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STEPHEN GASELEE

SIR STEPHEN GASELEE, K.C.M.G.

1882-1943

IN the *Dictionary of National Biography* the name of Stephen Gaselee heads two entries. The first is that of the Judge, knighted in 1825, whose most famous case, that of *Bardell v. Pickwick*, over which he presided in the thin disguise of Mr. Justice Stareleigh, has done disservice to his memory. He was the son of an earlier Stephen who had been a well-known surgeon in Plymouth, and it was for that constituency that his elder son, a Serjeant-at-law and the second Stephen of the *D.N.B.*, sat as M.P. in the sixties of the last century. His younger son, Binsteed Gaselee, also a barrister, was the father of Henry Gaselee, and Henry of the Stephen who is the subject of this memoir.

Henry Gaselee, born in 1842, was in College at Eton and in due course went up to King's College, Cambridge. His name appears half-way down the list of Wranglers in the Mathematical Tripos of 1864, but, though he had been elected to a Fellowship in the previous year, he had decided to follow the family profession, entered at Lincoln's Inn immediately after he had taken his degree, and, on being called, practised as an Equity draughtsman and conveyancer, retaining his Fellowship until 1882, a year after his marriage with Alice Esther, daughter of the Rev. George Frost. Frost belonged to a gifted family. His elder cousin, a Smith's Prizeman and Chancellor's Medallist, and his younger brother, who had been placed fourth in the Classical Tripos of 1848 immediately below J. E. B. Mayor, were both Fellows of St. John's College, and George had graduated as a Wrangler on the same Foundation. He was second master of Kensington Grammar School and a successful army coach, and he was said to have studied thirty languages. Some of this versatility he would seem to have transmitted to the grandson who was born in Brunswick Gardens on 9 November 1882.

Stephen Gaselee, after a short experience at another preparatory school, went to Temple Grove at East Sheen and thence in 1896 followed his father to Eton, having been placed second in the Election to College. His tutor at Eton was at first Charles Lowry, and, on Lowry's departure for Tonbridge in 1900, C. A. Alington, afterwards Headmaster and now Dean of Durham. His school career does not call for much comment. He rowed, played in the College Wall eleven ('not a bad player,

being full of low cunning, but not really strong enough', says an Oppidan opponent), edited the *Eton College Chronicle*, and won prizes for Latin verse and also for chemistry. He was as a boy a good deal interested in science and he retained in later years a platinum crucible which he had acquired for private experiments, and sufficient knowledge of chemistry to analyse in an emergency the substance supplied for that purpose to the candidates in a University examination in which he was invigilating. The Classics, however, called him more insistently and in due course he won the Newcastle Medal and was elected to a scholarship at King's. His tutor records that Gaselee changed little in after life, and some traces of his future tenets and interests are perhaps already discernible in his school-days. He is remembered to have defended the Jacobite cause with passion in debate, to have written Latin Galliambic verses, and to have read a paper to a school society on the *De contemptu mundi* of Bernard of Morval.

Gaselee went up to King's in 1901 and for the next four years enjoyed to the full the amenities of undergraduate life. He was, for example, on the Committee of the Pitt Club and a regular attendant at weekly meetings of the Decemviri, a select debating society which drew its members mostly from King's and Trinity. In King's, presumably after reading Athenaeus, he founded a club named the Deipnosophists whose members attired themselves in mauve and purple jackets and supped together not frugally on Sunday evenings. The College awarded him one of two Glynn Prizes for 'such undergraduates in their second year as have been most distinguished for learning and regularity of conduct.' 'Learned' Gaselee certainly was; and a contemporary speaks of his 'regularity and outward reverence' in Chapel. Otherwise he was 'regular' perhaps chiefly in the sense that he was little out at night. But that was at least in part because he usually played bridge within the College walls, and if he was, in the words of another contemporary, 'incomparably the most prominent undergraduate of his year', his prominence depended more on his social activities than on scholastic triumphs, for his academic record was not particularly distinguished. He was awarded no University scholarship, won no University prize (and perhaps competed for none), obtained a moderate First Class in Part 1 of the Classical Tripos in 1904, and a Second Class in Part 2 a year later. Since neither at that time nor thereafter were his unusual abilities in doubt it may be inquired why they are not discernible here. Probably he devoted more time

than was prudent to amusing himself, but a more certain cause is that he was developing scholarly tastes of his own and pursuing them at the expense of the ordinary subjects of undergraduate study.

In the case of a man whose interests and activities are as numerous and varied as Gaselee's presently proved to be a strictly chronological account of his work is likely to be confusing, and it will conduce to clearness if, here and elsewhere in this memoir, as each leading element in the complicated pattern comes clearly into view, it is followed through to the end. This, therefore, will be the place to speak of him as a bibliophil and bibliographer, for it was in early Cambridge days that his interest in Early Printed Books first became apparent, and then that he laid the foundations of his own magnificent collection, for he had both the means and the courage to acquire them at prices which, ridiculous as they now seem, were considerable for an undergraduate.¹ He had worked at the University collection, learning much from the Librarian, F. J. H. Jenkinson, and as early as 1905 he had printed a hand-list of the McClean collection of Incunabula in the Fitzwilliam Museum.² It was an interest he maintained throughout his life, extending it presently to rare books of the sixteenth century; and in 1920, when he issued a list of 300 such books in his possession,³ he already owned more than 200 printed before 1500. At various times he worked a good deal at the Incunabula in Cambridge College Libraries, publishing a hand-list of those at Corpus;⁴ his contributions to *The Library*, frequent from 1921 onwards, are much concerned with Early Printed Books,⁵ and when it became his turn to present a book to fellow-members of the Roxburghe Club he chose, and reproduced from the unique copy in the University

¹ 'I estimate that incunabula cost just about ten times what I used to pay for them when I began to collect, twenty-five years ago: the book for which I used to pay thirty shillings is now priced at fifteen pounds' (*Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1929, p. 303).

