead, great splendour of words, without the element which for me mars the poem first discussed here. The fact that the French are the enemy takes its conception back to Fashoda or even Napoleon. And the weariness of the fighter puts me in mind of the immortal stage-direction (was it Canning's?) that reads 'Enter a soldier, as though returning from the Thirty Years War'.

In *MP* a poem too blatantly romantic for publication, 'I did not lose my heart in summer's even' (*MP* XXXVII), finds a strong contrast two poems later in 'My dreams are of a field afar' (*MP* XXXIX). And even in *AP* relevance continues sadly in 'Ask me no more' (*AP* VI) and 'In battles of no renown' (*AP* XIX). 'Lydians, lords of Hermus river' (*AP* I) is best of

all: a wonderful picture of death only gradually learnt of, and the poignancy of fathers burying their sons rather than sons burying their fathers. But I must follow no further the temptation to go on choosing in such a galaxy of suitable verse.

It would be good to have more epitaphs by Housman – an inscription on a Lutyens monument or a Jagger carving would be a happy blend. But perhaps I might end on a personal note.

A dear friend and I, in destroyers, entered the Mediterranean from opposite ends in 1943. He had the horror of the Aegean campaign that autumn; we were luckier, patrolling the Croatian coast from Adriatic ports, and suffering only the raid on Bari. He was killed. With my memory soaked in Housman, I wrote an epitaph which was generously used at the 2012 Housman Weekend (it was a pastiche rather than a parody):

The lonely isles your mourners,

The shifting seas your grave,

Lie still: your task is ended:

Others remain and brave.

Lie still, you best of comrades:

Others remain and true.

But oh, I shall not find one

As light of heart as you.

‘The Half-Moon Westers Low, My Love’

by

Andrew Breeze

Last Poems XXVI is short enough to quote entire.

The half-moon westers low, my love,
And the wind brings up the rain;
And wide apart lie we, my love,
And seas between the twain.

I know not if it rains, my love,
In the land where you do lie;
And oh, so sound you sleep, my love,
You know no more than I.

The lines date from April 1922. Three months later A.E.H. gave a clue to their inspiration, in a letter of 25 July, where he referred to ‘you do lie’ as ‘not really for metre’s sake, but an imitation, false I dare say, of the ballads which I do imitate’. This goes with his famous comment in a letter of 5 February 1933 on ‘Shakespeare’s songs, the Scottish Border ballads and Heine’ as chief sources for *A Shropshire Lad*.[1]

Yet the ballad on which he drew is not from Scotland, but Sussex (though some of its stanzas occur too in Scottish oral tradition). It is ‘The Unquiet Grave’, first recorded in the nineteenth century, and beginning,

The wind doth blow today, my love,

And a few small drops of rain;

I never had but one true-love,

In cold grave she was lain.

Here are wind, rain, love, separation, and death, but differences as well. The ballad tells of a dead girl who cannot rest because of her lover's excessive grief (a 'universal popular belief', as Child points out).[2] Housman (as often) turns upside down the theme of his exemplar. Being dead, the beloved of his poem is quite untroubled, knowing nothing of the lover or anything else. A.E.H. states the very opposite of popular sentiment. He had no belief in the communion of living and dead.

So we have a further instance of how the poet bit the hand that fed him. Yet the purpose of this note is more than to point out A.E.H.'s disobliging or subversive use of ballad. The theme of wind, love, and separation will take us to older verse, of Henry VIII's time and the thirteenth century, and hence predating any modern ballad. We begin with the Tudor poem, even briefer than Housman's.

Western wind, when will thou blow,

The small rain down can rain?

Christ, if my love were in my arms

And I in my bed again![3]

Here again are the west, wind, rain, love, and separation (though not Housman's tragic implication, prompted by news from Canada of Moses Jackson's last illness). The lines appear (with music) in London, British Library, MS Royal, Appendix 58, of about 1520. They were first published in 1779 by the musicologist John Stafford Smith (1750-1836), but in the 1920s were better known from an anthology co-edited by Sir Edmund Chambers (1866-1954),

which has the modernized text above and useful notes. It compares other poems, including 'The Unquiet Grave' and (earliest of all) 'Ichot a burde in bowre bright' (= I know a beautiful lady, radiant in her chamber) from the *Harley Lyrics* (in a manuscript written at Ludlow in about 1330), with the refrain,

> Blow, northerne wind,
>
> Send thou me my sweting,
>
> Blow, northerne wind,
>
> Blow, blow, blow!

So we have four poems. We begin with the Harley lyric of the 1290s or so; move to Henry VIII's court and MS Royal App. 58; then a nineteenth-century ballad; and end in the spring of 1922 and Housman's study at Whewell's Court, Cambridge. It seems that he knew the Tudor lyric as well as 'The Unquiet Grave', and that each leaves its mark on *Last Poems* XXVI. As both echo earlier verse, A.E.H. will have used a tradition older and more complex than one might think.

What have critics said of Housman's precursors? Wells remarked of the refrain 'Blow, northerne wind' that it is from a folksong and is 'not at all connected in sense with the poem proper', which is 'very artificial', detailing the girl's physical beauty and excellencies, and how for love of her the poet 'droops and waxes wan, worn with depression and vigils'.[4] According to him, the poem (which is courtly) borrowed lines that predate it and are popular. Carleton Brown of New York re-edited the Harley lyric, heading it 'The Loveliest Lady in Land', and commenting on its elaborate listing of jewels and allegory of love. No word on its vigorous refrain, though.[5] In the same year Chambers made the Tudor snatch better-known in a different Oxford anthology, where he called it 'Absence'.[6] It had already caught the attention of Virginia Woolf for a paper 'How Should One Read a Book?', given as an address to a school (which she did not think worth naming). It made her reflect on how poetry's impact 'is so hard and direct that for the moment there is no

other sensation except that of the poem itself.'[7] So A.E.H. was not the only great artist to respond to the lines. As for the Harley lyric, R. M. Wilson of Sheffield echoed Wells in declaring that 'the refrain of a popular *carole* has been taken as the theme of a courtly lyric, a practice found elsewhere during the Middle English period'.[8]

Nearly forty years after he first edited it, Chambers again related 'Western Wind' to 'The Unquiet Grave'. He believed that the first, a 'fragment from a song-book', implied that the second, perhaps not 'rightly classified as a ballad at all', went back to the sixteenth century, although not recorded until the nineteenth.[9] It prompted and is quoted (as is A.E.H.'s *More Poems*) in a pessimistic anthology, with the words spoken from the grave by a girl to her lover.

You crave one kiss of my clay-cold lips;
But my breath smells earthy strong;
If you have one kiss of my clay-cold lips,
Your time will not be long.[10]

In a standard edition, we hear that the Harley lyric is 'too literary to be very suitable' as a carol or dancing-song, although its refrain, popular in origin, is 'similar to those found in genuine carols'. It was probably 'borrowed from a folk-song and attached to a *trouvère*-lyric'.[11] Others eye this opinion coldly, remarking that 'no evidence for such a statement has ever been produced'.[12] 'Western Wind' received the *nihil obstat* of C. S. Lewis, who said that it 'need fear no rival in the Greek Anthology. There is almost everything in it – weather, distance, longing, passion, and sober home-felt reality. Many poets (not contemptible) have said less in far longer pieces.'[13] As categorical is Robbins's view that the Tudor fragment, 'often erroneously cited as a choice specimen of popular verse, is quite a sophisticated piece'.[14] Elsewhere, the same writer rejected the Harley lyric's debt to folksong for lack of 'evidence', without saying what evidence he wanted.[15]

Despite praise from Lewis and Robbins, 'Western Wind' was still

described by a Cambridge musicologist as 'a popular song'.[16] The Harley lyric has itself been analysed with Germanic thoroughness.[17] Now called 'Love For a Beautiful Lady', it figures with the Tudor fragment in yet another anthology. The editor says of the first's refrain that it 'may well be that of a popular song; its character – in rhythm, imagery, and directness – is quite different from that of the rest of the poem.'[18] Linguistic analysis indicates that 'the rest' was written by a Shropshire lad, or at least a West Midlander.[19] It then received enthusiastic attention from Professor Dronke. After considering other lyrics in MS Harley 2253, he states 'I shall conclude with a comment on some lines in the most many-sided and perhaps the finest of the Harley lyrics, "Blow, northern wynd"'. Praising it as 'a *summa* of the beloved's perfections' with a 'fusion of genres', he calls attention to the poet's bold expectation of 'heavenly sanction for his earthly love', where 'the full effect of the lines depends on their juxtaposition with the simple, passionate refrain,

> Blow, northerne wynd
> sent Þou me my suetyng!
> Blow, norÞerne wynd,
> blou! blou! blou!

