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Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages: The Founding of a Journal (working paper)

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OUTLINE OF A THEORY OF LANGUAGE.[1]

INDIVIDUAL ASPECT.

We can consider the language of an individual as something two-sided; on the internal side there is the thought—of which all we can say at present is that it is some highly complex activity taking place in the brain; on the external side there is the symbol. In this paper I wish to consider one special type of language only: speech,[2] in which the symbol is the sound produced by the vocal organs. This sound can be considered from several different points of view; thus we may consider it physiologically (how the sound is produced by the vocal organs), or physically (the character of the vibrations resulting from the activity of the vocal organs), etc. We may refer to the sound as the *expression* of the thought, and to the thought as the *meaning* of the sound.

If an individual says *David is a good man* these sounds[3] represent a *complete thought*, whereas the sounds *good* do not. We define a *sentence* as the expression of a complete thought. Consider the sentences:—

(1) *David is a good man.*
(2) *Bandits are not good men.*
(3) *This cake is very good.*
(4) *We are having good weather now.*
(5) *He gave David a good thrashing.*

[1] Lack of space prevents me discussing here how far this theory is new. I wish, however, to express a general indebtedness to the following works: A. Noreen, *Vårt Språk*; F. de Saussure, *Cours de linguistique générale*; H. Delacroix, *Le langage et la pensée*; H. Head, *Aphasia and Kindred disorders of Speech*; *Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague* (certain papers); F. Brunot, *La pensée et la langue*; J. van Ginneken, *Principes de linguistique psychologique*; L. Hjelmslev, *Principes de grammaire générale*; and particularly to an essay by Meillet in *De la méthode dans les sciences* (edited by E. Durkheim, etc.).

[2] The theory can, however, readily be extended to other forms of language (such as gesture).

[3] For typographical reasons I avoid using phonetic notation wherever possible.

XXXXXfor an extra ref on how the Oxford Lang vs Lit debates spilled over into a provincial university in the 1900s to 1910s, in this case Queen's Belfast, see Charles Lock, *Ladies, Prisoners, Professors: English Studies at Queen's during the Great War*, Queen's Gender Initiative Lectures, 2 ([Belfast]: Queen's Gender Initiative, Queen's University Belfast, 2010), pp. 9–14, 29–30. For more on the history of the Brotherton see P. S. Morrish, *Libraries in Leeds: A Historical Survey 1152–c. 1939*, XXXXX, second series, 27, 28 (XXXXX: Thoresby Society, 2017–18)XXXXX Check Haruko Momma, From Philology to English Studies: Language and Culture in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge University Press, 2012). For another article about the foundation of a journal: Alla Zeide, "The Russian Review: The Story in History" and "How the Russian Review Came to Be: Documents with Commentary". (2012). Ab Imperio, 2012(4), 279-306 and 307–337 respectively. And then, for an anecdote late in the academic year 1951–52: 'Just about the same time, early May, it became known that Professor Dobrée had been admitted to the Brotherton Wing of the General Infirmary following a heart attack. This alarmed me considerably. However, somebody said that Professor Harold Orton had taken over as head of department. Now he was Language, not Literature, and it was well known that the enmity between the two was great. The two professors were said to be not even on speaking terms' (James Walsh and Venssa Rosenthal, *Under the Apple Boughs* (Hebden Bridge: Royd House, 2010), p. 114).XXXXX cite Rhiannon in THE PRE-MODERN
MANUSCRIPT TRADE
AND ITS CONSEQUENCES,
ca. 1890–1945

Check : James Jackson Walsh (2009) The University Movement in the North of England at the End of the Nineteenth Century, Northern History, 46:1, 113-131, DOI: 10.1179/174587009X391475

On nineteenth-century archaeological publishing:
https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue45/6/toc.html;
https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue35/scott_index.html

Emerging, through a series of institutional mergers and splits, from the foundation of the Leeds School of Medicine in 1831 and of the Yorkshire College in 1874, the University of Leeds came into being with the issue of a royal charter in 1904.[1] Notwithstanding many doubting voices, this new university in England's industrial North included a substantial Faculty of Arts hosting wide-ranging teaching of European languages and literatures, including a department of English Language and Literature.[2] Overseeing the English Language side of the department was Frederic William Moorman (1872–1919), promoted to

[1] Peter Gosden, 'From County College to Civic University, Leeds, 1904', *Northern History*, 42 (2005), 317–32. See more generally A. N. Shinman, *The University of Leeds: The First Half-Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954); *Studies in the History of a University, 1874–1974: To Commemorate the Centenary of the University of Leeds*, ed. by P. H. J. H. Gosden and A. J. Taylor (Leeds: Arnold, 1975).
[2] In addition to Shinman, *The University*, and *Studies*, ed. by Gosden and Taylor, see A. J. Taylor, 'History at Leeds 1877–1974: The Evolution of a Discipline', *Northern History*, 10 (1975), 141–64 (esp. pp. 141–47); cf. R. F. Brown, 'Fifty Years of University Spanish', *University of Leeds Review*, XXXXX (1967), XXXXX.

