"Modest but well-deserved claims": The friendship of Samuel Fox and Joseph Bosworth and the study of Anglo-Saxon in the nineteenth century[1]

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Abstract

Joseph Bosworth's copy of Samuel Fox's 1835 edition of *The Metres of Boethius*, presented to him by the editor, contains (pasted to the covers) a fragmentary record of the correspondence between the two men which must have extended from 1833 until Fox's death in 1870. Partial and short as it is, this record of the two men's correspondence, read in the context of other contemporary documents, gives an interesting (and sometimes amusing) insight into the practice of Anglo-Saxon scholarship in the period. This article will present the letters in this context, and examine the lasting friendship and collaboration of Fox and Bosworth against a backdrop of controversy, religious dispute, and patriotic fervour. In so doing, this article will also consider the legacy of Samuel Fox, a scholar now routinely marginalized in histories of the discipline, but who was held in high regard by at least some of his contemporaries.

Keywords

Samuel Fox – Joseph Bosworth – Scholarship – Correspondence – Anglo-Saxon Controversy – Oxford Movement – Nineteenth century

1 Introduction

The focus of this article is the little-known nineteenth-century Anglo-Saxon scholar Samuel Fox (1801–1870), long-time rector of Morley in Derbyshire, and his friendship with his much more famous contemporary, Dr Joseph Bosworth (1787/8–1876). Bosworth, best known today for his work as a lexicographer, was

[1] The final stages of the preparation of this article were marked by the sad news of the death of Prof. Eric Stanley, Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon from 1977 to 1991, and a long-time fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. Eric's interest in the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship was reflected in many of his publications, including one cited below. This article is respectfully dedicated to his memory.

one of the foremost scholars of his day. His *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* — first published in 1838, reprinted frequently during his lifetime, and revised and enlarged after his death by T. Northcote Toller and Alistair Campbell — remains (despite its many shortcomings) an important and much-used scholarly resource (Bosworth and Toller 1882–1898; Toller 1921; Campbell 1972). Bosworth is also commemorated in the names of two prestigious professorships of Anglo-Saxon: the Elrington and Bosworth Professorship at Cambridge (which he founded) and the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship at Oxford (which was renamed in his honour). By contrast, Fox is today almost completely unknown, and is routinely ignored in accounts of the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. This is perhaps not entirely unreasonable. Fox was, in some respects, an old-fashioned scholar even in his day. A man of decidedly antiquarian tastes, he was frustrated in his academic ambitions and his work, though respectable by the standards of its time, has not proved to be of lasting influence. The main purpose of this paper is not, however, to provide a reassessment of Fox's achievements as a scholar (though this will in part arise out of the discussion). Rather, my primary concern is to show how even a relatively minor figure like Fox could play an important, if largely unrecognized, part in the wider scholarly and cultural environment of his day.

My starting point, in line with the theme of this special issue, is the fragmentary and largely one-sided record of what must have been a much more extensive correspondence between the two men. What remains of this correspondence is preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. On his death in 1876, Bosworth bequeathed to the Bodleian his collection of volumes on Anglo-Saxon and related topics (together with much of his own manuscript material). Many of these volumes also contain loose material, including correspondence, relating to Bosworth's scholarly activities (cf. Bankert 2012). The correspondence that forms the starting point of this paper is preserved in this way, pasted into the front cover of Bosworth's copy of Fox's 1835 edition of *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Metres of Boethius* (Bodleian Library, shelf-mark Vet. A6 d. 1217). It consists of four items: two letters, from Fox to Bosworth, written in 1833 and 1835 respectively; a single, undated and unsigned sheet of queries from Fox which must have been addressed to and which is annotated by Bosworth; and a carbon copy of a note written by Bosworth, responding to Fox's queries, dated 1856. To this meagre record, the text of which is reproduced in the Appendix to this article, we can add one further note, from Bosworth to Fox, written in 1854, the text of which was published more than a century ago in an article by J. E. Wülfing (1897: 99–100).

As far as I am aware, no other part of the correspondence between the two men survives today. The surviving portion can, however, be supplemented

from a variety of other sources, including other personal correspondences, letters to literary journals, diaries, newspaper reports, dedications, prefaces, book reviews, and other examples of scholarly and antiquarian activity. Fox's friendship with Bosworth lasted for nearly forty years, established by the first of the letters reported here and persisting until Fox's death in 1870. Tracing this friendship over the intervening decades provides a significant new insight into the practice and practicalities of scholarly interaction in nineteenth-century Britain. By focusing particularly upon the interconnecting careers of two individual scholars over a substantial period of time, this article demonstrates how the intellectual culture of the time was shaped by a dynamic interplay of collaboration and controversy. It also demonstrates how the increasing professionalization of medieval studies in the nineteenth century was driven not only by well-documented methodological developments and philological advances but also by a human factor that depended upon the connections and antagonisms that linked individuals within a wider scholarly network.

2 First contact: The context of Fox's first letter

Fox was born on 11 February 1801, the second son of one Edward Fox, of St. Werburgh's, Derby, and was educated at the Free Grammar School, Derby (Thompson 1924: 158–159; Tacchella 1902: 24). From there he proceeded to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he matriculated on 29 October 1821. Fox's family background is unknown, but he is listed in the *Alumni Oxonienses* as an *armiger* (one entitled to bear arms), which suggests that his family was of some social standing (Foster 1887–1888, II: 488). He was awarded his BA from Oxford on 11 June 1825, and was ordained as a deacon in 1826 and as a priest in 1827. Following the award of an MA from Oxford on 30 October 1828, Fox was appointed to the parish of Morley in Derbyshire, first as curate from 1829 and then as rector from 1844, holding the living in plurality with that of Horsley until his death (*Crockford* 1868: 238). It was presumably at Morley — as well as on seemingly frequent trips to Oxford — that Fox pursued his literary and antiquarian interests. The advertisement for the sale by auction of the contents of the rectory after Fox's death testifies to an impressively well-stocked library of more than 2,000 volumes.[2]

It was from Morley that Fox first wrote to Bosworth on 4 September 1833 (see Appendix **§** 1). At that time, Bosworth, some thirteen years older than Fox, would have been 45 or 46 years old. He had been British Chaplain in the Netherlands since 1829, first in Amsterdam, and then, since 1832, at the British

[2] *The Derby Mercury*, 26 October 1870.

Episcopal Church in Rotterdam (*Crockford* 1868: 73).[3] Bosworth received Fox's letter, in Rotterdam, some six weeks after it had been written, on 10 October.

Unlike Fox, Bosworth achieved his scholarly distinction without the benefit of a regular university education. Little is known about his early life. He was, like Fox, a Derbyshire man, being the third son of Thomas Bosworth of Etwall, and was admitted to Repton Grammar School in 1796 as a Foundation Scholar (Hipkins 1895: 44–45). He did not proceed to university, however, and was ordained as a non-graduate clergyman in 1814. Bosworth was vicar of Little Horwood, Buckinghamshire, from 1817 until his departure for the Netherlands, but his non-graduate status may initially have limited his career prospects and opportunities for preferment within the Anglican Church (Slinn 2017a). Anxieties on this score may well have been the initial motivation behind Bosworth's prevailing concern with academic distinction. Having published two elementary Latin textbooks in 1821 (Bosworth 1821a; 1821b), Bosworth secured for himself the following year an honorary MA from the University of Aberdeen, which was followed by an LL.D in 1838 (Anderson 1889–1898, II: 105, 436).[4] In 1823, he was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge as a 'ten-year man' — a pathway to a Bachelor of Divinities degree followed by many non-graduate clergymen in this period, involving, as it did, lower fees, fewer residency requirements, and little or no formal study (Slinn 2017b). Having been awarded a PhD by the University of Leiden in 1831, Bosworth gained his BD from Cambridge in 1834 and was made Doctor of Divinity in 1839 (Venn & Venn 1922–1954, II.i: 328).