– by which the words that summon the highest veneration of the beloved are fused with the words of elemental longing for her.' (He admits in a footnote that the refrain 'may, in fact, have been a traditional song, complete in itself.')[20]

After much discord on 'popular' and 'courtly', there comes sensible comment on the Tudor poem. Inclusion within a song-book and artistic accomplishment have 'suggested to some critics that it belongs with sophisticated and courtly pieces, but an elusive and almost numinous quality in its juxtaposition of natural imagery with direct passion has led others to call it popular.' The 'natural imagery' is certainly unlike the formal setting of a 'conventional *reverdie'* or welcome to the spring. But 'so masterly a verse' hardly came from the common people. It is surely the work of an educated writer, drawing upon folk poetry.[21] Hence the circumstance that 'in fact it

seems to be quite a sophisticated piece', despite the many who cite it 'as a good example of popular song'.[22]

A Chicago editor distinguished the Harley lyric's main text from its refrain, which 'has the ring of popular song and may be from that source'.[23] Another, in New Haven, was more incisive. To him it seemed 'obviously' derived from 'folk-song or popular song', on which he compared *My Bonnie Lies Over the Ocean*. Unlike everyone else, he believed not that a pre-existing popular verse was appropriated by the author of a courtly lyric, but that courtly verses were turned into a carol by adding a refrain which may postdate them.[24] Back in England, Derek Pearsall said of the carol that it uses a popular snatch as its chorus, 'counterpointed against an elaborate anthology of courtly themes, including a little inset allegory of the God of Love'. Later, he typifies 'Western Wind' as 'that most evocative of lyric cries'.[25] Douglas Gray of Oxford goes further. He calls it 'a poem of deceptive simplicity which is surely one of the best love-lyrics in the whole of English literature.'[26] The burden of the Harley lyric, perhaps taken from 'a different, popular *carole'*, he contrasts with the flamboyant display and rhetoric of the poem proper, praising the lady as 'solsecle [= marigold] of suetnesse'.[27]

At this point, a foray into Wales. The great fourteenth-century bard Dafydd ap Gwilym addressed a poem to the wind, sending it as *llatai* or messenger of love to another man's wife. Some, rather strangely, have seen the popular refrain of 'Blow, Northerne Wind' as an analogue for that.[28] Nobody has made the obvious objection that the Welsh *llatai*, always a non-human messenger (the wind, a lark, a seagull, a stag), has no equivalent in English tradition. The wind in English poems has a different job, of bringing loved one to lover. Although there are parallels between Welsh verse and the *Harley Lyrics*, this is not one of them. More recent discussion adds nothing to that.[29]

After Wales, Germany. 'The Half-Moon Westers Low, My Love' has been thought indebted to Heine's 'Sie Liebten Sich Beide, Doch Keiner', translated as follows.

They loved each other, but neither

Would a word to the other one say.

They glared with such hostility

And for love would have faded away.

They separated finally

And only met at time in dreams;

They had died some time ago

And scarcely noticed, it seems.[30]

Yet the sole correspondence is the subject of lovers after death, where Heine is the more sentimental, like a good German idealist. His lovers at times still see each other in dreams (*zuweilen im Traum*). Housman is bleak and pessimistic. His beloved is *sans* everything.

Housman's lyric hence owes far more to the three English poems discussed above than to the German one. They allude to wind, a point of the compass, rain, love, separation, and also the sea, for wind implies a sailing ship and so the sea. If there is a missing element, we shall find it in Greece, in a famous lyric by Sappho which A.E.H. imitated twice, as *More Poems* X and XI. Each parallels *Last Poems* XXVI. First is poem X.

The weeping Pleiads wester,

And the moon is under seas;

From bourn to bourn of midnight

Far sighs the rainy breeze:

It sighs from a lost country

To a land I have not known;

The weeping Pleiads wester,

And I lie down alone.

And now poem XI.

The rainy Pleiads wester,
Orion plunges prone,
The stroke of midnight ceases,
And I lie down alone.

The rainy Pleiads wester,
And seek beyond the sea
The head that I shall dream of,
And 'twill not dream of me.

For these Sappho provided moon, Pleiades (taken as stars of rain), midnight, love, and separation, as a plain translation shows.

The Moon has set,
The Pleiads, too:
It is the middle of the night,
The hours pass,
And I lie alone.[31]

So our survey has this conclusion. *Last Poems* XXVI, in ballad metre, has a debt to the Sussex ballad 'The Unquiet Grave', with its wind and rain and beloved in the grave (though not its consolation of by death undivided). But A.E.H. surely took something from the anthology piece on the western wind from MS Royal. That itself, like the ballad, borrowed from (and vastly improved) a motif represented by the popular quatrain in MS Harley 2253.

With these is Sappho's poem, one of the world's most famous. A Greek theme, together with an English one represented in the *Harley Lyrics*, Tudor song, and ballad, figure together in *Last Poems*.

As a coda we may quote a last song, never mentioned in any of the books quoted above. It is the nineteenth-century Northumberland folk-song 'Blow the Wind Southerly', which millions will know not from any printed text, but from the recording by Kathleen Ferrier (1912-53).

Blow the wind southerly, southerly, southerly,

Blow the wind south o'er the bonny blue sea.

The girl hears that ships are coming into port, and hurries to meet them.

But my eye could not see it, wherever might be it,

The bark that is bearing my lover to me.[32]

These words gain power from that putting together of natural elements and love, as also their rhythm when heard, so that a great singer might infuse them with a thrilling, unforgettable sadness, even though on the page they may seem feeble and lame.

No doubt the theme of love against the natural world could be taken further. Larkin's 'Wedding-Wind' ('The wind blew all my wedding-day, | And my wedding-night was the night of the high wind') would be a modern instance of it, sharing features with the 'elemental longing' of the MS Royal lyric, or its 'juxtaposition of natural imagery with direct passion'. The Northumberland folksong, though not ancient, will have its place here. So, too, does *Last Poems* XXVI. For all its brevity, it takes something from the poetry of the people, where love, separation, and the elements come together. At the same time, it makes a disconcerting point, the very opposite of popular: that the links between two lovers are severed completely by death.

NOTES

1 A. E. Housman, *Collected Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. Christopher Ricks (London, 1988) 469, 489.

2 *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, ed. F. J. Child (Boston, 1882-98) II, 234-8.

3 *Early English Lyrics*, edd. E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick (London, 1907) 69, 340.

4 J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (New Haven, 1916) 493-4.

5 *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, ed. Carleton Brown (Oxford, 1932) 148-50.

6 *The Oxford Book of Sixteenth-Century Verse*, ed. E. K. Chambers (Oxford, 1932) 40.

7 Virginia Woolf, *The Common Reader, Second Series* (London, 1932) 264-5.

8 R. M. Wilson, *Early Middle English Literature* (London, 1939) 262.

9 E. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1945) 157.

10 Cyril Connolly, *The Unquiet Grave*, rev. ed. (London, 1945) 46, 67-8.

11 *The Harley Lyrics*, ed. G. L. Brook (Manchester, 1948) 6.

12 *Early Middle English Texts*, edd. Bruce Dickens and R. M. Wilson (Cambridge, 1951) 228.

13 C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954) 223.

14 *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. R. H. Robbins, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1955) xxxviii.

15 R. H. Robbins, 'Middle English Carols as Processional Hymns', *Studies in Philology* 56 (1959) 559-82.

16 John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961) 130.

17 Theo Stemmler, *Die englischen Liebesgedichte des MS. Harley 2253* (Bonn, 1962) 168-93.

18 *Medieval English Lyrics*, ed. R. T. Davies (London, 1963) 317, 367.

19 *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*, edd. J. A. W. Bennett and G. V. Smithers, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968) 328.

20 Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1968) 124-5.

21 Rosemary Woolf, 'Later Poetry: The Popular Tradition', in *The Middle Ages*, ed. W. F. Bolton (London, 1970) 263-311.

22 R. M. Wilson, *The Lost Literature of Medieval England*, 2nd ed. (London, 1970) 185.

23 *Medieval English Lyrics*, ed. Theodore Silverstein (London, 1971) 88-9.

24 R. H. Greene, *The Early English Carols*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1977) 483.

25 D. A. Pearsall, *Old English and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977) 127, 273.

26 *The Oxford Book of Late Medieval Verse and Prose*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1985) 160, 178.

27 J. A. W. Bennett, *Middle English Literature*, ed. Douglas Gray (Oxford, 1986) 402-3.

28 Rachel Bromwich, *Aspects of the Poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Cardiff, 1986) 99.

29 Helen Fulton, 'Class and Nation', in *Authority and Subjugation in Writing of Medieval Wales*, edd. Ruth Kennedy and Simon Meecham-Jones (Basingstoke, 2008) 191-212.

30 Gaston Hall, 'Selections', in *Housman and Heine*, ed. Jeremy Bourne (Bromsgrove, 2011) 11-103.

31 *The Oxford Book of Greek Verse,* edd. Gilbert Murray, Cyril Bailey, E. A. Barber, T. F. Higham and C. M. Bowra (Oxford, 1930) 177.

