Appendices

Appendix 1: Curriculum Details from US Women's Colleges That Offered Anglo-Saxon Before WWI

Note: Each section (coordinate, independent, and transitioning colleges) is organized alphabetically by the name of the school at its institutional founding. Items cross-list with Table 1 in Chap. 1.

Coordinate Colleges

The women's coordinate colleges of the nineteenth century sought to duplicate certain curricula from their brother schools; if the all-male college offered Anglo-Saxon, then the newly chartered women's college did as well.

Barnard College (Coordinate with Columbia University)
In New York City, Barnard students learned Anglo-Saxon from the very beginnings of the college in a course identical to that taught at Columbia. Even when the female students attended the first Columbia College Collegiate Course for Women (a precursor of Barnard) in 1886, they studied Anglo-Saxon.[1] Materials related to curriculum in the earliest years of Barnard College are unfortunately fragmentary, but by 1895 Professor A.V. Williams Jackson, A.M., L.H.D., Ph.D., was offering Anglo-Saxon to Barnard students on a regular basis.[2] The students of 1898 liked

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Jackson's classes enough to include him in their yearbook's abecedary: "S is for Short, Simple Saxon/And the Smiles of gallant Anglo-Jackson."[3]

Cleveland College for Women (Coordinate with Adelbert College/Case Western)

The Cleveland College for Women, also known as the College for Women of Western Reserve University, was founded in 1888 to keep female and male students separate; it formally opened in 1892. In 1893/1894, the earliest available catalog, the men and women of Western Reserve could elect separate but identical courses in Anglo-Saxon prose and poetry.[4] The Anglo-Saxon poetry course was taught by Prof. Lemuel Potwin, who held a joint appointment in Adelbert College, the Western Reserve men's college. The joint nature of his appointment, coupled with protests against the previous de facto coeducation at Western Reserve, invites skepticism about the catalog's introductory assertion that "The [women's] College has the advantages of separate education since its students are free from constant association with young men in class room and lecture halls."[5] Whether or not they were together, male and female students at Western Reserve in 1893 studied Anglo-Saxon poetry with the same professor.

Radcliffe College (Coordinate with Harvard University)

Radcliffe is discussed in Chap. 2; it offered Anglo-Saxon courses identical to Harvard's from its founding. It is now a research institute in Cambridge, MA.

Randolph-Macon Women's College (Coordinate with Randolph-Macon College)

At Randolph-Macon Women's College, founded in Lynchburg, VA, in 1893 as the coordinate college of Randolph-Macon College, the women had the same curriculum but different faculty, since the two campuses were 130 miles apart (they are now Randolph-Macon College and Randolph College, both coeducational institutions). Professor Joseph L. Armstrong was the women's Professor of English from the founding of the college, and Anglo-Saxon was not only offered every year for the rest of the nineteenth century but was even required for a Bachelor of Letters degree in 1896 and 1897.[6] Randolph-Macon Women's College was one of only seven colleges deemed a "standard college" in the 1916 Bulletin of the Southern Association of College Women.[7]

Sophie Newcomb Memorial College (Coordinate with Tulane University)
Sophie Newcomb Memorial College in New Orleans was one of the seven "standard colleges" on the SACW's list. Sophie Newcomb offered Anglo-Saxon in emulation of its brother school's curriculum from 1887, its first year of operation. Despite its geographic proximity to Tulane, Sophie Newcomb hired a number of its own faculty, including Jennie C. Nixon, who taught English, including Anglo-Saxon, at Newcomb until her retirement in 1907.[8] At first, the catalog referred to "Study of Saxon" (1886) and "study of Ancient Saxon" (1888) but finally settled on "Anglo-Saxon grammar and reader with selections from Beowulf" (1889–1899).[9]

Independent Colleges

The colleges in this section offered Anglo-Saxon in their curricula from their foundings as independent colleges separate from any men's schools.

Bryn Mawr College
Bryn Mawr College's curriculum in Anglo-Saxon is discussed in detail in Chap. 3. The college offered Anglo-Saxon in a variety of required or elective courses from its founding in 1885 in Bryn Mawr, PA, into the twentieth century.

The Industrial Institute and College
The Industrial Institute and College's curriculum is discussed in detail in Chap. 3. The College in Columbus, MS, required Anglo-Saxon in its collegiate course from its founding and through the early twentieth century.

