Sir Frederic Madden at Oxford

By C. K. Francis Brown

Sir Frederic Madden (1801–1873), ‘the Knight of the British Museum’, bequeathed 43 folio volumes of his Journals to the Bodleian Library. Since the publication of A. N. L. Munby’s Phillipps Studies, I–V (1951–1960) and Edward Miller’s Prince of Librarians—The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi (1967) these have become more widely known. Madden’s work has long been honoured by scholars as Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum and in connexion with the Wycliffe Bible (1850) and Matthew Paris’s Historia Anglorum. This edition was an important landmark in medieval studies, for it is one of the finest of all those published in the Rolls Series, and it set a standard of careful accuracy and profound scholarship which has seldom been equalled since.1

The Journals were left to Bodley because Madden had resigned from the Museum in 1866 in resentment at being passed over when John Winter Jones was made Principal Librarian. They were not to be opened until 1920 and have been described by the scholar who knows them best as ‘the most fascinating unpublished book I know.’2

The present writer is engaged upon a study of the life and work of Madden and prints the relevant extracts to illustrate his impressions of Oxford up to the time he was matriculated at Magdalen Hall. In the context of this paper it may be sufficient to say that in December 1823 Madden paid his first visit to London from his home in Portsmouth, never having previously gone beyond an eighteen-mile radius of that city.

Tuesday, 30th (December, 1823)

On arriving at the top of Cumnor Hurst, the view appeared particularly fine. The gentle rise of the surrounding heights, the steepness of the Hurst itself, and the united waters of the Isis and Cherwell which mingled together and swelled by the late rains, seemed at a distance to insulate the town of Oxford (whose proud spires and pinnacles towered above the surrounding

1 Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Hist. c., 140–82.
buildings) presented a *coup d'oeil* that was enchanting. What contributed to render the scene still more attractive, was the accidental appearance of a rainbow, formed by the sun on a mass of dark floating clouds on the left and striking across the azure shapes left by their separation. About 12 o'clock we alighted at the King's Arms Inn in Broad St. We preferred this, on account of the coaches putting up there and consequently being more free from tumult and confusion. No time was to be lost, so we immediately set out on our intended circuit, and in a few minutes were ushered into the Theatre, built by Sir Christopher Wren, at the expense of Archbishop Sheldon. Here, in 1814, a magnificent spectacle took place by the presentation of degrees to the Empr of Russia, King of Prussia, Prince Blucher, etc. and above the entrance are full length portraits of the two former, painted by Girard, and between them, the then Prince Regent in his coronation robes, by Sir Thos. Lawrence. We next passed to the fine quadrangular pile of buildings called 'The Schools', and asked for the porter of the Bodleian Library. In consequence of the Vacation, the middle range of rooms, in which the greater part of the books is preserved was closed but the upper range denominated 'the Picture Gallery', from the number of paintings it contains, was open. We spent about a third of an hour there, and I was highly gratified. The most striking portraits are those of the founder, Sir Thos. Bodley; Mary, Qn. of Scots, Blackstone, Isaac Fuller, the painter; Selden; Sir Kenelm Digby; Dr. Pococke; Charles I—Henrietta Maria, his Queen; Charles 2d, when a boy; the Queen of Bohemia, da. of James I; Henry, Prince of Wales; Queen Elizabeth; Henry 8; Queen Anne; Handel; Locke; Martin Luther; Wentworth, E. of Strafford; Dr. Wallis, etc., etc., etc. The two windows of painted glass presented by Alderman Fletcher, attracted a great deal of my attention, as did also the Statue in bronze of the E. of Pembroke, by Le

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4 The King's Arms is structurally a part of Wadham College.
5 Built in 1664—9 at the expense of Archbishop Gilbert Sheldon (1598—1677).
6 Baron Francis Gerard (1770—1837)—a pupil of David: 'kept a large studio of assistants to help with his glossy, showy, superficial portraits that compete with Laurence for facility and charm'.
7 Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769—1830) : 'at the age of ten, he was in practice as a portrait draughtsman in crayon in Oxford'. President of the Royal Academy, 1820.
8 Isaac Fuller (1666—72) painted portraits of himself and of Sir Kenelm Digby, Samuel Butler and others: he was responsible for altar pieces at Wadham and Magdalen Colleges.
9 Edward Pococke (1604—91), first Laudian Professor of Arabic.
10 Cannot now be traced.
12, 13, 14 Cannot now be traced.
16 Alderman William Fletcher (1739—1826). W. D. Macray, *Annals of The Bodleian* : 2nd Ed. 1890, p. 38 calls him 'a zealous local antiquary and Churchman of the good old school'. On pp. 38 ff. he deals with the glass and on p. 337 with the Mary, Q. of Scots' portrait. The Alderman was universally beloved and has a notable tomb in Yarnton Church.
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Soeur,\textsuperscript{17} (who made the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross). The copies of the cartoons by Sir Js. Thornhill,\textsuperscript{18} have too little space to be seen to advantage, but I did not admire them. The School of Athens, by Julio Romano,\textsuperscript{19} and the Passion, by Schalkus,\textsuperscript{20} are very fine. What pleased me perhaps, more than all these, were the beautiful models of the Pantheon, Pastum,\textsuperscript{21} the Parthenon, etc. lately added to the collection at an expense of \£400 all executed by a French artist. There is also a curious model of the Amphitheatre at Verona, in cork, presenting a \textit{vraisemblance} not easy to be conceived. The ceiling is divided into compartments, in each of which is painted the University arms, and in the joists the shield of Sir Thomas Bodley. We next visited the Arundel marbles,\textsuperscript{22} which we had not time to examine with much attention, and the room they were in threw such a damp and chill upon us, that Capt. Sanson and Weyland (Powell) would not stay. The Keeper of the Pomfret statues\textsuperscript{23} was, unfortunately, absent, so we could not see them, and a similar disappointment awaited us at the Ashmolean Museum,\textsuperscript{24} which was shut up, in consequence of some repairs taking place. On learning this, we bent our course directly to Christ Church, noticing the buildings and Colleges as we passed along. It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the pleasure I felt in viewing this noble building, its ample Hall, enriched with portraits of distinguished prelates and senators, and, above all, the venerable and magnificent Cathedral attached to it. It is in the purest Norman style,\textsuperscript{25} and quite perfect. It formerly belonged to the Priory of St. Frideswide, whose shrine, of a very curious architecture, is still shown in it. We also noticed here the ancient painted glass; and modern windows enriched by a Flemish artist,\textsuperscript{26} also the singularly carved pulpit, brought hither from Oseney Abbey; the monument and bust of Burton, the author of that singular work, the ‘\textit{Anatomy of Melancholy}’; the tomb of Sir Haimo de Bathe, J 252, of Lady Elizabeth Montacute,\textsuperscript{27} wife of Wm. Baron Montacute, and many others,