² *List of the Fifteenth-century books bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by F. McClean, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S.*, by S. Gaselee, B.A., Scholar of King's College. Cambridge, at the University Press.

³ *A List of the Early Printed Books in the possession of Stephen Gaselee*. Cambridge at the University Press.

⁴ *The Early Printed Books in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1921. A list of those in the Magdalene College Library appeared in the *College Magazine*, 1909, p. 48 (cf. 1910, p. 18). Some other work is recorded in *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1912-13, p. 190.

⁵ Cf. also *Studi Medievali*, 1929, p. 173; 1932, p. 101.

Library, an enigma of Incunabulists—the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei of undetermined date, printed, probably in the Low Countries, in the types assigned to Lourens Coster by those who believe him to have been the inventor of printing.¹

Four years earlier, in 1934, Gaselee had presented to the University Library his own collection of Early Printed Books which had been growing steadily and now comprised more than 300 volumes, some unique and very many from rare presses. It was the largest gift of the kind ever received by the University, and its importance was much enhanced by the fact that Gaselee's choice of acquisitions had for some time been guided by consideration of the gaps in the University collection. In 1940 he reunited to them his collection of early sixteenth-century books which, if of less pecuniary value, by that time almost matched the first both in numbers and rarity.² It was in view of these two splendid gifts that his name was in due course added to the University Roll of Benefactors, but it should be recorded that both before and after them he was a constant donor of books both to the University Library and to the libraries of the Classical Faculty and of his own College.³

In the summer of 1905 Gaselee left Cambridge, and, though occasionally seen there, was out of residence for two years. On the recommendation of A. C. Benson he had accepted the post of tutor to Prince Leopold of Battenberg, in whose company he visited countries and made friendships which were to have an influence on his future life. With Prince Leopold he went to Coburg where he became intimate with the Prince's aunt, the Duchess of Coburg, and her daughters, Beatrice, afterwards the Infanta Beatrice of Bourbon-Orleans, and Marie, afterwards Queen of Rumania, who was presently to make him her literary executor; he went also to Madrid for the marriage of the Prince's sister Ena to the King of Spain, to Italy, Egypt, and

¹ *The 'Costerian' Doctrinale of Alexander de Villa Dei reproduced in collotype facsimile with introduction by Stephen Gaselee.* Cambridge, Printed for presentation to the Members of the Roxburghe Club, 1938.

² Lists of the books received by the University under these benefactions will be found in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, 1935-6, p. 363; 1941-2, p. 446: a brief note on the first by Gaselee himself in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 227. See also *C. U. Reporter*, 1943-4, p. 393.

³ After Gaselee's death his Coptic and Egyptological books were, in accordance with his wishes, presented by his wife to Christ's College, and his Petronian collection by anonymous donors to the University Library. Excluding pamphlets and offprints the first collection comprised more than 300, the second more than 200, volumes.

Madeira. This experience of foreign courts and countries was a valuable preparation for the diplomatic duties which the future held in store, and it was in these years that he was first attracted to the Iberian peoples and in particular to Madeira and the Portuguese. At a later date he and his wife broke their regular habit of spending part of his annual leave in Madeira only on two occasions, once for a visit to the Queen of Rumania, and once, when the Queen was visiting Cyprus, to stay with the Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, a friend from private-school days.

Nobody who knew Gaselee in the first decade of the century would have expected his travels to lack incident, nor did they. At the wedding of King Alfonso in 1906 an anarchist's bomb killed a score of persons in and about the cortège returning from the ceremony. Three years later Gaselee had been visiting Queen Marie in Bucharest, and after attending the midnight service on Easter Eve in the Metropolitan Church ('where I stood for more hours than I now like to count in evening-dress and white kid gloves, holding in my hand a yellowish candle') took the train for Constantinople armed with an Iradé from the Sultan giving him leave to examine the Greek manuscripts in the Old Seraglio. He arrived on the eve of a mutiny, viewed the sights of Stamboul and listed the manuscripts to the accompaniment of rioting and rifle-fire, and saw the Minister of Justice, Nazim Pasha, murdered on the steps of the house of Deputies and other people less purposefully killed and wounded in the streets.¹ Unruffled composure was at all times characteristic of him, and there is no reason to suppose that these experiences disturbed it.

In the summer of 1907 Gaselee returned to Cambridge, and, settling down in a comfortable Victorian house once occupied by his grandfather's cousin, Percival Frost, and now intermittently by his parents, prepared himself to submit a Fellowship dissertation in December and to edit the *Cambridge Review* during the following academic year. The managing committee of that usually sedate journal can hardly have foreseen the consequences of inviting so staunch a conservative to take charge of it, but in the event Gaselee's opinions on Church and State, firmly held and expressed more provocatively than was his habit in later years, fluttered the most tranquil of academic dove-cotes; storm succeeded storm, and when his term of office came to an end in the following June, the sighs of relief from some senior members of the University were plainly audible. Gaselee's own relief was

¹ Gaselee described these events in *The Greek Manuscripts in the Old Seraglio at Constantinople* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1916).

voiced with more humour in an entertaining copy of Goliardic verses signed W. Mapes and entitled *Goliard de Miseriis Editorum*.¹

