

PLATE XXXII



Photograph by Elliott & Fry

NORA KERSHAW CHADWICK, C.B.E.

NORA KERSHAW CHADWICK

1891–1972

NORA KERSHAW was born at Great Lever near Bolton, Lancashire, on 28 January 1891, elder daughter of James Kershaw, cotton manufacturer and mill-owner, and his wife Emma Clara Booth. Her father, though over age for military service in 1914, volunteered to go to France with a Y.M.C.A. canteen unit, and was killed in an accident there. Her mother remarried, a Dr. Martin, and they settled at Houghton near St. Ives, within easy distance of Cambridge, whence Nora and her husband were able to visit them frequently. A younger daughter, Mabel, became a Catholic and a Carmelite Sister, eventually at the convent at Waterbeach, where again it was easy for the sisters to keep in contact.¹ Nora died at the Hope Nursing-home in Cambridge on 24 April 1972.

She was educated at Stoneycroft School near Southport, and went up to Cambridge in 1910 to read English at Newnham, and there she became a pupil of her future husband. She took a Class II in part 1 of the old Mediaeval and Modern Languages Tripos (English and Old English) in 1913, and a Class I in part 2 (English Literature) in 1914. She graduated M.A. in 1923. On the completion of her course at Newnham she was appointed Temporary Lecturer in English Language, and Assistant Lecturer in English Literature, at St. Andrews, where she carried a heavy load of teaching throughout the War. It was during this period that she taught herself Russian. After the War, having inherited money, she was able to retire from St. Andrews and go to live as a private individual in Cambridge, to work at Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse studies. In 1922 she married Hector Munro Chadwick, F.B.A., Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge,² with whom she had made a tour in Italy the previous year, chaperoned by their friend Miss Enid Welsford of Newnham. The couple went to live at the old Paper Mills at Barnwell on the Newmarket road beyond the Leper Chapel, where they had a large house and garden barricaded by a high wall.

¹ N.K.C. put her knowledge of the Carmelite order, thus acquired, to effective use in her *Poetry and Prophecy* (Cambridge, 1942, reprinted 1952), pp. 65 ff.

² See his obituary by Mr. J. M. de Navarro in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xxxiii, 307 ff.

Generations of students who cycled out there to lectures or visits will remember the fortress-like character of this wall with its little, inconspicuous postern gate, the plank bridge across the mill-lade to the front door, and the succession of 'fierce' dogs with intimidating Germanic mythological names like Loki, past which it was necessary to make one's way. Later the Chadwicks bought the Old Rectory at Vowchurch in the beautiful Golden Valley in the Marcher country of Herefordshire close to the Black Mountains in Wales, and here they would spend periods in the vacations. Indeed it was one of the numerous ways in which N.K.C. was so good for H.M.C. that she persuaded him to take wide-ranging expeditions by car to visit historical and archaeological sites, which he would never have done on his own ('Archaeologising, ye see, Master, archaeologising', as the famous Chadwick story about their courting tells); and a whole pack of postcards from her, despatched from various parts of the British Isles and Europe, attests in every one how each of these trips 'is doing Hector so much good'. She believed firmly in the importance of actually seeing and understanding the sites or regions she was studying. This enthusiasm continued all her life. She was constantly travelling to Wales and Ireland, and occasionally to Brittany, and at the age of 78 she tried unsuccessfully to persuade a colleague to journey across Russia by Trans-Siberian Railway, an ambition of hers from early days. Soon after the beginning of the Second World War the Chadwicks moved in from Barnwell to Cambridge, to a big house with a charming shady garden alongside the Binn Brook at 1 Adams Road, where Professor Chadwick's sister came to live with them. After his death in 1947, Nora Chadwick continued there, sharing the house with women research students, for some years, until the place became too large for her and she moved to a flat at Causewayside in Sheeps' Green. She remained there till not long before her death.

