

The Foundation and History of the Camden Chair

By the late H. STUART JONES

Camden Professor, 1920-1927

[On 24 October, 1922, the University of Oxford commemorated the tercentenary of William Camden's foundation of a Chair of History. An exhibition of *Camdeniana* was on view in the Bodleian Gallery; Honorary Degrees were conferred on M. Ernest Babelon, of Paris, Professor J. H. Breasted, of Chicago, Dr. T. Rice Holmes, Dr. George Macdonald, Professor Ettore Pais, of Rome, and M. Théodore Reinach, of Paris; the Heberden Coin-Room in the Ashmolean Museum was opened by the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Farnell); and in the evening a dinner, at which the new Doctors were present, was given in Christ Church by the Sub-Faculty of Ancient History. Another memorial of this occasion is the dedication prefixed to *The Roman Occupation of Britain* by F. Haverfield, edited by George Macdonald (Oxford, 1924). This dedication, composed by the Public Orator (Dr. Godley), explains that the volume is intended by the University to be a memorial of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Chair founded by Camden, with whose name that of Haverfield is joined.

In the afternoon Professor Stuart Jones delivered a lecture in the Hall of Brasenose College on 'The Foundation and History of the Camden Chair'. On his death in 1939 the MS. from which he had spoken was found among his papers, and this it has now been thought well to print. The MS. is not continuous; for a certain number of quotations are indicated only by references to the large mass of material which he had collected during his preliminary investigations. This material was preserved with the lecture itself, and the quotations in question were easily discovered; but it was not always clear exactly how they were to be introduced or how much of a transcript was to be read, though it was often obvious that this must have been less than the whole. Where memories now over twenty years old have failed me I have made the sutures the simplest possible; but in embodying the quotations I have tried to ensure that the text contains everything the lecturer said, even at the risk of incorporating rather more.

The biographical footnotes are not part of the MS. They have been added at the wish of the editors of *Oxoniensia*, and their compilation was undertaken by Miss M. V. Taylor. Thanks are due to her both for this service and for her large part in the verification of references and quotations, a task in which the Keeper of the Archives, Mr. S. Gibson, has allowed her freely to invoke his help. To Mr. Gibson I too would record my gratitude for much friendly aid. Finally it remains to acknowledge a debt owed by the lecturer himself, who in the course of his remarks recalled his obligations to Mr. William H. Allison, sometime Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Colgate University,

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Hamilton, New York. Professor Allison published some notes on 'The First Endowed Professorship of History and its First Incumbent' in the *American Historical Review*, xxvii (1921/2), 733-7, and he had sent Professor Stuart Jones a proof of these, as well as some further matter in typescript, with generous permission to make what use he liked of both.—HUGH LAST.]

THE story which I have to tell has its lights and its shadows—high lights and dark shadows. But it is, after all, the story of a human institution; and is there any such of which the same may not with truth be said? Certainly the statement is true of the University at large; and those who know its history will, I think, when they have heard my story, probably agree that the vicissitudes of the University are reflected in those of the Camden Chair.

Let me remind you at the outset that we are not now commemorating Camden's work as a whole, and it does not therefore fall within my province in this lecture to speak to you at length of Camden the antiquary, whose *Britannia* antedates by some decades the great topographies of Cluver.¹ You may see exhibited in the Bodleian Gallery the little quarto of 1586 which by 1607 has grown in its sixth edition to a stately folio: you may see there too Philemon Holland's English translation in the folio of 1610, and (what is far more interesting) the beautifully written MS. translation² of Richard Knolles (the author of the *History of the Turks*), upon the title-page of which we read the words 'This being Mr William Camdens manuscript found in his owne library lock't in a cupbord as a treasuer he much esteemed and sinc(e) his death sufferd to se(e) light'. Nor shall I dwell on Camden the historian of his own time, of whose *Annals of Elizabeth* and of *James I*, valuable as they are to the historical student, I am in no way qualified to speak. Nor yet on Camden the headmaster of Westminster School, who was, I think we may say, one of the great headmasters to whom we owe so much of the noblest traditions in English life: at any rate we know in what deep and enduring affection he was held by his pupils, and especially by the most famous of them all, Ben Jonson, who dedicated to him the published edition of *Every Man in his Humour*, who described him in one of his Court Masques as 'the glorie and light of the kingdome'³ and who addressed him in the well-known words

Camden! most reverend head, to whom I owe
All that I am in arts, all that I know.⁴

¹ Philipp Klüwer (Cluverius) of Danzig and Leyden (1580-1623).

² MS. Ashmole 849.

³ *Part of the Kings Entertainment, in passing to his Coronation* (Ben Jonson, edited by C. H. Herford, P. and E. Simpson, vii—Oxford, 1941—p. 84).

⁴ Epigram xiv.

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And I must pass over with brief mention Camden the international scholar, the friend of Casaubon,¹ the correspondent of Lipsius² and Scaliger,³ Peiresc⁴ and De Thou,⁵ to name no others. It is not as such that we are commemorating him to-day, but as the benefactor of the University he loved and as the founder of what may fairly be claimed to be the first endowed Chair of History in any University in Europe.

We shall not appreciate the significance of Camden's act unless we place it in its proper historical context. The ambitious project of Cardinal Wolsey, though curtailed by his fall, had found a partial realization in the foundation of the Regius Professorships of Divinity, Civil Law, Medicine, Hebrew and Greek. But for the remainder of the 16th century the barren and bitter waters of theological strife well-nigh quenched the flame of the humaner learning, and little was done to adapt the institutions of Oxford to the needs of the new time. With the beginning of the 17th century there is a sudden change. To the threshold of that century belongs the inception of Sir Thomas Bodley's great project; for in 1598 he had decided 'to set up his staff at the library door in Oxon'. Sir William Sedley founded his Professorship of Natural Philosophy in 1618; Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton and Provost of Eton, established the twin Chairs of Astronomy and Geometry in 1619; Dr. Thomas White's Professorship of Moral Philosophy dates from 1621; and Camden's own benefaction, immediately following Danvers's conveyance of the Botanic Garden to the University, fitly closes the series. It will be noted that the 'claims of Science and the Humanities' (if I may use the jargon of 1922) were nicely balanced. We have no name among our *alumni* which we can place beside that of the illustrious member of our sister University who 'took all knowledge for his province';⁶ but no one should, I think, lightly forget that Sir Henry Savile is known to fame both as the editor of St. John Chrysostom and as the founder of the two mathematical Chairs. And it was probably Savile's munificence which inspired Camden with the idea which was realized in the foundation of the Chair of History.

¹ Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), who seems to have started his connection with Camden by writing him a letter from Geneva in 1596 to question his etymology of 'Britannia'. This is *Ep. XLIX* on p. 60 f. of *V. Cl. Gulielmi Camdeni et Illustrum Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolae... Praemittitur G. Camdeni Vita, Scriptore Thoma Smitho S.T.D.* (London, 1691). In the following notes Letters are referred to by their number and the page in this work, and passages from the *Life* by the page.

² Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), one of the leading Latinists of his day and a student of Roman history.

³ Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609).

⁴ Nicolas Claude Fabre de Peiresc (1580-1637), mathematician, orientalist and antiquarian.

⁵ Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), historian of his own age.

⁶ 'Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends, as I have moderate civil ends: for I have taken all knowledge to be my province.' Francis Bacon in a letter to Lord Burghley, undated but about 1592 (*The Letters and Life of Francis Bacon... collected... by James Spedding*, 1-London, 1861—p. 109).

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Camden's biographer, Dr. Thomas Smith of Magdalen, who wrote in 1691, traces the germination of the idea¹ to the closing words of the *Britannia* (which I quote from Philemon Holland's translation²) :

Nothing remaineth now, seeing that my penne hath with much labour struggled and sailed at length out of so many blind shelues and shallowes of the Ocean and craggy rocks of antiquity, saue onely this, that seamen were wont in old time, to present *Neptune* with their torne sailes, or some saved planks according to their vow ; so I also should consecrate some monument unto the Almighty and Most Gracious God, and to Venerable Antiquity : which now right willingly and of duty I vow, and God willing in convenient time I will performe and make good my vow.