the university's first chair of English Language in 1912. What *English Language* meant to Moorman is not necessarily what it means to us: he was noted for his studies of place-name etymology, but also of early modern literature and for his composition of poems, plays and stories in Yorkshire dialect. Moorman died tragically while bathing with his children in the River Skirfare in 1919;[3] he was replaced by J. R. R. Tolkien (1892–1973), who in 1920 left a research position at the *Oxford English Dictionary* and came to Leeds as a reader with the remit to build up medieval and philological provision in English.[4] Tolkien's first colleague to be appointed, in 1922, was his sometime student, the British Columbian Eric Valentine Gordon (1896–1938). In a flurry of activity (in which Gordon was the more efficacious actor) the two established teaching of medieval English and Norse (shading into Middle Welsh by Tolkien and modern Icelandic by Gordon).[5] Tolkien was promoted to Professor of English Language in 1924, before leaving Leeds to take up the Rawlinson and Bosworth Chair of Anglo-Saxon, concluding his commitments to Leeds in 1925–26. In a display of what Tolkien called 'unusual wisdom on part of the University', Gordon was promoted as Tolkien's successor in the Leeds chair.[6] In 1930 the Wakefield-born Leeds student Ida Pickles (1907–2001) both finished her PhD on Old Norse and married Gordon; and in 1931 the two departed for Manchester, where E. V. Gordon became Smith Professor of English Language and Germanic Philology.

It was E. V. Gordon's departure from Leeds that led to the appointment of Bruce Dickins (1889–1978) and, it seems, the birth of *Leeds Studies in English*. Educated at Cambridge on a scholarship, Dickins had proceeded to a lectureship at Edinburgh in 1919, from which he gained the chair of English Language at Leeds in 1931. The department was at that time housed in 2 Virginia Road, a street no longer extant.[7] When he arrived his colleagues in the English department on the literature side were the Professor of English Literature, Francis Percy Wilson (1889–1963), who had held his post since 1929; the assistant lecturer Wilfred Rowland Childe (1890–1952), appointed in 1922; and the newly appointed assistant lecturer John Innes Mackintosh Stewart (1906–94). On the language side, Dickins was working with Alan Strode Campbell Ross (1907–80), appointed straight out of his Oxford BA in 1929, and Richard (Dick) Middlewood Wilson (1908–70), who had completed his MA at Leeds under Gordon's supervision in 1931 and became assistant lecturer at the same time as Dickins became professor.[8] Whereas the 1920s had seen much coming and going in the Department

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[3] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/F._W._Moorman XXXXX.
[4] Humphrey Carpenter, *J. R. R. Tolkien: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977), pp. 110-15; Christina Scull and Wayne G. Hammond, *The J. R. R. Tolkien Companion & Guide: Reader's Guide, Part I: A–M*, rev. edn (London: HarperCollins, 2017), s.vv. 'Leeds (Yorkshire)' and 'Leeds, University of'.
[5] Douglas A. Anderson, '"An Industrious Little Devil": E. V. Gordon as Friend and Collaborator with Tolkien', in *Tolkien the Medievalist*, ed. by Jane Chance, Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture, 3 (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 15–25. Anderson's article is supplemented and corrected by Bridget Mackenzie, 'Notes on Article about E.V. Gordon', Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS 1952/3/2. For Tolkien's teaching of Welsh, see Brian Woledge, 'Rhai o Atgofion Celtaidd Arbenigwr yn y Ffrangeg', *Llên Cymru Cyfrol*, 15 (1984–86), 172–73XXXXXcheck.
[6] Leeds, University of Leeds Brotherton Library, Archive Collection, MS 2244.
[7] Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Archive Series LUA/DEP/012, box 1 item 10, letter from T. V. Benn of 22 April 1990, citing *Kelly's Directory of Leeds*, ed. by E. R. Kelly, 34th edn (London: Kelly, 1932), pp. xxiii, 510 XXXXXcheck the actual book! Brotherton Level 4 Special Collections Yorkshire H-Lee-0.7 KEL XXXXX.
[8] These and other records of the comings and goings of University of Leeds staff and the departments that employed them are unless otherwise stated derived from the annual *University of Leeds Calendar*, digitised at https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/55926.

as recruits used it as a staging-post on the way to more prestigious jobs, from 1931 the Department's staff would remain quite stable until the Second World War, the main development for the English Language team being the arrival of Edward Oswald Gabriel Turville-Petre (1908–78) as honorary lecturer in Modern Icelandic in 1935.