After her marriage she began the official connection with Newnham which lasted to the end of her life. In 1923-38, and again in 1953-65 she was an Associate of the college; in 1941-6 Associate Fellow;¹ and in 1941-4 Sarah Smithson Research Fellow. On her retirement in 1958 she was elected an Honorary Fellow, an uncommon distinction. She acted as Director of

¹ The Associates of Newnham are a self-electing body of graduates, distinguished in their own fields, who act as 'friends' of the College and nominate Associate Fellows for election to the Governing Body. They serve for a term of years and may be re-elected.

Studies in Anglo-Saxon and Celtic Studies for Newnham, 1950–9, and for Girton, 1951–62. For a time she was responsible for admissions in her subjects at Newnham, Girton, and New Hall, interviewing applicants, and showing a kindly interest and sympathetic understanding of their hesitations. She was University Lecturer in the Early History and Culture of the British Isles from 1950 until she retired, when she was succeeded by Dr. Kathleen Hughes. She was elected to the Fellowship of the British Academy in 1956, and appointed C.B.E. in 1961. Her honorary doctorates were D.Litt. (Wales) 1958, D.Litt. Celt. (Ireland) 1959, and LL.D. (St. Andrews) 1963. She gave the O'Donnell Lecture at Edinburgh University in 1959, in the University of Wales in 1960, and at Oxford in 1961; the Riddell Memorial Lecture at Durham University in 1960; and the British Academy Rhÿs Lecture in 1965. She was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Nora Kershaw Chadwick's first¹ serious publications² dealt with the literature of the Norse and the Anglo-Saxons. *Stories and Ballads of the Far Past* (Cambridge University Press), published in 1921, is a collection of translations from Icelandic and Faroese, with an introduction and notes; and *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (also C.U.P., 1922) was a very useful series of editions and translations, with notes, and short introductions on the manuscript sources. The poems are *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Wife's Complaint*, *The Husband's Message*, *The Ruin*, *The Battle of Brunanburh*; and in Norse, *The Hrafnsmál*, *The Battle of Hafsfjord*, *The Eiríksmál*, *The Darraðarljóð*, *The Sonatorrek*, and *The Battle of the Goths and Huns*. These two books reflect her interest at the time in the early poetry of the Germanic peoples, and her purpose was to make easily accessible to students what were then mostly relatively inaccessible short poems of very great interest. The second book contains much sound work, and, as she says in the Preface, was 'heavily indebted for criticism and help throughout' to Professor Chadwick.

¹ Her very first article was a short one on 'The Art of Anton Chekhov' in *The Englishwoman*, xxxiii (1917), 147–63.

² References, or exact ones, are often not given in the following account of her published work, and there are omissions. This is because a complete bibliography is available in Dr. Isabel Henderson's 'A List of the Published Writings of Hector Munro Chadwick and of his wife Nora Kershaw Chadwick, presented to Nora Kershaw Chadwick on her eightieth birthday' (printed by Will and Sebastian Carter, Cambridge, 1971). This pamphlet contains also the citations for her honorary degrees in the Universities of Wales and St. Andrews, and a drawing of her by Brian Hope-Taylor.

The Chadwicks' interests were soon to extend themselves towards the Celtic field, and the first published manifestation of this was her *An Early Irish Reader* (C.U.P., 1927). This is an edition and translation, with introduction, notes, and glossary, of the Old Irish 'Story of Mac Dathó's Pig'. It was meant, in the Chadwick tradition, not only to serve as an introduction to the Old Irish language for students but also to give them a first-hand acquaintance with one of the most extraordinary and fascinating heroic prose sagas of its literature. I must have been one of the earlier students in the famous Chadwickian 'Section B' (on which see below) who cut his first Celtic teeth on this edition. It received, however, some rather unfavourable reviews, including one celebrated 'stinker', and she did not ever follow this up with other editions of Celtic texts; doubtless wisely.