32 Thomas Sharp, *Northumberland and Durham Shell Guide* (London, 1937) 31.

‘The Antiquarian and the Lexicographer’: Two Views of J. E. B. Mayor

by

Andrew Breeze

The Rev. John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor (1825-1910) receives minor immortality from the 1911 Inaugural Lecture of A.E.H., who praises his immediate predecessor in singular terms, which are at once eloquent, generous, honest, and just. What follows contrasts Housman’s account of Mayor with that of another who knew him, the Welsh historian and *littérateur* R. T. Jenkins (1881-1969). Housman and Jenkins perhaps had little in common. Certainly their descriptions of Mayor have little in common. The first, which is dignified and restrained, as befits an inaugural lecture, is well known. The second, which is entertaining and indisceet, is almost unknown, because it is in Welsh. Perhaps their interest is in showing how an individual can be presented so differently, and yet still be recognized as the same person.

Before we come to these two accounts we cite a third, from *The Dictionary of National Biography*, which gives the facts for Mayor’s life. He was a precocious classical scholar. After Christ’s Hospital and Shrewsbury, he entered St John’s College, Cambridge, where he became classical tutor in 1853; published lives of Anglican clerics; served as University Librarian in 1864-7, cataloguing its manuscripts; was appointed Professor of Latin in 1872 and held the position for thirty-eight years; and was elected President of St John’s in 1902. He advocated vegetarianism. He also edited Juvenal, Cicero, Pliny, Homer, Quintilian, Bede, and texts for the Rolls Series and Early English Text Society. He ‘had power of accumulating knowledge, but small faculty of construction’, never completing his commentary on Seneca or Latin dictionary.

After *DNB*, A.E.H. For him, Mayor was a ‘venerable man’ whose learning ‘had no equal in England and no superior in Europe’. To dwell on

it would be 'not merely superfluous but presumptuous', so that the lecture deals with what many regarded as Mayor's flaw, that 'for all his amplitude of knowledge he left behind him no complete work and no work having even the air of completeness.' Yet Housman did not see the defect as such. For him, Mayor's 'abstention from all misdirected effort' was a quality 'which redeems and even converts into merit what might else appear defective'. Even if it was 'labour bestowed upon the circumference and not upon the centre', it was yet 'work which must be done, and which no other could have done so thoroughly', so that his commentaries, if those of an antiquarian and lexicographer rather than a critic or interpreter, nevertheless display 'the whole width of his incomparable learning', thereby bequeathing us 'less an edition than a treasure of subsidies'.[1]

So Housman's public utterances on Mayor. In private he could be mischievous. Mayor was both abstainer and vegetarian. Hence his successor's jibe that Mayor 'drank like a fish ... if drinking nothing but water may be so described! When I come to Cambridge with this loving cup, things are going to be changed!' He would 'drink double' to make up for Mayor's abstinence.[2]

A broader picture of Mayor's oddities is supplied by Jenkins. This able Welsh academic was born in Liverpool; brought up in Bala, that Welsh Geneva; and, after teaching in Llandysul, Brecon, and Cardiff, became Lecturer in Welsh History at Bangor in 1930. He wrote extensively on Welsh biography and Nonconformist history, but (somewhat unexpectedly) was a witty and accomplished writer. If his books on Wales in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and his essays were in English, they would be recognized as classics: readable, lucid, informative, and entertaining.[3]

The description comes in an essay by Jenkins on eccentricities of the learned, especially of those known to him. One of them is easily recognized (by Celticists and others) as Hugh Williams (1843-1911) of Bala, whose *Christianity in Early Britain* (Oxford, 1912) remains a model of objective research. Other anecdotes are a result of student days in Cambridge. A typical sample concerns F. J. A. Hort (1828-92), New Testament scholar and Fellow of Emmanuel. When a Salvation Army lassie asked him, 'Are you saved?', he allegedly responded, 'Now which *exactly* do you mean? Is it *sôzomenos*, or *sôtheis*, or *sesôsmenos*?' It is, however, Jenkins's account of Mayor which

deserves translation in full. Here it is, with the original's English words put into italics.

> 'But, to be sure, the supreme "old-fashioned" scholar at Cambridge in my time was the Professor of Latin; I saw him often, some of my contemporaries heard him and told me what he said, and I have used (no, not "read") his books from then until now. Professor Mayor exactly resembled the caricature of a scholar in novels. As regards appearance, you could, if you were in a polite mood, compare him to a lion; but to thoughtless people he seemed more like a gorilla. His learning was proverbial; in a manner of speaking, he started where the ordinary Latin dons in our colleges left off. And he never heard anything of the word "proportion". He would give lectures, of course, but never about any author who was on the examination syllabus; Sulpicius Severus or someone like him. Dr Montagu James in his Memoirs gives some idea of Mayor's style of lecturing: you will see, as you read, that Dr James was the one person in the class. By my time, the old man had laid down the law that he would not lecture at all except to a quorum: but two was enough of a quorum for him. I remember a determined Scot (good luck to him) who wanted to hear Mayor, but could find nobody else to listen with him. In the end, he thought of the captain of the college boat club; the captain had nothing to do in the mornings except sleep, waiting for training in the afternoon, and he had no objection to resting peacefully for an hour or two, with a newspaper in front of him, in the lecture-room of "Johnny Mayor", while he was expounding Tertullian's *Ad Scapulam* to the Scot. "We shall not translate it," Mayor would say, "the Latin is too easy to require that."
>
> 'The old boy lived on his own, in an old back lane called Jordan's Yard. He was a keen *vegetarian*, and very proud of his cooking. He had also invented some special kind of marmalade, and would sell that to his friends. Unfortunately, he used pots of other manufacturers, without taking off the old label, and one of

the marmalade companies took him to court. The venerable old man had to publish an apology in *The Times*, beginning: "*I, John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor, Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge*...". Far more pathetic was another of his inventions, a new kind of ink. His fatherly affection led him to use this ink to write down his superlative fund of knowledge about the vocabulary of the Latin language. But, alas, the ink vanished, and with it the Professor's main work.

'He had faint idea of restricting himself to the subject under consideration. There was a great debate in the university senate when I was a student on whether to keep Greek as an obligatory subject in the entrance examination. I made haste to buy a copy of the reports, knowing there would be good stuff there. And there was: the eloquence of R. C. Jebb on the one side, the wit of F. W. Maitland on the other. But almost the only thing which I recall on the spur of the moment is the concise note on Mayor's address: "*Professor Mayor enlarged upon the ease with which modern languages can be learnt, illustrating his remarks from the Cingalese language, which he had learnt in Ceylon as a boy*." Go into any second-hand bookshop, and pick up Mayor's edition of Juvenal; then read the Introduction – or to be precise, the "Advertisement". It is one of the craziest things under the sun. It starts off by crushing some scholars on the Continent, then goes on to express the hope that the new Faculty of History (this was written in 1886) in Cambridge would publish new editions of Philo and Josephus; next, a defence of using coarse language in literature. This leads on to a comparison of the moral state of Rome with the condition of England in 1886, and soon he is firing off cannon in all directions. Everything comes under his whip: alcohol, the cost of living in the universities (at the foot of the page he praises a book entitled *How to live on 1s. a week, by one who has tried it*), the moral habits of the middle class, the miserable state of agriculture, the waste of money on hunting and shooting, *co-operative stores*, dirty books, Holloway's Pills, the Lord Mayor's Banquet, brandy, opium, tobacco – he is especially

fierce on this vile habit; and so on, with an abundance of notes at the bottom of the page. The Advertisement ends: "*Henceforth I hope to devote myself to clearing off my many literary arrears, reserving for my old age a commentary on Seneca, for which I have made large collections*." Twenty years later, the tough, agile old man was still hoping to clear his "*arrears*".'[4]

For all the ludicrous aspects of the above, Mayor was a man of great and genuine erudition. Nevertheless, one appreciates after reading it how tenderly his memory was treated by his successor, a scholar and writer of a very different stamp indeed.

NOTES

1 A. E. Housman, *Collected Poems and Selected Prose* (London, 1988) 300-1.

2 R. P. Graves, *Housman: The Scholar-Poet* (London, 1979) 97, 192.

3 Anon., 'Jenkins, R. T.', in *The Welsh Academy Encyclopaedia of Wales*, ed. John Davies, Nigel Jenkins, Menna Baines, P. I. Lynch (Cardiff, 2008) 413.

4 R. T. Jenkins, *Ymyl y Ddalen* (Wrecsam, 1957) 59-62.

Towards a New Bibliography of A. E. Housman: *A Shropshire Lad* (Part I: 1896-1914)[1]

by

Paul Naiditch

A. E. Housman designed to call his first book of verse either 'Poems by Terence Hearsay' or, less likely, since mildly pretentious, 'The Poems of Terence Hearsay' (Richards pp. 14 sq.; *AEH/UCL* pp. 230 sq.). It was late in 1895 that H. completed the manuscript. Apparently on Oct. 2nd, he submitted it to Macmillan's. At that point in time the work consisted of sixty-six poems, starting with 'The Recruit' and ending with '"Terence, this is stupid stuff'" (*PLW/AEH* pp. 92 sq.). On Oct. 23, 1895, Macmillan's declined the submission.