R. I. Page once remarked to Hall that he had ended up writing Dickins's obituary for the *Proceedings of the British Academy* because no fellows of the Academy liked Dickins enough to want to do it. Tactfully indicating Dickins's character flaws, Page's obituary sketches a man whose youth had been difficult and marked by lack of means, and whose relationship with Cambridge University once he returned there to take up the Elrington and Bosworth Chair of Anglo-Saxon in 1945 was an awkward one.[9] But Page portrays Dickins's time at Leeds as a bright spell:

> now began a great period in Dickins's scholarly life. [...] Dickins found the grimy but vigorous West Riding atmosphere exciting, and always spoke enthusiastically of the life of town and gown in Leeds, of the variety of urban life and the comradeship of eminent fellow-academics. With R. M. Wilson and Ross he founded *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, which, in its six volumes issued between 1932 and 1937, set a standard of meticulous and elegant scholarship.[10]

No archival records that could take us behind the scenes of *Leeds Studies in English* in its early days survive, as far as we know, so it is the back cover of the first volume that gives our clearest indication of the journal's agendas and purposes. It first says 'DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH WRIGHT': Wright (1855–1930) was a founder of English Studies in Britain. Born into the working class in West Yorkshire, in 1888 he gained a lectureship at Oxford, and in 1901 he became Oxford's Professor of Comparative Philology.[11] The dedication of *Leeds Studies in English* to his memory no doubt felt apposite in view of Wright's Yorkshire origins; prior to 1931 the vast majority of Leeds's English Department staff were Oxford-educated, so Wright's influence there was strong; and the dedication is one of various ways in which *Leeds Studies in English*, notwithstanding its name, positioned itself firmly on the Language side of the department. The text goes on:

> during the last few years much useful work undertaken within the Department of English has been presented for research degrees of Leeds University, which offers in the Melsteð Collection exceptional facilities for the advanced study of Icelandic. But, with the exception of Dr. A. H. Smith's 'The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire' [...] little of this has hitherto appeared in print. It is the main object of 'Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages' to bring some part of this work before the learned public. It is hoped that in future years it will be possible to print in abstract all theses approved for research degrees, while the more interesting passages will be published in full.

[9] One gets the impression that Page sympathised with him in a number of ways.
[10] Page, p. 344.
[11] Cite DNBXXXXX.

This back material ends by listing the English Department's three Language staff, whether in alphabetical order of surname or in declining order of seniority it is impossible to judge; subsequent volumes do the same.

A little more information is provided by a notice in the University's student newspaper, *The Gryphon*. Reporting on 'The Leeds Language Schools' in November 1932, the paper says

> we need hardly add that a glance at the Calendar will show how many Leeds graduates are already on the Leeds staff. These are not the only signs that graduates of our University are attaining distinction in the world of philology, and that Leeds as a centre for language study is growing in importance. [...] A venture (philological, not like the former one, poetical) by the Department of English Language is therefore very welcome. The first annual number of **"Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages"** includes papers by six graduates of Leeds [...] The editors wish it to be known that they will consider for publication in future numbers papers of moderate length by graduates of the English school. Papers, which should be submitted in typescript, should make some definite contribution to scholarship. Subscriptions to the first number (5/- post free) may be sent to R. M. Wilson, M.A., Department of English.' [sic] Merely from a local point of view we can but wish the new journal success; we offer our congratulations to Professor Dickins, who is himself among the contributors, as well as Mr. Ross.[12]

The piece evidently quotes a statement from the editors, but includes only the closing quotation mark, making it unclear quite where their words begin (an affliction persisting in Leeds student writing to the present day). Like the back cover of the first volume, it implies an editorial triumvirate of all three English Language staff — Dickins, Wilson, and Ross. The three were likewise later named as co-founders in a brief history of the journal solicited, in 1952, by Arthur Cawley and Harold Orton (on whom more below),[13] and in an editorial note by Cawley and Robin Alston in the first of the new series of *Leeds Studies in English* in 1967.[14] However, it seems clear from a variety of sources that Dickins was the key player: *inter alia*, it was to Dickins rather than to Ross or Wilson that Cawley and Orton turned for a history of the journal in 1952; applying for funding from the University to capitalise the restarted journal in 1967, Cawley wrote simply that Leeds Texts and Monographs and *Leeds studies in English* 'were started by Professor Bruce Dickins'.[15] *Leeds Studies in English* was

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[12] 'The Leeds Language Schools', *The Gryphon*, second series, 14.2 (November 1932), 70–71 (p. 71), https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/24773. The 'former, poetical' English Language publication is surely *A Northern Venture*, published in 1923.

[13] Bruce Dickins, 'Preface: *Leeds Studies in English*, 1932–40', *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 7–8 (1952), 1-2.