By his own account, Bosworth's interest in Anglo-Saxon was awakened in his youth in the library of Kedleston Hall, the seat of Nathaniel Curzon, second Baron Scarsdale (1752–1837), two of whose illegitimate sons were Bosworth's contemporaries at Repton (Bosworth 1862; Hipkins 1895: 54–55). For a time, Bosworth apparently acted as an amanuensis for the lawyer and historian Sharon Turner (1768–1847), transcribing Anglo-Saxon material from manuscripts in the British Museum (Thurston 1864: 5). His reputation as an

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[3] A lithograph portrait of Bosworth from 1831 is part of the collection of the Nation Portrait Gallery. Last access of site: 19 March 2018. https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw125478/Joseph-Bosworth.

[4] Bradley (2004), following Sweet (1876), claims that Bosworth attended the University of Aberdeen following his time at Repton, but correspondence preserved in the Special Collections at Aberdeen makes clear that both degrees were honorary (ref. no.: Marischal/7/4/4/3/12). I am grateful to Jan Smith, Principle Information Assistant at the Special Collections, for help on this point.

eminent scholar in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies was first established, however, by the publication in 1823 of his *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, followed in 1826 by a *Compendious Grammar of the Primitive English or Anglo-Saxon Language*. During his time as chaplain in the Netherlands, Bosworth was at work on the first edition of his long-awaited *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language* (1838). Fox, by contrast, was a relative newcomer to the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, his contribution limited to the publication in 1830 of an edition of the Old English poem known as the *Menologium*, or *Calendar Poem*.

The opening of Fox's first letter makes clear that he and Bosworth had not, at this point, met in person, the writer describing himself as a "personal stranger" to the older man. It is equally clear, however, that there had been some prior contact between the two men. Towards the end of the letter, Fox refers to Bosworth's having asked him "some years since" to officiate for him in Rotterdam. How this previous contact came about is unclear. Both were Derbyshire men, and it is not inconceivable that they were known to each other through local connections. Alternatively, Bosworth may have heard of Fox due to their shared scholarly interests. Fox had, of course, studied in Oxford, and his first letter testifies to his continued activities and ambitions in relation to the university. Bosworth, though not officially connected with the university at this point, counted several Oxford scholars amongst his acquaintances, including past professors of Anglo-Saxon such as J. J. Conybeare (1779–1824) and James Ingram (1774–1850).

One acquaintance that Bosworth and Fox certainly had in common was the Leicester-based solicitor J. S. Cardale (1771–1850). Cardale is best remembered for his 1829 edition of the Old English translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. Two versions of the Old English text survive, both of which were traditionally attributed to King Alfred the Great: an earlier prose translation of the original prosimetric Latin (preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 180), and a later revision in which the portions of the text equating to Boethius' Latin *Metres* have been turned into Old English verse (London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.vi). Cardale's edition is of the prose text, including only one specimen of the Old English metrical portions. His text is based upon that of the first printed edition, published in 1698 by Christopher Rawlinson (1677–1733), which was in turn based upon the unpublished work of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677), who had collated the two surviving manuscript versions of the Old English text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 12). Cardale revised Rawlinson's text and printed it with a new preface and accompanied by Cardale's own translation (cf. Godden & Irvine 2009, I: 217). He followed a similar methodology in his other main publications. In 1828 he had published (anonymously) a revised version of Owen Manning's 1788 edition of

the will of King Alfred, and in 1838 he supervised the reprinting of Elizabeth Elstob's 1709 edition of Ælfric's homily on Gregory the Great, to which he added a biographical sketch of Elstob in a preface signed "J. S. C".[5]

Cardale was well-known to both Fox and Bosworth. In the preface to his *Menologium*, Fox acknowledged Cardale's "kind assistance" (1830: viii), and Fox's approach to editing at this point seems to have been modelled upon that of the older man. Fox's edition is, in reality, a lightly revised reprint of the text of the *Menologium* published by George Hickes (1705), to which Fox added a preface and a translation (Fox 1830: viii; Karasawa 2015: 3). The book appeared as part of the same series of "Anglo-Saxon Books", published by William Pickering and printed by Thomas Combe of Leicester, as Cardale's own books. Cardale's influence, as we will see, continued to be evident in Fox's later scholarship. Bosworth was also acquainted with Cardale by at least the mid-1820s. Bosworth's own working copy of his *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar* (Bodleian Library, shelf-mark 3027 d.5) includes two letters from Cardale, both dated to February 1825, in which he discusses aspects of Old English grammar and offers commentary and corrections on the text of the *Elements*. The preface to Bosworth's *Compendious Grammar*, published the following year, acknowledges the "many useful observations" offered by Cardale (1826: xi), and a list written on the fly-leaf of Bosworth's own copy (Bodleian Library, shelf-mark 3027 e.11) records that Cardale was amongst the first people to whom Bosworth sent a copy of that work on 27 February 1826. Cardale returned the favour on 30 April 1829 by sending Bosworth an early copy of his *Boethius* (Wülfing 1897), and he reserves special commendation for Bosworth in each of his three published prefaces, praising his "singularly clear and comprehensive grammatical elucidations" (1828: x). In turn, Bosworth can be identified as the author of a complimentary review of Cardale's *Boethius* published anonymously in the *Literary Gazette* (1829), and, in the preface to the first edition of his *Dictionary*, Bosworth described Cardale as "an old and faithful friend" and acknowledged "the full and free use" he had made of Cardale's own manuscript dictionary (1838: clxxvi).[6]

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[5] Cf. Michel 1837: 20; Bosworth 1838: xx n.; Petheram 1840: 134. Cardale was also the likely author of a letter on Old English dialects published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1822. The letter is signed "A. B.", but was addressed from Leicester and internal evidence suggests that Cardale was the writer. Cf. Cardale 1829: "Note on the Saxon Dialect" [unpaginated].

[6] Internal evidence for Bosworth's authorship of the review article is provided by its similarities with his comments on the text in the *Elements* (1823: 285).

Whether or not it was from Cardale that Bosworth first heard of Fox, the traceable connections between the three men bear witness to the operation of networks of scholars and antiquarians that extended beyond the confines of the universities (cf. Bright 1891). The circumstances of Fox's first letter to Bosworth were, however, intimately connected with university life and academic politics. Referring to his *Menologium* edition, Fox stated in the letter that his "principal object" in undertaking the edition was "to obtain the professorship of Anglo Saxon in Oxford" and appealed for Bosworth's help in this enterprise. The Rawlinsonian Professorship of Anglo-Saxon, to which Fox here refers, had been first appointed in 1795, endowed by the bequest of Richard Rawlinson (1690–1755). At that time, the period of office for the Professorship was, as Fox points out, limited to a maximum of five years. The chair was appointed by direct election of Convocation (the main governing body of the university at that time), with candidates for the post producing and circulating pamphlets of printed testimonials gathered from influential figures whose support might lend weight to their candidacy. It was apparently for this purpose that Fox wrote to Bosworth to request an "opinion" on the *Menologium*.

Fox was, in effect, requesting a letter of recommendation from a senior, more established scholar. In time-honoured fashion, Fox couches this request in terms of his admiration for Bosworth's scholarship and the value placed on his opinion. It must be presumed that the "accompanying packet" to which Fox refers contained a copy of the *Menologium*, most likely the copy, heavily annotated by Bosworth, now held in the Bodleian Library (shelf-mark 2797 e.108). It must also have contained the work "of a different kind" recently printed by Thomas Combe. The work thus referred to can only have been *The Catechumen's Instructor* (1833), a short devotional work consisting of an exposition of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Fox further induced Bosworth's good opinion by offering to officiate for Bosworth in Rotterdam when the latter should next be in England, and, in the meantime, to provide any scholarly assistance required during his forthcoming stay in Oxford.