His Fellowship dissertation dealt with Petronius. He had been busy with this author for six years, and though he had only left himself as many months to write up his results he produced a substantial piece of work which comprised an interleaved text with commentary, and a long introduction dealing with the personality of the writer, the place of his book in Classical literature, its literary history, the manuscripts, and the printed editions. The election took place in March 1908, but, though Gaselee's dissertation was favourably spoken of by the referee, the two Fellowships available fell to a philosopher and a mathematician. It is the unenviable task of Fellowship-electors to construct an order of merit among candidates submitting work in widely dissimilar fields, and we need not assume that on this occasion their estimate of the evidence before them was faulty, but their decision was received with regret by some of their colleagues and with consternation by at least one College servant, and it was a disappointment both to Gaselee and to his parents who had naturally hoped that he would follow his father one step further into a King's Fellowship. The risk that his failure to do so would debar him from academic life was averted two months later when he accepted the Pepysian Librarianship at Magdalene College. It was a prelude to the Fellowship to which he was elected in March 1909, but already his future in Cambridge seemed assured. In the autumn of 1908 he moved into Magdalene, living for a term or two on the staircase next the Chapel but presently sharing with a Siamese cat a large set of rooms on the ground floor of the Pepys Building which had once been Arthur Benson's. The study, in which a fire burned throughout the year, looked out on the Fellows' Garden, gay with apple and pear blossom in the spring, and there were rosebeds outside the windows, but these, by Gaselee's direction, had been placed at a sufficient distance to preclude any risk of the scent entering the room, and it was a fragrance only of tobacco which greeted the visitor. He would find their tenant seemingly unoccupied, or at least ready to lay aside his book or pen at once, for Gaselee throughout his life combined with a very retentive memory and a capacity for reading very rapidly a remarkable power of getting things done without appearing to be busy; and where another, after working into the small hours, might choose a novel or other light literature to read himself to sleep,

¹ *Cambridge Review*, 1907-8, p. 445.

he would take to bed some work of formidable austerity—a Gothic grammar, perhaps, or a Greek text of Gregory of Nazianzus. Fortified by a cigar and a somewhat garish blazer of undergraduate date he would resume the volume in the morning before he got up and not only read but digest it. Much that to most people would have seemed work served him for recreation, and to that fact his remarkable output is partly due.

Gaselee's first business at Magdalene was to familiarize himself with the contents of the Pepys Library, but he was soon fully equipped to answer inquiries and show the library to visitors, and he could devote much time to other matters, among them to University politics in which he took considerable interest and played more part than was usual for so young a Don. These activities hardly require detailed mention here, though it may be recorded that in 1913 he discharged the duties of Proctor with a courtesy and urbanity which readily reconciled most of his victims to the loss of six shillings and eightpence. He also played the Royal and Ancient game of Tennis—perhaps the only thing he ever did both very badly and with enjoyment.

Of his scholarly work during this period of his life it will be convenient to mention first his interest in the early Christian churches of Africa. It was a field naturally inviting to a student both of the more recondite tracts of the Classical languages and of ecclesiology. Gaselee's interest in the Copts had been aroused by his visit to Egypt with Prince Leopold, and for some years he probably devoted more time to Coptic and Ethiopic than to Greek and Latin. He catalogued the Coptic manuscripts in the University Library, from 1911 onwards he lectured for the Board of Oriental Studies on the Bohairic and Sa'idic dialects of Coptic, and in 1912 he embarked on a series of tracts entitled *Parerga Coptica* in which unpublished Coptic texts were edited with a Latin translation and commentary. A second and third part were issued under one cover in 1914,¹ and at this period he contributed a number of articles and reviews to the *Journal of Theological Studies* and one to the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* for which, in the first three years of its existence (1914-16), he compiled also a substantial *Bibliography of Christian Egypt*. He wrote also a paper of some length on the native literature of Christian Egypt.² After his departure from Cambridge in 1916, though his interest in the study was maintained, his contributions

¹ *Parerga Coptica*. I. *De xxiv Senioribus Apocalypticis et nominibus eorum*. II. *De Abraha et Melchisedec*. III. *Hymnus de Simuthio*. Cantabrigiae, Typis Academicis.

² *Trans. Royal Society of Literature*, 1915, p. 21.

to it were few. An attractive volume containing nine Christian legends published by him in 1918¹ includes, besides Greek and Latin stories, narratives from Coptic, Nubian, and Ethiopic sources, and he supplied, as an appendix to Mr G. H. Box's translation of the *Testament of Abraham* from the Greek, a version of the Coptic *Testaments of Isaac and Jacob*;² he continued to write occasional reviews of books on the subject, and until the deciphering of photographs began to try his eyes, contributed slips to the Coptic dictionary which Mr. W. E. Crum had in hand.

At Magdalene his Classical teaching was confined to a little informal College instruction, and to a course of lectures on elementary prosody and metre, delivered in 1914 and again in the following year. In spite, however, of other occupations he continued to work at Petronius. As early as 1903 he had printed for private circulation a short bibliography of the author,³ and, as has been said, his Fellowship dissertation included a bibliographical section. This was now expanded into a long paper and a hand-list which were presented to the Bibliographical Society in 1909.⁴ He supplied a preface and a Latin text to face a reprint of W. Burnaby's translation which appeared in the following year,⁵ and in 1915 published at his own expense a collotype facsimile of the only manuscript authority for a large part of the *Cena Trimalchionis*—a portion of the Codex Traguriensis now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁶ This volume contained an annotated transcript of the facsimile, a preface, two appendixes, and, on a spare half-page, a defence of six emendations which he had printed (with a good many more) in his text of 1910. Gaselee's Fellowship dissertation had been entitled 'Some Materials for an Edition of Petronius', and he had long had in view a full-dress edition. This was, however, a long-term undertaking demanding concentrated study and periods of uninterrupted leisure which the future was to deny

¹ *Stories from the Christian East*. Sidgwick and Jackson.

² *Translations of Early Documents*. Series 2. S.P.C.K. 1927.