Pennsylvania Female College
Pennsylvania Female College opened in 1869 in Western Pennsylvania and offered Anglo-Saxon in a variety of forms and course titles from its founding throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Smith College
Smith College opened in Northampton, MA, in 1875; the coursework for the second year of the "literary course" (what a modern college would call a "major" or "concentration") included "Saxon—March's Grammar and Reader," while the third year literary course included "Saxon—Thorpe's

Analecta Anglo-Saxonica." No professor of English is listed in the 1874 *Circular*, but the 1877 *Circular* names College President L. Clark Seelye as English professor, and he certainly had the academic credentials and training to teach Anglo-Saxon from the first day of the college.[10]

Vassar College
Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, NY, is discussed in detail in Chap. 2, both for its curriculum and its training of many of the first generation of female Anglo-Saxon professors. Vassar listed Anglo-Saxon in its inaugural catalog; instruction in Anglo-Saxon was provided as an addition to the curriculum through the 1870s and 1880s, when it became a regularly offered elective.

Wellesley College
Wellesley College in Wellesley, MA, opened in 1875, requiring "Essay writing; Anglo-Saxon and Early English Literature" in its senior year program of study.[11] Wellesley offered Anglo-Saxon, usually as an upper-level elective, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Wilson College
Founded in 1869, Wilson College in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, actually opened in 1873 with Anglo-Saxon (using March's *Reader*) a part of the junior year English curriculum.[12]

The Woman's College of Baltimore
The Woman's College of Baltimore (now Goucher College)[13] was founded in 1885, but thorough records are not extant until 1889. A brief "bulletin" of 1888 mentions Anglo-Saxon as an elective,[14] but the college's first full academic catalog in 1889 includes three separate courses in Anglo-Saxon. Course #8, "Old English language and literature," is an annual part of the second year English curriculum, while course #13, "Old and Middle English Grammar and Translation," alternates with course #19, "Old English Epic poetry."[15] The Woman's College of Baltimore had professional and community connections to Johns Hopkins, the all-male research university just a mile away (discussed in Chap. 1 as the premier advocate of philology as a scientific subject); its extensive curriculum in Anglo-Saxon was probably inspired by the focus of the department at Hopkins, which defined the parameters of a rigorous curriculum for English studies in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1916, when it was Goucher College, the school was distinguished as the "only college in the South

which has yet been recognized by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae."[16]

Colleges That Grew Out of Seminaries, Institutes, or Academies

Note that this section also includes institutions that used the term "college" even though their curriculum was more secondary than collegiate at their founding.

Agnes Scott Institute
In Decatur, Georgia, the Agnes Scott Institute required its Anglo-Saxon course for a student to receive a "certificate" in English from 1896 to 1901, when Anglo-Saxon became an elective. The school became Agnes Scott College in 1906 and continued to offer Anglo-Saxon as an elective in its English curriculum through the early twentieth century.[17] Agnes Scott is one of the seven "standard colleges" listed by the Southern Association of College Women in 1916, the "only college in Georgia whose graduates are eligible" to become SACW members.[18]

Baptist Female University
Meredith College in Raleigh, NC, opened as Baptist Female University in 1899 and first offered Anglo-Saxon in 1903; its name changed in 1904 to honor Thomas Meredith (an influential Baptist who supported women's education in the early nineteenth century). Meredith was listed as an "approximate college" in the 1916 Southern Association of College Women's Bulletin and was fully accredited in 1921.[19]

The College of St Elizabeth
The Academy of St Elizabeth was founded in 1860 at Convent Station, New Jersey; rather than transition the academy to a college, in 1899 the Sisters of Charity inaugurated the College of St Elizabeth on the same large campus and kept the academy open as a preparatory school (the situation that obtains today).[20] It was probably the only Catholic women's college in the country to offer Anglo-Saxon before WWI, although it took nine years after the college's founding for Anglo-Saxon to become part of the English course offerings.[21] Anglo-Saxon was first offered at the College of St Elizabeth in 1908, as an elective open only to seniors.[22] The Sisters were limited in their curricular expansions by their own expertise, since all of the faculty were members of the order; Sister Mary Vincent Hillman graduated

from the college in 1904 and returned to teach at her alma mater in 1908 after some graduate study at Chicago (she completed her master's degree in 1909). It is likely that she was the instructor of the 1908 Old and Middle English class, probably the only professed nun in the United States qualified to teach it.[23]