Whether or not Bosworth agreed to provide a testimonial for Fox cannot be definitely known, but it seems extremely likely. A note in Bosworth's hand on the outside of Fox's letter records that he sent an answer by the next post. This, together with the warm friendship established between the two and the evidence for Bosworth's continuing support of Fox's scholarship (discussed below), strongly suggests that Bosworth did indeed endorse Fox's candidature. It is clear, however, that Fox was to be frustrated in his ambitions. The following year, at a meeting of Convocation in Oxford on 23 April, Robert Meadows White (1798–1865), Fellow of Magdalene, was elected the new Rawlinsonian Professor. White, then a fellow at Magdalene, was elected by 158 votes to 124 in a straight

fight against George Moberly, Fellow of Balliol and future Bishop of Salisbury. In the event, Fox's name was not put forward as a candidate.[7]

3 "Modest but well-deserved claims": Fox, Bosworth, and the 'Anglo-Saxon Controversy'

Fox seems, however, not to have abandoned his academic ambitions. The second surviving letter from Fox to Bosworth was written some eleven months after White's election in March 1835 (see Appendix § 2). The ostensible purpose of the letter was to send Bosworth a copy of Fox's latest publication: the copy of the *Metres of Boethius* in which the correspondence is now preserved. This work further demonstrates the influence of Cardale on Fox's career. Once again, the volume was published by Cardale's own publisher, William Pickering, and Fox explicitly presents his work as a "supplement" to Cardale's earlier edition of the all-prose *Boethius* (1835: vii). Like Cardale, Fox bases his text on that of Rawlinson, though with more justification, since the sole surviving manuscript of the prosimetric text had been badly damaged in a fire in 1731 and was reported as destroyed by both Cardale (1829: unpaginated) and Fox (1835: iv). Unlike Cardale, however, Fox does seem to have consulted the original work of Junius, on which Rawlinson's edition was based (1835: vii; cf. Godden & Irvine 2009, I: 221). In his preface to the work, Fox acknowledges the "friendship and assistance" (1835: vii–viii) of both Cardale and the renowned Anglo-Saxonist Benjamin Thorpe (1782–1870) and expresses regret that Cardale himself had not undertaken the task of editing the *Metres* (1835: iii). In sending a copy of the work to Bosworth, however, Fox is once again asking for the older man's support. Fox not only invites Bosworth's opinion (and castigation) on the work, but also asks Bosworth to "notice" the book in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, one of the prominent literary journals of the day.

Despite Fox's continued deference to Bosworth, the tone of this second letter is noticeably more familiar. The formal address "Rev^{d} Sir" is here replaced with the more familiar "My Dear Sir", and Fox closes his letter by extending his compliments to Bosworth's wife. The increased intimacy of the letter suggests that the two men had become personally acquainted in the eighteen months between the two surviving letters. In places, the second letter is downright gossipy. Fox reports to Bosworth (still living in Rotterdam) on the progress of Anglo-Saxon studies in England, citing Thorpe (with whom Bosworth was also acquainted) as his informant and reporting on J. M. Kemble's progress with his second edition of *Beowulf*. He then goes on to aim a rather sarcastic dig at

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lower Archive Room, NEP/Subtus/Reg Br, p. 360.

Robert Meadows White, his successful rival for the Rawlinson chair, for his perceived lack of activity: "I fear", he says, "the Oxford professor will turn out a mere professor; he has occupied his chair 12 months; & appears to have been taking a doze during that time."

The references in Fox's letter to Thorpe and Kemble, as well as the attack on White, situate Fox's letter in relation to the infamous 'Anglo-Saxon Controversy' — a vicious war of words, played out in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in the years 1834–1835 (Aarsleff 1983: 194–207; Momma 2013: 60–94; Niles 2015: 229–242). The controversy centred upon a methodological dispute between the largely amateurish traditions of older, antiquarian scholars, and a new breed of Anglo-Saxonists, championed by Thorpe and, particularly, Kemble, determined to embrace the more scientific and systematic methodologies associated with the 'new philology' of Continental scholars like Rasmus Rask (1787–1832) and Jacob Grimm (1785–1863). The debate was, however, not lacking in personal feeling. Characteristically, it was Kemble who was to bring matters to a head when, in a laudatory review of Thorpe's *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica* (1834), he launched a concerted attack on an older generation of antiquarian scholars, including past holders of the Oxford chair, "whose doings in the way of false concords, false etymology, and ignorance of declension, conjugation, and syntax, would, if perpetrated by a boy in the second form of a public school, have richly merited and been duly repaid by a liberal application of ferula or direr birch" (1834a: 392).

The "professors of Anglo-Saxon" to whom Kemble refers in this remarkable diatribe can only have been the past and present holders of the Rawlinsonian Professorship in Oxford. Kemble's attack was published in April 1834 — the same month that Robert Meadows White was elected to the Rawlinson chair. This timing is unlikely to be coincidental. Like Fox, Kemble himself seems to have intended to be a candidate for the professorship. In a letter to Grimm written the previous October, Kemble closed with an uncharacteristically diffident enquiry about the possibility of Grimm providing him with a testimonial for this purpose:

> If I should at any future time require testimonials of A.S. scholarship in the event of proposing myself for the Oxford Professorship, could you reconcile it to your conscience to give me a letter saying you think me capable of such an office. One word from you would do more than a whole post office full of letters from any one else. (Wiley 1971: 46)

Despite the decidedly speculative nature of this query, it seems clear that Kemble was eyeing the upcoming election of the following spring. His enthusiasm was short-lived, however, and in a subsequent letter to Grimm (undated, but almost certainly written before the election of White) Kemble declares that his taking the chair is "out of the question" due to the post's restricted five-year tenure (Wiley 1971: 57). It is impossible to gauge how genuine this disavowal was. It is conceivable that Kemble had, in the interval between the two letters, found himself unable to marshal sufficient support for his prospective candidacy. In any case, in view of the timing of his incendiary review of Thorpe's *Analecta*, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that some personal animus motivated his virulent attack upon the "idle and ignorant" holders of the Rawlinsonian chair (Kemble 1834a: 392).

Chief amongst those who responded to Kemble's attack was an Oxford-based correspondent who signed his letters "T. W.". In two letters published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1834, "T. W." launches a series of scornful attacks on Kemble, whom he describes as a "would-be Anglo-Saxon Professor" (1834b: 363). The identity of this "T. W." has long been debated (e.g., Aarsleff 1983: 197; Niles 2015: 234), but there is every reason to believe that it is none other than Robert Meadows White himself. White, as newly installed Rawlinsonian Professor, might have felt particularly called upon to respond to Kemble's attacks, and his authorship of the letters is supported by the published attribution notes for the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Kuist 1982: 82; de Montluzin 2003). It seems, moreover, to have been something of an open secret to the other participants in the debate. One such contributor, identified as Sir Frederic Madden, tellingly characterized the dispute between "T. W." and Kemble as being between "a Saxon Professor *in esse*, and a Saxon Professor *in posse*" (1834: 483; on Madden's authorship, see Kuist 1982: 90; de Montluzin 2003). Kemble himself may have suspected the origin of the letters, to judge from his strongly-worded response to "T. W." published in December 1834:

> I know not whether he has filled, does fill, or means to fill the Saxon Chair in that University; but from the specimen of his ability which he has supplied in these letters, I can assure him that he is worthy to take his place in the long list of illustrious obscures who have already enjoyed that cheap dignity. (1834b: 605)

In his attempts to refute Kemble's criticism of the Oxford school, "T. W." reserves particular praise for the learning of Turner, Conybeare, and Ingram (1834a: 259). He also praises in passing the work of Bosworth, Cardale, and Fox — dismissed sardonically as "subordinate worthies" by Kemble (1834b: 602).