[14] A. C. C[awley] and R. C. A[lston], 'Editorial Note', *Leeds Studies in English*, n. s. 1 (1967), [ii].

[15] Leeds, Brotherton Library Special Collections, Archive Series LUA/DEP/012, box 4 folder 1, letter of 16 January 1967; cf. A. N. Shimmin, *The University of Leeds: The First Half-century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954): 'to Bruce Dickins we owe the *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* and *Leeds Texts and Monographs*' (p. 127). The one editorial note among the early numbers (an apology for publishing a piece by the non-Leeds graduate N. R. Ker, then a recent B.Litt. graduate from Oxford) mentions 'editors' in the plural, but is signed by Dickins: Bruce Dickins, 'Note', *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 6 (1937), 29: 'the editors are for once departing from their rule and printing a paper by one who has no connexion with their University. This number of LSE owes much to Mr. Ker's help, and its editors are glad to print his paper, adding the facsimile which is essential to his argument'. In saying 'for once', Dickins was not quite correct: in

soon complemented by the series Leeds School of English Language Texts and Monographs (eight volumes, 1935–40), which given the greater capital outlay and longer lead-times involved must have been conceived around the same time as the journal; the acknowledgements pages of these volumes also suggest Dickins's guiding hand.[16] On balance, Dickins seems not only to have been at the centre of the venture, but to have made some effort to direct credit for it towards his more junior colleagues.

A department founding a journal expressly to publish the work of its own members sounds nepotistic today, and *Leeds Studies in English* probably looked a bit idiosyncratic even in the 1930s. A review of the first two numbers in *The Review of English Studies* by C. L. Wrenn (1895–1969), who had spent a year as a lecturer in Leeds's English department in 1928–29 before returning to his *alma mater* of Oxford, was positive but rather reserved in its praise: 'this little miscellany, which is fittingly dedicated to the memory of Joseph Wright, inaugurates a private venture of an interesting kind'.[17] 'Little miscellany' suggests that Wrenn thought the journal's scope too catholic; by 'private venture' he perhaps meant that the journal did not belong to a learned society and was, moreover, a project that belonged more to its editors than to their university (and perhaps indeed that they were funding it, as we discuss below); and we leave it to the reader to speculate as to what he meant by 'an interesting kind'. On the other hand, the mid-1920s to early 1930s was a busy time for founding journals, especially in a country that was emerging from the First World War visibly behind Germany in education, and the general ferment perhaps emboldened Dickins to experiment with publishing formats.[18] It is instructive to look at where else Dickins and his professorial Leeds predecessors were publishing.[19] They strongly preferred British journals (though Gordon did contribute to the inaugural issue of *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* in 1926–27 and Dickins to the venerable *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen* in 1935).[20] *Transactions of the*

1934, Alan S. C. Ross had made the *Leeds Studies in English* the forum for the first of four etymological co-writes with his undergraduate friend and (at the time) lecturer at the London School of Oriental Studies, Harold Walter Bailey (1899–1996): see R. E. Emmerick, 'Harold Walter Bailey', in *A Century of British Orientalists, 1902–2001*, ed. by C. Edmund Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 10–49 (p. 19). Meanwhile, although the note was evidently viewed much more favourably as an academic form among English Language researchers in the 1930s than now, the propensity of *Leeds Studies in English* to publish articles a few pages in length also recalls Dickins's especial proclivity for brevity: Dickins 'published freely, but as a miniaturist. "Where somebody else would have written a book, he wrote an article. Where another would have produced an article, he composed a note"', as R. I. Page has it: 'Bruce Dickins, 1889–1978', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 64 (1978), 340–57 (p. 348; https://publications.thebritishacademy.ac.uk/pubs/proc/files/64p341.pdf). Page does not indicate to what his passage in quotation marks alludes.

[16] In particular R. M. Wilson LTM 3-4 XXXXX, xliv: 'like all the works in this series it owes an incalculable debt to the untiring industry and generous help of Professor Dickins'.

[17] C. L. W., 'Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages', *The Review of English Studies*, 10 (1934), 245–46 (p. 245).

[18] Cf. Douglas Gray, 'Middle English Literature', in *A Century of British Medieval Studies*, ed. by Alan Deyermond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 383–426 (p. 399).

[19] For relevant bibliographies of Tolkien, Gordon, and Dickins, see XXXXXScull and HammondXXXXX; 'E. V. Gordon', in *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*; 'Bruce Dickins: A Biographical Note and List of Books and Papers', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes & Bowes, 1959), pp. 316–22.

[20] E. V. Gordon, 'Scarborough and Flamborough', *Acta Philologica Scandinavica*, 1 (1926–27), 320–23; B. Dickins, 'Runic Rings and Old English Charms', *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen*, 167 (1935), 252.