³ *A Short Bibliography of Petronius*. Gaselee's own *desiderata* are marked with an asterisk and the list was sent to booksellers—a remarkable example of method in an undergraduate collector. ⁴ *Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1908–9, p. 141.

⁵ *Petronius: a revised Latin text of the Satyricon, with the earliest English translation (1694): now first reprinted, with an introduction, together with one hundred illustrations by Norman Lindsay*. London. Privately printed by Ralph Straus.

⁶ *A Collotype Reproduction of that portion of Cod. Paris. 7989 commonly called the Codex Traguriensis which contains the Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius. Together with four poems ascribed to Petronius in Cod. Leid. Voss. 111*. Cambridge, at the University Press.

him. After his departure from Cambridge he continued to collect Petroniana and occasionally reviewed work on the subject, but it is in these two volumes that the student must seek almost all that he contributed to the elucidation of his favourite classical author.¹

To the war-years 1914-18 belong, in addition to items already mentioned, three volumes which he contributed to the Loeb Classical Library, though the first was no doubt begun earlier. All are connected with the ancient novel and may therefore be regarded as a natural outcome of his studies in Petronius. The first (1915) is a reprint of William Adlington's Apuleius of 1566 with very skilful adjustments of the English where Adlington had made mistakes. It was followed a year later by a version of Parthenius, the so-called 'Alexandrian Erotic Fragment', and the fragments of the Ninus romance. These were appended to a seventeenth-century version of the *Daphnis and Chloe* of 'Longus' edited by another scholar, and the volume concludes with an essay of a dozen pages by Gaselee on the Greek novel. The third Loeb volume, which appeared in 1917, is the Greek romance of Achilles Tatius entitled *The Loves of Clitophon and Leucippe*. The Greek and Latin texts which face the translations are unpretentious and make no use of original sources; on the other hand they are no mere reprints from a standard edition. The difficulties are faced, and choice is made among the variants and emendations with steady good sense; and in the not numerous places where a novelty is suggested it is usually attractive. The translation, where it is Gaselee's own, keeps reasonably close to the original and yet reads easily without it—in other words it is admirably adapted to the purpose of the series in which it appears.

The first and second of these three volumes reprinted early versions of Apuleius and 'Longus', and Gaselee had acquired in 1916 the only copy then known of William Burton's translation of Achilles Tatius (published in 1597). His own version may by then have been too far advanced to substitute the earlier in the Loeb volume, but in 1923 he collaborated with Mr. H. F. B. Brett-Smith in printing it separately.² His interest in early English translators has already appeared in the Petronius of 1910

¹ His emendations are now accessible in the *Classical Quarterly*, 1944, p. 76.

² Oxford, Basil Blackwell. The copy acquired in 1916 was defective but while the reprint was in the press he acquired a second and supplied the deficiencies in an appendix. He subsequently gave both copies to the Cambridge University Library.

with Burnaby's translation, and in 1922 he had contributed a brief preface to *Six Idylls* of Theocritus by an anonymous translator of 1588.¹ In 1924, again in collaboration with Mr. Brett-Smith, he edited from a manuscript in the Pepys Library Caxton's translation of Books x–xv of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*;² and in the following year he published in the Tudor Translation series John Frampton's *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde*,³ a translation of 1577 from the Spanish of Nicolas Monardes. To this he added a substantial preface.

The foregoing survey of Gaselee's literary work from 1908 to 1925 has overstepped two dates of cardinal importance in his life. In 1916, when the normal activities of the University were practically at a standstill, in search like most of his contemporaries of war-work, he had offered his services to the Foreign Office, and had gone to London to act as liaison officer between that Department and the Ministry of Information; in the following year he married. The first step can have caused no surprise among his friends; the second probably surprised most of them, for he had seemed both by habit and temperament a confirmed bachelor. But any doubts they may have felt were short-lived. His wife, May Evelyn Hulme, who was the daughter of E. Wyndham Hulme, at that time librarian of the Patent Office, had been at Newnham and had taken a distinguished place in the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos; it will suffice to say here that since she already shared many of her husband's tastes, and soon shared also his old friendships, marriage, much as it widened and enriched his life, brought into it neither sudden upheaval nor marked change of tenor. Of their three daughters the eldest was born in 1919, the youngest in 1934. The name of the second appeared in the First Class of Part 2 of the Classical Tripos three days too late for her father to receive news which would have given him the keenest pleasure.

At the end of the war Gaselee's services at the Foreign Office were rewarded by a C.B.E. and he made preparations to return to Cambridge. They were necessarily elaborate for he had left it as a bachelor, but a suitable house was found and furnished, and in the Michaelmas term of 1919 he was back in residence, lecturing on Coptic and helping to set on their feet again various undergraduate clubs and societies whose activities had been suspended during the war. It was a very brief interlude.

¹ Reprinted by T. Balston with woodcuts by Vivien Gribble, Duckworth & Co.

² Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

³ Constable & Co.

Gaselee's services at the Foreign Office had been highly valued. 'He quickly made for himself', writes Sir Neville Bland, 'an outstanding position, and won not only the admiration, but the affection of all, both great and small, who came into contact with him. With his vast experience, both as a scholar with an infinite knowledge of the most recondite subjects and as a man of the world, it was not surprising that his departure in 1919 was viewed with universal regret, or that the Foreign Office should have seized the first opportunity to persuade him to return to them.' The opportunity arose almost immediately by the resignation of the then Librarian whose place Gaselee was asked to take. The invitation, though complimentary, was in many ways unwelcome, but after much hesitation he felt it his duty to accept, and on 1 January 1920 he was formally appointed Librarian and Keeper of the Papers.