Bosworth in particular has often been characterized in modern scholarship as a bastion of the established, antiquarian tradition which Kemble opposed, and he has been credited with supervising the publication of *The Anglo-Saxon Meteor*, a scurrilous pamphlet attacking Kemble which appeared in March 1835 and which repeated most of the substance of "T. W."'s criticisms alongside further personal slurs (Dickins 1990: 66–67; Aarsleff 1983: 204–205; Momma 2013: 91). The argument for Bosworth's involvement in the production of the *Meteor* seems to depend upon Kemble's own suspicions, voiced in a letter to Grimm (Wiley 1971: 101), supported by unconfirmed supposition on the part of Madden (Pulsiano 1998: 81). It seems, however, extremely doubtful that Bosworth had any part in the *Meteor*, and his role in the fiercely partisan debate appears to have been generally misrepresented.[8]

Bosworth seems, in fact, to have been distressed at the level of invective employed on both sides of the debate. His first and most direct contribution to the controversy was a letter published in the October 1834 issue of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, addressed from Cambridge and signed simply "B.". Bosworth's identity as "B." is confirmed in his letter to the Dutch scholar J. H. Halbertsma written on 10 March 1835, in which Bosworth sends Halbertsma a copy of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July to December 1834 and comments directly on what he calls "the Oxford dispute". In the letter, Bosworth sympathizes with "poor Kemble" for the attack upon him and remarks that "[s]uch angry squabbles do no good." His own contribution was written, he says, in order to "compose the strife" (Stanley 1990: 446–447). In the letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Bosworth calls upon the disputants to maintain a "calm" discussion and "a dignified tone of writing" and attempts to refocus the debate upon scholarly rather than personal concerns (Bosworth 1834: 363). He praises the work of Thorpe and offers a qualified defence of Kemble in response to "T. W."'s attacks (1834: 363–364).

The methodological differences between the 'old' and 'new' schools of Anglo-Saxon studies had, during the course of the controversy, become encapsulated by the question of accent marks. One of the great advances of the

[8] Kemble's suspicions were, apart from his general antipathy towards Bosworth, based upon his belief that the pamphlet had been printed in the Netherlands. This, however, seems unlikely. The pamphlet's epigraph is dated "*Oxford, March* 1, 1835" (1835: 2); copies were posted to various scholars (including Cardale) from Oxford as early as 25 March. The likelihood is, therefore, that that pamphlet was printed in Oxford in March 1835. Images of all known surviving copies of the *Meteor* have been posted online by Simon Keynes. Last access of site: 21 March 2018. http://dk.usertest.mws3.csx.cam.ac.uk/node/158.

comparative philology championed by Rask and Grimm had been a reliable method for distinguishing vowel length. The practice, adopted by Kemble, of employing diacritical marks to indicate long vowels in published editions was, however, a particular focus of ridicule for "T. W.". By contrast, Bosworth's contribution to this question is, whilst still conservative, nevertheless notably more conciliatory. Whilst maintaining that the editor's duty is to represent manuscript witnesses faithfully, including only such accents as are found therein, Bosworth emphasizes the philological importance of distinguishing between long and short vowels and acknowledges the role that historical and comparative philology can play in so doing (1834: 363). In other words, his objection to the introduction of diacritical marks seems to have been rooted in caution and in his conception of scholarly editions as, primarily, facsimiles of the original manuscripts rather than in any fundamental theoretical or methodological reservations. Bosworth had been an early reader and correspondent of Rask, and while he seems never to have truly mastered the principles of the new philology in any great depth, neither does he appear to have been opposed to advances derived therefrom (cf. Bosworth 1822a; 1822b; 1826: vii–viii; 1838: clxxxi).

Indeed, this open-mindedness seems to have laid Bosworth open to criticism from the very 'Oxford' school of which he has often been seen to be the embodiment. Despite including Bosworth's name in his list of accomplished scholars of the old school, "T. W.", in his first contribution to the debate, highlights Bosworth's apparent susceptibility to new-fangled Continental ideas:

> I cannot help enquiring what has become of my old acquaintance Bosworth, and his long promised Anglo-Saxon Dictionary? When residing upon his living in this neighbourhood, he was constantly ransacking our archives at the Bodleian, to benefit by our numerous MSS. I know he had an immense collection from us, for his work; and though I generally admired his cool and quiet judgment, and indefatigable research, I often cautioned him, lest he should be misled by the German school. I hope his residence abroad for some years, amidst Gothic dialects, will not cause him to forget the advice of an old and hearty friend (1834a: 259–260).

The rather acerbic tone of this enquiry might be accounted for in part by the fact that Robert Meadows White had been obliged to give up his own plans for an Old English dictionary upon learning that Bosworth had already begun to prepare one (Bosworth 1838: clxxvi). The remarks also show, however, that Bosworth's position within the fiercely partisan dispute was not as clear-cut as

has sometimes been supposed. The *Anglo-Saxon Meteor*, quoting from this same letter of "T. W."'s, omits the reference to the slow progress of Bosworth's dictionary, with the writer reporting, at second hand, that Bosworth had been "very indignant" at the way in which his name had been invoked in the debate, but it nevertheless repeats the suggestion that "even he is now an advocate for the absurd German school" (*Anglo-Saxon Meteor* 1835: 6–7).

Such remarks would seem to distance Bosworth both from the production of the pamphlet itself and from the concerted opposition to Kemble and to the new philology that lay behind it. This conclusion is supported, moreover, by the evidence of Fox's second letter. Written in the same month that the *Meteor* appeared, Fox's brief report on "all that is doing in the *Saxon line* at present in England" not only indicates a lack of sympathy with White, in which Fox must presumably have expected Bosworth to share, but also suggests that Fox at least considered both himself and Bosworth to be part of the same scholarly network as Thorpe and Kemble.

In accordance with Fox's request, Bosworth did indeed "notice" his edition of the *Metres of Boethius* — not once, but twice. The first review appeared in the *Literary Gazette* issue for 16 May 1835. The review was published anonymously, but Bosworth's authorship cannot be in doubt. Bosworth begins the review by summarising recent publications of Anglo-Saxon texts. He praises the work of Thorpe and Kemble in terms very similar to those used in his earlier letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, before mentioning Cardale's *Boethius* and Fox's own earlier edition of the *Menologium*. The following paragraph highlights the particular significance of the Old English *Boethius* in terms that recall Bosworth's comments both in his *Elements* (1823: 285–286) and in his earlier (anonymous) review of Cardale's edition of the prose text (1829: 451). Only the final paragraph of the notice is really about Fox's edition. Here, Bosworth praises Fox for his "neatly printed" edition and especially for the excellence of his translation (1835a: 311).

A second, longer review appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1835. Again, the review is anonymous, but Bosworth's authorship is in this instance confirmed by the attribution notes for the magazine (Kuist 1982: 33; de Montluzin 2003), as well as by internal evidence. Although it has not previously been acknowledged as such, the review represents a sort of final word in the 'Anglo-Saxon Controversy'. Following the appearance of the *Meteor*, Kemble had written a further letter on the subject of the controversy, dated "June 12" and published in *Gentleman's Magazine* the following month. Adopting a less tendentious tone, Kemble responded to his critics by providing a detailed account of how vowel length can be determined by philological means and offered a qualified apology for his previous outbursts (Kemble 1835). This letter

has often been taken as the end point of the controversy, but Bosworth's review, which appears later in the same issue as Kemble's letter, addresses once again the spirit in which the debate had been carried out.

The review begins on very similar lines to the earlier *Literary Gazette* review. He again praises the editions of Cardale, Thorpe, and Kemble, mentioning too Fox's earlier *Menologium.* As in the earlier review, Bosworth highlights in familiar terms the linguistic "purity" of and the authorial additions evident in the Old English translation, as well as describing in brief the circumstances in which the Latin text was composed (1835b: 49). This review is, however, notably more fulsome in its praise of Fox's work. In line with the comments in his earlier contribution to the controversy, Bosworth commends Fox for having "judiciously" followed the manuscript witness in his use (or, in this case, lack of use) of accent marks (1835b: 49; cf. Fox 1835: vii). He also approvingly reports Fox's efforts to punctuate and lineate the text of the *Metres* in line with contemporary theories regarding the alliteration and metre of Old English verse (1835b: 51). Of greatest interest, however, is the final paragraph of the review, in which Bosworth turns his attention once more to the recent controversy:

> There can scarcely be a greater cause for suspecting that a man is wrong, than his over-confidence that he is right; his contracted view only allows him a limited prospect, hence he sees no difficulties, and is dogmatical and dictatorial. Such a spirit injures the cause, however good, which it espouses. On the other hand, when a mind is so enlarged as to take an expanded view, difficulties are seen, and, therefore, generally avoided. […] Mr. Fox has written under this conviction, and has produced a work most creditable to himself, and useful to Anglo-Saxon students. We wish the discussion concerning the Oxford professors had partaken more of the spirit here commended. When the professor's chair at Oxford next becomes vacant, we feel convinced Mr. Fox's modest but well-deserved claims cannot be forgotten (1835b: 51).