He is followed by Bishop Gibson ;³ but it has to be remembered that the words occur already in the *editio princeps* of the *Britannia*, dated 1586 and therefore a score or more of years before the series of benefactions of which, as we have seen, Camden's was the latest. It is much more probable that it was his friend and patron Sir Henry Savile's foundations which inspired Camden to do something of the same kind for the studies which he had at heart. All we can say is that the earliest evidence of his purpose is found in the following letter to him from Sir Henry Savile :⁴

Sir,—I have half a quarrel to you, that being lately so long together, and in so good leisure, you did not impart to me that, which it seems you have declared at large to my good Lord *Paget*, concerning your worthy purpose of founding an Humanity-Lecture in *Oxford*. Surely if you had, as he said, *aut re aut consilio aut opera juvero* : I have trod the path before you, and know the rubbs in such a business to my great pains and charge, I mean, in the means of settling it upon the University in a perpetuity. I know it well to my cost, and can give you good direction how to dispatch it with small ado, if you need my counsel. If not, I can do no more but wish you a happy end to your honourable endeavour, and rest always, as I have, and for ever will be,

Your assured Friend to dispose of, and admirer of

Eton 25 Octob.
1621

Your rare virtues,

Henry Savile.

A few days later Savile writes again to Camden,⁵ advising him with regard to the legal form of the proposed benefaction and sending him a copy of his

¹ *Vita*, p. lix.

² London (1610), p. 233 bis.

³ Edmund Gibson (1669–1748), Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Bishop of London, 1720–48, published a translated and enlarged edition of the *Britannia* at London in 1695 : this was still further enlarged in 1722 (2 vols.) and re-edited in 1753 and 1772. The reference in the text is to a passage on the last page but one of the unpagged *Life of Mr. Camden* prefixed to the edition of 1695.

⁴ *Ep.* ccli, p. 313 f.

⁵ *Ep.* cccli, p. 314 f.

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own covenant with the University. He presses Camden to bequeath his library to the University for the use of the Reader, and adds 'The Schools now are very large and fair' (the new Quadrangle had been completed in 1618) 'and place there may conveniently be found to set up a press with locks capable of them'. In this particular, however, Camden did not follow his friend's advice.

It was not long before candidates for the post were in the field. On 19 November Thomas Allen¹ of Gloucester Hall (a mathematician of some note) writes to Camden :²

. . . . I shall be bold to commend unto you with earnest entreaty an acquaintance of mine, one Mr. Wheare, sometime Fellow of *Exeter College*, and now resident in *Gloucester-hall*, a Master of Arts of twenty years standing, and a man who, besides his abilities of learning sufficient for such a place, is known to be of good experience, (having sometimes travelled) and of very honest and discreet conversation.

The allusion to Wheare's travels makes it probable that the recommendation came in the first instance from Grey Brydges, fifth Lord Chandos, the patron of Wheare, who had accompanied him on the Grand Tour.³ It determined Camden's choice. In December the Warden and Fellows of New College addressed Camden in favour of one of their Society, Daniel Gardiner,⁴ who had, as they say, 'eaten the salt of Wickham many years with them';⁵ but their appeal fell on deaf ears. The Vice-Chancellor, William Piers, a Canon of Christ Church who became Dean of Peterborough in 1622 and was subsequently Bishop of Peterborough and of Bath and Wells in succession, warmly recommended Wheare, and from this time there was little doubt whom Camden would choose.

Camden had purchased from Sir John Spilman (jeweller to King James I⁶)

¹ Thomas Allen (1542-1632) was also interested in astrology and antiquities and collected, at times by doubtful means, MSS., some of which he gave to the (new) Bodleian Library: see the *Catalogue* of 1697, index s.n.

² *Ep. ccliii*, p. 315 f.

³ Degory Wheare (1573-1647) of Berry Court, Jacobstow, Cornwall, M.A. of Broadgates Hall, 1600, Fellow of Exeter College, 1602-8, travelled in 1605 as tutor to Grey Brydges, 5th Baron Chandos (? 1579-1621), a favourite of James I, who kept great state at Sudely Castle. Wheare lived with him before he went to Gloucester Hall, where in 1626 he became Principal. As stated below (p. 177 f.), he was the author of *De Ratione...legendi Historias*, first published at Oxford in 1623. The MS. of his lectures on the sections of Florus which deal with the Punic and Jugurthine Wars is in the Bodleian (MSS. Auct. F. 5. 10-11), and his book on Gloucester Hall is in Worcester College.

⁴ Daniel Gardiner, of Sussex, gentleman, matriculated in 1597: he became B.A. of New College in 1601 and M.A. in 1605.

⁵ The writers say that they can speak as men 'apud quos multos ille annos salem comedit Wicchamicum': *Ep. ccliv*, p. 316.

⁶ According to E. Hasted (*History . . . of Kent*, 1—Canterbury, 1778—p. 159), Sir John Spilman, 'originally descended out of Germany', was granted the manor of Bexley in fee by King James I and 'quickly afterwards conveyed it by sale to that great antiquary Sir William Camden'.

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the manor of Bexley in Kent, and by an indenture¹ drawn on 5 March, 1621/2, and registered by the Master in Chancery on 16 April he charged its revenues with the annual payment of £140 (I quote the words of the instrument) 'to mainteine within the Universitie one Reader who shalbee called The Reader of Histories in such manner and forme as the said William Camden shall direct ordeyne and appoint by writing under his hand and seale, and to be sent to the said Universitie there to bee enrolled in the Register of the Convocation howse of the said Universitie or in default of such direction and orders to bee sett downe by the said William Camden then according to such order rules and directions as shalbee sett downe by the said Chancellor Masters and Schollers in theire said Convocation howse within sixe monethes after the said William Camdens deceasse'. The manor was conveyed² for the term of 99 years to William Heather³ (Camden's right-hand man, to whose careful management of his property he owed his substantial fortune), after which it reverted to the University. Appended to the indenture is an autograph letter, signed and sealed by Camden, to the following effect :

Right worshipfull Mr. Vicechauncellor⁴

I appoint no other orders for my Historicall lecture, than such as shall be præscribed and sett down, cum Approbatione Academiae Oxon. In witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the 14 of Maye 1622

Willm Camden
Clarenceux

Comēd me hertly
to Mr. Degore
Waer

On 17 May this deed was conveyed to Oxford by William Heather in person. He was a musician of note, and the University conferred the degree of D.Mus. upon him on this occasion. The music which formed his exercise was in fact composed by Orlando Gibbons, who accompanied him and also received a musical degree. The indenture was read in Convocation and accepted by the University which, for reasons that may be divined though they are not stated, ordered that the Reader should be paid £20 in the first year, £40 in the second, and his full stipend of £140 only in the third and following years of his office, and also (in default of explicit instructions from Camden) appointed Delegates to draft regulations for the Reader.⁵ A note in the Register of Convocation under 21 May says of these Delegates '... nunquam

¹ Univ. Arch. S.E.P. C7.

² Univ. Arch. S.E.P. C5.

³ William Heather (? 1563-1627) ; executor of Camden's will ; Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, 1615 ; Mus.Doc., 1622 ; founder of the Music Lecturership, 1626.

⁴ William Piers : see p. 173 *supra*.

⁵ Reg. Conv. N f. 144.

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statuerunt quicquam hac in re, quantum sciri licet ex hoc registro': this may be true, but, as we shall see, it was probably not the whole truth.

