

HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER

1829-1916

THE REV. HENRY FANSHAWE TOZER, who died at Oxford on June 2, 1916, at the ripe age of eighty-seven, exhibited qualities both of mind and character which are not likely to be combined again. He has been said in the columns of *The Times* to have been at the time of his death both the *doyen* of Oxford scholarship, and the last and not least distinguished of the classical tourists. Both natural gifts and education contributed to determine his bent. In the following brief sketch an attempt will be made to give some account of the influences by which he was moulded, of his personal characteristics, and of his literary performances.

He was a scion of an old Devonshire family, and was born at Plymouth on May 18, 1829. His father, Aaron Tozer, who attained the rank of Post-captain in the Navy, was an officer of considerable distinction. In his earlier life he had served in the Mediterranean, in the West Indies, and afterwards in the expedition to Walcheren, and again in the Mediterranean. He had behaved with great gallantry and been twice desperately wounded, on each occasion when boarding a French frigate captured by him and his party. Being disabled from active service he held for a time a shore appointment at Plymouth, but retired finally some years before his death. Tozer's mother was a Lincolnshire lady, a daughter of Henry Hutton, Esq., of Lincoln. He was an only son, but had one sister who died many years before him. Captain Tozer bestowed much care on his son's education. After his retirement he frequently took him on country expeditions in Devon and Cornwall. A botanist himself, he found an apt pupil in his son, who turned this accomplishment to account in his future travels.

Tozer also became something of a draughtsman. Though he never painted in water-colour or oil he was able to make outline drawings sufficiently accurate to supply the material for a finished picture to be executed by more skilful hands. Some of these pictures were done by his sister. Some were the work of his friend Edward Lear, who also painted on his own account many of the scenes familiar to himself as well as to Tozer. A number of these pictures passed into Tozer's

possession, and are now in the University Galleries to which Tozer bequeathed them.

To Tozer's ancestry and his father's training many of his characteristics are doubtless traceable. He had that fearlessness and love of adventure hereditary in many Devonshire families, and strongly developed in his father. He had also that loyalty to duty, precision, and sense of order and neatness which are instilled by the discipline of the Navy. Captain Tozer died in 1853. His memory was always cherished by his son, who by his will distributed between the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and the British Museum the naval trophies won or acquired by his father.

Tozer received his earliest training at Plympton School, and was sent thence to Winchester as a commoner, under the head-mastership of Dr. Moberly. At Winchester he was contemporary with George Ridding, who was one of the most brilliant of the Winchester scholars of that day. He and Ridding were school-friends, but became much more intimate in later years when they were both Fellows of Exeter College. Tozer was not in the first flight amongst his contemporaries at school. He was a conscientious and accurate worker, but neither then nor in his later days as a tutor at Oxford did his composition in Latin and Greek exhibit those brilliant qualities for which Ridding's classical exercises, especially in Greek and Latin verse, were conspicuous. Nor had he the physical strength necessary for attaining the highest excellence in games. He was a manly youth and a fair cricketer, but he was slight in figure, though, as he afterwards proved in foreign travel, he possessed considerable powers of endurance. By his steadiness and character he earned his promotion to be a prefect, which showed the estimation in which he was held by the authorities of the school. On leaving Winchester he matriculated as a commoner at University College, Oxford, in March, 1847. At University he came under the influence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, then a leading tutor of that College. Stanley made a deep impression on Tozer, and stimulated his nascent desire for travel and exploration. He was one of those undergraduates whom Stanley occasionally took with him for a walk; and the intercourse between them continued after Tozer had left his first College. Stanley also may well have been regarded by Tozer as a model in his kindness and attention to the needs of his pupils. After the end of his second year Tozer migrated as a Devon scholar to Exeter College, with a view to a Fellowship in the future. He obtained a Second Class in the School of Literae Humaniores in 1850, having been forced by a somewhat unreasonable College rule to enter for the examination before he was quite ready for it. He was elected to