On Housman's behalf A. W. Pollard approached Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & co., and it must have been about that time he suggested the change in the title to 'A Shropshire Lad' (*AEH/UCL* pp. 230 sq.). It is known, however, only that Housman altered the title after the manuscript was submitted to Kegan Paul (cf. Arthur Waugh, *JOL* 24, Nov. 8, 1930, p. 192; independent confirmation, *APLW/AEH* pp. 75 sq.). The book was published at Housman's expense.

Some traditions, possibly or probably false, surround this submission. It was believed by Housman, on the authority of Charles Whibley, that John Morley was the reader responsible for Macmillan's rejection. But Macmillan's denied the truth of this assertion (William White, *TLS* March 22, 1947, p. 127). Again, it is reported that two, three or four other publishers, including A. H. Bullen, declined the work (Withers p. 68). This tradition lacks independent support. Housman has elsewhere expressly affirmed that only one publisher refused the book (*Letters* II p. 399).

Production at the printers was orderly enough: it appears that the printers divided the type-setting among the staff (Trinity College, Cambridge, ms. R 1.91, passim), and they probably proceeded rapidly. Towards the end of

1895, the printers submitted page-proofs to the author. Of these, six pages survive (Lilly PR 4809.H15 S42). But Housman introduced changes, chiefly affecting the ordering of poems and, to a smaller degree, the contents of the book; and these occasioned delays.

The exact date of publication is unknown. Probably, it appeared at the close of Feb. 1896. For the most part, critics received the work courteously, and sometimes enthusiastically (*PLW/AEH* pp. 95-99; *PLW/AEH* pp. 200-215). But sales were not brisk. Even so, two British publishers, John Lane and Grant Richards, desired to bring out a second edition. John Lane, for his part, had already purchased a portion of the original edition and, with its cancel title-leaf, issued it in the United States early in 1897. His interest in publishing a second edition is evidenced by Grant Richards and confirmed by a letter from Housman to Lane (H. to [John Lane], Aug. 6, 1898: *Letters* I p. 110). Richards, by his tactful wording and his repeated applications, and through his acquaintance with Housman's brother Laurence, succeeded in acquiring the right to reprint the work. Richards's first edition appeared in 1898; it is probably a mistake to think with Maas p. 39 n. 5 that it was Richards who approached AEH in October 1896 (*APLW/AEH* p. 14).

Financially, Housman profited little from the first edition. Indeed, his share came only to £2.5.3 (Richards p. 16). When, in 1898, he put the work in Richards's hands, he stipulated that the royalties should be applied to reducing 'the price at which the book is to be sold' (Maas p. 48; Burnett [2007]). During World War I, *A Shropshire Lad* became popular (cf. *APLW/AEH* pp. 143-145).

In 1922, Housman decided to accept royalties from America and, in 1927, to accept them in Great Britain. Richards made the arrangements with America and, over the next few years, swindled the poet out of the monies due to him (see J. D. Tunnicliffe & M. Buncombe, *HSJ* 11, 1985, pp. 101-6; *APLW/AEH* pp. 27 sq.). Despite this, though annoyed at the time, Housman returned to being on friendly terms with Richards. He was amenable even to transferring the title from the Richards Press, which had come into existence following Richards' second bankruptcy, back to Richards, but only if the current publisher made no objection. The Richards Press, valuing the title, asked to be allowed to keep *A Shropshire Lad*. Housman permitted the Press

to retain the title. For the text of *A Shropshire Lad*, see Burnett (1997) pp. xxii-xxxi.

A Shropshire Lad has never been out-of-print or, since 1939, as part of the various editions of Housman's collected poems.

So far as necessary and practical, this hand-list provides information in the following order. Title (semi-facsimile), imprint (semi-facsimile), contents, format (size, signatures, pagination, measurements in millimetres of ordinary page), paper-stock, textual notes, illustrations, binding (material, measurements; labels), wrappers, slipcases, tissues, ribbon, publication date, edition (numbers), price, and bibliography. Measurements are approximate.

[1] London 1896

TITLE: [red] A SHROPSHIRE LAD | [black] BY | A. E. HOUSMAN. [red] LONDON | [black] KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER, & CO. L$\underline{\text{TD}}$ | [red] MDCCCXCVI.

IMPRINTS: (1) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | At the Ballantyne Press (2) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh and London.

CONTENTS: (π1r) half-title (π1v) blank (A1r) title (A1v) copyright and imprint 1 (A2r-A3r) table of contents (A3v) blank (A4r-F8v) text (F8v) imprint 2.

FORMAT: Fcap 8vo. π^4 A-F^8 (\$1). Pp. [i-iv,] v-vii, [viii,] 1-95 [96]. 173 × 107 mm.

TEXTUAL NOTE: The text on the title-page covers 98 mm. The frequent variation in the vertical measurements, due to printing the title in two colours, is seemingly without significance. The so-called 'trial' title-page, with the year printed in black ink, was described by David Randall (*BC* 1960, pp. 458 sq.). But the copy also differs from the ordinary edition in the vertical spacing on the title (119 mm instead of 98 mm), in its fount, in its paper-stock (chain-lines 28 mm instead of 24 mm), and in the title being mounted on a stub. That is, it has no authority (*PLW/AEH* p. 117).

Binding: Quarter simulated vellum over pale-blue paper boards with blue threads (177 × 116 × 12 mm). Some copies are secured by tabs (10 mm). Plain endpapers. Plain edges. Cream paper label lettered upwards in red 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD. BY A. E. HOUSMAN' (109 × 112 mm). Casings were secured to the text-blocks by glue with string or tabs. It appears that possibly all copies with Label A were secured by string.

Copies were issued unopened: certainly two, probably three or four copies are known: See *APLW/AEH* p. 94.

Two labels are original: Carter/Sparrow's Labels A and B. They differ most obviously in the width of 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD.': 55 mm (label A) and 59 mm (label B). They are best illustrated, life-size, with ruler, by Carter/Sparrow plate IV.

David Randall believed that labels C and D were legitimate variants (*BC* 1973, p. 176). The labels are reproduced in his article and also by White p. 4. It is significant that labels C and D differ in having round instead of oval 'OU' in 'HOUSMAN'. For label C, see *PLW/AEH* pp. 116 sq.: 'the book is cased in laid paper wherein the chain-lines are apparent: in all other copies the chain-lines are absent and the paper is wove, though faint false wire-lines appear. Secondly, the binding paper on C is clear, and lacks the usual blue threads. Thirdly, discolouration both of the paper and of the simulated vellum differs from that in other copies. Fourthly, the binding tape is narrower than in such other copies as were not sewn (5 mm instead of 10 mm). And most importantly, fifthly, the binding itself is narrower in width than on ordinary copies: that is, it was cut down. All of this leads to the conclusion that the book was rebound and that the binder endeavoured, with fair success, to approximate the appearance of the original book. For problems with label D, which seems to be missing, see White p. 7: the D label is printed in purple, not red, ink, and with a full stop after Housman's name'. Other variants presumably evidence nothing more significant than later repair or replacement.

Wrapper: A semi-transparent glazed wrapper, no watermark apparent or likely, was included with at least some of the books. As Carter/Sparrow observe, 'Messrs. Kegan Paul's records show a charge of ninepence for "papering"'. Four wrappers are known to survive.

Slipcase: In 1935, Housman presented A. S. F. Gow with a copy which was unopened and which included both wrapper and slipcase. Gow wrote

John Carter: 'When Housman gave me my copy I said I had not known it had been published in a slip-case and he said that it had' (Carter/Sparrow p. 21; White p. 7; cf. copies of Carter's letters to A. W. Pollard, April 23, 1940, and K. E. Symons, April 24, 1940: Lilly, Housman mss. III). Carter and Sparrow rightly observe that '[t]he choice … seems to lie between regarding Mr. Gow's slip-cased copy as unique, and inferring from it that others must have been so issued' (op. cit.). The absence of a charge in Kegan Paul's records is strong evidence against the slipcase. For my part, I suspect that AEH had put the book in a slipcase once belonging to another title. It should go without saying that such mixtures occur. With regard to *A Shropshire Lad*, I think of a copy of Kennerley's 1914 in a slipcase marked 'Thrawn Janet Markheim', i.e. for a work by R. L. Stevenson (Private collection I) and a copy of the Riccardi Press of the same year in a slipcase appropriated from the Peter Pauper Press 'Uncle Remus' (Univ. Minnesota, Wilson Library, Special collections).

Publication date: The work probably appeared at the end of February 1896, for two early editions, in their copyright notices, give the month as 'February'. Beyond this, little can be said. Kegan Paul included the title in the General spring announcement list, but plainly did not publish *ASL* until after February 15th and, seemingly, not until the close of the month. The year was a leap-year, with February 29th a Sunday. *A Shropshire Lad* first appears in a list of new publications only on March 7th. The *Times* of London apparently did not include the book in its list of new publications; accession notes do not advance our knowledge; Housman does not chance to date any of the copies he gave as gifts in 1896; purchasers' annotations provide no help in resolving this problem (*PLW/AEH* pp. 113-16).