Wheare is not mentioned by name, and it appears that he felt some doubts as to the validity of his title; for we find inserted in the Register of Convocation¹ an autograph of Camden's which runs as follows:

Ego Gulielmus Camdenus Degoreum Whear literis Honoratissimi Cancellarij, Vicecancellarij & plurimorum doctissimorum commendatum, & postea usu & dissertationibus de re historica penitus (*sic*) mihi perspectum Prælectorem primum Historiarum constitui & constituo & volo ut L. Annæum Florum primum iuventuti prælegat quousque sibi visum fuerit
Guil. Camdenus

(The selection of Florus by Camden was, I expect, suggested by a passage in the writings of Camden's friend Justus Lipsius recommending Florus as an epitome of Roman history for beginners.) But Wheare's troubles were not yet at an end. It seems that the Delegates (in spite of what we read in the Register) required him to lecture on Ecclesiastical History; and, as he felt himself to be unqualified to deal with this subject and too far advanced in years to study it² (for which purpose a dispensation from his ordinary lectures was offered to him), he appealed to Camden, who was induced to issue on 6 January, 1622/3, the following 'Explication' of his intentions:³

Whereas I understand there hath been some doubt and question made touching the subject of my lecture, and what kind of History I intended my reader should insist upon. I do hereby signify, that it ever was and is my intention, that (according to the practice of such professors in all the Universities beyond the seas) hee should read a civil history, and therein make such observations, as might bee most usefull and profitable for the younger students of the University, to direct and instruct them in the knowledge and use of history, antiquity, and times past. Whose advancement in that way my desires especially aimed at, and I trust both my present reader (according to those laudable beginnings, which I have seen, and do hear are well approved) wil carefully labour to effect, and such as shal hereafter succeed him also diligently endeavour the fulfilling of my desires, not intermedling with the history of the church or controversies farther than shal give light into those times, which hee shal then unfold, or that author, which hee then shal read, and that very briefly; in the choice thereof I thinke the readers discretion should alwaies bee sufficient, and therefore hold it not requisite to prescribe any farther, then I have done in the instrument of my first choice.

January 6, 1622, in præ-
sentiâ mei Thomæ Clayton
Regii Professoris in Medicinâ.

William Camden,
Clarenceux.

¹ Reg. Conv. N f. 144.

² He was now probably in his fiftieth year.

³ *Oxoniana* (edited anonymously by John Walker, and published at London without date about 1807), iv, 58 f.

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A few weeks later Brian Twyne,¹ an Oxford antiquary of no mean fame, endeavoured to secure for himself the reversion of Wheare's place. He visited Camden at Westminster, and an interview took place which has become famous because Twyne (according to his own account) began by questioning Camden closely with regard to the forged passage from Asser ascribing the foundation of Oxford to King Alfred which first appeared in print in the fifth (1600) edition of *Britannia*. It would be irrelevant, and for me possibly impious, to discuss Camden's answer to this interrogatory (which has of course become familiar in printed sources²): candour compels us to admit that the reply of the great antiquary is not precisely ingenuous. What is of more interest to us this afternoon is Twyne's account of what passed with regard to the History Readership, and this I will read from my transcript of the original MS.:³

And after that I had stepped one foote out of y^e doore, he pulled me by y^e cloake, and tooke me by y^e hand, sayeing: Well Mr. Twyne fare you well, ply your studies, and followe your good courses as I heare you do, for I have appointed you to be Mr. Wheares successor in my Historical Lecture whensoever it shalbecome voyde; for which I returned him such thanks, as I could then y^e sudden thinke on; and it came presently into my head, to aske him whether he had reserved any such power to himselfe or no: Yes, good Mr. Twyne (quoth he) I will warrant you for that, that I have reserved power enough to myself as long as I live, to nominate whom I shall thinke good after Mr. Wheare, and whether I had seene you now or not, you should have founde it to be so.

Twyne tells us that Camden sent him a patent dated 3 March, 1622/3, and as this did not seem in all respects water-tight an amended grant bearing date 20 March, 1622/3, was sent in its place; and this latter (the exact date is 21 March) appears in the Register of Convocation on 8 January of the following year. The entry⁴ reads as follows:

Eadem Convocatione Lecta erat Donatio Collatio sive Advocatio Lecturæ Historiæ facta per . . . Gulielmum Camden fundatorem dictæ Lecturæ Briano Twyne sacre Theologiæ Baccalaureo cuius tenor sequitur . . .

dated Mar. 21 1622

(signed) Gulielmus Camden Clarenceux Rex Armorum
signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of William Twyne John Hilton⁵

¹ On him see S. Gibson, 'Brian Twyne' in *Oxoniensia*, v (1940), pp. 94 ff.

² See *Asser's Life of King Alfred* . . . edited . . . by W. H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), pp. xxiii ff., and Gibson, *art. cit.* note 1 *supra*, p. 98 f.

³ MS. Twyne 22, 385/6 bis.

⁴ Reg. Conv. N f. 172.

⁵ John Hilton, apparently the musical composer: Mus. Bac., Cambridge, 1626; parish-clerk and organist of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1628; died, 1657.

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This grant, however, never took effect. Twyne became first Keeper of the Archives in 1634 and died in 1644, three years before Wheare, having played a principal part in drafting the Laudian Statutes, from which I may quote the passage dealing with Camden's Readership :¹

Praelector Historices bis in qualibet septimana, diebus scilicet Lunae et Veneris, inter horas primam et secundam post meridiem, in Schola Historicae designata, Lucium Florum, aut alios quosvis antiquioris et melioris notae Historicos, praelegat. Eiusque Lectiones frequentare teneantur singuli Artium Baccalaurei, post Quadragesimam immediate sequentem primae Praesentationis suae diem, donec ad Gradum Magisterii promoveantur : item Iuris Civilis Studiosi, quousque Baccalaurei Iuris praesentati fuerint. (Full power of amendment is then left to the University.)

A few words must be said as to Wheare's performance of his duties. He was a prolific composer of Latin verses on occasions which demanded the expression of loyal sentiments or the presentation of formal compliments in this shape ; but it is doubtful whether he was well equipped for the post to which Camden had appointed him. Opinions of his merit seem to have been divided, Wood writing that he ' was esteemed by some a learned and genteel man, and by others a Calvinist '.² In 1623 he delivered his *Oratio auspicalis* in the School at the N.E. corner of the Bodleian Quadrangle over the door of which has been placed the inscription ' Schola Grammaticae et Historiae ' ; but I have no doubt that in 1618, on the completion of the new Schools, it was known as ' Schola Grammaticae ' simply, and that, though there seems to be no contemporary evidence, ' et Historiae ' was added as a result of Camden's foundation. In his oration Wheare tries to disarm criticism by various pleas, among which one is of what he calls ' decennalis plus minus, ab hisce studiis quasi feriatio ' ;³ and he says that for four Olympiads he has had no occasion to speak or write the Latin tongue. On 12 July he read a dissertation on historical method—*De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias*, for which he made use of the material ready to hand in the works of Jean Bodin⁴ and others ; and it was this which was afterwards expanded into the publication, under the same title, by which he is best known—a handbook of the sources of Ancient History in chronological order. This passed through many editions—one printed at Cambridge and another at Nuremberg—and was translated into English, with additions by Nicholas Horseman and a preface contributed by

¹ *Statutes of the University of Oxford codified in the year 1636*, edited by . . . John Griffiths (Oxford, 1888), p. 37.

² A. à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, edited by P. Bliss, III (London, 1817), col. 216.

³ *De Ratione et Methodo Legendi Historias Dissertatio, Authore Degoreo Whear . . . Huic praemittitur eiusdem Authoris Oratio Auspicalis . . .* (Oxford, 1625), p. 2.

⁴ Jean Bodin (1530-1596) published his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* in 1566.

one of Wheare's successors, Dodwell. It is not entirely without merits as a compilation, and was no doubt of use in its day; but it is mainly an affair of scissors-and-paste. For our present purpose it is more interesting to note that Bodley contains two neatly written MS. volumes, deposited by Wheare in the Library in 1644/5, containing some of the lectures which he delivered on Florus.¹ His practice was to take a few lines of that author as his text on each occasion and make them the subject of comment, often drawing comparisons between events of Roman History and those of modern times. The most remarkable is that delivered on 21 October, 1632, giving an account of eight years' work. This apologia was clearly provoked by the critics who unkindly pointed out that in eight years he had only covered 126 sections of the first book of Florus, and in reply he launches out into an extraordinary and indeed piquant tirade (part of which is exposed in the Exhibition in the Bodleian).