a Fellowship in 1850 and ordained in 1852, but had no College work until three years later. He thus had time to gain his first experience in foreign travel, which was hereafter to be the chief pleasure of his life. His first travelling companion was the Rev. H. H. Winwood, his friend and companion both at Winchester and at Exeter College, and a first-rate cricketer, who still survives. They made their way through Italy to Sicily, where travelling was still very rough as well as somewhat dangerous. After exploring Sicily they returned to Rome, and proceeded to Greece by way of Malta. Their tour in Greece was most comprehensive. After seeing Athens and the neighbourhood, they thoroughly explored the Peloponnesus. Hence they went to Corfu and Albania, returning along the Gulf of Corinth and touching at the places of interest on either shore. From Athens they then struck north, visiting every historic spot in Boeotia and the south of Thessaly, and finally proceeding by sea to Constantinople. The journal is extant which Tozer kept during this his first expedition to Greece. It is extraordinarily full and accurate. Nothing seems to escape his eye, and everything is recorded in a manner calculated to bring back the whole scene to the writer's mind. From Constantinople Tozer was recalled by the news of his father's fatal illness, and was thus prevented from going on to Syria and Palestine. Mr. Winwood has kindly imparted to the present writer his admiration of Tozer's qualities as a travelling companion. Never for a moment ruffled in temper or put out, always careful of the comfort and convenience of his fellow traveller, and most methodical in his preparation for every contingency that might arise; so exact in his calculation of time that their party came down the hill to Volo, after many weeks' wanderings, to catch the only steamer that would suit them at the moment when she was beginning to get up steam to depart. Mr. Winwood adds a characteristic trait, namely, that in none of Tozer's expeditions would he travel on a Sunday, but insisted on observing it as a day of rest. Among the very few books which formed his travelling library was the *Divina Commedia* of Dante. Thus early he had begun the study which solaced the last years of his life.

On this, his first Eastern tour, Tozer fell in for the first time with Thomas Mosley Crowder, of Wadham College, afterwards Bursar of Corpus Christi, and Colonel of the Oxford Militia, who became his most intimate friend, and the companion of his most arduous travels in after years. Crowder encountered Mr. Winwood and Tozer at Rome after their Sicilian tour, and joined them in their expedition to Greece. He was a man of exceptionally strong physique, a typical

Yorkshireman and a first-rate horseman and pedestrian. Together with J. L. G. Mowat, Fellow of Pembroke College, he walked with few intervals of rest from the Land's End to John O'Groats's house, and also through Germany along the line of the Riesen Mauer and Pfahl Grabe. An account of the latter tour was printed by Mowat for private circulation. Crowder himself did not publish any narratives or journals of his travels, but he kept a most full and accurate account of every expedition which he made either in this country or abroad. These journals, filling more than twenty volumes, are still extant, and are now deposited in the custody of Corpus Christi College. They constitute a guide-book of the highest value to any one who should desire to consult them before travelling over any of the routes traversed by the writer.

In 1855 Tozer became librarian and tutor of Exeter College, resigning the former office after a tenure of three years. In both these capacities he did excellent service. The departments of geography and modern history in the Exeter College library he made, as was to be expected, the most complete of their kind in Oxford. As a College tutor he set before himself the ideals which have been frequently put into practice since the early days of Jowett and Stanley. He impressed his pupils not only by the high standard of his lectures and by his conscientious and self-denying efforts to stimulate their intellectual interest, but by his personal kindness and sympathy, which in many cases followed them through their after life. His lectures on Comparative Philology for the Honour Classical School in the First Public Examination were specially appreciated by his hearers. Notes of these made in October, 1879, have been presented to the Bodleian Library (MS. Add. A. 322) by the Rev. Andrew Clark, of Lincoln College, among a collection of the lecture notes that he took as an undergraduate.

It is not necessary to chronicle every expedition which Tozer made in Greece or Turkey after settling down as a tutor in Oxford. His constitution and the precautions he took enabled him to defy extremes of heat, and almost every year he made excursions in the summer, which few people would have attempted at that season, to Corsica and Spain, as well as to Greece. His works of travel were the fruit of many such expeditions. It is more to the purpose to indicate the range and character of his productiveness. His three chief books of travel were *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey, with notes on the ballads, tales and classical superstitions of modern Greeks*, in two volumes, published in 1869; *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor*, published in 1881; and *The Islands of the Aegean*, with maps, published

in 1890. Previously to his first visit to Greece he had prepared himself, as far as time permitted, by the study of Pausanias and the writings of former travellers, especially of Leake. Before publishing anything on his own account he made himself familiar with the original authorities and the best works in modern languages, on the regions and topics which he desired to treat. He thus brought to his task both a full mind and a trained faculty of observation. The country which he traversed in the Highlands of Turkey in Europe has been largely opened up since his day. Athos and its monasteries have been described by others both before and after him, but for variety of interest, literary grace, and freshness, his *Researches* will long retain the place accorded to them in the estimation of scholars on their first appearance. *The Islands of the Aegean*, though not so comprehensive, has all the qualities of his earliest book. Tozer, as has already been remarked, was a classical tourist, not an explorer of the modern type who brings to light the secrets of the past hidden in the soil. But whenever any visible remains could throw light on early history, as in Samothrace or Delos, he omitted nothing that careful investigation could discover.