The Chadwicks' great plan for their collaboration *The Growth of Literature* (three volumes; C.U.P., 1932, 1936, 1940) must already have been in the air. Essentially, this monumental work is an extension of H. M. Chadwick's *The Heroic Age*, being an attempt to arrive at general principles governing the character and growth of various types of literature (not merely heroic) among various peoples at an early stage of civilization, and to show that there is a correlation between the nature of the social and political circumstances of such societies and that of the literature they produce, so that striking general similarities are everywhere to be found. A full account has already been given in H.M.C.'s obituary in these pages,¹ but a further word should be said about N.K.C.'s part in it. In the first place it is likely she did much to persuade H.M.C. to undertake such a task at all;² its boldness of conception and sweep is more typical of her than of him. Then, in Vol. I she appears to have done most of the collection of the Irish material; in Vol. II the Russian sections were her work, and in Vol. III the central Asiatic, Polynesian, and some of the African. As a whole these volumes had a rather mixed reception, and some reviewers expressed reservations and scepticism, notably about the Hebrew parts. However that may be, Vol. I, about which, unlike the other volumes, I have some claim to speak, was to me, as a young research student, one of the most exciting books I had ever read, and I still strongly recommend it to pupils as an illuminating comparative study of early Irish and Welsh

¹ *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, xxxiii, 320 ff.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 320.

literature. With reference to N.K.C.'s contributions to Vols. II and III, the Russian and Polynesian sections were highly praised by authorities on these subjects (some of her conclusions had already appeared in her book *Russian Heroic Poetry*, C.U.P., 1932; reprinted 1950). Her first-hand knowledge of Russian was used with great effect, and the Polynesian chapters (for which she had to rely on translations), which constituted the first extended sketch of Polynesian literature, were welcomed by, for instance, the editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*.¹ The account of African literature was relatively somewhat sketchy, due to the lack of available material, and in this and other respects the intervening years, and the work of scholars such as Bowra and Hatto, have, of course, made a considerable difference. One of the virtues of this colossal enterprise is the way in which a mass of information was collected, much of it by N.K.C., from many little-known and frequently rather inaccessible sources. The whole undertaking naturally had the effect of colouring her approach to literature for a long time. For instance her work on Asiatic shamanism led her to a special study of the connection between poetry, prophecy, trance, and 'inspiration' in early and later literatures and societies, as may be seen for instance in her little book *Poetry and Prophecy* (1942; see above); and sometimes to discover shamans and shamanism where some scholars might have thought they were not there.

But although early literatures in general, including poetic inspiration, continued to attract her for virtually the rest of her life,² her interests were already shifting towards the history of the British Isles in the Dark Ages, and increasingly to that of the Celtic peoples in particular. Her husband had, of course, always been a historian even more than a student of literature, and in his earlier career a philologist, and the synthesis of these subjects constituted the essence of 'Chadwickianism', as described below. So, she was already writing about 'The Celtic Background of Anglo-Saxon England' in 1946 (*Transactions of the Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies*, 1940-6, pp. 13 ff.). This is a sketch chiefly of some aspects of what is known about the intellectual and Christian religious life in late Roman and

¹ March, 1940; pp. 168 ff.

² e.g. 'The Borderland of the Spirit World in Early Literature' (*Trivium*, ii (1967), 17-36); 'Dreams in Early European Literature' (in *Celtic Studies, Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson*, ed. J. Carney and D. Greene, London, 1968).

fifth-century Britain, and it is interesting to note that already she was emphasizing the importance of contemporary Gaul both as a source of information on it and as forming a close parallel to it, almost (in her view) a unity with it. She returned to this theme in a much more thoroughgoing fashion nearly a decade later in her *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (London, 1955), one of her best and most original works. Meanwhile, her publications between these two dates dealt predominantly with Celtic history and literature, though two or three articles were still concerned with Norse, whether with or without Celtic parallels (e.g. 'Norse Ghosts', 1946; 'Thorgerthr Hölgabrúthr and the *trolla thing*', 1950), and remarkably the article on 'Negro Literature' in Cassell's *Encyclopaedia of Literature*, i. 379. Moreover, she found time to publish a book on *The Beginnings of Russian History* (C.U.P., 1946; reprinted 1966).¹ Apart from her 'The Celtic Background' just mentioned, her first real excursion into Celtic history was her edition of her husband's *Early Scotland* (C.U.P., 1949). This is presented in detail in the Introduction as virtually the printing, with the minimum of necessary editorial adaptation, of an unpublished book by H.M.C.; but the careful, and critical, reader will wonder sometimes whether the process did not entail rather more modification and expansion than she herself was consciously aware, and even sometimes whether H.M.C. would have been wholly in agreement with these parts of the book.