\textsuperscript{17} Hubert Le Sueur (active 1610–1643). This statue now stands in the Schools Quadrangle of the Bodleian and there is a figure of Charles I at St. John’s College by him.
\textsuperscript{18} Sir James Thornhill (1676–1734). The painting of the Ascension in the apse of The Queen’s College Chapel (1716) is his.
\textsuperscript{19} Giulio Romano (c. 1492–1546)—favourite pupil of Raphael.
\textsuperscript{20} Cannot be identified.
\textsuperscript{21} Paestum in Lucania.
\textsuperscript{22} Now in the Ashmolean.
\textsuperscript{23} Now in the Ashmolean.
\textsuperscript{24} The Old Ashmolean Building (now the Museum of the History of Science), 1679, probably not by Wren.
\textsuperscript{25} The east end—rose-window, arcading and two ‘Norman windows’—is now the less pure Norman of Sir Gilbert Scott.
\textsuperscript{26} There is in different places glass by Abraham van Linge of the date 1630–40.
\textsuperscript{27} Lady Montacute gave in 1355 to the Convent of St. Frideswide the southern portion of Christ Church meadow.
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with numerous brasses temp. Henry VIII and Qu. Elizabeth. The choir is very fine. I was absolutely enchanted, and could have remained here for hours, but I was with companions who did not possess the same ardent love as myself touching these relics of antiquity. Before we quitted the quadrangle, we visited the old kitchen, and remarked the ancient fireplaces, the groined cloisters, etc. This building so far surpasses anything I had ever before seen, that it was with reluctance I tore myself away, and cast a last lingering look on the curious Norman door, through which you enter, and which is seen through an aperture in a half-ruined wall, covered with ivy. As we passed under the archway leading to the Peckwater, I could not help noticing the bust of Bishop Fell, and recalling to memory the lines, 'I do not like thee, Dr. Fell, The reason why I cannot tell', etc. On our arrival at the Peckwater, we ought to have visited the famed Christ Church gallery of Pictures, and library, but Capt. S. voted in the negative, and Weyland acquiesced in his wish to get on, but I regretted very much afterwards the loss I had, in not seeing this unrivalled collection. We next entered the Anatomical Theatre, furnished by the donations of Drs. Freind and Lee. We were here all disappointed, for, except three or four skeletons, the same number of waxen preparations, and some morbid specimens, they had nothing at all worth looking at. I must except, however, a collection of skulls, which, as illustrations of phrenology, might give rise to many important conclusions. We merely looked into the quadrangle of Oriel, and then passed into the beautiful walk called Christ Church Walk, by the side of the Cherwell, and noticed Merton College, the old City wall, and, turning to the left, crossed by the Botanic Garden, and viewed Magdalen Bridge. The entrance here is particularly fine. We next entered Magdalen College and walked round the Cloisters, to examine the grotesque figures in the quadrangle of which various explanations are given. One side of it has lately been rebuilt, and another will shortly require it, as it is in a state of ruin. I was much struck by the appearance of this College and should like much to belong to it. From this we proceeded up

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38 Mill Stephenson: List of Monumental Brasses in the British Isles, 1926, pp. 410–11 lists these.
39 This bust was removed to Nuneham Courtenay and the present one placed there by Dean Liddell. John Fell (1625–86), Dean of Christ Church, Vice-Chancellor, Bishop of Oxford. A proper appraisal of this saintly and vigorous man is to be found in Stanley Morison, John Fell, the University Press and the Fell Types, 1967 in a limited edition, V. p. 58: 'The world came to appreciate Fell only in terms of these possibly apocryphal lines'. Cf. Benjamin Boyce, Tom Brown of Facetious Memory, Camb. Mass. 1939.
40 Built in 1766, south of the Hall, it later became a Chemical Laboratory under Dr. Lee's Reader in that subject.
41 Magdalen Bridge was pulled down, rebuilt and widened when East Gate was removed by the Commissioners acting under the Mileways Act of 1771. Magdalen Bridge as Madden saw it may be studied in R. Ackermann: A History of the University of Oxford, 1814. Vol. I to face p. iii. A flock of sheep is being driven over it.
the High Street, and, turning to the right, passing by Queen's, looked at the old Church of St. Peter's in the East.