When Gaselee adopted the Civil Service as a profession he must finally have laid aside an idea which had been in his mind, though perhaps intermittently, from undergraduate days—that of taking Holy Orders. The project itself does not call for discussion here, but it would be misleading to pass over in silence the strong and serious religious bent in Gaselee's character. He made no secret of his beliefs, but he never paraded them, and it is likely that many who met him about his daily work in London would have learnt with surprise that he felt himself 'absolutely bound to be present at the whole of the Mass or Divine Liturgy every Sunday', or that when duty kept him at the Foreign Office on Sunday mornings he would slip away at 12.15 to a Low Mass at St. Mary's, Graham Street—a church of which he was later a trustee.¹ He was an Anglo-Catholic, desiring on the one hand to see Anglican ceremonial purged of mistaken borrowings from modern Roman practice and restored to pristine purity,² and on the other hoping that the English Church might some day take the same position as those eastern bodies commonly called Uniat whose rites are akin to those of the Orthodox Church but who are yet in communion with Rome—a union implying unity without uniformity.³ Behind some of his scholarly work and in some of

¹ In 1919 he printed and circulated to the College Deans and Parish clergy of Cambridge a plea that more facilities should be provided for those who felt themselves under the same obligation.

² He was one of the three compilers of *A Directory of Ceremonial* (Alcuin Club Tracts, xiii, xix), Mowbray & Co., 1921, Oxford University Press, 1930.

³ These views are expounded by him in *The Uniates and their Rites* (Alcuin Club Tracts, xvi), Mowbray & Co., 1924. They were perhaps first suggested

his other activities may be recognized the churchman as well as the antiquary or the medievalist.

He laid aside also scholarship as a profession, but it was plain from the outset that it was still to be a leading interest in his life and that he had no intention of severing his connexion with Cambridge. He became a non-stipendiary Fellow of Magdalene, retained his membership of University clubs and of a Cambridge shooting-syndicate (for shooting was his favourite recreation), kept a lodging in the town, and visited it at most week-ends during the year, often bringing with him distinguished visitors from the diplomatic world who, after being shown round the University, would meet the Fellows of Magdalene in Hall and other Cambridge friends at Sunday lunch-parties. He was regular in his attendance at College meetings, and the Master of Magdalene has testified to his numerous services to his own College.¹ They were not confined to it, for the contact thus established and maintained between the University and the Foreign Office was of high value to the University. The Council of the Senate in doubt about the entertainment of eminent foreign visitors, a College in some difficulty over an alien undergraduate, a library transmitting valuable books abroad, an individual scholar seeking facilities on the Continent, turned naturally to Gaselee, whose ready help in such matters was extended also to other Universities and learned bodies. These regular visits to Cambridge were also a valuable refreshment for Gaselee himself who usually found time to do a little scholarly work in one library or another, visited old friends, and made new ones both among Dons and among the younger members of his own and other Colleges. And to undergraduates of many generations who did not know him personally he was a familiar figure of the Cambridge streets.

He was a figure to catch the eye anywhere—tall, somewhat stooping and heavy-footed, with pleasantly rough-hewn features, fresh complexion, and hair which in his childhood must have been called golden—and the particularity of his dress would have drawn the attention to figures otherwise less noticeable. Its most constant elements were scarlet socks and scarlet or Old Etonian bow tie. In Cambridge he wore on shooting-days tweeds, gaiters, and a deer-stalker which lent reality to the drawings of Leech and Tenniel; at other times most commonly a yellowish tweed tail-coat, and, if in academic dress, a top-hat with his gown according to the ancient but long-abandoned

by a visit paid in company with the Duchess of Coburg to the Uniat monastery of Grottaferrata in 1907.

¹ *Cambridge Review*, 1943-4, p. 25.

habit of non-resident M.A.'s. Top-hats in varying shades he wore by preference and with comfort. He claimed to have travelled from London to Madrid without removing one, and in London abandoned them for brown or grey bowlers only when extreme heat called out a cream or white cotton suit. At other times a festive note in trousers or spats tempered the sobriety of an abnormally ample morning coat. These costumes, which sat easily on him and were in happy accord with the natural courtesy and dignity of his manner, evoked an age more spacious than that in which he lived; and many Londoners who met him in Whitehall, or saw him in early days driving to the Foreign Office in his parents' victoria, must have remembered their encounter with an Unknown whose bearing and dress alike distinguished him from the crowd.

Of his work at the Foreign Office Sir Neville Bland writes as follows:

It is no reflection on his predecessors to say that Gaselee revolutionised his office, partly through his personal attainments, and partly by his conception of the duties attaching to it. As to the former, his colleagues in the Service were quick to appreciate his exceptional acquaintance with all manner of abstruse questions and his advice was sought, and the treasure-house of his learning resorted to, on many matters which would not normally have fallen within the scope of a librarian pure and simple. His quickness of thought, his shrewd judgment, and his ever-ready willingness to help will never be forgotten by those who had occasion to seek his assistance.

As Librarian, as opposed to a walking encyclopaedia, his contribution to the Service was even more valuable. He set to work to improve and enlarge the Foreign Office Library, with such success that he increased it from insignificance to a possession of some 100,000 books. No publication which might be of use to students of foreign affairs ever passed him by, in whatever language it might be written, and, not content with that, he would circulate in the Foreign Office once a month, in his own handwriting, a list of the new books which he had acquired, with admirable summaries and criticisms following the title of each, thus enabling his colleagues to keep *au courant* with what was being published in a way which would otherwise have been impossible. Nor, in his zeal for the Foreign Office, did he forget the diplomatic posts abroad, from whom requests for books were always met by him with sympathy, and, so far as finance permitted, with generosity.