With the year 1950 her publications on Celtic history entered into full spate, and continued so until her death. In 1950-3 she wrote on the sources for the legend of St. Ninian; on 'The Celtic West'; on 'The Story of Macbeth' (a continuation of a study published in 1949), and on 'The Lost Literature of Celtic Scotland'. In 1954 there appeared the first of her three collaborative volumes edited by herself, *Studies in Early British History* (C.U.P.; reprinted 1959). The second was *Studies in the Early British Church* (C.U.P., 1958), and the third *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border* (C.U.P., 1963). The intention was to gather a number of scholars more or less closely identified (in one or two cases distinctly 'less') with the Chadwickian school, and persuade them to contribute articles respectively on early Britain between the end of the Roman period and the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms; specifically on the history of the Celtic Church and Latin learning and intellectual

¹ And compare her article 'The Russian Giant Svyatogor and the Norse Útgartha-Loki', in *Folklore*, lxxv in 1964.

life in the Dark Ages; and on the early relations between the Britons and the Anglo-Saxons in the same period. N.K.C.'s own contributions, apart from the Introductions (long ones in the case of the second and third books), were as follows. In the first book, her lengthy article takes up again and elaborates on the theme of 'Intellectual Contacts between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century', which brings together and discusses fruitfully a good deal of disparate material, much of it very interesting and useful. Three chapters, 'The End of Roman Britain', 'Vortigern', and 'The Foundation of the Early British Kingdoms', are from her husband's *Nachlass* (how far 'edited' by N.K.C. is unclear), to which she herself added two Appendices. In *Studies in the Early British Church* she has two long chapters. One, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales' is, in spite of its title, chiefly a valuable critical discussion of the native historical sources for the period, notably the *Annales Cambriae*, in which the influence of H.M.C. seems evident. The other, 'Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church', is a thoughtful, original, and illuminating study of the Welsh school of learning at St. David's, particularly in the time of bishop Sulien and his sons in the late eleventh century, and the *Lives* of St. David and other propaganda arising there. In *Celt and Saxon* she provided no less than four contributions in addition to the Introduction: 'The Conversion of Northumbria', 'The Battle of Chester', 'Bede, St. Colmán, and the Irish Abbey of Mayo', and 'The Celtic Background of Early Anglo-Saxon England'.¹

Returning to the period of the first of the above three volumes, chiefly after her retirement in 1958, her publications over the next six years were all articles in journals and collaborative works, apart from the *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul*. They ranged from 'The Monsters in Beowulf', in the Bruce Dickins festschrift, 1959, and 'Literary Tradition in the Old Norse and Celtic World' (1955), to 'Pictish and Celtic Marriage' (1958), 'The Name Pict' (1958), 'The Welsh Dynasties in the Dark Ages' (1959), and a double return to the story of Mac Dathó's Pig (1958, 1959). But in 1961 she brought out her Riddell Memorial Lecture, delivered at the University of Durham the previous year, *The Age of the Saints in the Early Celtic Church*. Three chapters respectively on the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries ('The Continental and Eastern Background',

¹ Given as the O'Donnell Lecture at Oxford in 1961. The identity with the title of the article published in 1946 (above) appears to be a coincidence.