Thence we returned to the High Street, and passing University and All Souls went on to New College. A few showers occurred *en passant.* Here we again arrested our progress, and summoning the porter, visited the Chapel and Hall. The former is particularly remarkable for the perfection of the florid or ornamental style. Its choir is terminated by a magnificent screen, discovered in 1789, and restored by Wyatt. The old sculptures being defaced, were removed to the Cloisters (where we saw them) and I was not antiquary enough to lament their removal, compared with the chaste designs, by Westmacott, by which they are replaced. Wykeham's Cross, of course, did not escape my observation, nor the numerous old brasses. After Christ Church I was more pleased with this College than anything I had seen. Both within and without, the architecture is remarkably grand, and does honor to munificence and talents of Wm. of Wykeham, its founder. We next went to All Souls, and viewed the Hall, Chapel, and Library, all unique in their way. In the library we noticed the superb array of globes; in the Hall, the bust of Abp. Chichele, the Founder; and in the Chapel the monument of Blackstone, the windows, and the altar piece. The light here is particularly good, and renders the effect very striking. We thence hastened to the Clarendon Printing Office, where we saw twenty presses at work, and which strike off 200 sheets per hour. They are all printing stereotype Bibles! *Cui bono?*

Our last visit was to the Radcliffe Library, which is an amazingly fine structure, erected by Gibbs. We ascended to the roof, and should have had a fine view of Oxford, had not a haze come in, with partial rain, which, added to the lateness of the hour, warned us to return to our Inn. I particularly observed the two beautiful Roman candelabra from Adrian's Villa at

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11 Thomas Rickman (1776-1847) published his lectures on the styles of architecture in 1817, 7th Ed. 1881.
12 The reredos had been discovered in 1695 and then re-discovered in 1779 and worked on by James Wyatt (1746-1813). Sir Gilbert Scott ousted this work in 1879; v. A. H. Smith, *New College and its Buildings* 1952, pp. 101, 113 ff.
13 Sir Richard Westmacott (1775-1856). Pupil of Canova: his work is to be found 'in countless parish churches all over England'.
15 Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780). Fellow, 1744. His *Commentaries on the Laws of England* may be claimed as still 'the best general history of English law'.
16 The Old Clarendon Building (1711-13) was built by Hawksmoor out of the profits of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, of which the University holds the perpetual copyright. It housed the Press until 1890.
17 The Radcliffe Camera (1737-49).
18 James Gibbs (1682-1754).
19 Now on exhibition in the Ashmolean, but alterations and additions made before they reached Oxford have rendered them a mere *pastiche.*
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Tivoli; placed in the Hall of the library. Here in 1814 the allied sovereigns dined, and we were shown the plan of arranging the several tables, etc. I took up a book that was on the table. It was a vol. of the Transactions of the Phrenological Society, which interest me very much. It was now nearly dusk, and we could only just look within the Quadrangle of Brazen Nose College and then hasten back to our Inn, where we ordered dinner, and having encreased our appetites, by the circuit we had made, paid every respect to it, when prepared. Our bill was as follows; which was not very reasonable, considering the badness of the cooking, and the simple fare of beefstakes, mutton chops and oyster sauce.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wine</td>
<td>7.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ale and Candles</td>
<td>1.6</td>
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</tbody>
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At 6 of the c. the carriage was ordered, for we all agreed not to sleep at Oxford, so we arrived at Wadley again about quarter before nine, just in time for tea. I occupied the rest of the evening in writing an account of the day’s excursion, by which I was amazingly gratified, and would willingly go again.

TUESDAY, 3RD (MAY, 1825)

Rose at 6 o’c. and having breakfasted, proceeded to the Oxford Coffee House, and took an outside place to Oxford. We started about ¾ to eight, and arrived at our destination at ¾ past two o’c., which I thought very expeditious. The day proved very fine, altho we encountered several showers, and part of the road is exceedingly pretty. My first object on alighting at the Angel, was to meet Mr. Petrie, and for that purpose I immediately bent my steps to the King’s Arms Inn, Holywell, where I learnt he had left word for me to follow him to the Bodleian. Thither I went, and saw Dr. Bandinel the principal libn who informed me that Mr. Petrie was not expecting me until 4 o’c. had gone to Dr. Buckland’s lecture, but would be back at the Bodleian in the course of an hour. Dr. Bandinel at the same time told me he had taken

41 This is possibly in December 1823 an advance copy of The Phrenological Journal and Miscellany published in Edinburgh under the date 1824 onwards.
42 At this time oysters were cheap and unfashionable.
43 The Angel stood on the site of the Examination Schools in the High Street.
44 Henry Petrie (1768–1842). Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, 1819. It was Petrie who started off Madden on his life-long career amongst manuscripts by giving him routine copying of MSS. at fivepence for 72 words.
46 William Buckland (1784–1856). Waynflete Professor of Mineralogy; Reader in Geology and Dean of Westminster (1845), in plurality.
lodgings for me at a Mr. Botts, two doors from his own house, St. Giles's, which I should easily find out, from its being next door to the Lamb Inn. He desired me to call there and see if I approved of the lodging before Mr. Petrie returned. I followed his directions, and found my lodgings consisted of a bed and sitting room on the first floor, small, but perfectly clean and neat, from having been newly painted, papered and furnished. The woman of the house is to cook for me, for which, with the lodging, I am to pay her £1.10 per week, and to cater for myself. I ordered my portmanteau to be taken there, etc. and then returned to the Bodleian, and shortly after Mr. P. arrived, with Dr. Bliss, who immediately recognised me, and was particularly civil, introducing me to his wife, a pretty little woman, and inviting Mr. Petrie and myself to breakfast with him tomorrow morning which we accepted. Mr. P. and myself immediately set to work, to collate the printed copy of Eddius' Life of Wilfrid, by Gale, with a MS of it in the Bodleian of the 11th century marked Fell. I the only MS known to exist of this tract, for the one at Salisbury, from which Gale printed, is extremely corrupt and confounds all idea of grammar or orthography. Yet it nevertheless supplies now and then a better reading and we contd. to collate till 5 o'clock. It is demi fol. size, and contains besides the Lives of several other Saints. I afterwards accompanied Mr. P. to call on the President of Magdalen College, (Dr. Routh), and returned home through Christ Church walk, which is now looking beautiful in the extreme. Oxford appears so different now to what it did when I before saw it, that I scarcely know it again, and as the views on every side are so magnificent, as to make me cease to regret having lost all my quadrille parties in London. Mr. P. conversed with me respecting the arrangements of my living, and begged me to understand, that he considered himself responsible for the entire expenses of lodging, and subsistence. This is well, and has set my mind at rest, and as I get an hour's additional work every day—the Bodleian being open from 9 till 4—and also on Saturdays—I shall if anything, be a gainer rather than a loser by this trip, and have pleasure of living in Oxford, and the advantage of an introduction to the Libraries and Colleges into the