Edition: The original edition consisted nominally of 500 copies. Of this number, the publishers retained a file copy (location unknown); five copies were given to the public libraries (three known); twenty-three were sent out for review; and a dozen were given to the author and another dozen sent to his friends. By Dec. 1896, 381 copies had been sold: 231 in England at a half-crown each and, at a shilling each, some 150 copies to John Lane for distribution in the United States. In the first six months of 1897, sixteen copies sold and, in the latter half of that year, thirty-six copies (C. A. Traill to Grant Richards, April 3, 1939: Library of Congress, Grant Richards papers box II). The last half-dozen copies, 'overs', were purchased by Laurence

Housman in 1898.

About half of the edition, consisting of some 250 copies, was bound in Feb. 1896, with label A. The other half, mostly with label B, were bound in two groups. The first group, consisting of about 100 copies, was completed on Nov. 2, 1896. The second group, consisting of at least 150 copies, was invoiced on Nov. 17, 1896 and charged to John Lane [1.1, below]. See *PLW/AEH* p. 116.

Price: 2/6.

Advertisements: In their advertisements, the publishers used quotations from the *Times* (*Athenaeum* 3575, May 2, 1896, p. 568) and both the *Times* and the *National observer* (*Athen*. 3592, Aug. 29, 1896, p. 276).

[1.1] New York 1897

Title: [red] A SHROPSHIRE LAD | [black] BY | A. E. HOUSMAN. | [red] JOHN LANE | [black] THE BODLEY HEAD | NEW YORK | 1897.

Imprint: Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh and London.

Contents: (π1r) half-title (π1v) blank (A1r) title (A1v) blank (A2r-A3r) contents (A3v) blank (A4r-F8v) text (F8v) imprint.

Format: Fcap 8vo. $\pi^{4\pm1}$ ($2) A-F^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv,] v-[viii,] 1-[96]. 172 × 106 mm.

Textual note: Identical with London 1896, but with cancel title-leaf.

Binding: as London 1896. Carter/Sparrow label B secured with glue and tabs. Reportedly, one copy with label A.

Publication date: Early 1897.

Edition: Uncertain but plausibly 162 copies. Kegan Paul recorded that John Lane purchased 162 copies, reckoned as 150 with a cancel title-leaf (Richards p. 16). According to another source, 216 copies of *ASL* actually were printed for him and, of these, Routledge & Kegan Paul bound 154 copies (C. A. Traill to Grant Richards, April 3, 1939: Lilly Housman mss. III). Yet again, after Lane had accompanied Mitchell Kennerley to America in Sept. 1896 and returned to England in October, a few weeks later Lane posted to Kennerley 275 copies reckoned as 250 of *A Shropshire Lad* with

the cancelled title-leaf (Kennerley to Richards, Feb. 24, 1939: LC-GR I). When Kennerley left Lane in 1899, there were still copies of the book in the cellar (K. to Richards, Jan. 26, 1945: ibid.).

PRICE: $1.25.

[2] London 1898

TITLE: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 1898.

IMPRINT: Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh & London.

CONTENTS: (π1r) half-title (π1v) printing history (π2r) title (π2v) imprint (π3r-π4r) contents (π4v) blank (A1r-F8v) text (G1) extracts from reviews (G2) list of Grant Richards's publications.

FORMAT: 12mo. π^8 A-F^8 ($1) G^2 ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-[viii] 1-[96] [^{2}i-iv]. 172 × 109 mm.

TEXTUAL NOTE: Proofs were not sent to Housman, and the text consequently included numerous errors (A. Burnett in *Poems* pp. xxiv sq.).

BINDING: Dark green buckram (180 × 120 × 16 mm). Spine stamped in gold: 'A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | A. E. | HOUSMAN | [at foot:] GRANT | RICHARDS'. Plain pastedowns. Plain edges.

PUBLICATION DATE: Sept. 14, 1898.

EDITION: Reset. The edition consisted of 500 copies. At first sales were good: although there is no information for the first month, 98 sold in Oct., 107 in Nov., 77 in Dec. In the following year, 1899, sales fell off (Jan., 14; Feb., 17; March, 8; April, 3; May, 1; June and July, 0; Aug., 6; Sept., 1; then none till the close of the year).

PRICE: 3/6.

[3] London 1900

TITLE: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 1900.

IMPRINT: Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE | Printers to Her Majesty.

Contents: ((π1r) half-title (π1v) printing history (π2r) title (π2v) imprint (π3r-π4v) contents (A1r) title (A1v) blank (A2r-F8v) text.

Format: Royal 32mo. π^4 A-F^8 ($1). Pp. [i-iv,] v-viii, 1-95, [96]. 126 × 75 mm.

Binding: Dark green leather (130 × 80 × 12 mm). Upper cover: single fillet at edge. 'A [four three-leaf clovers] | SHROPSHIRE | LAD [three clovers] | [five clovers] A. E. | [two clovers] HOUSMAN', gilt, front and back. Spine stamped in gold, lettered upwards: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD'. Plain pastedowns. Top-edge gilt.

Edition: Reset. Published at the end of Feb. 1900. Nominally, one thousand copies were produced, of which some 300 were sold en bloc to John Lane for his American market.

Price: 3/-.

[3.1] New York 1900

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | NEW YORK: JOHN LANE | LONDON: GRANT RICHARDS | 1900.

Imprint: Edinburgh: T. and A. CONSTABLE | Printers to Her Majesty.

Contents: ((π1r) half-title (π1v) printing history (π2r) title (π2v) imprint (π3r-π4v) contents (A1r) title (A1v) blank (A2r-F8v) text.

Format: Royal 32mo. $\pi^{4\pm1}$ otherwise identical with London 1900.

Edition: Lane purchased some three hundred copies, with cancel title-leaf, from Richards, presumably at the beginning of 1900, and published them during the first half of that year. These 300 have a cancel title-page. Richards reports sales which surpass the size of the edition: Feb.-June 1900, 510 (including bulk sale of some 300 to Lane); July-Dec. 1900, 131; Jan.-Dec. 1901, 263; Jan.-June 1902, 78 (apparently, one was returned); July-Dec. 1902, 57 (Richards p. 32). These total 1,039.

Binding: as London 1900 [no. 3].

New York 1901

Supposed to have been published by John Lane (Houston Martin at

Richards p. 69 n. 1), but it was not so: the 1901 is a ghost.

Philadelphia 1902

For Henry Altemus's first edition of ASL, commonly and wrongly assigned to 1902, see below ***[13]*** *Philadelphia 1909.*

[4] London 1903

TITLE: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [Richards device] | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 1903.

IMPRINT: (1) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh & London (2) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh & London.

CONTENTS: (π1r) half-title (π1v) blank (π2r) title (π2v) printing history and imprint 1 (π3r-π4r) contents (π4v) blank (A1r-F8v) text (F8v) imprint 2.

FORMAT: Fcap 8vo. π^4 A-F^8 ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-vii [viii] 1-[96]. Plain pastedowns. Edges plain. 171 × 110 mm.

BINDINGS: (A) Red paper wrappers, printed in black (177 × 115 × 12 mm). Upper: '*ONE SHILLING NET* | A | SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | GRANT RICHARDS | 48 LEICESTER SQUARE | LONDON'. Lower: void. Spine, lettered upwards: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD'. Turn-ins: void. (B) Quarter simulated vellum over grey boards, spine with four false raised bands and a paper label in the second compartment ('[red] A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | [black] HOUSMAN') (167 × 108 × 14 mm). Possibly without significance: the text having been cut down for rebinding (161 × 102 mm) though known in one, two or perhaps three copies (Private collections I, II, XIX). So also, perhaps, other variant bindings.

PUBLICATION DATE: Issued at end of 1902 in 2,000 copies; dated '*January* 1903' (Richards p. 32).

EDITION: Reset.

PRICE: 1/-.

[5] London 1904

Title: A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 1904.

Series title: '[black letter] THE SMALLER CLASSICS' | [italic] *Royal* 32*mo*, *cloth*, 6*d*. *net*; | *leather gilt*, | 1 *s*. *net*'.

Imprints: (1) PLYMOUTH | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON | PRINTERS (2) PLYMOUTH | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON | PRINTERS.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title ([A]1v) series title ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) imprint 1 ([A]3r-[A]4v) contents ([A]5r-H7r) text (H7v) imprint 2 (H8) blank.

Format: Royal 32mo. $[A]^{8}$ B-H^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii 1-[118-120]. 125 × 80 mm.

Textual notes: The text had numerous inaccuracies, notably 'yoeman' on p. 55 (cf. H. to Richards, July 27, 1904: Richards. p. 58 or *Letters* I p. 159). Further, the half-title proclaimed this volume to be no. IV of 'The Smaller Classics'. Housman was displeased with its inclusion: 'Mr Grant Richards included my book *A Shropshire Lad* in his series *The Smaller Classics* without consulting me, and to my annoyance. I contented myself with remonstrating, and did not demand its withdrawal; but now that I have the chance, I take it, and I refuse to allow the book to be any longer included in the series. I hope that you will not be very much aggrieved; but I think it unbecoming that the work of a living writer should appear under such a title' (H. to Messrs Alexander Moring, Aug. 17, 1906: *Letters* I pp. 198 sq.; text slightly less correct in Richards p. 73). Years later, H. bitterly referred to it as 'the cursed "Lesser Classics"' (Richards p. 161 = *Letters* I p. 394).