The opening of this paragraph is clearly intended as a thinly-veiled reproach of Kemble and the arrogant and dismissive manner in which he had initiated the controversy — though it is worth noting that Bosworth here distinguishes between the "cause" espoused and the "spirit" in which it is advanced. The closing sentences, however, refer to "the discussion" as a whole, implying a criticism of partisans on both sides of the debate.

It is in this context that Bosworth presses Fox's "modest but well-deserved claims" for academic distinction. So far as I have been able to discover,

Fox himself played no direct part in the controversy. He may, like Bosworth himself, have occupied a rather ambiguous position. On the one hand, Fox's association with Thorpe and Kemble, and his antipathy towards White, aligns him with the increasingly influential 'new' school. On the other hand, his Oxford pedigree, his friendship with older scholars such as Cardale and, to some extent, Bosworth, and his conservatism over matters such as the use of accents (discussed further below) would have been welcome to the older, antiquarian party. It is quite possible that Bosworth considered Fox a viable 'compromise candidate', who might have been acceptable to both parties.

Bosworth's confidence in the appeal of Fox's candidacy was, however, misplaced. Fox never was elected to academic distinction. Rather, it was Bosworth himself who, twenty-three years later in 1858, was elected to the reformed Rawlinsonian chair, which he held for eighteen years until his death in 1876. It was as a result of the money he bequeathed to add to the original endowment — money largely derived from the success of his books — that in 1916 the chair was renamed the 'Rawlinson and Bosworth Professorship' in his honour.

4 Continued friendship: Fox, Bosworth, and the Oxford Movement

The friendship between Fox and Bosworth endured. In the first edition of his *Dictionary*, published in 1838, Bosworth acknowledges Fox's "friendly communications" and draws particular attention to the value of Fox's publications (1838: clxxvi). A year later, Fox repays this support in what is ostensibly a review of the *Dictionary*, but is in fact a literature review — a lengthy account of the state of Anglo-Saxon studies. In this work, published anonymously, Fox enthusiastically praises the *Dictionary* as "one of the most important works that has issued from the press for some time" (1839: 146). He also lavishes considerable praise on the work of Thorpe, noting his "zeal in promoting Anglo-Saxon literature", and describes the "meed of approbation" due to Cardale for his *Boethius* (1839: 148–149). Of Kemble's edition of *Beowulf*, Fox is generally approving, but he follows Bosworth in questioning the application of accent marks not found in original manuscripts (1839: 149–150). Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the article, however, is Fox's decision to take the opportunity, under the cloak of anonymity, to review his own previous work.

With his edition of the *Metres*, Fox seems well pleased. Between the publication of the *Menologium* in 1830 and of the *Metres* in 1835, Fox seems to have become acquainted, apparently through the influence of Thorpe, with Rask's work on the alliterative and stress-based metre of Old English verse (cf.

Cornelius 2017: 49–53). His edition of the *Metres* includes an early justification of the practice of metrical emendation of Old English poetry:

> Alliteration is now ascertained, beyond all doubt, to be the chief characteristic of Saxon verse; and this is also accompanied with a rythm which clearly distinguishes it from prose [...]. It has, therefore, been my endeavour in this edition to restore the text to what I conceive to have been its original purity, by preserving the alliteration and rythm (1835: v).

Fox had drawn attention to this feature of his edition in the second of his surviving letters to Bosworth, noting the differences between his text of the *Metres* and that of Rawlinson: "the alliteration & sense", Fox writes, "required the alteration, & I think in most cases, both the alliteration & rythm are improved". Acting on this hint, Bosworth quoted the above passage in his *Gentleman's Magazine* review of Fox's edition — albeit that, in doing so, he took it upon himself to revise Fox's syntax and correct his idiosyncratic spelling (1835b: 51).[9] It is this aspect of the edition that Fox, writing in the third person, singles out for praise in his own review article:

> Mr. Fox has followed the plan successfully adopted by the last editor of Cædmon [viz. Thorpe], and, by altering the punctuation, has in many places improved both the alliteration and the rhythm; while he has at the same time made several passages intelligible which were extremely obscure in Rawlinson's edition (1839: 148–149).

In thus praising his edition, however, Fox goes so far as to criticize himself for not having adopted in his 1830 *Menologium* the same standards he applied to the *Metres* in 1835. "[W]e cannot but regret", he says, in relation to the earlier edition, "that Mr. Fox did not pursue the plan of amending the punctuation throughout, which he adopted in his edition of the Boethius metres" (1839: 149n.).

Fox's review article was published anonymously in the July 1839 issue of *The British Critic*, a periodical that was, at the time, edited by John Henry Newman (1801–1890). Under Newman's editorship, this journal was a key publication for the Oxford Movement, a High Church reformist group within the Church of England which arose in Oxford in the early 1830s. Supporters of the

[9] These revisions are present, in Bosworth's hand, in his copy of the edition. The passages cited in the review are also here marked with double quotation marks.

Oxford Movement — widely referred to as Tractarians, after the series of *Tracts for the Times* through which their ideas were promulgated — sought to counter a perceived modernization, liberalization, and secularization of the Anglican Church, in part by appealing to pre-Reformation theological traditions and liturgical practices. The aims of the Oxford Movement seem to have appealed to Fox, who was associated with the movement during the 1830s and 40s (Herring 2016: 283). Fox had apparently been introduced to Newman by James Mozley, a close confidant of Newman's and a near neighbour of Fox's in Derbyshire. The first recorded meeting of the two men took place in Oxford on 7 March 1834, when they breakfasted together with Mozley (Newman 2004, IV: 201). In the following years, Newman and Fox corresponded regularly, and the former's diaries provide a record of fairly frequent social interaction with Fox and his family, both in Oxford and Derbyshire (Newman 2004, VI: 326–327, 342, 353; VII: 22, 55–56, 170–171, 269, 347, 351–352, 391–392; VIII: 4, 369; IX: 62, 122, 152, 162). In a letter to a fellow Tractarian, dated 19 November 1842, Newman describes Fox as "a very worthy person" who "is fighting our battles nearly single handed in Derbyshire" (Newman 2004, IX: 152).

Despite the apparently close sympathy between the two men, however, Newman seems not to have valued Fox as a contributor to the *British Critic*. In March 1839, Newman wrote to his sister Jemima, wife of James Mozley's brother John, inclosing a letter intended "to sooth[e]" Fox after the publication of his review article was delayed to make space for an article by a third brother, Thomas Mozley (Newman 2004, VII: 55–56). Subsequent articles proposed by Fox — on Anglo-Saxon theology, the 'Theocratic Philosophy of History', and the management of Church graveyards — were all rejected (Newman 2004, VII: 170–171, 352), and when, in 1841, Newman passed the editorship of the *British Critic* to Thomas Mozley, he included Fox's name on a list of contributors who "for one reason or another, must be struck off" (Newman 2004, VIII: 184).

Bosworth's name appears only twice in Newman's published papers. Firstly, in a diary entry for 8 December 1841, Newman records the receipt of a letter from Bosworth "inclosing from Mr Fox"; secondly, the following day, Newman records that he breakfasted with Bosworth in Oxford (Newman 2004, VIII: 369, 371). In view of Bosworth's sudden and brief appearance in Newman's extensive diaries, it seems likely that the enclosed letter from Fox was a letter of introduction, serving to bring into momentary contact two men who were, in different ways, significant influential figures in Fox's life at the time. Fox's name ceases to appear in Newman's correspondence and diaries after December 1842. It is probable that Newman's gravitation towards the Catholic Church at this time brought about the end of his connection with Fox (as it did with others of his acquaintance), although Newman's diaries record that he called on Fox's

widow in Morley in June 1871, some eight months after Fox's death (Newman 2004, XXV: 351–52).