Philological Society, originating in 1854, was a potential forum for their work, and they could avail themselves of the Modern Humanities Research Association's *Modern Language Review* (founded 1905). Locally, they all contributed to the well established *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society*, which had got underway in 1898 (a little after the academically adjacent *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, begun in 1893). But otherwise their favoured venues were generally new arrivals: nationally *The Review of English Studies* had got underway from King's College London in 1925; in 1932, the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature was founded and with it *Medium Ævum*. Among the young journals in which they published there were also local ones: for their creative writing, Tolkien and Gordon chose *Microcosm* (run by the Leeds-based Dorothy Una Phillips 1919–25); *Yorkshire Poetry*, founded in 1922;[21] and *The Gryphon*. The Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society began publishing *Proceedings* in 1925, an endeavour strongly supported by Gordon, Dickins, and their colleagues — indeed issue four of the third volume of *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. Literary and Historical Section* (XXXXX) was effectively a Leeds English Language staff special issue. Moreover, Dickins had published several pieces in the *Magdalene College Magazine* and *University of Edinburgh Journal* while at those institutions, indicating his familiarity with institution-specific journals. Thus, although it is hard to doubt that *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* was unusual, starting a new, Leeds-based philological journal in 1932 was not entirely out of step with the times, and it was perhaps not obvious that the trend in academic publishing was going to take a different direction.

The Gryphon's rejoicing at Leeds graduates finding jobs at their *alma mater* also sounds parochial given the present reverence for academic mobility, but suggests a further motivation for starting *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*. At the beginning of 1931, all the Leeds English staff had degrees from Oxford; only F. P. Wilson had also taken a degree elsewhere (a BLitt from Birmingham). Douglas W. Jefferson, who took his BA in English at Leeds 1930–33 (and, having taken a XXXXXX at Oxford, joined the department's staff in 1935), reminisced in 1982 that in his student days

> I think there was the suggestion of a class difference between students and staff, though the attitude of the staff to students, in my experience, could not have been friendlier. My guess is that a larger proportion of members of staff then were Oxbridge (preceded by public school of something approximating to it) than is the case today [...] These members of staff either dressed well, or at least their clothes, if in some cases a little old, were 'good' and of course made to measure. We students on the whole wore ready made suits, or jackets and flannels. Since everyone dressed conventionally (no sweaters, cords, jeans, etc.) these differences of quality operated as class differences. This is not to say that all members of staff were people with social poise. Some were awkward and socially maladroit, and a few were

[21] Yorkshire poetry. Matthewman, S. (Sydney); Botterill, Denis.; Swan Press. (Leeds) 1922-25 to judge from https://leeds.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/44LEE_INST/13rlbcs/alma991018469119705181 and https://monoskop.org/images/3/3b/Miller_Price_British_Poetry_Magazines_1914-2000_A_History_and_Bibliography_of_Little_Magazines_2006.pdf XXXXX. The same press also published A Northern Venture: Verses by Members of the University of Leeds University English School Association. Leeds: At the Swan Press, [June] 1923; Leeds University Verse 1914-1924. Leeds: At the Swan Press, 1924.XXXXX

> ‘honest Yorkshire’, more or less unchanged from when they were students like ourselves.[22]

Greater class tensions again are suggested by the account of Bridget Mackenzie, E. V. Gordon’s eldest daughter, of Gordon’s departure from Leeds:

> my father as Professor at Leeds wanted to appoint one of his more brilliant students to a lectureship in his department, but this student spoke with an extremely broad Yorkshire accent. The Vice Chancellor of the University, who was a terrible social snob, blocked the appointment (you had to ‘talk posh’ in those days to get anywhere in the academic world). My father, who loved dialects anyway, had a big row with the V.C. and resigned, on a point of principle. He departed for Manchester — taking his Yorkshire student with him, and the student later became a Professor himself.[23]

The student in question must have been George Leslie Brook, from Huddersfield, who completed his Leeds BA in English in 1930 (taking the Ripon English Literature Prize for an essay on ‘Heroic Literature’), joined the Manchester staff in 1932, completed his Leeds PhD in 1934, and succeeded Gordon as Smith Professor at Manchester in 1945. This is not to say that Mackenzie’s account is entirely correct: what was Brook’s loss at Leeds looks to have been the gain of R. M. Wilson, who was also a Leeds graduate. Meanwhile, the obituary of Brook by his former colleague Alan Shelston does not give the impression that Brook sparkled in the classroom.[24] But both Jefferson and Mackenzie’s accounts chime with *The Gryphon* in implying that the Leeds MA held by the young R. M. Wilson must have made him a welcome role-model to his students on his appointment in 1931.[25]

In this context, the creation of *Leeds Studies in English* as a forum for Leeds graduates’ writing can be read as attempting to give them a leg up in an unforgiving world. Dickins had clearly concluded that Leeds research students were not publishing at the rate that they might, was trying to put his still young department on the map, and was building on and/or building up the *esprit de corps* of Leeds’s English Language staff and students. As a young scholar in 1915, Dickins had overreached in publishing his *Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples* at a point in his career when, in Page’s assessment, ‘he needed tauter supervision by a mature scholar, as well as more time to develop the complex subject he

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[22] D. W. Jefferson, ‘Contributions to a University of Leeds Archive Relating to the Nineteen-thirties: Student Life in the Early 1930s’, pp. 4–5, Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections, Archive Series: LUA/DEP/012, box 2.