47 Now the Lamb and Flag.
48 Houses in Oxford were not numbered until after an Act of Parliament for 1835 for lighting the town by gas and other improvements.
49 Philip Bliss (1787-1857). Fellow of St. John's (1813), Assistant in Bodleian (1808-1813), Under Librarian (1822-6), Keeper of the Archives (1826-57), Registrar of the University (1824-53), Registrar of the Chancellor's Court (1831-55), Principal of St. Mary Hall (1848-57). He was one of the Clerks of the Market, and proprietor of the Oxford Herald. These offices enabled Dr. Bliss to give up his fellowship and marry.
50 Thomas Gale (c. 1635-1702). Professor of Greek at Cambridge, High Master of St. Paul's and Dean of York. For his work on Eddius, v. David C. Douglas, English Scholars, 1943, pp. 69 ff. These pages show that Madden knew what he was talking about, even at this early stage in his career.
bargain. I dined with Mr. P at the King's Arms, in company with a Mr. Henderson,\(^55\) B.A. of Chr. Ch. After dinner we took another walk in the avenue of Chr. Ch. and at 9 o'clock I returned to my new abode which from its situation, so near the beautiful gardens of St. John's College, and pureness of air, I am well satisfied with.

Dear M!\(^53\) Thy sweet image accompanies me everywhere, and in all my idle moments conveys a charm which I should in vain seek for elsewhere.

**WEDNESDAY, 4TH**

At 8 o'clock I went to Dr. Bliss's, where I found Mr. P. and Mr. Milman,\(^54\) the Professor of Poetry, whose conversation I was glad to have an opportunity of hearing. He is preparing an answer to Lingard, and wished Mr. P. to satisfy several queries relative to the History of the Reformation, etc. (Description of MSS.) Dr. B. promised to show me all the treasures of the Bodleian before I left Oxford and to accompany me to all the other College libraries. I spoke to him respecting chess MSS. and he said he could point out to me illuminations representing persons playing at the game as early as the 11th century! *Nous verrons!* At 9 o'clock Mr. P. and myself called on Dr. Barnes,\(^55\) Sub-Dean of Chr. Ch. and proceeded with him to the Chapter House, which is in point of architecture beautiful and unique, and contains many fine original paintings. We selected from the muniments, kept in an adjoining room, the Charters previous to the reign of John, all of which relate to Osney Abbey and the Chapel of St. George in Oxford Castle. Then I copied, which occupied the whole morning, and after collating the principal portion of the *Monasticon* relating to Eynsham, with the original Eynsham Chartulary,\(^56\) of the 12th century, preserved in the Chapter House, I copied the few remaining Charters in it not printed, and then, having completed all we had to do here, at 2 o'clock we adjourned to the Bodleian and finished the collation of Eddius. Dr. Nicol,\(^57\) the Arabic Professor, having invited Mr. Petrie to dine with him to-day, and hearing of my arrival, was polite enough not only to send a verbal message by Dr. Bandinel, to request me to accompany Mr. P. but wrote also a note to Mr. P. to the same effect. We met at his house

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\(^{55}\) Mary Hayton. After ten years of waiting for each other, Madden lost his wife and infant son in the first year of marriage, a tragedy from which he never really escaped.

\(^{54}\) Henry Hart Milman (1791–1868). Historian and Dean of St. Paul's. Lingard is the Catholic historian.

\(^{55}\) Frederick Barnes (1771–1859) B.A. 1794, D.D. 1811. His canony was suppressed after his death. Blucher stayed at his rooms on the occasion of the great dinner in 1814.


\(^{57}\) Alexander Nicholl (1793–1828). Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.
Mr. Henderson, Dr. Bliss, and four or five students. Dr. Nicol is a comparatively very young man, and very shy, arising from a sort of absent manner, but his attention to me was kind and polite to the extreme, indeed I felt quite flattered being so much noticed, as he scarcely conversed with any other person. We had a splendid entertainment, and I remained till half past ten, which in Oxford is a late hour for a party. Mr. Petrie desired me to come and breakfast with him tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY, 5TH

At half past eight went to the King's Arms and breakfasted with Mr. P. It rained very hard but cleared up quite fine towards the middle of the day. (Description of MS.) What surprises me is, that although (as Dr. Bliss told me) the expenses of the library were unlimited and amounted on an average to 2000 £ per ann. yet so little care should be bestowed on the MSS., that some of the finest of them have actually no binding, except a piece of old board, or a piece of vellum, without lettering at the back, or any sort of external ornament! This is an instance of real neglect, and should be attended to. (Description of MS.) At half past 5 I went with Mr. P. to dine at Dr. Bandinel's, where we met again Dr. and Mrs. Bliss and Mr. Henderson. A very good house, a very good dinner, but not in such style as at Dr. Nicol's. Dr. Bandinel is a very goodhearted, goodnatured man, but there is a sort of blustering, bullying manner about him—which is very disagreeable—particularly on literary questions. In the course of our conversation, many very curious anecdotes of books and authors were mentioned, but they have escaped my memory except one—which from its singularity I mention, on the authority of Dr. Bandinel, namely that Dr. Huntingford,58 one of our present Bps, has had a work printed at the Clarendon Press, which he intends should appear as a posthumous work, and not be seen until after his death, so that the work lies at his house, tied up and sealed, as presents to the friends he designs it for after he has bidden this world adieu! This is a novel method of publishing a posthumous work—and as the Irishman defined a posthumous work as one a man writes after his death, so we may add another definition, that which a man publishes or prints before his decease! They are equally absurd. Mr. P. leaves Oxford tomorrow for Stowe and will be in London again on Monday. I wrote a few lines to Henry (Madden), which Dr. P. will put in the twopenny post. From what I see of the work given me, I shall be an inhabitant of Oxford for a considerable period—I should guess, near three months certainly as the MSS. to be copied are of great length—particularly a prose life of St.