'The Age of the Saints', and 'The Celtic Church and the Roman Order'), sufficiently indicate their contents. This is a clear and useful summary of her views, and the first chapter is of particular interest for its treatment of the 'background' as defined. A rather unfortunate article 'Bretwalda, Gwledig, Vortigern' in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* the same year was followed by the appearance of her lecture 'The Vikings and the Western World' in 1962, in the *Proceedings of the International Congress of Celtic Studies* held in Dublin, 6-10 July 1959—a subject which was, of course, very close to her interests. This is largely a straightforward summary of the historical situation.

In the remaining years of her life her published work falls into three groups. First some rather slight or popular articles on Celtic history ('St. Columba', pp. 3-17 of *St. Columba: Fourteenth Centenary, 563-1963*, Glasgow, 1963; the article 'Dalriada' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1964; and one or two others). Then, two more thorough works on the history of Brittany, and a little book on the druids. In her British Academy Rhÿs Lecture 'The Colonization of Brittany from Celtic Britain', *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, li, 1965, 235 ff., and in *Early Brittany* (University of Wales, 1969), she extended her Celtic studies to a fresh region of 'the Celtic realms'. Her interest in Brittany reached back indeed a good way, and included at least one visit there, but she had not hitherto published anything considerable on its history. These bear witness to her usual industry and wide reading, but in spite of many interesting and valuable features it is clear that they are not the work of a master of the subject, and the treatment of it is not infrequently somewhat superficial and with too many inaccuracies. As distinct from the lecture, the book, which in the first four of its eight chapters ('Prehistoric Armorica', 'Gaulish Armorica', 'The Roman Conquest', and 'The Barbarian Invasions') deals with subjects more or less outside her real fields of expertise, is in any case by way of being a semi-popular production, aimed at a much less 'professional' audience than the Rhÿs Lecture. *The Druids* (Cardiff, 1966) is a slight work of some 120 pages, partly a collection of the facts and partly speculations about them; notably a theory, to which she obstinately clung, that the druids were not priests. The third group, published between 1963 and 1970, consists of three frankly popularizing works (of which parts of two were written by other scholars),¹ containing some remarkable lapses, and internal evidence, as well as external, suggests that they were

¹ The remarks made above do not apply to these parts, of course.

put together under self-inflicted pressure—a point discussed below. One of them in particular had a great success, and was translated into various foreign languages, including, I believe, Japanese. A last book, *Wales and the Men of the North*, to be published by the University of Wales Press, has been announced but up to the time of writing has not yet appeared.

When we look at Nora Chadwick's *œuvre* as a whole, it is very evident how greatly its nature was dictated by her personality. She was a woman of strong character, of tremendous mental vigour and quite unflagging capacity for hard work, of abounding generosity, of a kind of still patience, of fierce and single-minded enthusiasms, and of passionate devotion to the subjects that interested her. These developed, as we have seen, by and large from Germanic literature to early literatures in general (notably Russian), then in particular to the early literatures and history of the British Isles, and finally to those of the Celtic peoples. It was an aspect of her breadth of mind that she always emphasized the unity of the Celtic world and the necessity for knowing as much as possible about it all—Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, and Gaul. She came to regard herself as a propagandist for Celtic studies (hence in part the popularizing works), and it was the prime hope and object of her later years that a Chair of Celtic might be established in Cambridge University. In fact the notable growth of public interest in Celtic of recent years must owe much to her.

The ability to work hard and concentratedly is seen perhaps above all in *The Growth of Literature*, to which she contributed so much of the labour of gathering material from innumerable obscure sources; but it never deserted her, and even in old age, when she could scarcely keep on her feet, she haunted the University Library, under the kindly care of her niece Dorothy Chadwick. The generosity and enthusiasm manifested themselves not only in this but also in the constant flow of ideas, theories, and speculations. These last were sometimes rather a trial to her friends, since though she would submit typescripts to them for criticism, or consult them personally and listen patiently, the theories which they had doubted or the obvious errors of fact which they thought they had corrected would eventually appear in print rather too often wholly and stubbornly unchanged, particularly in her latter years. I remember once protesting mildly about what I thought an inattention to accuracy and an undue tendency to speculation, and her reply was that she admitted this, but that time would winnow out the bad and