[23] Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, MS 1952/3/2, ‘Notes on Article about E.V. Gordon’, §15.

[24] ‘G L Brook: 1910–1987’, in *Lexicology, Semantics and Lexicography: Selected Papers from the Fourth G. L. Brook Symposium, Manchester, August 1998*, ed. by Julie Coleman and Christian J. Kay, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series IV: Current Issues in Linguistic Theory, 194 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2000), pp. ix–xi (p. ix).

[25] The next article in that issue of *The Gryphon* also emphasises the interest in alumni, remarking that ‘old students will note with pleasure that Dr. A. H. Smith is now President of the Viking Club’: ‘News of Interest to Old Students’, *The Gryphon*, second series, 14.2 (November 1932), 71–72 (p. 71). The student society that Tolkien and Gordon had established had evidently in some sense survived Gordon’s departure and was in the hands of Albert Hugh Smith (1903–67), a Leeds graduate who in 1930 had taken up a lectureship at University College London. His ascension to the presidency of the Viking Club surely correlates with his production of J. R. R. Tolkien, E. V. Gordon, and Others, *Songs for the Philologists* (London: English Department, University College, London, 1936).

faced', and got his fingers burned.[26] Perhaps, then, Dickins also saw the journal as a mechanism for mentoring his junior colleagues, fresh out of their BAs or MAs, as they built up their research profiles. As we discuss below (§XXXXX), Dickins perhaps also wanted to claim the 'studies in English' mantle for English Language over English Literature and was using the journal as one front in that competition.

But all this being said, one also gets the strong impression that Dickins was also simply a character who hated to see a good idea left on the shelf; his own predilection for brevity certainly enabled him to publish a huge number of notes on an extraordinarily diverse range of interests. Arriving at Leeds, Dickens had concluded that there was a trove of worthwhile material sitting in the University Library and was keen to get it into circulation for its own sake. This inference is supported by his involvement with the Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, which gives us a useful additional perspective on his activities while at Leeds. The society had been started in Leeds in 1928 with the express purpose of gathering 'sufficient funds to create a Professorship of Celtic in the University of Leeds'.[27] The key protagonists in founding the Society seem to have been the Welsh-speaking professor of French Paul Barbier (1873–1947), the Scottish professor of mathematics William Proctor Milne (1881–1967), and E. V. Gordon;[28] perhaps unsurprisingly, its inaugural lecturer was J. R. R. Tolkien,[29] whose 1924–25 Welsh course Gordon had audited (with Barbier finishing off the teaching of the course after Tolkien's departure).[30] The year 1930–31 saw the society begin to issue an annual pamphlet which contained short summaries of lectures hosted; Gordon appears in the first of these as belonging to the executive committee in and pledging £10 over ten years towards endowing a position in Celtic.[31] As the successor to Gordon and to Tolkien before him, then, Dickins must have felt some obligation to carry on their work in the society. Indeed, Douglas Jefferson recalls that 'in the late 1930's it seemed to be understood that members of the Faculty of Arts … would want to join the Celtic Society', and that 'membership of this society did not in any way compel one to take an interest in Celtic

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[26] p. 348.

[27] Paul Barbier, 'Celtic Studies', *The Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, Session 1930–31* (1931), 3–5 (first publ. *The Yorkshire Post* XXXXX); William P. Milne, 'Semi-Jubilee of the Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies', *The University of Leeds Review*, 4 (1954–55), 287–98. The following article, published under Milne's editorship, indicates that he was still promoting Celtic Studies at Leeds in the early 1950s: Kenneth Jackson, 'The Place of Celtic Studies in an English University', *The University of Leeds Review*, 3 (1952–53), 308–15. Whether by luck or judgement, the Society's goals were at this time — albeit temporarily — partly fulfilled by the appointment of Robert (Bob) L. Thomson (1924–2006) to the English department in 1953; he served as secretary of Society 1953–59, and as president 1963–65. On his retirement in 1983, support for Celtic Studies at Leeds was discontinued. https://www.leeds.ac.uk/secretariat/obituaries/2006/obituary4204.html XXXXX.