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Hugh—the Epistles of Bishop Foliot\(^59\) (an *unique* MS.) and a Chronicle or two. I must work hard therefore, or else I shall not be able to see her. Dear M. Can I ever forget thee? Oh no, *never, never.*

FRIDAY, 6TH

Rain again during the night. Breakfasted with Mr. Petrie at his Inn and saw him safely off for Stowe by the nine o’c. coach. I am to send him a telegraphic despatch of my proceedings and as soon as I have completed my transcripts, he will come again to collate them with me. Before we parted he put a 10 £ note in my hand towards the lodgings, and desired me to make myself as comfortable as possible. I feel rather melancholy in his leaving me—but these beautiful walks round Oxford restore my spirits in some measure. At soon after nine o’c. I was at the Bodln and remained there till 4 o’clock. I finished the life of St. Birinus, which is a tedious piece of folly. (Here follow descriptions of MSS.) I occupied myself with this chronicle till 4 o’c. and then took a walk in Christ Church meadows—where to my astonishment, on the banks of the river, watching the rowing and sailing matches of the collegians, I saw—Mr. Young! He has been here for a week, and proposes to stay till Monday next. I walked with him till 5 o’c. and agreed to meet him again tomorrow at the same spot. Dined at home, and walked again in Christ Church meadow till 9 o’c. Every time I go there, I am more enchanted with the walk. It is perfect beauty, and on every side you might sit down and draw the most picturesque scenery. Wrote till eleven o’c.

SATURDAY, 7TH

Not quite so fine as yesterday—occasional showers and a good deal of wind. At Bodln Liby fm 9 till 4 conting. Master Baker’s\(^60\) Chronicle who takes the side of Edw. 2 against Isabel. Walked again in Chr. Ch. meadow with Mr. Young. He told me he had been in St. John’s Gardens, the most beautiful spot in Oxford and had *witnessed* a curious scene in them about *one o’clock in the day*, namely in a sly corner he surprised one of the very revd. Fellows of — College *in flagrante delicto* with Miss Brown, eldest daughter of the *Rev. Proctor*!! So much for Oxford morals! He said the man was old enough to be her father, and the girl, a very pretty, fair creature! Oh shame! The old fellow buttoned up his inexpressibles and set off with his *inamorata* to Trinity gardens, where he probably renewed his games, with less chance of


\(^60\) Geoffrey Baker (fl. 1350) less correctly known as Walter of Swinbrook. Left two chronicles: from the first day of creation to 1326; the second from 1303–56.
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interruption. Dined at home and find it very hard dull by myself—In the evg. again in Chr. Ch. walk with Mr. Y.

SUNDAY, 8TH

Suetonius all the morng. Heavy showers till 3 o’c. Went out in St. John’s Gardens and met Mr. Young. They are certainly beautiful. Then walked in the Gardens of New College, which altho’ not so fine, yet contain a greater charm for the antiquary in the remains of the old city wall, and the view of St. Peter’s in the East, the most ancient of the Oxford Churches. After dinner walked again in Chr. Ch. avenue, but was driven home by a violent storm. I wrote a letter home to-day, to let them know where I am to be found.

MONDAY, 9TH

Beautiful day. At Bodln Liby fm 10 till 4. (Long technical passage on MSS.)

TUESDAY, 10TH

Beautiful day again. At Bodln fm 10 till 4. Dr. Bliss is the most kind attentive man in the world—and I feel obliged to him beyond what I can express. He took me down with him this morng into the MSS. Rooms—and pointed out to me the arrangement of the cases, and promised me I shall be at complete liberty to re-arrange them in any way I thought proper.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH

Fine day. At Bodln from ½ past nine till 4—for the gentleman who has the keys, is never there at the proper time to open the library. Purchased a sheet of tracing paper, and copied fm No. 264 the three illuminated compartments illustrating the game of chess. Then went on with the Chronicle of Baker till 4 o’clock. Walked in Chr. Ch. meadow, where I met Mr. Young, and we agreed to go to Blenheim to-morrow, should the day be fine. Walked again after dinner and had a mauvais aventure. (Mention of books and MSS.)

THURSDAY, 12TH

A most wretched day. Perpetual rain. Of course, I did not go to Blenheim, but I met Mr. Young at 11 o’c. and we walked in Magdalen Gardens for an hour or more. Then I went home and wrote a letter to Miss Hayton. Went on with Suetonius. Copied fairly the illumns. on Chess
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and composed a letter to Lord Colchester on The Subject of the Librarianship at the Brit. Museum. (Discussion of MSS.)

FRIDAY, 13TH

After 4 o'clock met Mr. Young, and went with him to look at the remains of Osney Abbey, a short distance from Oxford. It is now converted into a saw mill! *Sic transit*, etc. Looked at the old Castle and hill till ½ past 5.

SATURDAY, 14TH

(Family correspondence.) Oxford was in an uproar to-day, in consequence of the Local Militia being called out, and troops of dancing Mummers or Mazers, went about the streets, escorting a peculiar sort of dance, and with sticks in their hands, striking time to the music. This is an undoubted relic of the old sword dance, practised by the Northern nations (see Olaus Magnus) — Walked in the Park after dinner, and fell in with a girl, whose history is one of the most curious I ever heard. But I shall not here repeat it.