leave more permanently behind anything that was good grain. This was not an attitude with which I had much sympathy (so much harm has been done to Celtic studies by the apparently permanent acceptance of mere chaff as sound wheat), but I did recognise that it was, to her, a completely valid justification. Unfortunately, she was no philologist, especially in the Celtic languages, in which she had had no real training, and this lack was a constant and serious drawback to her work in Celtic history and literature. If her husband had been a man of her own age and had lived as long as she did, their lifelong collaboration would have been perfect, since what she needed was firm criticism and discipline; her tireless energy and mental activity, her abounding spate of ideas, would have complemented and been complemented by his learning and specially by his accuracy, sound judgement, and scholarly scepticism. Where this did indeed happen, in her early works and above all, of course, in *The Growth of Literature*, the combination was very impressive, and her own part in such collaboration of the greatest value. After H.M.C.'s death in 1947 she became rather like a boat adrift for lack of a steersman; but none the less her best later work, published between 1955 and 1958 ('Intellectual Contacts between Britain and Gaul in the Fifth Century', *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul*, 'Early Culture and Learning in North Wales', and 'Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church'), shows her at the height of her powers, with her labour, enthusiasm, and fruitful insights forming their happiest synthesis. In this connection we must remember that she was sixty-seven in 1958, when she retired. The final phase of her writings, between about 1961 when she was seventy and her death in 1972, shows a decline, which would indeed not have been surprising in anyone but becomes more than wholly intelligible when one knows that somewhere in the latter part of this period she must have suffered the first of a series of minor strokes, as her mother and sister apparently did before her, the last repetition of which eventually rendered her unfit to live alone. She struggled pluckily against this, probably realizing what it meant, and refused for a long time to acknowledge that she ought not to remain on her own. This final period was that of the popular works mentioned above, when her friends sometimes wished that she would at last take a well-earned rest; but she was obsessed by the passion to further the subject that she loved, by the knowledge that she still had much to say,

and by the compelling need to say it. It was a case of Keats's

When I have fears that I may cease to be
Before my pen has gleaned my teeming brain . . .

But it was more; she hoped these books would bring in money which, when added to her own fortune and willed to the University, would make possible the realization of her dream of fostering the study of Celtic at Cambridge. In judging her latest writings it is right, then, to remember all this.

One of her aims in life was to propagate and defend the 'Chadwickian' ideal as it was expressed in Section B of the Archaeology and Anthropology Tripos. This ideal is defined in Mr. de Navarro's obituary of H.M.C. as 'not only the study of language and literature but of history and civilisation; by civilisation he meant institutions, religion and archaeology'. Eventually it came to express itself, in N.K.C.'s time, as the investigation of the total range of history and literatures of the British Isles in the period between the Roman and Norman conquests. This might be thought to be a tall order; and although in the early days most of Chadwick's colleagues perhaps agreed that it was reasonable to study both Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse language, literature, and history together, no doubt virtually all would have jibbed at the idea of including contemporary Celtic in this, while the addition of the archaeology of these peoples must have seemed chimerical—and as for Stone Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and provincial Roman archaeology, they very likely thought he had taken leave of his senses. Yet, superficial or not, the Chadwicks' pupils all testify to the intellectual excitement of this course. After the then comparatively narrow range of the Classical Tripos, in which, having specialized in comparative philology, not in 'Literature', I came away wholly ignorant of, for example, Classical manuscripts and palaeography, Section B was a most thrilling and liberating experience. Four new languages and literatures, all belonging to the British Isles, opened up their treasures, together with the history and archaeology of their speakers. As for the rest, the pre-Roman and Roman archaeology of Britain has remained, I am sure, with all 'Chadwickians' as an abiding lifelong interest. I well remember, forty years since, the excitement of cycling the dark and windy miles down the Newmarket Road to the Paper Mills, penetrating the inner fortress, crossing the bridge, negotiating the 'savage' dogs, and listening entranced for an hour while 'Chadders' gave his evening lectures on Early Britain and 'Mrs. Chadders' sat at the epidiascope