[28] Following Gordon's death, the society stated that 'along with Professor Barbier', Gordon 'founded the society': 'General Report for Session 1937–38', *The Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, Session 1937–38* (1938), 12–13XXXXRight reference?. See also William P. Milne, 'Professor Paul Barbier, 1873–1947: A Personal Tribute', *The University of Leeds Review*, 1 (1948–49), 42–54 (p. 47) and 'Semi-Jubilee', p. 287.

[29] Scull and Hammond chronologyXXXXX p. 148XXXXXcheck and maybe check Gryphon coverge cited thereXXXXX; Carl Phelpstead, *Tolkien and Wales: Language, Literature, and Identity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), p. 15.

[30] The annotated typescript of an English draft of Brian Woledge, 'Rhai o Atgofion Celtaidd', in Leeds University's Brotherton Library supplies Gordon's name: Archive Collection, MS 2244.

[31] 'Session 1930–31. Officers of the Society', 'Endowment Fund', *The Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, Session 1930–31* (1931), 2, 15.

scholarship. The basis was social'.[32] Dickins's interest in Celtic Studies has been underrated, a misunderstanding that might again encourage the hypothesis that he acted out of a mere sense of inherited duty: Michael Lapidge, while noting Dickins's later support for Celtic Studies at Cambridge (in contrast with his successor, Dorothy Whitelock), has said 'Isabel Henderson has suggested to me that, in all matters Celtic, Dickins allowed himself to be guided by the advice of Nora Chadwick. Certainly there is nothing in the record of his publication to suggest that he took a personal interest in Celtic studies'.[33] But Lapidge is quite mistaken: Dickins clearly did take an interest in Celtic scholarship, and an enthusiastic one. In Jefferson's recollection of the Society, 'the leading spirits were Professor W. P. Milne (Mathematics), Professor Bruce Dickins (English Language), and Professor Paul Barbier (French), especially the first'. Dickins sat on the executive committee from 1931 to at least 1943, writing several of the summaries of lectures given, and served as president in 1936–3.

The 'General Report' for Dickins's year as president — anonymous, but if not by Dickins then at least composed on his watch — says:

> the view has repeatedly been expressed in many authoritative quarters that it would be a great advantage to Celtic Studies generally if the lectures delivered at Leeds could be more readily obtained in printed form without abbreviation. It has been pointed out that the distinction of the Celtic scholars who have lectured to the Society has been such that the Society has rapidly established itself as a clearing-house or focal centre for the discussion of the more general aspects of Celtic scholarship. This obviously demands increased funds.[34]

Mirabile dictu, the next year's report says

> the Society has received a great accession of financial strength in the gift of £30 annually for three years from six 'Friends of the Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies,' who desire to remain anonymous. Thanks to the great public-spirited generosity of these 'Friends,' the Society has decided to publish annually 'Transactions,' in which the papers read before the Society will be printed *in extenso* [...] The Transactions will be under the Editorship of Professor Bruce Dickins.[35]

It seems likely that one of these donors was Dickins himself, and that a similar arrangement capitalised *Leeds Studies in English*. £30 gives a sense of the kinds of annual costs involved in printing a journal on a scale comparable to *Leeds Studies in English*: about £2,200 in 2021 money.[36] The cover price of *Leeds Studies in English* of 5 shillings is equivalent to £18

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[32] 'Contributions to a University of Leeds Archive, I: Some Social and Academic Activities for Members of the Teaching Staff in the Late 1930s'; 'The University of Leeds: Some Notes about the Social and Cultural Activities of Members of the Teaching Staff in the 1930s and Later', Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections, Archive Series: LUA/DEP/012, box 2.
[33] Michel Lapidge, 'Introduction: The Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge, 1878–1999', in *H. M. Chadwick and the Study of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge*, ed. by Michael Lapidge [=*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 69–70] (Aberystwyth: Department of Welsh, Abersytwyth University, 2015), pp. 1–58 (pp. 26–27, quoting p. 27 fn. 105).
[34] *The Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, Session 1936–37* (1937), 10–11 (p. 11).
[35] *The Yorkshire Society for Celtic Studies, Session 1937–38* (1938), 12–13 (p. 13).
[36] Bank of England, 'Inflation Calculator', https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator.

today (remarkably close to the non-institutional price of £20 for *Leeds Medieval Studies*). In the brief history of *Leeds Studies in English* he offered in 1952, Dickins commented that

> it was never subsidised by the University, though the many periodicals and series received in exchange were given to the Brotherton Library. Yet, so valuable were the contacts made with foreign scholars that the editors never regretted the expense. All the receipts from sales — not very many — were set aside for the publication of Texts and Monographs.