Fox's interest in and association with the Oxford Movement may, in any case, have been motivated by antiquarian sentiment as much as theological fervour. Throughout the late 1840s, Fox published a series of works of doctrinal and historical focus. The first of these, *Monks and Monasteries; being an account of English Monachism*, was published in 1845 as part of the 'Englishman's Library', a series established by a group of High Church clergymen with Tractarian sympathies (Nockles 1994: 286). The book was not only a historical account of monasticism in England, but also a call for the reinstitution of monastic orders within the Anglican Church; it has been credited as a direct inspiration for Benjamin Fearnley Carlyle, a somewhat controversial figure who established an Anglican Benedictine community in Wales in the 1890s (Anson 1973: 26, 124). As in the case of the 'Anglo-Saxon Controversy', Fox's position relative to the controversy caused by Newman and the Oxford Movement is characterized by a curious mixture of revolutionary and reactionary sympathies, which placed him on the margins of two of the significant upheavals in the intellectual life of his day.

5 Further collaboration: Editing King Alfred

The publication of *Monks and Monasteries* was followed in 1848 by two books aimed at a juvenile audience: *A History of Rome for Young Persons* and *The Noble Army of Martyrs*. A favourable review of these two works appeared in the *Derbyshire Mercury* in September the following year. Before discussing the works under consideration, however, the reviewer first notes Fox's reputation as "a profound Anglo-Saxon Scholar" and praises his "very valuable" editions of the *Menologium* and the *Metres*. The reviewer goes on to report that Fox was, at that time, preparing an edition of the Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, attributed to King Alfred the Great, concluding that "[w]e know no one so competent, in every respect, for this important and interesting work".[10]

If Fox was indeed working on the Old English *Ecclesiastical History* at this time, no other evidence of that work survives to my knowledge. He was, however, soon to be involved in a more ambitious project to produce a collected edition of the works attributed to King Alfred. The month after the appearance of the review, October 1849, saw the supposed millennium of Alfred's birth marked by elaborate celebrations, held in Wantage and organized by a group of enthusiasts led by Martin F. Tupper, the popular poet and patriotic admirer of

[10] *The Derby Mercury*, 5 September 1849.

Alfred, and the scholar and controversial clergyman J. A. Giles (see Keynes 1999: 342–344; Phillips 2007: 158–159). As a result of these celebrations, an 'Alfred Committee' was formed with the patriotic aim of producing a 'Jubilee Edition' of the supposed works of "the great king, whom Old England called her Hero and her Darling" ('Alfred Committee' 1852–1858, I: x). The leading spirit in this enterprise was Giles, who immediately set about assembling a group of scholars willing to collaborate upon producing the edition.

The scale of the project envisaged was impressive. The work — dedicated to Queen Victoria — was to comprise four volumes, containing not only editions of all of the Old English texts ascribed to the king, but also translations, notes, illustrations, and introductory essays. According to the prospectus, contributors would include both Kemble and Thorpe, as well as Bosworth, Fox, Cardale, and other notable scholars such as Thomas Wright (1810–1877) and John Earle (1824–1903).[11] Bosworth agreed to contribute an edition and translation of the Old English *Orosius*. Giles proposed that Fox should revise his work on the *Metres* for the edition, and suggested that Cardale should do the same for the text and translation of the prose *Boethius*. Fox's response, in a letter dated 24 November 1849, again indicates his close connections with Cardale:

> Mr Cardale is still living at Leicester, and a letter addressed to him there will readily find him. I feel assured that he will undertake the prose portion of Boethius, & I think it is quite right that it should be offered to him: but if he should decline it, I will, if agreeable, undertake the whole of Boethius (Bromwich 2000: 282).

Cardale, when approached, declined to take an active part in the project, declaring himself "incapable of undertaking any serious literary labour", but he allowed his name to be added to the prospectus, adding: "if the revision & collation of the text of Boethius is undertaken by some more competent person, I shall not be unwilling to render any little assistance in my power in the perusal of the proof sheets" (Bromwich 2000: 283).

In the event, the 'Jubilee Edition' fell far short of Giles' ambitious designs. A lack of subscribers meant that the project was considerably delayed, with many of the heavy-weight contributors pulling out, to be replaced by less well-known scholars (Bromwich 2000: 280). An initial volume was published in 1852. This consisted for the most part of the promised critical essays, but it also included Tupper's own verse translation of (and commentary on) the *Metres of*

[11] *Notes & Queries*, 5 January 1850: 158–159.

Boethius and a translation of the will of King Alfred, with introductory preface, attributed to Giles, but in reality reprinted from Cardale's 1828 reprint of Manning's 1788 edition. The further scope of the project had to be reduced to encompass only translations of the original texts, which appeared in two volumes, printed together, published in 1858. These included Bosworth's translation of *Orosius*, along with Fox's translation of the prose *Boethius*. Fox also contributed a translation of the prose preface of the Old English *Dialogues* ('Alfred Committee' 1852–1858).

Despite the shortcomings of the 'Jubilee Edition', however, both Bosworth and Fox did in fact produce and go on to publish full critical editions of their respective texts. Bosworth's complete edition of the *Orosius* appeared in 1858 — the same year that he was elected to the Rawlinsonian Professorship. By that time, Bosworth had already separately published his translation of the text (1855a) and a partial edition of the Old English (1855b). Fox's complete edition of *Boethius* took longer to come to fruition. Fox was at work on the edition throughout the 1850s, but the volume did not appear until 1864. The edition presents the earlier, all-prose version of the Old English text, together with the translation from the 'Jubilee Edition'. The *Metres* are printed separately at the end of the prose text, followed by notes and a glossary.

In the preface to the edition, Fox acknowledges the "valuable suggestions" he had received from his "highly-esteemed friend Dr. Bosworth" (1864: vii). That Fox did indeed consult with Bosworth on points relating to both the text and the translation is evident from two further fragments of correspondence between the two men. Bosworth's copy of Cardale's 1829 *Boethius*, acquired by J. E. Wülfing in 1890, once contained a carbon copy, on yellow paper, of a note from Bosworth to Fox. The first part of the note proposed a textual emendation for the edition of *Boethius*. The note, dated 22 September 1854, continued:

> My dear friend,
>
> Mr. Thomson, who has been reading the MSS. of Orosius with me, suggested the preceding reading, & I send it for your use — With kindest regards to Mrs Fox & family, I am your's ever sincerely
>
> Jos. Bosworth.
>
> I have printed the A-S text of Orosius, & I am now engaged on the notes to the Text (Wülfing 1897: 99–100).

This carbon testifies at once to the progress of Bosworth's work on his own edition and to his continued friendship and collaboration with Fox. The "Mr.

Thomson" here referred to is Ebenezer Thomson (1783–1861), who provided translations of both the Old English *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Soliloquies* for the 'Jubilee Edition' and who seems to have been working as Bosworth's amanuensis at this time (Bosworth 1858: lxi–ii, lxiv). In his published edition, Fox adopts the proposed reading and, in the accompanying note, credits Thomson with the suggestion (1864: 358).

The second fragment of correspondence is again preserved in Bosworth's copy of Fox's 1835 edition of the *Metres*. This consists, firstly, of a note written by Fox to Bosworth on a single folded sheet (see Appendix § 3). The note is undated and unsigned, and comprises a list of queries arising from Fox's work on the *Boethius*. In closing, Fox asks for Bosworth's advice on these queries and on "any other passages which you may have noticed". The sheet containing the queries is annotated in Bosworth's hand, and accompanied by another carbon copy, again on yellow paper, that records Bosworth's reply, in a note dated 9 May 1856 (see Appendix § 4).