On the death of Brian Twyne in 1644 the question of the succession to Wheare, by this time an old man, once more became open. The Court was now at Oxford, and a remarkable story of intrigue is told in an unpublished document preserved in the University Archives.² It is in the handwriting of Gerard Langbaine,³ the learned editor of Longinus and Twyne's successor as Custos Archivorum. He says that, when Twyne's death left the succession to Camden's Readership vacant, Wheare, now 'senio fractus', began to consider the possibility of securing the place for his son, Charles Wheare;⁴ and, not trusting either in the University or in his son's merit, composed a petition to the King (then in Oxford) and induced Lord Hertford⁵ to take charge of the matter. The document petitioned Charles to issue a letter of commendation for his son. But when this became known other candidates were put forward. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, pressed the claims of his domestic chaplain, John Gregory,⁶ and Sir George Radcliffe⁷ those of

¹ See note 3 on p. 173 *supra*.

² MS. Twyne 6, 418/9.

³ Gerard Langbaine (1609-1658), M.A., 1633; Fellow of Queen's College; Keeper of the University Archives, 1644; Provost of Queen's College, 1646; zealous royalist. Left 21 volumes of MS. notes to the Bodleian Library.

⁴ Charles Wheare, born 1613; matriculated from Trinity College, 1631; B.A., 1633; M.A., 1637; Proctor, 1645; Principal of Gloucester Hall.

⁵ William Seymour (1588-1660), second Earl of Hertford, 1621; first Marquis, 1640; second Duke of Somerset, 1660; supporter of the royalist cause; Commissioner of Array for the Western Counties, 1642; took Hereford, 1642, and Bristol, 1643; Chancellor of the University, 1643; Commissioner of the Council in charge of Oxford on the King's departure in May, 1645.

⁶ John Gregory (1607-1646), M.A. of Christ Church, 1631; orientalist. (Duppa had been Dean of Christ Church, 1629-38.) Best known for his *Notes and Observations on some Passages of Scripture* (Oxford, 1646).

⁷ Sir George Radcliffe (1593-1657), politician; B.A. of University College, 1612; barrister of Gray's Inn, 1618; Benchet, 1632; friend and adviser in legal and financial matters to Wentworth, whom he helped in his defence when impeached; joined Charles I in 1643 and later the Duke of York, whose adviser he became in 1649.

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A. Woodward, a more or less open adherent of the Roman communion. When they independently consulted certain people of importance, these persons mentioned Langbaine's own name. To this idea they agreed, and the Bishop of Salisbury interviewed Lord Hertford, persuading him to accompany him to the King, from whom they easily secured a promise of letters of commendation (the first having been either never sent or revoked). Here the MS. abruptly breaks off; but, whether the patent was issued or not, it never took effect. When Wheare died in 1647, King Charles I was no longer his own master; and Langbaine, by now Provost of Queen's, had no further interest in the Readership.

On the day after Wheare's death the choice of Convocation fell on one of the Proctors, Robert Waryng (or Waring) of Christ Church,¹ a Westminster Scholar, an ardent royalist and, if Wood may be trusted, 'a most excellent Lat. and Engl. poet, but a better orator, and reckoned among the great wits of his time in the university'.² Little remains to prove Wood's statement except the tiny volume with the title '*Amoris Effigies*' first published anonymously by Waryng's patron, Sir John Birkenhead, in 1648. His tenure was short; for in 1648 he was expelled by the Parliamentary Commissioners, and his place taken by Lewis du Moulin (1606-1680)—a Doctor of Medicine of Leyden who had incorporated at Cambridge in 1634, and son of the better known Huguenot divine, Peter du Moulin. Du Moulin delivered his *Oratio auspicalis* on 16 October, in which the cardinal virtues of an historian provide the headings of a composition in sermon-form, and published it four years later together with an oration in praise of Camden delivered on 10 July, 1652.³ Of more interest than either is the dedicatory epistle to John Owen, Dean of Christ Church, 1651-60, and Vice-Chancellor, 1652-8, in which the Professor complains of the unseemly jests of which he had been made the object and defends at some length his pronunciation of Latin, which his hearers find unintelligible. The Restoration put an end to his activities, and we possess a curious broadside⁴ in which he makes an appeal—fruitless, of course—to the pity of the University and the Royal Commissioners, explaining that he had given up a lucrative practice in London in order to undertake the duties of Camden's Chair and was now together with his family threatened with beggary. This '*sandapilaris senex, exuccus, aeger, in vitae & mortis*

¹ R. Waryng (or Waring) (1614-1658), matriculated from Christ Church, 1632; Student, 1632-45; B.A., 1634; M.A., 1637; Proctor, 1647. According to Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, edited by P. Bliss, III—London, 1817—col. 453), he retired in 1647 to Apley, Salop, living with Sir W. Whitmore who took him for a year to France, whence he returned to London. He died in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 10 May, 1658, and was buried at St. Michael's, College Hill.

² Wood, *l.c.*, in note 1.

³ *Oratio auspicalis, cui subijuncta est laudatio Guil. Cambdeni* (Oxford, 1652).

⁴ The Bodleian possesses two copies—Wood 423 (31) and Wood 515 (2).

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confinio consistens' (aged 54), as he calls himself, had twenty years of life before him. Wood, an unfriendly witness, says that 'he was a fiery, violent and hot-headed independent, a cross and ill-natur'd man',¹ and 'a most violent nonconformist'.² On his death-bed he recanted his criticisms of the Church of England in the presence of Bishop Burnet.

His place was taken by John Lamphire,³ a Wykehamist and Fellow of New College, and like his predecessor a Doctor of Medicine. Expelled from New College by the Parliamentarians, he lived at his house in Holywell, where his books were destroyed by a fire in 1659 while he was visiting patients in the country. We hear of him as 'the natural droll of the company'⁴ which assembled in the coffee-house close to All Souls kept by Arthur Tillyard, the apothecary and royalist, where the wits of the time foregathered⁵—amongst them a Fellow of All Souls soon to become famous as Sir Christopher Wren. That he was a man of learning there is no evidence whatever: Wood indeed calls him 'a good, generous and fatherly man, of a public spirit',⁶ but Wood also remarks on his appointment as Principal of Hart Hall in 1663 that he was 'not fit to govern'.⁷ After holding the Chair for 28 years he died in 1688 and was succeeded by one of the most eminent scholars of the time.

Henry Dodwell, the elder (1641–1711), was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where for conscientious—that is to say, pietistic—scruples he refused to take Orders and resigned his Fellowship in 1666; after that he came to England, enjoying the patronage of Bishops Lloyd,⁸ Fell,⁹ and Pearson,¹⁰ and from time to time published theological treatises, mainly on patristic subjects, in which he showed the interest which always dominated his work, that of an exact weighing of chronological data. It was his patrons, no doubt, who suggested that the Camden Chair would give him the needed opportunity for research. He paid frequent visits to Oxford (his biographer tells us of his

¹ A. à Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, edited by P. Bliss, n^o (London, 1820), col. 128.

² *Ibid.*, col. 125.

³ John Lamphire (1614–1688), Fellow of New College, 1636–48; M.A., 1642; M.D., 1660; Principal of New Inn Hall, 1662; of Hart Hall, 1663.

⁴ *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood . . . collected . . . by Andrew Clark*, 1 (Oxford, 1891: O.H.S. xix), p. 201.

⁵ For Tillyard's coffee-house, opened in 1655 and one of the earliest in Oxford, where coffee and chocolate began to be popular about 1650, see *o.c.* in note 4, pp. 201 and 466.

⁶ *O.c.* in note 1, col. 235.

⁷ *O.c.* in note 4, p. 475; Wood (*o.c.* II—Oxford, 1892: O.H.S. xxi—p. 56) describes him as 'one much given to his pleasures'.

⁸ Bishop of St. Asaph, 1680; of Lichfield and Coventry, 1692; and of Worcester, 1700.

⁹ Dean of Christ Church, 1660; Bishop of Oxford, 1675–86.

¹⁰ Bishop of Chester, 1673–86; author of the *Exposition of the Creed*.