The sense that *Leeds Studies in English* was essentially a private enterprise of its editors is reinforced by the editorial note to the 1952 number by A. C. Cawley and Harold Orton, which thanks the previous editors 'for their gift of the remaining stocks of previous numbers of LSE and Leeds Texts and Monographs. Their generosity has, in effect, made an indispensable contribution towards the cost of publishing this Number'. (Cawley and Orton were, however, also able to acknowledge 'a generous subsidy from the University of Leeds', so it looks like they managed to avoid paying for the journal themselves.) Overall, it is clear that Dickins liked to see research making it into publication enough that — despite not being a man in receipt of inherited wealth — he was willing to put up his own money as well as his time to make this happen.

With its three male editors, *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages* gives a sense of the limitations on career progression for women in the 1930s. And although Dickins must have had something to do with the awarding of an honorary Leeds BLitt to Joseph Wright's widow Elizabeth Mary Wright in 1932 (1863–1958),[37] women's prospects were not helped by his maladroit opposition to them becoming members of the University of Cambridge in 1947.[38] In the English department of the 1930s, 'there was no bureaucracy, not even a departmental secretary. Every notice on the board was in the professor's handwriting',[39] so it is possible that the *Leeds Studies in English* editors handled all the typing themselves (perhaps without even the silent assistance of their wives). Judging from the journal's annual lists of MA and PhD theses added to Leeds University Library, and using the authors' first names as a proxy for their gender, the department saw six male and six female PhD graduates, along with seven male and four female MA graduates — quite an even split.[40] Even discounting articles by the three editors, however, the period saw twenty-six contributions by male authors and only ten by female ones (counting co-writers separately). The number of contributions by women is, moreover, buoyed by the energetic Elizabeth Stefanyja Olsewska (1906–73), who had graduated from the department in 1926, met Alan Ross while she did her PhD at Oxford and he did his BA, and married him in 1933, somehow

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[37] B[ruce] D[ickins], 'Elizabeth Mary Wright: A Bibliography', *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 3 (1934), 1.
[38] XXXXX.
[39] D. W. Jefferson, 'English Studies at Leeds: 1930–33', p. 7, Leeds, University of Leeds, Brotherton Library, Special Collections, Archive Series: LUA/DEP/012, box 2.
[40] First names are often reduced to initials in these lists. The students' full names, largely discovered from the catalogue of Leeds University Library and the *University of Leeds Calendar*, are: Albert Hugh Smith (1926); Mary Miller, Ida L. Pickles, Alfred Gifford Hooper, Phyllis Hainsworth, Winifred Edith Porter (1930); Cyril Jackson, Bertha Thompson, Richard Middlewood Wilson, Frank Mosby (1931); Alfred Gifford Hooper, Walter Taylor, Hilda Peters (1932); Willy Wilkinson (1933); Donald E. Chadwick, Ruby Roberts, Marjorie N. Smith, George Taylor (1934); George Leslie Brook, Joseph Lightbrown, Muriel R. Jeffery (1935); Leonard Wilson Hooper Payling, Dora M. Grisdale (1936).

juggling a life in Leeds with work as a lecturer at Reading from 19XXXXX–33, and from 1934 juggling academic work with motherhood: she alone contributed XXXXX items.[41] Overall, then, it is clear that *Leeds Studies in English* was doing little to ameliorate the limitations on female graduates' careers.

With the outbreak of war in 1939, the department could no longer recruit the research students whose contributions had been the backbone of the journal; Ross left the department temporarily to work in code-breaking at Bletchley Park,[42] while other wartime travails beset Dickins, Wilson, and Turville-Petre as they kept the degree running back in Leeds on reduced staffing. Volumes 6–8 of Texts and Monographs emerged in 1940 but, according to Dickins, 'an attempt to keep things going by the issue of stencilled *Supplementary Papers* 1–2 […] turned out less satisfactory than we had hoped and was not repeated'.[43] Then, during 1945–46 — as far as we know coincidentally — Dickins accepted the Elrington and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, Wilson moved to Sheffield, and Ross — who appears in the *University of Leeds Calendar* slated to teach there for 1946–47 — accepted a post at Birmingham. Harold Orton succeeded Dickins as Professor of English Language in 1946, and although the academic year of 1946–47 must have stretched Orton and Turville-Petre thin, by 1947 the great post-war expansion of UK higher education was underway: Orton had recruited an entirely new team, comprising Arthur Clare Cawley, Arnold Rodgers Taylor (both 1913–93), Walter Alfred George Doyle-Davidson (XXXXX), and David Abercrombie (1909–92, son of Lascelles Abercrombie, who had been Professor of English at Leeds 1922–29). An era in English Language and Medieval Literature at Leeds had ended.

[41] G[abriel] T[urville-]P[etre], 'Elizabeth Stefanyja Olsewska', *Saga-Book*, 18 (1970–73), 297–98.
[42] E. G. Stanley, 'Ross, Alan Strode Campbell (1907–1980)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (25 May 2006).
[43] 'Preface', 1-2.