The contents of the note bear witness to the practice of collaborative scholarship in the period. They also, however, raise a few points of interest which are worth expounding. The first such point relates to Fox's preference for replicating the 'Saxon' letter-forms of the original manuscript in his quotations from the Old English text. The practice of reproducing these forms had been a bone of contention between the new philologists and their more antiquarian opponents during the 'Controversy' of the 1830s. Kemble had been particularly scathing of the "bibliomaniacal foppery" behind the practice of printing editions of Old English text in "silly characters" (1834a: 393). Fox had employed this typeface in his editions of the *Menologium* in 1830 and of the *Metres* in 1835, and was to do so again in the 1864 *Boethius*. His continued use of 'Saxon' letter-forms must, by this point, have looked decidedly old-fashioned — further evidence of his prevailing antiquarian tastes (Echard 2008: 56–57). Bosworth had, with some reluctance, abandoned the use of this type with the publication of the first edition of his *Dictionary* (1838: clxxii), and in the carbon copy of his response to Fox's queries he can be seen copying the Old English text in Roman script.

A second point of interest relates to Fox's oblique query about the "best rendering" of the unique Old English word *gimreced*, which testifies to the careful use that Fox was making of Bosworth's dictionary in producing his own glossary. It also highlights Bosworth's own limitations as a lexicographer. In his edition of the *Metres*, Fox had translated this word as "palaces". In a footnote, Fox justifies this translation by saying that "[t]he sense of the passage precludes the rendering of Lye, as a noun is evidently required" (1835: 30). The reference here is to Edward Lye's 1772 *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*, in which the word is misinterpreted as a preterite form of a supposed verb **gimrecan*. Lye

interprets this ghost word to mean 'to care about', offering the definition "curare, solicitus esse de" (1772: s.v. *gimrecan*). Fox, who had clearly correctly interpreted the word as a compound noun meaning literally 'jewelled hall', must have been surprised to find the verb **gimrecan* appearing also in Bosworth's *Dictionary* in 1838, with the definition "*To take care of;* curare" (1838: 159). Clearly, in this instance, as in many others, Bosworth is guilty of simply taking the entry over from Lye, together with the citation, and providing a less-than-entirely-apt English gloss on Lye's Latin definition. In his response to Fox's queries, Bosworth has the grace to acknowledge his sloppiness: "I am astonished", he says, "at my own oversight. You are right & I am absurdly wrong by following Lye". Those familiar with Bosworth's lexicography might not, in fact, be very astonished by this oversight. The mistake had been repeated in Bosworth's *Compendious Anglo-Saxon and English Dictionary*, first published in 1848. In his own working copy of this book (Bodleian Library, shelf-mark 3024 d.16), Bosworth wrote in a correction for the entry, providing an updated reference to Fox's edition of the *Metres*. The mistake was not, however, corrected in any edition of the *Dictionary* published during Bosworth's life-time.

In contrast to this example of Bosworth's rather unsatisfactory scholarship, the evidence of the queries also reveals something of Fox's own careful editorial practices. Fox was clearly at work, in 1856, on a translation of the Old English text, revising his own translation of the *Metres* from the 1835 edition. When the edition appeared in 1864, however, Fox had substituted his own translation of the *Metres* with Martin Tupper's verse translation from the 'Jubilee Edition' (1864: vii). Fox's claim in his note to Bosworth to have "retranslated the whole of Boethius, i.e both Prose & Metres" seems to have been something of an exaggeration. The translation of the prose portions included in both the 'Jubilee Edition' and the 1864 edition is, in fact, a lightly revised version of Cardale's earlier translation (Phillips 2007: 164–168). Fox also used Cardale's text as a basis for his own edition of the Old English prose, saying that Cardale's readings had "been carefully weighed, and, for the most part, followed" (1864: iii). If such admissions seem to downplay the significance and originality of Fox's edition, the circumstances in which Fox undertook the task should be remembered. Cardale died in 1850, shortly after the plans for the 'Jubilee Edition' were put in place, but Fox was still, in many ways, working in his shadow. In his preface, Fox acknowledges the "great assistance" he had received from Cardale (1864: vii), and, leaving aside any personal obligations that Fox might reasonably have felt to his long-time friend, his commission from the 'Alfred Committee' seems to have specifically envisaged him reworking Cardale's existing text, rather than producing an edition from scratch.

It is telling that, in his response to Giles (quoted above), Cardale speaks of a process of "revision & collation" of his published text. This is precisely what Fox appears to have done. It is clear from his queries to Bosworth that Fox was collating Cardale's text against that of Rawlinson. More importantly, the queries also seem to show Fox consulting the original manuscripts. In the preface to the published edition, Fox claims to have collated every word of his text against both surviving manuscripts (1864: iii–iv). These claims have generally been taken to be an exaggeration. Fox cannot be shown definitively to have consulted the original manuscript of the prose text held in the Bodleian Library — although given his evidently frequent presence in Oxford, and his earlier use of the Junius material in producing his edition of the *Metres*, it would be surprising if he had not. Fox makes a particular point, however, of his claim to have consulted the Cotton manuscript of the prosimetric text, the surviving fragments of which had undergone extensive restoration in 1842–1843 (1864: 354–355; on the restoration of the manuscript, see Kiernan 1998 and Irvine 2005). This claim has been disputed and dismissed by subsequent scholars (Assmann 1898: 247/1; Sedgefield 1899: xxii; Kiernan 1998: 24–25). A meticulous reassessment of Fox's editorial work has recently shown, however, that the text and notes of the 1864 edition report readings from the Cotton manuscript which cannot derive from either Rawlinson or Junius, bearing witness to Fox's "careful efforts" at collation and establishing the importance of his edition "as a witness to what could be read at that stage, before possible further deterioration [to the Cotton manuscript] had set in" (Godden & Irvine 2009, I: 218–219; cf. Godden 2005). This reassessment can now be supported by the evidence of the queries to Bosworth, which shows Fox in the process of collating his text with "the Cott. MS" — a point of significance for future critical work on the text of the Old English *Boethius*.[12]

When the edition appeared in 1864, Fox presented a copy of the work to Bosworth, extending his "kind regards" in an inscription on the fly-leaf (Bodleian Library, shelf-mark 2944 e.7). In July of the same year, a highly complimentary

[12] Noting Assmann's assertion that the readings from the Cotton manuscript in Fox's edition derived from a collation undertaken by Cardale (1898: 247/1), Godden & Irvine acknowledge the possibility "that Cardale had […] collated his edition against [the Cotton manuscript], after 1844, and supplied Fox with the material" (2009, I: 219). This cannot be entirely ruled out, but Cardale's letter to Giles renders it highly improbable, as does the fact that Fox was evidently working on the collation of Cardale's text almost six years after the latter's death. The identity of the collator does not, in any case, detract from the significance of the fact of collation.

review of the edition appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in which Fox is praised as "one of our oldest and best Anglo-Saxon scholars". The authorship of this review, which could hardly be doubted in any case, is again confirmed by the fact that discrepancies between a passage quoted in the review and the actual reading of the edition itself match emendations made by Bosworth to the text of his own copy. The edition, Bosworth goes on to say, is "the work of a ripe scholar" that "does equal credit to the talent, the learning, and the taste of Mr. Fox" (1864: 97).

6 Conclusion and epitaph

Samuel Fox died suddenly on 4 September 1870, apparently as the result of a stroke. His obituary, which appeared three days later in the *Derby Mercury*, again testifies to the strength and endurance of Fox's friendship with Bosworth.[13] According to this obituary, Fox had been in "full intellectual vigour" in the days before his death and had only recently returned from a week-long visit to Oxford, where he had stayed with "his old friend Professor Bosworth". The obituary goes on to describe Fox's scholarly achievements in notably fulsome terms:

> His literary acquirements were not only well-known in the university, but manifested to the world by his various publications. […] Though everything relating to the Church had his first care and attention — for he was always a most active and consistent clergyman — yet he is perhaps better known as one of the best and most learned Anglo-Saxon scholars of the day. He was one of the revivers of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature, and was much esteemed for his works by native and foreign scholars.

Modern opinion does not hold Fox in such high regard, and his role in the nineteenth-century revival of Anglo-Saxon studies has been overlooked. His part in that story is now told in detail for the first time. More than this, however, the present article demonstrates the value of attention paid to marginal figures in the narrative of Anglo-Saxon studies, and especially to those working on the periphery of the academic world at a time of increasing disciplinary professionalization. Fox was, in some respects, something of an also-ran — a nearly man whose ambition perhaps outstripped his ability. Tracing his career over the formative period from the 1830s to the 1870s is, however, illuminating.