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reading Ruinart's *Acta Martyrum* in the library of Trinity College¹), and in the first contested election to the Chair on 2 April, 1688, he was successful by a small majority²—with 104 votes against 98 cast for Finch,³ the Warden of All Souls, and 86 for Aldworth of Magdalen.⁴ Some piquant details are added by Wood, who says that 'this Mr. Dodwell hath for severall years frequented once in a yeare the University for a month or 6 weeks at a time, and frequenting coffey-houses where the clergy resort, they found so much satisfaction, content, and learning in his discourse, as also affableness and love to the clergy, that they thereupon chose him'.⁵ Finch was furious, and on the following day expelled the Chaplain of All Souls, Jonas Proast,⁶ for contempt because, when asked for his vote, he had answered that he was bound by a previous promise to Dodwell: Proast naturally appealed to the Visitor (Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1675–89), and after four and a half years was re-instated in October, 1692.⁷ Bishop Lloyd writes to Sancroft, 'The yong Warden of All-Souls y^e made sure of y^e Place bears y^e loss very impatiently. But Mr. Camden would laugh if he knew it'.⁸

Dodwell's tenure of the Chair was unfortunately brief. He delivered an inaugural lecture on 25 May on his favourite topic of ancient chronology, followed by a series of six lectures on the *Historia Augusta* as an introduction to a course on Hadrian. This course, which gave him occasion to discuss a number of constitutional problems, ran to nineteen lectures, some delivered at considerable intervals extending from 2 December, 1688, to 22 May, 1691. Then the blow fell, and he was deprived of his Chair on his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary.⁹ For twenty years he lived at

¹ F. Brokesby, *Life of Mr. Henry Dodwell*, 2 vols. with continuous pagination (London, 1715), I, p. 103. Th. Ruinart's *Acta primorum Martyrum sincera et selecta* (Paris, 1689) had a special interest for Dodwell, because in the 'Praefatio generalis' which opens this celebrated work two parts out of four are devoted to an attack on the views 'De martyrum paucitate in primævis Christianorum persecutionibus' which Dodwell had published five years before, in the eleventh of his *Dissertationes Cyprianicae* (Oxford, 1684), pp. 217 ff.

² Reg. Conv. Bb f. 190.

³ Hon. Leopold Finch, son of Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchelsea; Warden of All Souls, 1685–1702.

⁴ Dr. Charles Aldworth, Fellow and Vice-President of Magdalen College, was expelled by the Royal Visitors in 1687 and restored in 1688: for his part in these events see J. R. Bloxam, *Magdalen College and King James II, 1686–88* (Oxford, 1886: O.H.S. VI), pp. xxxii, 12 n., 31 and *passim*. To whom T. Allen refers in 1720 as 'Mr. Dodwell's Historical friend and Acquaintance' and fit successor to Aldworth is unknown (*Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, VII—Oxford, 1906: O.H.S. XLVIII—p. 136).

⁵ *O.c.* in note 4 on p. 180 *supra*, III (Oxford, 1894: O.H.S. xxvi), p. 263.

⁶ B.A. of Queen's College, 1663; M.A. of Gloucester Hall, 1666.

⁷ For this affair see C. Grant Robertson, *All Souls College* (London, 1899), p. 159.

⁸ MS. Tanner 28 f. 15.

⁹ *O.c.* in note 1 *supra*, I, pp. 218 ff.

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Shottesbrooke, near Maidenhead, in a house fitted up for him by the squire, Francis Cherry, the well-known non-juror.¹ He published his *Praelectiones Camdenianae*² and many other works on classical chronology, chiefly in the form of introductions to the editions of classical authors issued by other scholars. His exact scholarship won the praise of Gibbon, who tells us in the 'Extraits raisonnés de mes lectures'³ that in 1761 he devoted three days to reading Dodwell's *Annales Quintilianeae* and writes: 'Dodwell's learning was immense; in this part of history especially (that of the Upper Empire), the most minute fact or passage could not escape him; and his skill in employing them is equal to his learning'; but he adds that 'the worst of this author is his method and style; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbarism'. And perhaps it is right to say that Dodwell's really considerable erudition was not accompanied by the highest critical faculty: the forged excerpts from the *Acta diurna* of the Rome of Caesar and Cicero to which Pighius had given currency in the 16th century bear the name 'Fragmenta Dodwelliana' because Dodwell printed them with a full commentary at the end of his Camden lectures.

The four score years which follow the deprivation of Dodwell are the Dark Age of the Camden Chair. On 19 November, 1691, Charles Aldworth, D.C.L., of Magdalen was elected by 157 votes against the 132⁴ cast for Thomas Newey, Student of Christ Church.⁵ Aldworth, who had played a considerable part as Vice-President of Magdalen in the duel between that foundation and James II,⁶ was evidently a man tenacious of legal rights; for we have a MS. copy⁷ (to be seen in the Exhibition) of the case presented by him in 1708 when Sir Francis Leigh, tenant of the manor of Bexley, asked for a renewal of the lease from the University for a second term of 99 years. Aldworth had no difficulty in showing that twenty-one years was the term authorized by the statute of Elizabeth, though it is not so easy to follow him in his argument that the interests of the Camden Professor would be prejudiced by the grant of a longer term because a 99 years' lease, whatever covenants were inserted, would in fact leave the tenant free to 'wast and destroy the premisses' and, in

¹ *O.c.* in note 1 on p. 181 *supra*, pp. 300 ff.

² *Praelectiones Academicæ in Schola Historices Camdeniana cum fragmentis e libris linteis* (Oxford, 1692). Three of the lectures were never actually delivered.

³ *Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon* . . . illustrated . . . by . . . John Lord Sheffield (London, 1814), v, p. 224.

⁴ Reg. Conv. Bb f. 332.

⁵ Thomas Newey, of Eyton, Salop; matriculated from Christ Church, 1675; B.A., 1679; M.A., 1682; Proctor, 1689; B.D., 1692; D.D., 1761; F.R.S.; Chancellor, 1704, and Precentor, 1706, of Exeter; Prebendary of Winchester, 1712; died, 1723.

⁶ See note 4 on p. 181 *supra*.

⁷ MS. Rawl. D 742 f. 26.

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particular, by reckless felling to reduce the value of the timber. However, he was successful, and the counterpart of the twenty-one years' lease to Sir F. Leigh (exhibited) is in the University Archives.¹ And this is all we know of him in connection with the Camden Chair. Hearne, who as a pupil and admirer of Dodwell, is no doubt a prejudiced witness, wrote of him that 'whether he be well qualify'd for y^e Place or no 'tis hard to judge from anything w^{ch} he does, seldom or never reading'.² Twenty-one years later we come on the following note in Hearne's diary: "Dr. Charles Aldworth of Magd. Coll. (who is Dr. of Laws and History Professor of Oxon., being elected in the room of the pious & learned Mr. Henry Dodwell, a Non-juror), is a very great Blockhead, & not to be reckoned, upon any account, in the Number of learned Men".³ He occupied the Chair for thirty years save one, and it is probably to him that N. Amhurst refers in *Terrae Filius*⁴ when he says:

. . . we have had *history* professors, who never read anything to qualify them for it, but *Tom Thumb*, *Jack the gyant-killer*, *Don Bellianis of Greece*, and such-like valuable records.

But there was worse to follow. In May, 1720, there were seven candidates for the Chair (including Bernard Gardiner,⁵ the Warden of All Souls), but only three went to the poll—Sedgwick Harrison, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls,⁶ the Rev. William Denison, B.D., Fellow of University College,⁷ and the Rev. John White, Student of Christ Church.⁸ Hearne tells us⁹ that he might have had the place without opposition but refused to stand as a stubborn non-juror (and indeed *plus royaliste que le roi*; for Dodwell had returned to the fold after the death of the last non-juring Bishop). Hearne also says that he secured the election of Harrison by a considerable majority as the only lay candidate by drawing attention to the documents in the Archives already referred to as showing Camden's intention of founding a lay Chair. Hearne may have

¹ Univ. Arch. S.E.P. C 22.

² *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, 1 (Oxford, 1885: O.H.S. II), p. 228.

³ *O.c.* in note 2, v (Oxford, 1901: O.H.S. XLII), p. 268. When he died on 16 April, 1720, Hearne (*o.c.* VII—Oxford, 1906: O.H.S. XLVIII—p. 117) remarks 'this Dr. Aldworth was a Person of no Learning, & very unfit for this Post, w^{ch}, however, ought not to be wondered at, considering how Elections generally are carried'.