Behind these more generally beneficial activities lay the humdrum routine work which has always fallen to the lot of the Foreign Office Library. The Librarian is the custodian of all correspondence, confidential papers, maps, and treaties. An important task of his staff is the preparation of 'blue books' and memoranda on historical questions,

and the correspondence of the department covers a vast ground, comprising such varied subjects as requests by foreign representatives for information on legislation and practice, and for facilities of various kinds; international conferences; even locust-control. The Librarian is also responsible for a register of treaties and for authenticating and legalising documents. Gaselee's capacity for organisation enabled him to take all this in his stride, and, like all the best busy men, he never gave the impression of being harassed or pressed for time.

Three of Gaselee's publications are directly connected with his work at the Foreign Office. In 1923 he edited a *Select Analytical List of Books Concerning the Great War* which Sir George Prothero had left incomplete;¹ in 1933 he collaborated with Sir John Tilley in *The Foreign Office*,² contributing himself five chapters (including one on the library) and a bibliography; and in 1935 he compiled a list of *Libraries and Sources of Information in Government Departments*.³ These were no doubt produced in office hours; the products of his leisure between the two wars have in part been mentioned already, for to this period belong the reprints of early English translations. He was, however, soon devoting more and more attention to medieval Latin. This was an interest dating back, as has been seen, to his school-days, and soon after leaving Eton he had been helpful in the compilation of a Latin hymn-book for use in College there: it had no doubt been fostered by M. R. James, who was his tutor at King's and had been Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum when Gaselee worked at its Incunabula,⁴ and it was a field on which his other interests converged from various directions. The student of Petronius is led forward through late classical Latin to the Middle Ages, the Incunabulist will sooner or later become curious as to the contents of the books in his collection, the churchman concerned with the rites and ceremonies of his faith must trace them back to their origins. In 1925 Gaselee published an *Anthology of Medieval Latin*,⁵ and in 1928 *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*.⁶ The first is a frankly eclectic series of forty-five passages ranging from Pompeian graffiti to a letter less than ten years old from the Abbot of Einsiedeln to Cardinal Gasquet. The limits indicated in the title were deliberately exceeded to illustrate the continuity of the language, and the

¹ H.M. Stationery Office.

² Putnam's Sons, Ltd.

³ *Report of Proceedings of the Twelfth Conference of the Association of Special Libraries and Information Bureaux*, p. 53.

⁴ Gaselee wrote a memoir of M. R. James for the Academy (*Proc.* 1936, p. 418).

⁵ Macmillan & Co.

⁶ Oxford, at the Clarendon Press.

passages, among which prose predominates, were chosen, in the course of what Gaselee called 'desultory reading', as a general introduction to the subject. The second book has a more sharply defined aim, and, except for some deliberate and admitted preference for poems of English or possibly English origin, covers the field with no more eclecticism than any anthologist must necessarily exercise. Both books contain prefaces and workman-like notes, and if neither involved deep research both involved, and both display, great knowledge and wide reading. At this date he joined a committee which was engaged in collecting British and Irish material for a dictionary of medieval Latin covering the period between the Norman Conquest and the Renaissance.¹ He took thereafter great interest in its work and himself read and 'slipped' for the dictionary a substantial number of verse-authors, occasionally contributing a note on one of them to a periodical.²

Other publications with which Gaselee was concerned between 1928 and his death have already been mentioned, but the *Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* was his last considerable work of scholarship, and medieval Latin is the last of the four fields in which his scholarly activities have called for separate consideration. If an estimate is now to be made of his scholarship as a whole it would seem fair to say that in Bibliography, in Classical studies, and in medieval studies he had done work substantial in amount and of uniformly high quality; in Coptic enough to show (in the words of Mr. W. E. Crum) 'that an excellent Coptologue lay embedded beneath the other avocations which had stronger claims upon his attention'. It would be misleading not to add that to none of these subjects is his contribution of the first importance, and the addition will itself mislead unless it is expanded. A professional scholar who divides his attention among several subjects is unlikely to attain the highest eminence in any of them, and from 1916 onwards Gaselee was not a professional scholar; he was not even a Civil Servant determined as soon as he left his office to concentrate all his attention upon the book he is writing. If Gaselee had been so determined, the number and quality of his books would have been remarkable; when the variety of his activities is taken into account, they are extraordinary.

In the preceding pages, though a summary has been given of

¹ It was subsequently amalgamated with another committee which was co-operating with the International Academic Union and collecting similar material for a dictionary which was to stop at A.D. 1100.

² *Speculum*, 1933, p. 79; 1939, p. 106: cf. *Medium Aevum*, 1941, p. 101.

his work in various subjects, no attempt has been made to list the less important papers or even to mention all the periodicals in which they must be sought. The thirty volumes of the *Classical Review* from 1912 onward (for instance) contain more than twice as many reviews from his pen,¹ and his reviews were never perfunctory. Nor has anything been said of lectures and addresses. In Cambridge he was J. H. Gray Classical Lecturer in 1930,² and Sandars Reader in Bibliography in 1935;³ at Aberystwyth he gave the Gregynog Lectures in 1938;⁴ in 1931 he spent three months in South America on a Foreign Office mission and lectured in all parts of the Continent; as President he addressed the Bibliographical Society in 1932,⁵ and the Classical Association in 1939;⁶ and he gave many occasional lectures, of which some only are in print.⁷ To compile a complete bibliography of Gaselee's writings would be a task of almost prohibitive difficulty, for he was a frequent contributor also to less specialized periodicals. Much might be recovered from *Notes and Queries*,⁸ the *Cambridge Review*, the *Magdalene College Magazine*; something from the *Edinburgh Review*, *Wine and Food*, the *Criterion*, the *Publishers' Circular* and no doubt from other journals. A would-be bibliographer could not confine himself to the Press

¹ Also some original papers, but these are few and slight, and they cease after 1921.

² *The Transition from the Late Latin Lyric to the Medieval Love Poem* (the substance of three lectures). Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1931.