SUNDAY, 15TH

(Family correspondence.) Owing to the late rains, the Thames had risen in such a degree, that the meadows were nearly all under water and the waterman said they had never witnessed such a flood; the river having risen above 3 feet since last evening. We took a boat and rowed down to Iffley, for the purpose of looking at the Church, which contains some curious remains of Norman architecture. (A long description of the Church.) The day was so fine that we walked back into Oxford. At 5 o’clock I went to dine with Dr. Bliss, where I met Miss Bell (Mrs. Bliss’s pretty sister) and a Mr. Hall, senior fellow of Brazen Nose College and the best Chess Player in the University. We are to have a trial of skill some evening. After tea Dr. B. brought out several portfolios containing old pieces of MSS. — *omnis aevi*—fragments of black-letter poems — old proclamations, Romances, ballads, prospectuses, etc. Among them some very curious figures — such as an unknown *Winkyn de Worde*, etc. This collection was made in the following manner. Whenever any of the colleges send their MSS. and old books to be bound, the fly leaves and odd scraps are always torn off by the bookbinders and thrown away! Dr. Bliss therefore made a bargain with the bookbinder, that for every bundle of these old MSS. and bl. letter scraps, the latter brought him, he (Dr. B.) would give the man a pot of beer. (Details follow.)

61 Charles Abbot (1757–1829) 1st Baron Colchester. As Speaker of the House of Commons, 1802–1816, he had been one of the three Principal Trustees of the British Museum.

62 Samuel Hall (1787–1853).
C. K. FRANCIS BROWN

MONDAY, 16th

(Description of manuscripts.) Whilst looking at this last MS. a servant came from Mrs. Bliss to say it was 6 o’c. and to summon Dr. B. home, so we were obliged to quit this delightful place, which contains treasures beyond any I have seen at the Mus. After dinner took a long walk—by the Parks—and returning met—. I am very foolish—very—very!

TUESDAY, 17th

(Description of MSS. and his ambitions for the British Museum.) After dinner, walked in Chr. Ch. meadow, where a large concourse of people was assembled, to witness the termination of the Boat matches of the students. There were four boats of six or eight oars, but there was nothing like a race—for they were 100 yards distant from each other. It was a pretty sight, however—Settled with my landlady, £3. 11s. 8d.

FRIDAY, 20th

(Discussion of MSS and his chances for the British Museum.) At 5 o’c. I went to dine with Mr. Hall and the fellows at Brazen Nose College—and remained in the Common Room till ½ past eight, when Mr. H. Holkham and myself adjourned to Mr. Hall’s own apartments, and sat down to chess. We played till half past 12 o’c. and I was completely victor! I beat Mr. Holkham two games, and Mr. Hall four. Against me, the former won none, and the latter only one! I came home very happy. (Description of Manuscripts.)

SATURDAY, 28th

Beautiful day after the rain. At Bodl. from 9 till 4 with the exception of half an hour—in which I went to a sale of books at Wise’s Auction Rooms, St. Clement’s. They were chiefly classical—and entirely out of my line—or else I should have purchased a great many, for they sold for a mere trifle. (Description of Manuscripts.)

FRIDAY, 10th June

At Bodleian from 9 till 4; To-day was I happier than most, from having two good pieces of intelligence imparted to me. The first, by Dr. Bandinel, who informed me, he had, in concert with Dr. Bliss, submitted to the members of the Convocation, or Curators of the Bodleian, I know not which, to collate the MS. of Caedmon—on the score of my intimacy with the late J. J. Conybeare, etc.—and that my offer was accepted. (Descriptions of Manuscripts.)

61 Mr. Holkham was not a Fellow of B.N.C. nor even a member of the University.
62 John Jonas Conybeare (1779–1824) Geologist. Professor of Anglo-Saxon and of Poetry—a wealthy man who was a close friend of Madden.
SIR FREDERIC MADDEN AT OXFORD

WEDNESDAY, 15TH

A lovely day, and as the scene that was to take place at the Theatre had been described to me as one that was very grand, I determined, if possible, to obtain a good seat. Accordingly at 9 o'clock I proceeded towards the Theatre, but to my mortification found all the gates locked, except the two leading into the Bodleian quadrangle, and at each of them was stationed a gownsman, supported by half a dozen fellows with poles (I suppose it would not be classical to call them constables) to see that no one entered who was not an M.A. or accompanied by one. Ladies or gentlemen, it was the same to all unable to procure this means of entrance, and I very patiently walked up and down—watching the successive groups of gaily dressed females, who arrived, and the ill-humour of those, who, like myself, were obliged to wait. I learnt that the gates were not thrown open to the strangers, and students till ten o'clock and I made up my mind to wait in the sun for an hour, when, by good fortune, dear, kind Dr. Bliss (who had come out for the express purpose of meeting me) caught my eye. It was the work of a moment to take my arm in his; and passing through the portal, and the superb hall, dedicated to the lectures on Civil Law, I was ushered into the Theatre, by this time wholly filled by well-dressed women—at least the lower tier of seats—allotted to the fair sex alone. The upper tier was appropriated to the students—not yet admitted, in front was the Vice-Chancellor's seat, Proctors and Doctors, and the entire area remained to be occupied by the M.A.'s, and strangers. Dr. Bliss introduced me to two gentlemen; Mr. Pigou, husband of the lady I met at his house the other night, and Mr. Wilson. Soon I recognized Mrs. Bliss and her party, who gave me several gracious bows—and then taking a view of the parterre of animated flowers around, could certainly discern but very little beauty in the entire group of females Oxford and its university could produce. I should say—there were not half a dozen passably pretty women—out of near eight hundred! The two prettiest, were the two little girls pointed out to me by Dr. Bliss, but I know not who they were. By degrees the Area became filled, and at ten o'clock the rush of students up to the highest seats, proclaimed the doors to be now open. An hour still remained before the arrival of the 'big-wigs', but the scene was so novel and amusing that I did not find the time long. At eleven Dr. Jenkins, the Vice-Chancellor, attended by the Proctors, Proproctors,
Doctors, etc. all clad in their superb gowns, made their entrance, but instead of being greeted with applause, were received with the most vehement and incessant hissing and clamour from the galaxy of students. For it must be observed, that this Commemoration is a species of Saturnalia, in which the Scholars take the privilege of marking out the objects, either of their dislike or preference. It happened that Dr. Jenkins and one of the Proctors (Watt) had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious to the students, and they were determined to shew it. It was in vain the Vice-Chancellor rose and proceeded with his Speech. Not one syllable could be heard from the beginning to the end. It was a scene of great amusement to me, and all seemed to enjoy it, except those who suffered under the expression of dislike. After a short interval, four gentlemen who were appointed to receive the Honorary Degree of D.C.L. were introduced by Dr. Bliss, in his robes, each of them wearing his gown. They were Sir James Stewart,—Oakley, Capt. Lyon R.N. and Chantrey, the Sculptor. I was very pleased to have been present, on account of the two last. In presenting each of these gentlemen, Dr. Bliss delivered a short Latin speech, expressive of their further services, and they were received with unmingled applause; particularly Capt. Lyon (who wore a full-suit Naval Uniform under his gown) and Chantrey. But the moment the Vice-Chancellor rose to confer the Degrees, that moment the hissing recommenced, and drowned every attempt to convey a syllable to the ears of the spectators. When this was gone through, the four Prize Compositions were successfully recited Pro Rostris by their several authors. Two Latin, Prose, one Poetry (Fire of London) one English Prose (a very masterly composition indeed, on the influence of refinement of manners here in the formation of language) and one English Poetry (Temple of Vesta at Tivoli). Unfortunately, three of the recitants had a very bad delivery, and their compositions lost the effect they otherwise might have produced. After the whole had been read, the V.C. and his suite quitted the Theatre in the same order as they arrived, and with still louder and aggressive marks of disapprobation or applause. Jenkyns, Watts, the Dean of Chr. Ch., Macbride, and some others were hissed and groaned at to the last, whilst Dolby (the other Proctor) and others were greeted with