⁴ London (1726), p. 48.

⁵ Bernard Gardiner (1668–1726); matriculated from Magdalen College, 1684; ejected by James II; B.A. from Magdalen Hall, 1688; Fellow of All Souls, 1689; B.C.L., 1693; D.C.L., 1698; Warden, 1702; Vice-Chancellor, 1712–1715; Keeper of the Archives, 1720.

⁶ Sedgwick Harrison (1683–1727), of London; matriculated from Gloucester Hall, 1697; B.A., 1701; M.A., 1705; Fellow of All Souls, 1706; B.C.L., 1706/7; D.C.L., 1710.

⁷ William Denison; matriculated from University College, 1693; B.A., 1697; M.A., 1700; Proctor, 1710; B.D., 1714/5; Principal of Magdalen Hall, 1745–55.

⁸ John White, of Westminster; matriculated from Christ Church, 1700; B.A., 1704; M.A., 1707; Proctor, 1716. For a candidate considered unsuitable in 1720 see note 4 on p. 181 *supra*.

⁹ *O.c.* in note 2 *supra*, VII, p. 125 f.

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exaggerated the importance of his intervention. From his own note made at a later date¹ it appears that there was much bargaining for, and bartering of, College interests in such elections; and on this occasion the Jesus vote was cast for Harrison, which Christ Church regarded as an act of base ingratitude to the College which had recently secured the election of a Welshman as Lady Margaret Professor. But if Hearne turned the election, he did a bad day's work. Harrison had been elected in 1706 to a Fellowship at All Souls after several rebuffs, the Warden having refused to admit him on the ground that he was 'more regardfull of Interest & good Eating & Drinking than scholarship'.² It is true that eleven years afterwards, in 1717, Hearne describes him as 'a very honest Man', but that seems to have been because his aunt had held the Queen's warming-pan at the birth of 'James III'.³ In May, 1724, three and a half years after his election as Camden Professor, he delivered his second lecture, and, says Hearne,⁴ 'he was difficultly brought to it, & some say he will read no more, gathering it from his Lecture, in w^{ch} he spoke of the Division of History, & proposed reading Lucius Florus' (according to Camden's direction) 'ordering his Auditors to bring their Florus with them, & Pen, Ink, & Paper, & to write down his Lectures or Explications'. We hear no more till 6 February, 1725/6, when Hearne writes as follows:⁵

On Friday last Dr. Harrison of All Souls, by Compulsion, for he would not do it otherwise, read a Lecture in the History School, but it was such poor stuff, I am told, as he ought for ever to be ashamed of. He abus'd the Vice-Chancellor, and the subject of his horridly poor Lecture was about the Statutes, w^{ch} he read, and telling the Auditors that they should bring their Books, and write down Notes w^{ch} he would give upon Lucius Florus, in the manner as those are *in usum Delphini*, and telling his Auditors also that if those of them that were of his own House did not attend him to the School and back again home, they should be scond'd two Pence, to the use of the University, *toties quoties*, as the Statute directs. . . . The Dr. brought some of his own College to hector and bully in the School.

On the following Friday (11 February) the Vice-Chancellor attended the lecture in person, but Harrison refused to read and told the Vice-Chancellor 'that he should not make him read, do what he would';⁶ and, though he

¹ *O.c.* in note 9 on p. 183 *supra*, p. 219.

² *O.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, p. 301.

³ *O.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, vi (Oxford, 1902: O.H.S. XLIII), p. 106. She deposed for the birth and was a Protestant.

⁴ *O.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, viii (Oxford, 1907: O.H.S. I), p. 213.

⁵ *O.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, ix (Oxford, 1914: O.H.S. LXV), p. 89.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

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was forced to tender a humble apology,¹ it does not appear that he ever lectured again. On Sunday, 6 August, 1727, 'lamented', says Hearne,² 'by nobody', he died of 'a Complication of Distempers occasioned chiefly by his drinking strong Drams'.

Six days later the unanimous choice of the University fell upon Richard Frewin,³ a clerical candidate having been induced by Hearne to retire.⁴ It was nearly twenty years since, as Rhetoric Reader of Christ Church, Frewin had been noted for the elegance of his Latin orations, and now he was a practising physician of moderate repute,⁵ the third of his profession to fill the Camden Chair. It is related of him that shortly after his election he spent £100 on the purchase of books on history and chronology 'on purpose to qualify him the better to discharge the office of that important Post'.⁶ With what result, alas, we are unable to say; for no record remains of his performance of the duties of an office which he held for thirty-four years. He died on 29 May, 1761, and bequeathed his 2,300 books to the Radcliffe Library.

More than one candidate had for some time past had his eye upon the over-ripe fruit about to drop. In 1759 Richard Radcliffe of Queen's writes⁷ that 'Mr. Warnford, of Corpus, a man unexceptionable in his character, and, I used to think, one of the best practical preachers that ever peeped over the cushion at St. Mary's . . . has been making interest for the place these seven years'. Radcliffe hoped that his own old tutor, whom he affectionately calls 'Old Snod', would be successful;⁸ and it appears that this was the Rev. George Fothergill,⁹ a noted preacher and publisher of sermons who was Principal of St. Edmund Hall (1751-60) and narrowly missed the Headship of Queen's College. He had begun his canvass (as appears from a letter preserved in the Radcliffe correspondence¹⁰) towards the close of 1758. But in the end there was no trial of strength between the rival pulpiteers, and on Frewin's death the Rev. John Warneford, B.D., was

¹ *O.c.* in note 5 on p. 184 *supra*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 336.

³ Richard Frewin (1681-1761); matriculated at Christ Church from Westminster in 1698; B.A., 1702; M.A., 1704; B.M., 1707; D.M., 1711. He lived in New Inn Hall Street in the house still called by his name. He married three times (*o.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, xi—Oxford, 1921: O.H.S. LXXXII—p. 39), and his second wife was the niece and heiress of the 'very rich' Dr. Woodward of Oriel College (*o.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, x—Oxford, 1915: O.H.S. LXVII—p. 452). A portrait and bust of him are in Christ Church. He left his house for the Regius Professor of Medicine.

⁴ *O.c.* in note 5 on p. 184 *supra*, p. 338.

⁵ He was Sheldon's doctor (*ibid.*, p. 69).

⁶ *O.c.* in note 2 on p. 183 *supra*, xi, p. 436.

⁷ *Letters of Richard Radcliffe and John James* . . . edited by M. Evans (Oxford, 1888: O.H.S. ix), p. 15.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii ff. There is a portrait of him in St. Edmund Hall.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv f.

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unanimously elected to the Camden Chair, which he occupied for twelve years.¹ The rest is silence. After his death two volumes of this practical preacher's not especially edifying sermons were published² with a long subscription-list, in which we find with some surprise that his successor, William Scott of University College, who had been elected in December, 1773, against J. Bandinell of Jesus College,³ and one of the pioneers of reform, J. Napleton, Fellow of Brasenose,⁴ is down for five copies. It is a remarkable fact; for William Scott, better known as Lord Stowell,⁵ was a man difficult to part from his money. His maximum gratuity was sixpence, and it was said of him that he would consume any *given* quantity of wine.

With Scott the Dark Age of the Camden Professorship was succeeded by a brief flash of splendour. True, it was not as Camden Professor that he won his undying fame but as Judge of the Court of Admiralty, where by his decisions he built on broad and deep foundations that edifice of the Prize Law to which England owed her power of effective blockade and thus her victory over the first Napoleon. But it should not be forgotten that he broke that 'silence of the professors' of which we read in Gibbon's famous indictment of Oxford,⁶ and that the historian of the Roman Empire was forced to make an honourable exception in his favour:

'... many students', he writes,⁷ 'have been attracted by the merit and reputation of Sir William Scott, then a tutor in University College, and now conspicuous in the profession of the civil law: my personal acquaintance with that gentleman has inspired me with a just esteem for his abilities and knowledge; and I am assured that his lectures on history would compose, were they given to the public, a most valuable treatise'.