³ *Bibliography and the Classics* (two lectures), unpublished.

⁴ *The Language of Diplomacy* (three lectures). Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, 1939.

⁵ *The Aims of Bibliography*. (*Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1932-3, p. 223.)

⁶ *An Intelligence Service for the Classics*. (*Proc. Class. Ass.*, 1940, p. 7.)

⁷ The following list is chronological and probably incomplete:

The Spanish Books in the Library of Samuel Pepys. (*Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1921-2, p. 1.)

Francis Jenkinson, 1853-1923. (*Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1923-4, p. 161.)

The Uniaits and their Rites. See p. 451.

The Early Spanish Printing Press, a lecture delivered before the Anglo-Spanish Society. London, 1924.

Samuel Pepys 'Booklover': an address delivered at S. Olave's, Hart St. No publisher or date [1936].

The Copts. (*J. Royal Central Asian Society*, 1937, p. 27.)

Natural Science in England at the End of the Twelfth Century. (*Proc. Royal Institution*, 1937, p. 397: on Alexander Neckam.)

The Austrian Post-Incunabula. (*Trans. Bibl. Soc.*, 1938-9, p. 1.)

⁸ Some papers on British cemeteries abroad should perhaps be recorded here: *N.Q.* 1930,² p. 363 (Bilbao); 1936², p. 221 (Bogota); 1939², p. 111 (Aleppo); cf. 1933,¹ p. 200.

of this country, for articles by Gaselee appeared in many languages¹ and in English he would have also to search the dailies and the weeklies, not omitting their correspondence columns. In *The Times*, for instance, he would find letters on themes which range from the merits of Australian champagne to the discomforts of a starched collar-band on the shirt. Gaselee had moreover many commitments which, though they did not involve writing for publication, took up time. In the course of these years in London he served on the general and wine committees of the Athenaeum and was honorary librarian of the club from 1928; he served also on the library committee of the Carlton Club. From 1937 he was President of the Henry Bradshaw Society. He was a member of the Advisory Councils of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and of the Wine and Food Society; of the Grand Council of the Royal Academy of Dancing, and of the Central Council for the Care of Churches; of the committee, and publications sub-committee, of the Alcuin Club; of the Bretherton Collection committee of the University of Leeds; of the committees of the Egypt Exploration Society (of which he became President in 1941), and of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. He was a Vice-President of the Anglo-Spanish Society and on the executive committee of the Anglo-Portuguese Society. He was a Governor of Radley College, a Vice-President of the Royal Martyr Church Union, belonged to the Roxburghe Club, the Dilettanti Society, The Club, the Beefsteak Club, and the Saintsbury Club, and had risen to be a Warden of the Clothworkers' Company. It was not Gaselee's habit to allow his name to appear as a member of bodies whose meetings he did not attend, and with so many obligations it is less surprising that his scholarly output should nowhere mark an epoch, or that it should have fallen off in quantity after 1928, than that it should have been maintained at all. And yet with all this he found time also for much bridge, and for constant hospitality at his house in Ashburn Place, at clubs and restaurants, and in Cambridge.

It will have already been apparent both from his writings and

¹ For instance an article on Cambridge appeared in his own Portuguese (*Diário da Madeira*, 7 Feb. 1932), in Spanish (*Residencia*, 1932, p. 5), Rumanian (*Boabe de Grâu*, 1932, p. 124), and other European languages. A somewhat altered version in English was printed in the São Paulo daily *Anglo-Brazilian Chronicle* for 12 Feb. 1937. *Diário da Madeira* contains several other contributions, the Portuguese daily *Commercio do Porto* for 6 Aug. 1926 has an article on English translations from the Portuguese, the Rumanian daily *Adeverul* for 30 May 1935 one on Oxford and Cambridge.

from the clubs and societies to which he belonged that Gaselee took a serious interest in food and drink. It was an interest proper both to a student of Petronius and to a host anxious, as he always was, that his guests should enjoy themselves, and he would have been the last to wish it passed over in a biographical notice. His own attitude in the matter may be gathered plainly enough from an epigram in which he commemorated a lunch at Calais in 1938:

GRACE DURING MEAT

On china blue my lobster red
Precedes my cutlet brown,
With which my salad green is sped
By yellow Chablis down.

Lord, if good living be no sin *
But innocent delight,
O polarize these hues within
To one eupeptic white.¹

He liked, it will be seen, a meal not necessarily large or elaborate² but carefully chosen and well served. And here too the spirit of exploration which directed a good deal of his scholarship played a part, for he enjoyed sampling unknown dishes and beverages. He acted for a time as Steward of Magdalene, where his High Table menus occasionally excited some apprehension among the Fellows. During that period rumour reported an unfamiliar corpse suspended in a Cambridge poulterer's window with the legend: 'WALLABY. Reserved for the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College.' The rumour, though perhaps untrue, was eminently plausible, for if wallaby is edible and had been obtainable, the Fellows would no doubt have been invited to display the courage with which Gaselee faced tinned rattlesnake at his own table or, at a Chinese dinner, a dish of young mice to be dipped by their tails in honey and swallowed alive. If these ventures were not invariably successful at least they satisfied curiosity and added to experience—and for the mice at any rate he made no higher claim. So too with wine. A hock long past its prime, a glass of Constantia or Commanderia, would atone in interest for their inferiority to vintages of higher

¹ *Wine and Food*, 1938, p. 290. Gaselee's more popular papers contain a good many verse-translations of his own.

² 'I am particularly pleased to see a good many Friday and Lenten dishes of fish or eggs.' (Introduction to *Early English Recipes*, with wood-engravings by Margaret Webb, Cambridge, at the University Press, 1937.)

quality less rarely met, and Gaselee's informed comments on any unusual item in the menu would add to the pleasure of the company.