projecting pictures of Bronze Age leaf swords or palstaves and Iron Age enamelled horse harness on the screen, silent but radiating an extraordinary sense of powerful restfulness, if one may use such an oxymoron. Indeed, to describe her appearance at this time can only be done in clichés, which—like many others—are none the less true for being clichés; her large, quiet eyes really *were* a cornflower-blue, her piled hair which she wore in Edwardian fashion really *was* the colour of ripe corn. The same excitement extended to the reading of works like *The Growth of Literature*, the excitement of finding likenesses in and connections between subjects where none had been thought of before. The idea was, of course, originally H.M.C.'s, as his *The Heroic Age* had already shown, but its later development must have owed a good deal not only to N.K.C.'s encouragement, but also to her wide range, breadth of interests, enthusiasm, imaginative awareness of *different* types of evidence, and ability to see significant likenesses. She belonged to an older and ampler age than the modern one of specialization; each kind has its virtues and its faults, and it does not become the narrow specialist to condemn the wide synthesist (however irritating he may find him) for his faults without also making allowance for his virtues.

Indeed, one of the most successful of her contributions to learning, perhaps *the* most, was her zeal and success as a teacher. She had the gift, so effective with the young, of a capacity to arouse interest and eagerness. Here her generous heart had full play; her pupils were made to feel that they really mattered, that they really were somebody. In the case of those who were in fact nobody this might have had dangerous results in leading them to think *too* well of themselves, though there seems to be no reason to think it actually did so. Of course, all her geese were swans to her, and this might occasionally lead to some disappointments where in the judgement of others the swans were, after all, only geese (though they themselves were probably well aware that this was so); but it is not wholly disagreeable to be *thought* a swan, and the consequence was that she brought out in everyone the best that was there.¹ Her habit of treating

¹ Pupils of hers are widely scattered in British universities and similar institutions, notably the Lecturer in Celtic at Cambridge. But Scotland seems particularly favoured; here they include not only the heads of the three Scottish university departments of Celtic and one of the Lecturers in Scottish History at Edinburgh University, but also the Director of the School of Scottish Studies (Edinburgh University), the Editor of the Scottish National Dictionary (Edinburgh), and the Keeper of the Country Life section of the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh.

her pupils as equals intellectually as well as otherwise was charming but could be disconcerting; unintentionally it made great demands on them, but the response justified this. The Cambridge Celtic Group which she organized brought distinguished Celtic scholars from outside Cambridge to talk to her pupils, and this too made them feel that they 'belonged' in a common enterprise of learning. In her relations with young scholars her kindness, warmth, interest, support, and encouragement were endless, and so too was her patience (this last quality, which could sometimes express itself as obstinacy, was in general a kind of massive, imperturbable quietness). An aspect of this was the generous way in which she would take her pupils to congresses or summer schools, or on holidays which were exciting voyages of archaeological and historical discovery, to far parts of the British Isles.

Her capacity for rousing affection and loyalty showed itself in the faithful service of the two sisters, Mrs. Steven and Mrs. Plumb, who were her domestic help for about forty years until her death. It was made strikingly manifest moreover at the luncheon party to celebrate the centenary of the birth of H. M. Chadwick, organized by Dr. Glyn Daniel and Eleanor Megaw, at St. John's College on 17 October 1970. Here some forty-five former Chadwick pupils and twenty friends and colleagues gathered to honour them both. The toast to H.M.C. was proposed by Professor Dorothy Whitelock, and that to N.K.C. by Professor Bruce Dickins. The party was indeed in celebration of his centenary, but in effect it naturally developed into an expression of this same universal loyalty and affection in which the company held his widow. She was greatly moved by this, and it must have been to her a happy lightening in the clouds which had already begun to close around her.

KENNETH JACKSON

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