They were never printed.⁸ Tradition says that a character of Alexander the Great and a general survey of ancient society were specially admired pieces; and the reader of his published judgments delivered in the Consistory Court and the High Court of Admiralty can understand that he deserved the

¹ *O.c.* in note 7 on p. 185 *supra*, p. 15, n. 1.

² *Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1776).

³ James Bandinell, of Jersey; Fellow of Jesus College, 1754-6; M.A. of Brasenose College, 1761; D.D., 1777; Public Orator, 1776-82; first Bampton Lecturer, 1780.

⁴ John Napleton, of Pembridge, Herefordshire; B.A., 1758; D.D., 1789; Chancellor of the Diocese of Hereford; died, 1817.

⁵ For him see W. E. Surtees, *A Sketch of the Lives of Lords Stowell and Eldon* (London, 1846).

⁶ *O.c.* in note 3 on p. 182 *supra*, 1, pp. 47 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸ *O.c.* in note 5 *supra*, pp. 23 ff.: cf. C. Wordsworth, *Social Life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1874), p. 85.

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praise of Gibbon. But Gibbon's is not the only allusion to this teaching.¹ It will not be forgotten that Scott belonged to Johnson's Oxford and was himself an intimate of the Doctor's, with whom he visited the ruins of Newgate in 1780. In 1781, in which year Johnson made Scott his executor together with Sir Joshua Reynolds, we have the following from Boswell² on Easter Day (15 April), after service at St. Paul's :

I found him alone ; Dr. Scott of the Commons, came in. . . . We talked of the difference between the mode of education at Oxford, and that in those Colleges where instruction is chiefly conveyed by lectures. JOHNSON. 'Lectures were once useful ; but now, when all can read, and books are so numerous, lectures are unnecessary. If your attention fails, and you miss part of a lecture, it is lost ; you cannot go back as you do upon a book.' Dr. Scott agreed with him. 'But yet (said I), Dr. Scott, you yourself gave lectures at Oxford.' He smiled. 'You laughed (then said I) at those who came to you.'

It is strange that so learned a scholar as Birkbeck Hill should suppose the reference to be to College lectures given by Scott.³ Four years later Scott resigned the Camden Professorship, which his growing practice at the Bar, his ample patrimony, and the sinecure office of Registrar of the Court of Faculties had made a superfluity.

He was succeeded by Thomas Warton (1728-90) of Trinity, who was elected on 1 December, 1785,⁴ by 186 votes against 107 cast for Thomas Winstanley of Brasenose.⁵ Warton, to whom it is a poor compliment to say that he was far from being the least among the Laureates, was an older member of Johnson's circle, who had entertained the Doctor at Trinity before Scott

¹ See *o.c.* in note 7 on p. 185 *supra*, p. 92 f., where J. James, junior, a Commoner of Queen's College, writes on 5 November, 1779: 'The lectures on ancient history that were read here last spring by Scot the Professor, and are perhaps superiour to anything of the kind in point of elegance and erudition, will be very speedily published at London in two volumes quarto, price probably two guineas. The price of attendance was three guineas. I went several times, under the wing of a friend, and would oftnr, had not the Doctor's lecture interfered. Scot is intimate with Dr. Johnston. He has a good deal of the Doctor's manner: elevated stile, pointed antithesis, rounded periods, moral and penetrating remarks. Sometimes, however, he copies the Doctor's faults, such as his turgid expressions, and that care to avoid the mention of anything mean or familiar by the common name. This is a grand source of burlesque. . . . Describing the houses of the Athenians, he acquainted his audience "that they had no convenience by which the volatile parts of fire could be conveyed into the open air". How would a bricklayer stare at being told that he meant no more than that the Athenians had no chimneys ! . . . Take him however "all in all", and I am afraid this university will seldom "look upon his like again". As he intends for the law, and may e'er long be called to the Bar, it is very uncertain whether he will resume his course again.'

² *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, edited by G. Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1887), iv, p. 91 f. For the inspection of the damage done by the Gordon rioters see *o.c.* iii, p. 429.

³ *O.c.* in note 2, iv, p. 92, n. 2.

⁴ *Reg. Conv. Bk f.* 256.

⁵ Thomas Winstanley (1749-1823), of Wigan ; matriculated from Brasenose College, 1768 ; B.A., 1771 ; M.A., 1774 ; Camden Professor, 1790 ; Principal of St. Alban Hall, 1796 ; Laudian Professor of Arabic, 1814. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1823, ii, p. 643.

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was in his 'teens.¹ He was an elegant, if not a very accurate, scholar, who had already filled the Professorship of Poetry for two terms of five years each and lectured on the Greek poets, especially Theocritus, and an amiable College tutor who (as Lord Eldon wrote) used to send for his pupils and asked them if they *wished* to attend lectures. But he was not qualified for the post of a professor of Ancient History, as he admits in the Inaugural Lecture delivered in May, 1786, and printed in the edition of his collected poems by his biographer, Bishop Mant.² This lecture is not without interest. Warton shows a genuine appreciation of the place which belonged to Camden's foundation in the history of English scholarship. He cites the Laudian Statute and observes that the elementary course on Florus prescribed for the Professor is entirely out of keeping with the needs of the time; and adds that, because he could not (even if he would) fulfil Camden's injunctions in the letter, his intention was from time to time, after due notice, to take one of the great Greek or Roman historians for his theme and treat of his literary style, the form and composition of his works, and his contributions to political science—'Idque', he continues, 'si non ita frequenter et constanter, et per intervalla vel breviora vel prolixiora, et capta temporis opportunitate, ita tamen ut haec non omnino frigescent rostra, et in desuetudinem dilabantur'.³ The promise, alas, was not fulfilled; and Bishop Mant sadly writes 'the readers of the Lecture may think it matter of regret, that he suffered "the rostrum to grow cold" whilst it was in his possession'.⁴

Warton died in 1790; and pure scholarship was again represented by his successor, Thomas Winstanley,⁵ who was consoled for his defeat in 1785 by a unanimous election. Like Warton, he edited Theocritus; and, like Warton again, he is not recorded to have delivered historical lectures of any kind. He retained the Chair for thirty-three years, and in 1823 was followed by the third and last (and in his own field by far the most distinguished) of the pure scholars—Peter Elmsley, who was Camden Professor for the two final years of his life.⁶

In 1825 Elmsley was succeeded by Edward Cardwell, of Brasenose, from

¹ O.c. in note 2 on p. 187 *supra*, i, pp. 271 ff.

² *The Poetical Works of the late Thomas Warton . . . fifth edition . . . to which are now added Inscriptionum Romanarum Delectus and an Inaugural Speech as Camden Professor of History . . . together with Memoirs of his Life and Writings*, by Richard Mant, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1802), II, pp. 361 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁴ O.c. in note 2, i, p. lxxxiv.

⁵ See note 5 on p. 187 *supra*.

⁶ Peter Elmsley (1773–1825), the leading British figure in classical scholarship of the generation after Porson, is best remembered for his work on the texts of the Greek dramatists. He succeeded Winstanley as Principal of St. Alban Hall. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825, i, pp. 371 ff.