An interest in the menu, however, was not Gaselee's chief qualification as a host. His guests might sometimes seem to themselves as adventurously chosen as the food they were sometimes invited to eat, but if Gaselee was ever conscious that he was experimenting he always assumed that the experiment would be a success and by the assumption made it so. The shy undergraduate or silent Don, drawn into the circle by some comment or question in his softly modulated and friendly voice, would find himself talking to the unknown, distinguished, and often foreign, strangers between whom he might be placed, and before many minutes were past everyone was at his ease and contributing what he could to a conversation which seldom confined itself for long to the hackneyed topics of the day. It was not that Gaselee ever dominated the talk, or even deliberately guided it towards subjects more congenial to himself; rather that his contributions, drawn from a mind richly stored with recondite information, provoked questions or elicited similar matter from others present and so raised issues better worth pursuit. Good conversation, at table or elsewhere, stood very high among Gaselee's pleasures, and it was natural that he should enjoy entertaining, for he did it, whether by art or nature, consummately well and his wife hardly less well than himself. It was natural too that their enjoyment should enhance that of their guests, and that acquaintances first made in that genial atmosphere should often ripen into friendships. Countless people in this and other countries who have enjoyed his hospitality will look back upon it with pleasure and gratitude.

At the outbreak of war in 1939 Gaselee occupied a distinguished place both in academic circles and in the wider world. He had been elected to an Honorary Fellowship at King's in 1935, and created an honorary Doctor of Letters by Liverpool University; he was a corresponding member of the Rumanian Academy and of the Utrecht Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences, and a Fellow of the Academy (from 1939) and of the Society of Antiquaries. He had been created K.C.M.G. in 1935, and was a Commander of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He was also nearing the end of his fifty-seventh year, had spent more than twenty of them at the Foreign Office, and was beginning to look forward to a less arduous life. There were academic

posts which he might have filled with distinction, and, if these did not come his way, he could retire contentedly at sixty and devote his whole time to the scholarly work which had always stood first among his interests. Petronius still remained to be edited, post-Incunabula needed study, and he had other undertakings at least vaguely in view, among them an autobiography and an edition of Burton's *Anatomy*.

The war, which tied him to the Foreign Office, put an end to these projects and brought discomfort as well as disappointment. In the summer of 1940 he attended the Duke of Kent on a mission to Portugal, and much enjoyed the experience, which earned him the Grand Cross of the Military Order of Christ; but the onset of air-raids made it imperative that his wife and youngest daughter should live at their country home, his two eldest daughters were with them or at Cambridge, and he was usually alone in the London house, which, though not actually hit, twice suffered substantial damage. The darkened streets, too, troubled him and he had more than one slight accident on his way to and from the office. His constitution was naturally strong, but he had never spared it, and in these conditions it broke down. Signs of serious disorder became apparent in the summer of 1941 and alarmed his friends. For a while they receded, but Gaselee, who had had little or no previous experience of doctors and was impatient of regimen, declined to take seriously an illness which seldom kept him in bed or even from Whitehall. By the spring of 1943 he was visibly failing; he died on 16 June after a slight fall in his bedroom on the previous evening.

So far I have written with such objectivity as a friendship of nearly forty years allows. A little is still to add and I shall take leave to end on a more personal note.

And, first, an objective presentment of Gaselee will necessarily suggest some degree of mannerism or affectation, and that was in fact the impression left by him on some who observed him at a distance or met him casually once or twice. It would not have occurred to anyone who knew him to think him affected. Whether in early days some deliberate desire to be different from other men had mingled with a natural inclination to choose unusual dress and food, to cherish causes most thought lost, to direct his scholarship from the trodden highroad into the lanes and byways, I cannot say, but at least by early manhood these differences had been completely assimilated to his

personality and were worn with so utter an absence of self-consciousness that they seemed an essential part of his nature. His friends might regard them with affectionate amusement, but they neither supposed them alterable nor wished them altered.

Secondly, this memoir will have failed in its purpose if it has not left an impression of very unusual abilities, of strange stores of learning, and of unresting industry. Those are qualities which all Gaselee's friends will associate with his memory, but it is not of them that they will think first. They will remember rather the countless acts of unostentatious generosity and kindness, the happy evenings of talk and laughter and good cheer, the warm-hearted friend to whom it was natural to turn for counsel and assistance in all manner of difficulties, and on whose sympathy, cool judgement, and imperturbable common sense they had learnt to rely. It would have pleased Gaselee that a record of his life should contain words of A. E. Housman's, for, with many dissimilarities, the two men had tastes in common and a high mutual regard; and the sentences with which Housman closed his brief memoir of Arthur Platt are so singularly apposite to this place that I cannot forbear to transcribe them:

His happy and useful life is over, and now begins the steady encroachment of oblivion, as those who remember him are in their turn summoned away. This record will not preserve, perhaps none could preserve, more than an indistinct and lifeless image of the friend who is lost to us: good, kind, bright, unselfish, and as honest as the day; versatile without shallowness, accomplished without ostentation, a treasury of hidden knowledge which only accident brought to light, but which accident brought to light perpetually, and which astonished us so often that astonishment lost its nature and we should have wondered more if wonders had failed. Yet what most eludes description is not the excellence of his gifts but the singularity of his essential being, his utter unlikeness to any other creature in the world.

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A. S. F. Gow

Lady Gaselee, Sir T. D. and Lady Barlow, and Mr. A. F. Scholfield, Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, have contributed much to the composition of this memoir which they have also read in typescript. Among many friends of Gaselee's who have answered specific inquiries particular mention must be made of Sir Neville Bland, Sir Eric Maclagan, and Sir Will Spens.