His work on Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor takes us with him to the farthest point to which his travels extended. It gives full scope both to his knowledge of geographical science and to his powers of observation and description. His route lay through the greater part of the country which has been the scene of the present war in Asia Minor. Tozer is one of the few writers who have described scenery in such a manner as to enable the reader to realize the appearance of the country described. His account of Trebizond and the district round it is not to be surpassed. The remainder of his publications before he retired from the field of classical authorship exhibit considerable variety. At the invitation of the Clarendon Press he brought out in 1877 an edition of Finlay's *Greece*, with notes, in seven volumes. In 1882 he edited a new edition of Wordsworth's *Greece*. Before editing these works he went carefully through all the more recent literature which could throw light on them. The treatment of Finlay was, for various reasons, a task of special difficulty. Tozer, with his usual self-effacement, was chiefly anxious to do full justice to those whose works he was editing, and the labour he bestowed upon them has secured them a permanent position. He did not make Bishop Wordsworth's personal acquaintance until after the new edition of that writer's book had been published. When they met for the first time, Wordsworth greeted him in the most cordial and even affectionate manner. Tozer had published

lectures on the geography of Greece, and a primer of classical geography at an early date. In 1893 he brought out his *Selections from Strabo*, and in 1897 his *History of Ancient Geography* in the Cambridge Classical Series, a work which may be considered his most valuable contribution to geographical science. A large number of articles in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, those for example on Attica, Euboea, and Mediaeval Greek History, were also from his hand.

Tozer's studies, however, were by no means confined within the limits of geographical exploration and description. His small volume on *The Church and the Eastern Empire* in the 'Epochs of Church History', edited by Mandell Creighton and published in 1888, is a masterpiece of lucid exposition. In many of his articles and slighter productions as well as in the *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, he showed that he was as much interested in the folklore and popular literature of the countries which he explored as in their geography and history. In all his travels he paid special attention to monasteries, churches, and all remains of early Christian art.¹ His labours on Dante, which occupied him in the last years of his activity, will be mentioned below.

He retained his tutorship at Exeter College for thirty-eight years—from 1855 to 1893. He vacated his Fellowship for a time in 1868, when he married Augusta Henrietta, the daughter of Mr. H. D. C. Satow, of Clapton and of Sidmouth, and sister of the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G. With his brother-in-law Tozer maintained a close and intimate friendship until his death. For several years after Tozer's marriage the genial hospitality which he and his wife exercised was one of the chief social pleasures both of his friends and of his pupils. After some time Mrs. Tozer's health broke down, and she was ultimately compelled to spend the greater part of the winter abroad. In 1882, after the passing of the statutes of the second University Commission, Tozer was re-elected Fellow and continued to hold both Fellowship and tutorship until 1893. During almost the whole of this period, with highly characteristic generosity he placed the stipend of his Fellowship at the disposal of

¹ Tozer shortly before his death supplied a list of all his publications, including his articles in encyclopaedias and journals and reviews, to the Rector of Exeter College for his Bibliography of the Fellows and Tutors of Exeter College. Mention of some of the latter will illustrate the extent of their range. They include 'Mediaeval Rhodian Love Poems' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*), 1880; 'The Native Land of Horace' (*Classical Review*), 1888; 'Ancient Spanish Churches', three articles (*Gentleman's Magazine*); 'Corsican Greek Ballads' (*Journal of Philology*); 'Compostella' (*Fraser's Magazine*), with many others.

the College for the payment of scholarships. Indeed his liberality in proportion to his means was always unbounded. Besides the gifts above mentioned, he presented the College with the beautiful wood-work designed by Bodley with which the chapel is at present adorned, and was not less generous to the undergraduate clubs and societies. But his generosity was by no means restricted to his own College. Any one who had any good work to promote knew that in appealing to Tozer he was certain to meet with a liberal response.

When he resigned his Fellowship in 1893 he was elected to an honorary Fellowship, which he held to the time of his death. He had taken short leave of absence from his College duties once or twice before 1893. He was now free to attend Mrs. Tozer in her enforced absences from England, and for several years spent the greater part of the winter at San Remo, where he made many friends. Mrs. Tozer died at Oxford on May 20, 1910. After this he resided with little interruption at his house, No. 18 Norham Gardens, until the end.