[13] *The Derby Mercury*, 7 September 1870.

His lasting and productive friendship with Bosworth, together with his connections with other significant Anglo-Saxonists such as Cardale, Thorpe, and Kemble, emphasizes the role of informal interpersonal networks in the formation and development of the discipline. Fox's own seemingly ambivalent position in relation to the methodological controversies of his time — which combined a clear interest in the advances offered by new philological methods with a notably conservative antiquarian impulse — must have mirrored that of many of those with an interest in Anglo-Saxon studies (including Bosworth himself). His story thus provides a more nuanced view of a methodological dispute often presented in starkly black-and-white terms. In Fox's case, his lingering antiquarian tastes must, moreover, be viewed in the context of his connection with the Oxford Movement and his interest in the revival of pre-Reformation institutions and practices. As this example starkly demonstrates, the scholarly interests and motivations of individuals in this period cannot be viewed in isolation from their wider intellectual and cultural concerns. A critical approach that pays due attention to the seemingly ephemeral documentation of the history of the discipline (personal letters, diaries, book reviews, local newspaper reports etc) is needed, therefore, to provide a detailed and comprehensive understanding of how personal factors helped to shape the development of the field.

Whether or not Bosworth was directly responsible for Fox's obituary is uncertain, but he must at least have provided the information upon which it was based. At the time of his death, Fox had been engaged in a study of *The History and Antiquities of the Parish Church of S. Matthew, Morley*, and it was for this reason, according to the obituary, that, during his last visit to Oxford, Fox had "examined, with his usual care, the manuscript stores of the Bodleian Library for facts relating to the history of Morley". After Fox's death, this work was edited for publication by Robert Bigsby, an associate of both Fox and Bosworth (Fox 1872). Bigsby prefaces this volume by summarizing the comments on Fox's scholarship quoted above from the obituary and noting that "[t]he most eminent Saxonist of this country, the Rev. Joseph Bosworth, D.D., [...] speaks of Mr. Fox's contributions to Anglo-Saxon literature in the highest terms of commendation" (Fox 1872: "Note by the Editor" [unpaginated]). It is fitting that Bosworth should provide the epitaph for one of the nineteenth century's forgotten Anglo-Saxon scholars.

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Appendix – Correspondence of Samuel Fox and Joseph Bosworth[14]

§ 1. Letter from Fox to Bosworth, 4 September 1833

Rev[d] Sir,

I trust you will pardon the liberty which I, a personal stranger, am taking in troubling you with the accompanying packet, & will allow the circumstances under which I write to be my apology for so doing.

I published some time since the translation of the Menology, & my principal object in the publication was to obtain the professorship of Anglo Saxon in Oxford, which, you are probably aware, is tenable for five years only. That appointment will be vacant next Lent term, & as I intend to be a candidate for it, I should feel greatly obliged if you would favour me with your opinion of the work, which I could show my friends in Oxford. I really feel ashamed at taking this liberty, but the value of your opinion urges me to do it.

I take this opportunity of thanking you for the great benefit I have derived from your excellent A-S. Grammar, which is deservedly held in high estimation.

Mr. Combe has just published another work for me of a different kind to the former, and I beg your acceptance of a copy of it.

I much regretted being unable some years since to avail myself of your polite offer to take your Church for a few months, as I was anxious to see a little of the Continent. When you next come to England, if convenient to yourself, I shall be most happy to officiate for you a few months.

I shall be in Oxford next term, & if I can render you any assistance when there, I will do it with pleasure.

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[14] The following Appendix provides semi-diplomatic transcriptions of the correspondence contained in Bodleian Library, shelf-mark Vet. A6 d. 1217. No attempt has been made to preserve the lineation of the original documents; other features of the *mis-en-page* (paragraphing, layout, etc) have been reproduced wherever possible. Bosworth's annotations on § 3, written around and partly across the original text, have been reproduced marginally and in italics. Idiosyncrasies and inconsistencies of spelling and punctuation, as well as contractions and abbreviations, have been retained.

I shall be obliged by an answer when convenient, and remain
Rev.[d] Sir,
yours very faithfully
Sam Fox.
Morley, near Derby.
Sept. 4.[th] 1833.

§ 2. Letter from Fox to Bosworth, 14 March 1835

Morley Mar. 14. 1835.
My Dear Sir,

Mr. Combe sent me some copies of the Metres of Boethius today, & I lose no time in forwarding one of these to you, in the hope that you will do me the favour to accept of it.

You will perceive that the arrangement of many of the lines varies considerably from Rawlinson; but the alliteration & sense required the alteration, & I think in most cases, both the alliteration & rythm [*sic*] are improved. I shall feel much obliged by your favouring me with your opinion of the performance; and do not spare, when you think castigation is merited.

I have printed only 100 copies, & I hope, as there are so few, the public will not think 12/. an extravagant price.

I shall advertize once on the cover of the Gent. Mag. and if you would have the kindness to notice the book in that Mag. at your convenience, I should feel greatly obliged to you.

I heard a short time since from Mr. Thorpe; he informed me his Psalter was nearly finished; & his Gospels are in a forward state. He also told me that Kemble is proceeding rapidly with his new edition of Beowulf. I believe this is all that is doing in the Saxon line at present in England.

I fear the Oxford professor will turn out a mere professor; he has occupied his chair 12 months; & appears to have been taking a doze during that time.

I beg my respectful compts to M[rs.] Bosworth and remain,
My Dear Sir,

yours very truly,
Sam Fox.

§ 3. Fox's 'Queries', together with Bosworth's annotations (undated)

Queries.
In Rawlinson's Edit. Page 135. Line 10 from bottom: i.e Ch 39 §13. Mr. Cardale has altered lice into cile. I think it a good suggestion.

In Page 36 of my edition of the Metres, beginning at L 98 I intend to substitute the following

That proud wretch
Rid of his sway,
And bereave
Of his domain,

Again Page 71. Metres.
Metre xx. Line 11. &13. would not unȝeɼepenlica, and ȝeɼepenlica, be a better reading? In the Cott. MS it is unȝeɼepenlica, but in the second word it is as I printed it: I think it would be better to change the latter than the former.

Again Page 98. Metre XXII. L 88.
Instead of

At least with reason, I would put
A scholar with reason,

I have a doubt as to the reading in Page 104 Line 66. *eallra ges*

eallþa ȝeɼceafƭa. *the g. p. governed by waldeð.*
He wealt ealles <u>he governs all</u>

I think *Bt 34, 3: 39, 2 all things governs*

ealle ȝeɼceafƭa would *Eallra wealt Bt 35, 3 Card p. 248, 13 + 18*
~~I think eallra right literally~~

be better, because eallþa is a Gen.Pl. *governs the world of all creatures*
~~As there does not appear to be any need of~~

Page 30. Line 50, what is the best rendering of ȝimþeceð? *ornamented costly*
<u>a gemmed house</u> - ~~costly~~

If you will kindly answer these queries, & give me the benefit of your judgment on any other passages which you may have noticed, I shall feel very much

obliged to you. I have retranslated the whole of Boethius, i.e both Prose & Metres; and avoided Latinism as much as possible.

§ 4. Carbon copy of Bosworth's reply, dated 9 May 1856

In p 135 line 10 from bottom
[cile] is good – especially in brackets.

P.36. Met. line 98 your translation an improvement

P.71 Metres better ungesewenlica & gesewenlica

P.98 l 88 better a Scholar with reason

P.104 l 66 By all means let the text show eallra geseceafta – g. pl. governed by waldeð – literally Governs all creatures of [the] world
Wealt eall<u>es</u> governs all.
Eallra wealt governs all things
See Boet. 35, 3 Card. p 248, 13 & 18.

P. 30. line 50 gim-reced a gemmed house; i.e a gemmed ornamented or costly house.

I am astonished at my own oversight. You are right & I am absurdly wrong by following Lye.

JB. Islip.
May 9th 1856