Bindings: Two bindings known. (A) Red cloth (131 × 86 × 8 mm), cartouche in blind, with 'GR' beneath '[swash] A | Shropshire | Lad', gilt. Spine stamped upwards '[swash] A Shropshire Lad'. Top-edge gilt. Yellow pastedowns. (B) Red leather, as (A).

Publication date: By the end of July 1904 (*Academy* July 30, 1904, p. 82)

Edition: Reset.

Prices: 6d (cloth); 1/- (leather).

[6] London 1906

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | LONDON | E. GRANT RICHARDS | 1906.

Imprint: Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & CO. | Edinburgh & London.

Contents: (π1r) half-title (π1v) blank (π2r) title (π2v) blank (π3r-π4r) contents (π4v) blank (A-F8r) text (F8v) imprint.

Format: Fcap 8vo. $\pi^{4\pm1}$ A-F^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-vii [viii] 1-95 [96]. 167 × 107 mm.

Bindings: Various bindings, each ca 172 × 115 × 14 mm: (A) Vellum, (B) Beige buckram, (C) Red buckram, (D) Grey buckram. Upper cover: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | [leaf]', gilt. Spine: (A) 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD' | [leaf]', lettered upwards. (BCD) 'A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | A. E. | HOUSMAN', gilt. Plain endpapers. Top-edge gilt.

Edition: Re-issue of 1903 with cancel title-leaf.

[7] New York 1906

Title: A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | JOHN LANE COMPANY | THE BODLEY HEAD, NEW YORK | MCMVI.

Contents: (π1r) half-title (π1v) blank (π2r) title (π2v) blank (π3r- π4r) contents (π4v) blank (1 1r-6 8v) text.

Format: Sm. 8vo. π ^{4} 1-6^{8} ($4). Pp. [i-iv], v-[viii], 1-[96]. 166 × 110 mm.

Bindings: (A) Green buckram or (B) red morocco (respectively, 171 × 115 × 20 mm; 170 × 112 × 20 mm). Upper cover: 'A [four three-leaf clovers] | SHROPSHIRE | LAD [three clovers] | [five small clovers] A. E. | [two small clovers] HOUSMAN', gilt. Lower cover: void. Spine (top): 'A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN'; (bottom): '[swash] The | [roman] BODLEY | HEAD', gilt. Plain edges. Plain or patterned endpapers.

Edition: The first American printing of *A Shropshire Lad* (*PLW/AEH* p. 118). Dated copies are inscribed 'June '06' (Private collection I); Wallace Stevens, Sept. 1906 (Huntington library).

[7.1] Re-issue ca 1911: Binding: Green buckram (175 × 120 × 13 mm).

Upper cover: ‘A [four three-leaf clovers] | SHROPSHIRE | LAD [three clovers] | [five small clovers] A. E. | [two small clovers] HOUSMAN’, gilt. Lower cover: void. Spine (top): ‘A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN’ (bottom): ‘JOHN | LANE | CO.’, gilt. Plain edges. Plain endpapers.

Wrapper: Glassine wrapper (Colby College PR 4809H15 A7 1906 c. 2).

Publication date: One copy inscribed ‘June, 1911’ (Private collection XIX).

Edition: Re-issue of New York 1906, with change in text on spine.

Prices: $1.00 (cloth), $3.00 (leather) (Richards p. 69 n. 1).

[8] Portland 1906

Title: [Red] A SHROPSHIRE LAD | [black] BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [device] | Portland, Maine | *THOMAS B. MOSHER* | [red] M*dccccvi*.

Series: [black letter, underlined] Old World Series.

Imprints: (8.1a) OF THIS BOOK 50 | COPIES ARE PRINTED | ON JAPAN VELLUM. THIS IS NO…… [with ms. Arabic number] (8.1b) *This First Edition* | *on Van Gelder paper* | *consists of 925 copies*. (8.2) *PRINTED BY* | *SMITH & SALE* | *PORTLAND* | *MAINE.*

Contents: ([i]-[iv]) blank ([v]) series and half-title ([vi]) blank ([vii]) title ([viii]) imprint 1a or 1b ([1]-[86]) text ([87]) ‘INDEX OF FIRST LINES’ between decorations ([88]) blank (89-[91]) index of first lines with decorations at start and finish ([92]) imprint 2 ([93-96]) blank.

Format: Sm. 8vo. Unsigned. Pp. [i-viii] [1]-[96]. 178 × 96 mm.

Bindings: (A) Stiff paper wrappers with yapp edges (180 × 3 + 100 + 3 × 9 mm). Upper cover: brown wreath around ‘A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD’. Spine: ‘A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN’ and, at foot, ‘1906’. Plain endpapers and edges. With glassine wrapper and tissue. (B) as (A) but with slipcase and tissue. (C) as (A) but wrappers printed in grey ink. (D) Vellum-backed light blue paper wrappers with yapp edges, over cardboard. Covers void. Spine: four false-raised bands. In second compartment: ‘[thick/thin rules] | A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN | [thin/thick rules]’.

Slipcase: (Binding B) Light blue (188 × 116 × 14 mm). Upper cover, lower left: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD.' Lower cover: void. Spine: 'A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN'.

Tissues: (Binding A) Silver paper tissue decorated with slashes and numerous triskelia variously in yellow, purple, black, blue and green; and glassine wrapper. (Binding B) Tissue secured by gilt stamp (fleur-de-lys).

Ribbon: (Binding D) Blue silk ribbon (one known, detached).

Bibliography: W. White, 'Thomas Mosher and *A Shropshire Lad*' *Serif* 5.ii, 1968, pp. 30-33; Philip R. Bishop, *Thomas Bird Mosher: Pirate prince of publishers*, New Castle, Del. 1998, pp. 58, 275 (no. 350), who affirms that the limited edition appeared in one hundred copies.

[9] London 1907

Text: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | LONDON | E. GRANT RICHARDS | 1907.

Imprint: PLYMOUTH | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD. | PRINTERS.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title 1 ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A2v]) printing history ([A]3r-[A]4v) contents ([A]5r) half-title 2 ([A]5v) blank ([A]6r-H1r) text (H1v) imprint (H2-H4) blank.

Format: Fcap 8vo. [A]-G^{8} ($1) H^{4} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii [ix-x] 1-103 [104-110].

Paper-stock: Hand-made paper. There is a tradition that copies were printed on ordinary rag-paper.

Binding: Green cloth (182 × 116 ×17 mm). Upper: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD' | [leaf]', gilt. Lower: void. Spine: 'A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD' | A. E. | HOUSMAN' [at foot:] 'E. GRANT | RICHARDS' or 'GRANT | RICHARDS' [sic]. Top-edge gilt. Plain endpapers.

Edition: Printing history includes, for 1907, only the octavo.

[10] London 1907

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | LONDON | E. GRANT RICHARDS | 1907.

Imprint: PLYMOUTH | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD. | PRINTERS.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title 1 ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) printing history ([A]3r-[A]4v) contents ([A]5r) half-title 2 ([A]6r-G8r) text (G8v) imprint.

Format: 32mo. [A]-G^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii [ix-x] 1-101 [102].

Bindings: (A) Red leather (132 × 90× 12 mm). Upper: panel with four compartments surrounded by fillet, all blind. First, rose on each side; second, 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | A. E. HOUSMAN'; third, three sections divided by vertical rules; and fourth, rose on each side. Lower: void. Spine: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD', gilt, bottom to top. Top-edge gilt. Plain endpapers. (B) Red cloth as (A).

Edition: Printing history includes, in this order, the octavo [no. 9] and then the 32mo for 1907.

[11] New York [1907]

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [MK digraph within circle] | NEW YORK | MITCHELL KENNERLEY | NEW YORK.

Imprint: PLYMOUTH | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD. | PRINTERS.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title 1 ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) '*Authorised Edition*' ([A]3r-[A]4v) contents ([A]5r) half-title 2 ([A]6r-G8r) text (G8v) imprint.

Format: 32mo. [A]$^{8\pm1}$ B-G^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii [ix-x] 1-[102].

Binding: Red cloth (132 × 90 × 12 mm) as London 1907.

Wrapper: Blue. Upper as binding, printed in black. Also '40 | Cents | net'. Spine: upwards 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | 40 cents net'. One d.w. known (Colby PR 4809.H15 A7 1900ze).

Edition: For the date [1907], see *APLW/AEH* pp. 95 sq.
Price: 40 cents.

[12] London 1908

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR BY | WILLIAM HYDE | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 7 CARLTON STREET, S.W.