71 Sir Charles Oakley (1751–1826). Governor of Madras, 1790–1795.  
72 George Francis Lyon (1795–1832). Traveller.  
73 Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1761–1842). Bequeathed his property to the Royal Academy.  
74 From the two rostra, to the left and the right of the Chancellor and Proctors.  
75 John David Macbride (1778–1868). Principal of Magdalen Hall and Lord Almoner’s Reader in Arabic.  
76 William Dalby (1793–1861). Fellow of Exeter College (1811–26).
proportionate applause. Capt. Lyon, of course, had a full share of approbation, but he never cast his eyes up, and is indeed rather an insignificant little man. The hiss against the V.C. is so perpetual, that the Masters of Arts felt it necessary to interfere, and called out *Shame! shame!* but this did not stop them. When the whole train of bigwigs were withdrawn, the students contd. their uproar, and successively called down the names of all the principal men in the University, and accompanied each name by a *Hiss* or *Hu{.a . At last they became Political and applauded the Bishop of Chester (Blomfield) for *voting* against the Catholics; some bawled out 'The late Queen', in short, it was a complete *riot!* The ladies now began to retreat, and I followed their example, and came home, highly amused by the scene I had witnessed. In the evening I went to a party at Dr. Bandinel's, and was agreeably surprised at finding we were to dance. There were a number of girls, and several of them very pretty, so that I passed an extremely pleasant evg, and we danced quadrilles till half past one o'clock.

**TUESDAY, 28TH**

(Assessment of chances for the British Museum. Mr. Forshall tells him that preference might be given to a member of the University.) Dr. Bliss's object in speaking to me, was to recommend my immediately entering myself at Magdalen Hall, in order to place myself on a footing with any other candidates, and offered not only his interest in regard to the University but also the loan of £100 to forward the plan. I thanked him sincerely for his kindness, but there are many objections to this scheme, however I might like it, and whatever advantages it might produce. In the first place, the fees of entry and Caution money amount to £50 and a residence of 18 weeks (3 terms, of 6 weeks each) required by the University would require an expense of about £200 more. In order to meet all this, I am to obtain three things: 1. my father's consent to advance 50 £ directly; and 25 £ a quarter for four years after—£450; 2. Mr. Petrie's consent to let me keep my terms; 3. The means of earning another 100 £ during my residence at Oxford, to defray the expenses. The last Dr. Bliss thought he could get me, by speaking to Mr. Gaisford, and *employing me in the Bodln.* By taking my degree, should the situation at the British Museum be given to another, I should be eligible at a certain time to a place in the Bodln. I know not what to say. Dr. Bliss

79 Magdalen Hall (in existence in 1487) was originally a neighbour of Magdalen College. It moved to the reconstructed ruins of Hart Hall in 1822 and in 1874 it was dissolved and incorporated in Hertford College. It flourished under Dr. Macbride.
80 Thomas Gaisford, D.D. (1779-1855). The Dean, 'with his enthusiasm for Greek manuscripts and his intimate knowledge of book values, was the real ruler' of the Bodleian.
strongly urges me to write to my father, and says he will speak to Dr. Macbride Principal of Magdalen Hall, in order to know the precise form required. Here it must rest for the present.

WEDNESDAY, 29TH (JUNE, 1825)

(Madden ill and in pain.) Dr. Bliss again came to me, and told me that having mentioned our conversations yesterday to Dr. Bandinel, the latter had taken it up very warmly, and after a long conversation with Dr. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall, had obtained from him an estimate of the expense of the University per diem at less than one half of the sum normally required. It is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Univ. and Coll. Fees, Tuition, etc.</td>
<td>31. 10. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battells</td>
<td>25. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodgings</td>
<td>40. 0. 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>£96. 10. 0</strong></td>
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But as the battells are here rated so very low, it will be better to ask the sum of £100. Dr. M. will also admit me immediately and without any Caution Money—so that only the Entrance Fees will have to be paid. Now Drs. Bliss and Bandinel propose to me to reside eight months in Oxford during the year, during which time they will employ me as Assistant in the Bodleian to make a Catalogue of the Canonici MSS. at the rate of £1. 1. 0 per week, and they think this will be sufficient to meet my minor expenses. (References to the British Museum, family correspondence. Dr. Bliss offers to lend Madden £100. Capt. Madden is violently attacked by his son for the ungracious manner of his acceptance of Madden’s proposal for a loan.)