In his later years he went abroad, on this occasion alone, for the last time. A visit to Syria and the Holy Land had been long overdue. He had intended to make this expedition in company with Mr. Winwood when he was recalled from Constantinople in 1853. He now saw Jerusalem, the Jordan and the Dead Sea, Palestine, Damascus, and the Lebanon, but did not think it worth while to give his impressions to the public respecting places so frequently visited and described by others. He had reserved the *Divina Commedia* of Dante to be the solace of his declining years, and now set to work upon it. His English commentary on the *Divina Commedia* was published in 1901, and his translation of the poem into English prose in 1904. He was one of the original members of the Oxford Dante Society, and had already read essays before it on various aspects of the *Commedia*. The well-known Dante scholar, Dr. Edward Moore, F.B.A., was the founder of the society, but Tozer had been a student of Dante at an earlier date than Dr. Moore. Indeed he is stated on good authority to have recommended Dr. Moore to take up the critical study of Dante as his speciality. As every reader of Dante knows, the study of that poet not only opens questions literary, historical, and theological, of the deepest interest, but also presents problems which call for minute and somewhat tedious analysis and inquiry. Tozer combined to a remarkable degree the ability to deal with questions of both kinds. He made a close study of the metre of the *Commedia*, and wrote an essay on this subject which was inserted as one of the appendices in Dr. Moore's 'Contributions to

the Textual Criticism of the *Commedia*. He also made a careful analysis of all the special linguistic and grammatical usages distinctive of the poem. In the commentary he paid special attention to the historical allusions. Tozer's edition of the *Commedia* with notes may be regarded as a model of what a short commentary should be. His prose translation of the great poem is eminently praiseworthy, although it hardly reaches that level of inspiration which has been attained in recent years by some of the best translations from Classical poetry into English prose. This kind of inspiration was not Tozer's forte, but as an explanation of the meaning of the original it would not be easy to surpass it. He never ignores a difficulty of interpretation or, as some translators do, evades it by a rendering as ambiguous as the original. His language, though somewhat prosaic, is always clear, straightforward and intelligible.

After the completion of his translation of the *Divina Commedia*, Tozer announced to his friends that he had finally laid down his pen. During the remainder of his life he employed his leisure by turning to his favourite literature, especially the Greek poets, and by dwelling on the memories and incidents of the historic scenes through which he had travelled, such as his night journey in a boat across the Lake of Scutari in Montenegro, or the ceremony at midsummer dawn on Mount Athos, or his approach to the Convent of Meteora to which he was hauled up in a net by the aid of a rope and a pulley. Two of his chief pleasures had been open-air life, and converse with his friends. Until within a few years of his death even inclement weather rarely kept him from dining in his College Hall on Sundays, and enjoying the society of his juniors. For companionship in his declining years he was much indebted to one of his wife's most intimate friends, and to his wife's relatives, who were warmly attached to him. One of these writes: 'His welcome was always delightful to behold. His face in repose was naturally grave; but when he was receiving his friends it lighted up with a radiance such as I have never seen in any one else, and this was accompanied by a slight raising and opening of his arms as a token of his pleasure.'

Long after he had passed his seventieth year he continued to ride on horseback. After he had given up horse exercise he walked through the Park at Oxford, or through the fields bordering the city, a practice he continued until within a few days of his death.

Tozer, as his friend Lord Bryce has termed him in a letter to the present writer, 'was eminently the type, as high a type as has been produced, of the scholar as traveller, and his services in this department are of great and permanent value'. He could not

justly be called an epoch-making writer, for his travels rather mark the close of a period in the history of exploration. But his writings also exhibit that conception of scientific scholarship which has established itself within the last fifty years. He was not one of that band of scholars who set themselves at the beginning of that epoch to persuade the University and the country that a University exists for the advancement of knowledge just as much as for education. He taught by example rather than by precept, but his ideal of learning was the same as theirs. He has his clearly marked place in the long line of Oxford scholars; and he proved to the University and to the world that the aims of the younger men, with whom he warmly sympathized, were in accordance with the best traditions of their predecessors. His literary performance was both varied and extensive. Everything that he produced was of a high quality of its kind. The order and method which he displayed as a traveller marked his literary work as well. He carefully surveyed and mapped out the ground beforehand, and he never began any task which he did not bring to a successful conclusion in the shape in which he had planned it.

His life, notwithstanding its share of domestic sorrow, may be deemed exceptionally happy. He was sufficiently endowed with the gifts of fortune to be quite independent of his earnings. But even if this had not been the case, he would have found it irksome to throw himself into the struggle and competition of the world. It is difficult to imagine any one more completely forgetful of himself, and more ready to place all that he possessed, either of worldly goods or of knowledge and experience, at the service of others. As the friend already quoted remarks of him, 'He was absolutely free from any kind of ambition or self-seeking, finding in learning and poetry and the love of them, and the doing of his duty to others, full satisfaction for all he asked from life. An air of serene contentment enveloped him and was diffused around him.' Many men who were vastly his inferiors in attainment and performance have received more generous recognition. But if a mind at peace, and the love and respect of friends are among the chief blessings of life, he was not without his reward.

W. W. JACKSON.