Imprint: Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co. | Edinburgh & London.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) printing history ([A]3r-[A]4r) contents ([A]4v) blank ([A]5r) list of illustrations ([A]5v) blank ([A]6r-H7v) text (H7v) imprint (H8) blank.

Format: Large post 8vo. [A]-H^{8} ($1). Pp. [1-6] 7-11 [12] 13-127 [128].

Illustrations: Eight colour-illustrations each with a protective tissue on which is printed, respectively. gilt: 'Far in a Western Brookland' (frontispiece); 'Ludlow from the North-west' (facing p. 16); 'Shrewsbury: the English Bridge' (facing p. 58); 'Wenlock Edge' (facing p. 65); 'Clee Hill' (facing p. 76); 'The Wrekin, from near Much Wenlock' (facing p. 82); 'On the Teme' (facing p. 101) and 'Shropshire, from the Staffordshire border' (facing p. 111). Note: Original blocks survive at Southern Illionis University. For illustrations and decorations, see *APLW/AEH* pp. 164-74.

Bindings: (A) White buckram (224 × 154 × 25 mm). Upper: gilt rule surrounding setting sun, eleven rays reaching to margins; sun mostly behind cityscape and river. Lower: void. Spine: '[rule] | A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | A. E. | HOUSMAN | GRANT | RICHARDS | [rule]', all gilt. Top-edge gilt. Double endpapers: front, rustic pushing plough attached to two stationary horses, with country-scene; rear, roof-scape of London, including utility poles with wires and St Paul's, all grey. (B) Green buckram (ca 1912). (C) Soft red suede with the same pattern on the upper cover but with the spine reading 'A [raised stop] SHROPSHIRE [with swash R's] [raised stop] LAD' (e-bay item 3563076070).

Wrapper: Printed in colour with text in blue (58 × 356 × 58 mm). Upper: panel divided into three compartments. First compartment 'A SHROPSHIRE

LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN'. Second compartment: inset colour illustration of Wenlock Edge. Third compartment: 'With Eight Illustrations in Colour by | WILLIAM HYDE | 6/- NET | LONDON: GRANT RICHARDS'. Lower: void. Spine: 'A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | A. E. | HOUSMAN | With | Eight Illustrations | in Colour | by | WILLIAM | HYDE | 6/- NET | GRANT | RICHARDS'. Turn-ins: void.

Edition: 'Illustrated, Reset and | Reprinted'. This is the first illustrated edition of *ASL*. It was produced by Richards not at Housman's desire but with his leave (Richards pp. 75, 85), but it came as an unwelcome surprise to Housman that the illustrations were in colour (ibid. pp. 81, 85). The work was published by Nov. 7, 1908 (ibid. pp. 84 sq.; William White's copy is inscribed Nov. 8, 1908 [University of Virginia, Charlottesville]). The edition sold out by the end of 1919 (Richards p. 170).

Number of copies: 5,000, probably divided between re-issue of ca 1912 and the royal 32mo's of both 1908 and 1912.

[12.1] New York 1908

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [MK digraph within circle] | WITH EIGHT ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOUR BY | WILLIAM HYDE | NEW YORK | MITCHELL KENNERLEY.

Imprints: (1) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co. | At the Ballantyne Press, Edinburgh | 1908 (2) Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co. | Edinburgh & London.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) imprint 1 ([A]3r-[A]4r) contents (A4v)7 blank ([A]5r) list of illustrations ([A]5v) blank ([A]6r-H7v) text (H7v) imprint 2 (H8) blank.

Format: Large 8vo. $[A]^{8\pm1}$ B-H^{8} ($1). Pp. [1-6] 7-11 [12] 13-[128].

Bindings: Brown buckram (224 × 154 × 25 mm). Upper: gilt rule surrounding setting sun, eleven rays reaching to margins; sun mostly behind outlined cityscape and river. Lower: void. Spine: '[rule] | A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD | A. E. | HOUSMAN | GRANT | RICHARDS | [rule]', all gilt. Top-edge gilt. Double endpapers: front, rustic pushing plough attached to two stationary horses, with country-scene; rear, roof-scape of London, including utility poles and St Paul's, all grey.

Illustrations: Eight colour-illustrations each with a protective tissue on which is printed, gilt, respectively: 'Far in a Western Brookland' (frontispiece); 'Ludlow from the North-west' (facing p. 16); 'Shrewsbury: the English Bridge' (facing p. 58); 'Wenlock Edge' (facing p. 65); 'Clee Hill' (facing p. 76); 'The Wrekin, from near Much Wenlock' (facing p. 82); 'On the Teme' (facing p. 101) and 'Shropshire, from the Staffordshire border' (facing p. 111).

Text: A1 a cancel.

[13] London 1908

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [leaf] | LONDON | GRANT RICHARDS | 7 CARLTON STREET, S.W.

Imprints: PRINTED BY | WILLIAM BRENDON AND SON, LTD. | PLYMOUTH.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title 1 ([A]1v) blank ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) printing history ([A]3r-[A]4v) contents ([A]5r) half-title 2 ([A]5v) blank ([A]6r-G8r) text (G8v) imprint.

Format: 32mo. [A]-G^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii [ix-x] 1-101 [102].

Bindings: (A) Pink cloth or (B) red leather (132 × 90 × 12 mm). As London 1907.

Illustration: Frontispiece. Black-and-white plate labelled 'CLEE HILL | *From a Drawing by* | *Wm. Hyde*' with guard-sheet.

Publication date: Nov. 1912.

Edition: 5,000 (Lilly III.2.6).

[14] Philadelphia [ca 1909]

Title: [interlocking floral frame, green and brown] [black letter, printed in brown, on coated stock] A | Shropshire Lad | By | A. E. Housman | Philadelphia | Henry Altemus Company.

Frontispiece: Colour plate (75 × 50 mm) with snow-covered mountain.

Contents: ([*1*]1) blank ([*1*]2r) half-title ([*1*]2v) blank ([*1*]3r-*8* 3r) text (*8*

3v) blank (*8* 3r) index of first lines [title] (*8* 3v) blank (*8* 4r-*8* 7r) index of first lines (*8* 7v-*8* 8v) blank.

Series: Altemus' Slip-in-the-Pocket Classic Series.

Format: 16mo. [*1*]-*8*^{8}. Pp. [1-4 i-iv] 5-117 [118-120] 121-125 [126-128]. Signature catchwords on first leaf of gatherings (*2-8*): e.g., '*2—Shropshire Lad*.'

Binding: (A) Green flexible pebbled leather (142 × 105 × 11 mm). Upper: 'A SHROPSHIRE | LAD', gilt. Lower: void. Spine: void. Top-edge gilt. Dark-green endleaves. (B) Cloth binding.

Slipcase: Tan cardboard two-piece box for leather text; none for cloth.

Price: $1.00 leather, 40 cents cloth (*PTLA 1909-1910, Catalogue of Henry Altemus company's publications* p. 22 no. 66: *PLW/AEH* p. 118).

[14.1] Philadelphia [ca 1910]

Title: [Light green tracery circling red text] A | Shropshire Lad [above red text] BY | A. E. HOUSMAN [above, light green:] Philadelphia | Henry Altemus Company.

Frontispiece: No frontispiece.

Contents: ([*1*]1) blank ([*1*]2r) half-title ([*1*]2v) blank ([*1*]3r-*8* 3r) text (*8* 3v) blank (*8* 3r) index of first lines [title] (8 3v) blank (*8* 4r-*8* 7r) index of first lines (*8* 7v-*8* 8v) blank.

Series: Altemus' 'Slip-in-the-Pocket Classic Series'.

Format: 16mo. [*1*]-*8*^{8}. Pp. [1-4 i-iv] 5-117 [118-120] 121-125 [126-128]. Signature catchwords on first leaf of gatherings (*2-8*): e.g., '*2—Shropshire Lad*.'

Bindings: (A) Imitation morocco (146 × 93 × 12 mm). Upper: 'A | SHROPSHIRE | LAD', gilt. (B) Dark green cloth (141 × 116 × 11 mm). Upper: At top, paste-on leather rectangle four gilt fillets surrounding landscape (86 × 39 mm) with light green landscape with lake in foreground, with 'A SHROPSHIRE | LAD', gilt. Lower: void. Spine: [fleuron] A SHROPSHIRE LAD', gilt (bottom to top). Top-edge gilt. Plain endleaves. Note: Binding B has paste-on identical with that on Altemus's *Lady Geraldine's courtship* of 1909.

Slipcase: Box for imitation morocco probably two-pieces in cardboard.

Date: Copy of cloth edition dated 'March 23, 1910' (Private collection I).

Price: Leather $1.00 (*PTLA 1910-1911, Catalogue of Henry Altemus company's publications* p. 66 - *PTLA 1914-1915* p. 23). Cloth: 40 cents (*PTLA*).

[15] Portland 1913

Title: [red] A SHROPSHIRE LAD | [black] BY | A. E. HOUSMAN | [device] | Portland, Maine | [swash] *THOMAS B. MOSHER* | [red] M*dccccxiij*.

Series: [black letter, underlined] Old World Series.