FRIDAY, 8TH (JULY, 1825)

(Madden continues his complaints.) Dr. Bandinel, on hearing the decision, went to the V.C. who said he would not allow anyone to lodge out. Dr. B. pleaded my ill health, and on the V.C. (illegible interpolation) to have this confirmed, wrote to Tuckwell,81 who called also on the V.C. and gave his testimony to that effect. It is supposed therefore the objection will be withdrawn, for Dr. Macbride could not give me rooms in Hall in less than a twelve month. (Diatribe against Capt. Madden.)

SIR FREDERIC MADDEN AT OXFORD

SATURDAY, 9TH (JULY, 1825). (Madden's sketch of the scene is reproduced on PL. XII.)

Dr. Bandinel called before breakfast to tell me that he would meet me at ten o'clock at the Liby. I felt worse than usual, and so weak I could hardly stand. I proceeded to the Bodin and at ten o'clock Dr. Bandinel, having borrowed a cap and gown, I put them on, and proceeded with him to the Convocation House, where I met Dr. Macbride. Mr. Dibdin was there also, having arrived for the purpose of taking his Doctor's degree. He came up to me, and shook me by the hand, and was very civil. After a few ceremonies of opening the Convocation, the V.C. came into the outer room, where I was with Dr. Macbride and a number of other Doctors and M.A.'s, and a young man, son of Dr. Wordsworth (? of Christ Church, who was to be matriculated with myself. (Madden's sketch of the scene is reproduced, PL. XII.) I had the precedence, I know not why, given to me, and I entered my name in the Convocation Book thus: 'Fredericus Madden Ex Aula Magdalen. Arm. fil. natu 4.' I then read from the Statutes the rules to pay respect to proctors and doctors, etc. and to submit to fines, etc.—and afterwards the abjuration of the Pope's supremacy, kissing the New Testament. The V.C. then asked in Latin if I would promise to observe all the Statutes. I kissed the book again! The other gentlemen who matriculated did not read at all, but merely kissed the New Testament also in affirmation of his consent to all that had been done. I was never asked to sign any Articles nor did I nor the other gentleman with me. The V.C. left immediately after having given the Certificate of Matriculation—and I had only to pay the Fees, which I found Dr. Bliss had greatly overrated. They were, the Beadle, £3. 9. 0, and Dr. Macbride £3. 3. 0. I forgot to say, that subsequently to my entering my name, the V.C. told Dr. Macbride he positively objected to my lodging out. Dr. Macbride will be able, he says, to let me have rooms in two terms, i.e. by April next, and during that time I shall be able to get out of Suetonius, to rub up my Greek—and to give my Father breathing time. I then left the Convocation House, and returned to the Bodlin. (Note on a MS.)

Dr. Bandinel invited me to dine with him, and as he is entirely alone, I accepted

82 Christopher Wordsworth (1806–92). Nephew of the poet: became Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld and Dunblane, 1852. His Father was Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1820–41.
83 Armigeri filius—son of a gentleman (Cf. fil. clerii.)
84 Declaration of Assent to Thirty-Nine Articles. By 17 and 18 Vict. Chap. LXXXI Sect. 43 (August 1854), Oaths at matriculation were abolished at Oxford. In Oxford, Cambridge and Durham all religious tests (save for clerical offices and divinity degrees) were abolished by 34 Vict. Chap. 26 (June 1871).
85 In 1694 Stamp duty was imposed on certificates of Matriculation and Admission to Degrees and these duties were raised at various times. In 1815 the Matriculation charge was one pound but these stamp duties were abolished in 1858.
his invitation. After dinner we conversed on various literary topics, and Dr. Bandinel mentioned to me, under the seal of secrecy, a curious circumstance. The late Bodln Libr, Price, was a man who suffered the MSS and papers to remain in the greatest confusion and disorder imaginable, and from the quantity of bequests formerly made to the Bodln, scarcely a day now passes, without the discovery of something new. Dr. B. said when he succeeded as Librarian it was a perfect Augean Stable, and one room in particular was so filled with papers and boxes, that he knew scarcely what to do, or how to begin. However he took another person with him, and went through the whole of the papers; and those which they considered of no value, they destroyed; and the quantity Dr. B. added, was aprodigious! The nature of these papers may be conjectured, from many of them being old Academical disputations on abstract logical questions. The boxes he did not then touch, and it was only a short time since, while rummaging among them, by the merest accident in the world, he met with a box actually containing all the original grants and papers relative to the Huntingdon Peerage; the establishment of which cost the indefatigable Bell such time and labour. Dr. B. said he did not wish the discovery known to anyone at present, and desired me not to mention it, not even to Dr. Bliss. He promised to show them to me. I looked over some illustrated books—and Dr. B.'s coins, chiefly English. There was an Oxford Penny, the only one (Dr. B says) known, except the one in the Brit. Musm., which he purchased for £9. 12. 0 I think. There were some others very fine. The Greek and Roman were very poor, except a superb tetradrachm of Alexander. Went to bed at ten o'clock in great pain and misery.—

Quamdiu Dne. Quamdiu!

88 Henry Nugent Bell (1792-1822). His The Huntingdon Peerage (1820) deals with his successful advocacy of the Hastings claim.
PLATE XII

MADDEN'S MATRICULATION
(MS. Eng. Hist. C 146, 270*.)

Photo: Bodleian Library

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