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1831 onwards Principal of St. Alban Hall.¹ Cardwell held the Chair for a longer term than any other of its occupants—for thirty-five years; but his only contribution to historical learning as Camden Professor was contained in a slender volume of nine *Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans*, which appeared as early as 1832. The lectures were printed as delivered, and naturally deal only with the outlines of the subject; but the author handles his materials in a critical spirit, and we must certainly date from his appointment the return to the traditions of exact historical scholarship which had been broken since the deprivation of Dodwell. Unfortunately the all-devouring claims of University business, especially of the Clarendon Press, swallowed up the time which might have been devoted to the advancement of archaeological learning.²

In 1861 Cardwell was succeeded by the last Professor of the old régime—George Rawlinson of Trinity,³ who broke fresh ground in Oriental History and had already before his election produced the copiously annotated English version of *The History of Herodotus*⁴ upon which his fame chiefly rests. As Camden Professor he published a series of works which were of considerable importance in their day—*The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*⁵ (Chaldaea, Assyria, Babylonia, Media and Persia), *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*⁶ (Parthia), *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*⁷ (the Sassanid Empire), and, in the very year in which he resigned the Chair after his appointment to

¹ Edward Cardwell (1787–1861), F.S.A., was a Fellow of Brasenose College and became Principal of St. Alban Hall in 1831. He was a Delegate of Estates, of the University Galleries, and of the University Press, which on his advice established the Wolvercote paper-mill. See *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1861, II, pp. 208 ff. It was during his tenure of the Camden Chair that proposals, aimed at securing a greater amount of teaching, were made to raise the stipends of various Professorships. At a meeting of Convocation on 17 June, 1851, though increases were approved for the Chairs of Experimental Philosophy and Moral Philosophy, those for others were rejected—that affecting the Camden Chair, the emoluments of which were to be raised to £300 a year, by 61 votes to 54 (Reg. Conv. 1846–54, f. 348). This result was ascribed to a speech by Dr. Pusey, to whom Cardwell next day wrote a letter, pointing out among other things that an addition to the stipend of the Camden Professor seemed the less unreasonable in view of the fact that the estate given by Camden to the University to secure for his Professor the annual sum of £140 now had a rack-rent value of 'upwards of £1,000 per annum'. This letter, with Dr. Pusey's reply of the same date, was subsequently printed as a fly-sheet (Oxon. C.67 (101*) in the Bodleian).

² His occupation with affairs did not prevent him from publishing a considerable number of learned books, mostly concerned with ecclesiastical history but including editions of Aristotle's *Ethics* (Oxford, 1828), and of Josephus's *Jewish War* (Oxford, 1832).

³ George Rawlinson (1812–1902); undergraduate of Trinity College; Fellow of Exeter College, 1840; Canon of Canterbury, 1872. He is said to have taken an important part in shaping the Oxford University Act of 1854. See *The Times*, 7 October, 1902, and *Athenaeum*, 1902, p. 486 (11 October).

⁴ 4 vols. (London, 1858–61); second edition, 1862; third, 1875.

⁵ 4 vols. (London, 1862–7).

⁶ London, 1873.

⁷ London, 1876.

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a rich city-living,¹ the *History of Phoenicia*.² Rawlinson probably felt that the learned labour devoted to the production of this great corpus of research was an adequate return for the stipend of £140 attached to the Camden Professorship : to impart instruction to the undergraduate student was not a task for which he was fitted. He announced courses of lectures, usually on Oriental History or on Classical Chronology ; but there were unkind critics who hinted (no doubt to point a good story) that from a window in the King's Arms Hotel where he was wont to stay during his visits to Oxford he would satisfy himself that no audience had assembled for his opening discourse in the Old Clarendon Building, in which his lectures were to be delivered, and would then pack up his traps and be off until the beginning of another Term.

The far-reaching reforms of the Royal Commission of 1877 naturally brought about a revolution in the conditions under which the Camden Professorship was held. The stipend was raised to an adequate sum,³ and the increase was charged upon the revenues of Brasenose,⁴ which has been a generous and hospitable foster-mother to the Camden Professor. I cannot refrain from mentioning that only last year (1921) the College secured the consent of His Majesty in Council to a Statute enabling it to make a further augmentation of the professorial emoluments.⁵ At the same time, as was right and proper, the duties of the Camden Professor were strictly defined and the scandals of the past effectively barred from recurrence. This is probably the point to mention that a Decree of Convocation of 22 February, 1910,⁶ which remains in force until the University further orders, prescribed that the Camden Professor should lecture mainly on *Roman History* while to the newly found Wykeham Chair was assigned the *History of Greece and Greek Lands*.

There have been two holders of the Chair prior to myself under the new conditions, which took effect on Rawlinson's resignation in 1889. Of the first I may perhaps be allowed to repeat words which I have already used in this place.⁷ Henry Pelham (1846-1907), Scholar, and afterwards President, of the foundation of which I was for many years a member,⁸ belonged by birth

¹ All Hallows, Lombard Street, to which he was appointed in 1888.

² London, 1889.

³ £900 a year.

⁴ *Statutes made for the University of Oxford, and for the Colleges and Halls therein . . . in pursuance of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act, 1877* (Oxford, 1882), pp. 101 f. and 473 f.

⁵ The reference is to His Majesty's consent, given on 11 October, 1921, to an amendment to Tit. xiii, clause 3, of the Statutes of Brasenose College then in force, the effect of which was to enable the College to extend to the Camden Professor arrangements then being made to increase the stipends of other Fellows.

⁶ *Oxford University Gazette*, xl (1909-10), p. 415.

⁷ H. Stuart Jones, *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy: An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Oxford* (in the Hall of Brasenose College) on March 11, 1920 (Oxford 1920), p. 4.

⁸ Trinity College.

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to that circle of great families from which England has drawn, century after century, a succession of fit persons duly qualified to serve God in Church or State.¹ From his ancestry he drew that political tradition and intuitive grasp of the principles of government which gave him a sure understanding of the growth and working of the institutions of the ruling race of the ancient world ; no one could have been better fitted to build on the foundations so well and truly laid by Mommsen, interpreting the German historian's researches with a balance, a judgement, and a practical insight which Mommsen, condemned by the political conditions of his time to a fruitless and often bitter opposition, could hardly be expected to display. Pelham projected a history of the Roman Empire, which no one was better qualified than he to write ; but only one or two of the earlier chapters were ever written. I possess a portion of the manuscript² concerning the events leading to the foundation of the Principate of Augustus ; and a chapter on Augustus's system appeared in Pelham's collected *Essays on Roman History*. But more than this he was prevented from producing by an unkind fate which first visited him with partial failure of eyesight and then cut short his days.

Pelham was succeeded in 1907 by my immediate predecessor, Francis John Haverfield (1860-1919), who was less interested than Pelham in constitutional problems but made the Roman period in Britain a subject in which he had no rival.³ He was well aware that this subject is only to be mastered by the exercise of infinite patience in the minute examination of sites and of the remains they have yielded up ; and he was still collecting the material for a new *Britannia*, which would have given us an adequate measure of the progress of knowledge since Camden's day, when the thread of his life was untimely snapped.

But the work of Pelham and Haverfield in research is no doubt familiar to most if not all of those present. What I would rather emphasize is the fact that it was they who made the teaching of Ancient History in Oxford the living and growing discipline which it is. Of them it may truly be said

Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.

When I look at the list of names which compose the Sub-Faculty of Ancient History in this University, knowing as I do the nature of the work which they are carrying on and the methods of their teaching and of their researches (for

¹ See 'Biographical Note' by F. Haverfield in *Essays by Henry Francis Pelham* (Oxford, 1911), pp. vii ff.

² After the death of Sir Henry Stuart Jones this manuscript was placed in the Library of Trinity College.

³ See 'Biographical Notice' by G. Macdonald in F. Haverfield, *The Roman Occupation of Britain* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 15 ff.

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they realize to the full that teachers must always be learners, and that in scholarship there is no standing still), I feel that it is in the main to the inspiration of Pelham and Haverfield and to the fine tradition which they handed down that we owe an Ancient History School which can safely challenge comparison with that of any other University ; and I may add that I feel also the gravity of the responsibility which rests upon my own shoulders.

With this *Schola Historicorum* the name of William Camden will be for ever and fittingly associated, a symbol of the continuity of the tradition of scholarship throughout the ages ; and we may thus, I think, infuse a new meaning into the lines of the great poet who wrote as a contemporary of our founder (and this particular passage just after the third edition of *Britannia* had appeared)—I quote from Edmund Spenser's 'The Ruines of Time' :¹

Camden the nourice of antiquitie,
And lanterne vnto late succeeding age,
To see the light of simple veritie,
Buried in ruines, through the great outrage
Of her owne people, led with warlike rage,
Camden, though time all moniments obscure,
Yet thy iust labours euer shall endure.

¹ Published in *Complaints* (London, William Ponsonbie, 1591) : see *Spenser's Minor Poems*, edited by E. de Selincourt (Oxford, 1910), pp. 123 and 133.