Imprint: PRINTED BY | GEORGE D. LORING | [swash] *PORTLAND* | *MAINE*.

Contents: Pp. ([i]-[iv]) blank ([v]) series title and half-title 1 ([vi]) blank ([vii]) title ([viii]) edition statement ([1]-[86]) text ([87]) 'INDEX OF FIRST LINES' between decorations ([88]) blank (89-[91]) index of first lines with decorations at start and finish ([92]) imprint 2 ([93-96]) blank.

Format: Sm. 8vo. Unsigned. Pp. [i-viii] [1-2] 3-85 [86-88] 89-90 [91-96]. 178 × 96 mm.

Binding: Stiff paper wrappers with yapp edges (180 × 3 + 100 + 3 × 9 mm). Upper cover: brown wreath around 'A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD'. Spine: 'A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN' and, at foot, '1913'. Plain endpapers and edges.

Slipcase: Grey-green (188 × 115 × 14 mm). Upper cover, lower left: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD.' Lower cover: void. Spine: 'A | SHROP-|SHIRE | LAD | [short rule] | HOUSMAN'.

Tissue: Tissue secured by gilt stamp (fleur-de-lys) (Private Collection XVIII).

Edition: '*This Second Edition* | *on Van Gelder paper* | *consists of 925 copies.*'

Bibliography: Philip R. Bishop, *Thomas Bird Mosher: pirate prince of publishers*, New Castle, Del. 1998, pp. 58, 275 (no. 350).

[16] London: Riccardi Press, 1914

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD BY A. E. HOUSMAN, | LONDON: PHILIP LEE WARNER, PUB-|LISHER TO THE MEDICI SOCIETY LD., | VII GRAFTON STREET, W. | MDCCCCXIV.

Imprint: '[paragraph] Of this edition of A SHROPSHIRE LAD in the | Eleven Point Riccardi Fount have been printed | on handmade Riccardi Paper, 1000 copies for | Great Britain, and on vellum 12 copies, of which | 10 are for sale. | [paragraph] Paper copy Number [Arabic ms. number on 1-1000; number written out on dozen]'.

Series: THE RICCARDI PRESS | BOOKLETS.

Colophon: HERE ENDS A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN, REPRINTED BY | ARRANGEMENT WITH MR. GRANT | RICHARDS IN THE RICCARDI PRESS | FOUNT, BY CHAS. T. JACOBI, AND PUB-|LISHED FOR THE MEDICI SOCIETY, LD. | BY PHILIP LEE WARNER AT VII | GRAFTON ST., LONDON, W. | MDCCCCXIV.

Contents: (π1) blank (π2r) half-title 1 (π2v) imprint 1 (π3r) half-title 2 (π3v) blank (π4r) title (π4v) printing history (a1r-a1v) contents (a2r) half-title 3 (b1r-g4v) text (h1r) colophon (h1v) blank (h2r) list of Riccardi Press publications, with device (h2v) blank.

Format: Large 8vo. π^8 a^2 b-g^4 h^2 ($1). Pp. [i-xvi] 1-48 [49-52]. 224 × 158 mm.

Binding: (A) Quarter light green buckram with light blue paper over boards (233 × 165 × 12 mm). Upper: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN', gilt; spine, reading upwards 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD', gilt. Plain endpapers. Top-edge gilt. Dark green silk marker. (B) Full vellum (230 × 162 × 13 mm). Upper: upper right 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN', gilt. Lower: void. Spine: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD', gilt, upwards. Tan and white swirled endpapers. Top-edge gilt. (C) Limp vellum (237 × 162 × 4 mm). Upper: on left, five vertical square holes with interlaced vellum strips securing the binding; inwardly, between first/second and fourth/fifth holes, two square holes with green-coloured vellum exiting, on right, through two holes, forming ties. In upper-right corner, 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN', gilt. Lower: void. Spine: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD', gilt, upwards. Endpapers: top-edge gilt.

Wrapper: (1a) Light blue (102 + 347 + 106 × 230 mm). Upper: upper right,

black, 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD | BY A. E. HOUSMAN'; lower left, '*Edition limited to* 1000 *copies printed on Paper* | *Boards*, 7*s*. 6*d*. *net* | *Natural-grain Parchment*, 15*s*. *net* | 12 *copies* (10 *for sale*) *printed on vellum*, *bound limp* | *Kelmscott vellum*, £12 12*s*. *net*'. Over the edition limitation statement, a white label with red circle enclosing red 'ADVANCED | PRICE | £ *s d*. | BINDING' with motto 'THE MEDICI SOCIETY, LTD.' (The advance price for cloth was 10/6 [manuscript].) Lower right, round Riccardi device. Lower: full-page advertisement for the Riccardi Press books. Spine: top, upwards: 'A SHROPSHIRE LAD'. Turn-ins, advertisements for Medici Press publications. Plain endpapers. Top-edge gilt. (1b) without paste over.

Ribbon: (Binding 1) Dark green silk marker (Binding B and C3) White silk marker.

Publication date: Oct. ca 18, 1914 (cf. Lilly PR 4809.H15 S5 1914). Cf. *Cam. Rev.* 36, Nov. 4, 1914, pp. 54 sq.

Edition and Prices: 1/1000 on paper, bound with boards 7/6 net or bound with natural-grain parchment, 15/- net; 1/12 (10 for sale) printed on vellum, bound in limp Kelmscott vellum, £12/12 net.

[17] New York 1914

Title: A SHROPSHIRE LAD | By | A. E. Housman | [MK digraph within circle] | New York | Mitchell Kennerley.

Imprint: PRINTED BY WM. BRENDON AND SON, LTD., | PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, 1914.

Contents: ([A]1r) half-title 1 ([A]1v) titles 'UNIFORM WITH THIS VOLUME' ([A]2r) title ([A]2v) imprint ([A]3-4) contents ([A]5r) half-title 2 ([A]5v) blank ([A]6r-G8r) text (G8v) blank.

Format: 32mo. $[A]^{8\pm1}$ B-G^{8} ($1). Pp. [i-iv] v-viii [ix-x] 1-101 [102]. 127 × 84 mm.

Binding: Red cloth as London 1907.

NOTE

1 I am particularly obliged, for suggestions, information and corrections, to Peter Sisley.

Biographies

Andrew Breeze, FSA, FRHistS, PhD, was born in 1954 and has taught at the University of Navarre since 1987. Married with six children, he is the author of the controversial study *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997), and co-author with Richard Coates of *Celtic Voices, English Places* (Stamford, 2000). He has also published over three hundred research papers, mainly on English and Celtic philology.
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Gillian Clarke is a poet, playwright, editor and translator, as well as the President of Ty Newydd, the writers´ centre in North Wales which she co-founded in 1990. She also tutors creative writing for a wide range of audiences, including the University of Glamorgan. Her poetry is studied by GCSE and A Level students throughout Britain, and has been translated into ten languages. She has a daughter and two sons, and now lives with her husband in Ceredigion, where they raise a small flock of sheep, and care for the land according to organic and conservation practice**.**

David McKie is a Fellow of Robinson College, Cambridge, where he directs studies in Classics.

Paul Naiditch (Librarian Emeritus, University of California, Los Angeles) is the author of *A.E. Housman at University College, London: the Election of 1892* (Leiden, 1988), *Problems in the Life and Writings of A.E. Housman* (Beverly Hills, 1995), *Additional Problems in the Life and Writings of A.E. Housman* (Los Angeles, 2005) and *The Library of Richard Porson* (s.l., 2011). Mr Naiditch has also written on the history of classical scholarship, the reception of the press of Aldus Manutius, the history of bookselling, and the history of science fiction. Under another name he writes humorous fantasy fiction.
E-mail: naiditch@ucla.edu

Sir Brian Young was a master at Eton from 1947 to 1952, after war service and two years at Cambridge; he subequently became Headmaster of Charterhouse (1952-64), Director of the Nuffield Foundation (1964-70), and Director-General of the IBA (1970-82).

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 1st May and the current annual subscriptions are:

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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 2014 Journal will be published in late November of that year. Articles intended for publication, or books for review, should be sent to **David Butterfield, Queens' College, Cambridge, CB3 9ET.** If possible please send as an attachment to an e-mail, preferably in Microsoft Word, or as a file on a CD-Rom. E-mail: <djb89@cam.ac.uk>. Proof copies will be sent by PDF.

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 £9.50 in the UK and £10.50 overseas. All these prices include postage and packing, surface mail in the case of overseas orders. For copies please contact Mrs Valerie Richardson, 1 Warwick Hall Gardens, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire B60 2AU.

OVERSEAS REMITTANCES

Payments may be made to The Housman Society by going to the Paypal account using Kate Shaw's email address kate@shaw-line.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 to the journal are preferred in digital form (ideally in Microsoft Word format and double-spaced throughout) and should be sent either as an attachment to the editor's email 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. Italic, which should be employed for titles of books and articles, and for quotations and words in languages other than English, is indicated in typescript by underlining. 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 decision is final.

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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.

1. A.E. Housman

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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 on the site. 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".