Converse College

Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina, opened in 1890 and first offered Anglo-Saxon in 1911, the year before it was accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools; Converse was one of the seven colleges on the Southern Association of College Women's list of "standard colleges" in 1916.[24]

Elmira Female College

Like other institutions in this section, Elmira added Anglo-Saxon to its curriculum long after its founding but also long before its official accreditations by the Middle States. Elmira was founded in 1855 in Elmira, NY, and dropped "Female" from its name in 1874. Elmira expanded its student body, eliminated its "Lady Principals," hired male and female faculty with advanced degrees, and reinforced its curriculum throughout the 1880s and 1890s; the school first offered Anglo-Saxon in 1896. It was accredited by the Middle States in 1921.[25]

Frederick Female Seminary

Now Hood College, the Frederick Female Seminary became the Women's College of Frederick in 1893; it first offered Anglo-Saxon in 1923 immediately after its initial accreditation by Middle States in 1922.[26]

Georgia Female College

Founded in 1836, Georgia Female College in Macon, GA, became Wesleyan Female College in 1843 (it is now simply Wesleyan College, still all-women); it called itself a college from its founding in 1836, although its curriculum was not actually collegiate until the 1890s. While Wesleyan's website boasts that it is "the world's oldest women's college," the official collegiate history also notes a curriculum review begun in 1894 that led to the college's accreditation in 1919 by the Association of Colleges and Schools of the Southern States (now Southern Association of Colleges and Schools).[27] As part of that curriculum review, the college hired Miss Elizabeth Chapman, A.M., as professor of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon in 1896; even

after Miss Chapman's departure in 1898, the catalog continued to list Anglo-Saxon as an elective.[28] Like many other schools listed here, Wesleyan Female College added Anglo-Saxon as part of its initiative to improve its academic rigor in its pursuit of accreditation and academic status.

Georgia Female Seminary

Georgia Female Seminary in Gainesville, GA, became Brenau College in 1900. In 1902, the first year with records in the archives, Brenau required Anglo-Saxon as part of its "Classical Course for Degree [of] Bachelor of Arts." By 1908, a course in Anglo-Saxon was required for a B.L. (a Bachelor of Letters) at Brenau.[29]

Judson Female Institute

In the Deep South, the Judson Female Institute, which had been founded in Marion, Alabama, in 1839, declared itself Judson Female College in 1903.[30] The 1903 catalog stated that "For applicants for the Bachelor of Arts degree an extended course in Anglo-Saxon and the early history of English Literature was given during the past year. The text-book was Lewis' Beginnings of English Literature, which was supplemented by lectures and parallel reading."[31] Lewis's textbook, however, includes no Anglo-Saxon language or grammar instruction; it does not even include Anglo-Saxon texts in Modern English translation. Judson offered a full course in Anglo-Saxon in 1905; the 1903 description indicates the sense that the school should offer Anglo-Saxon, now that it was a full college, but that the students or faculty were not yet capable of that study. By 1905, these shaky beginnings had stabilized, and Judson's course used Bright's text-book like many of the courses at its peer schools.[32] Judson was not accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools until 1925, and the Southern Association of College Women in 1916 regarded Judson as an "unclassifiable college" in 1916, but the college itself saw Anglo-Saxon as a crucial part of its institutional advancement.[33]

Mary Baldwin Seminary

The Mary Baldwin Seminary in Staunton, Virginia, offered Anglo-Saxon long before it became Mary Baldwin College in 1923 (before 1896, the school was called the Augusta Female Seminary after the name of the county). From 1894, Augusta Female/Mary Baldwin students had access to an elective in Anglo-Saxon. The course disappeared from the catalog for a few years after WWI, reappearing as part of the transition from seminary to

college in 1923.[34] Even the Southern Association of College Women's *Bulletin* admits that Mary Baldwin Seminary (classified as a Junior College) is "superior to most of the institutions in this group."[35]

Mills Seminary for Young Ladies
Mills Seminary in Oakland, California, became Mills College in 1890 (after four years of dual status as both seminary and college); it offered an elective in Anglo-Saxon in 1896 (because of low enrollments, 1896 was the first year that the college enrolled senior literature students who would have been able to take the course).[36]

Mount Holyoke Seminary
Mount Holyoke's transition from seminary to college, and concomitant addition of Anglo-Saxon to the curriculum, is detailed in Chap. 2. The college, located in South Hadley, MA, stopped offering Anglo-Saxon early in the twenty-first century.

Rockford Female Seminary
Rockford Female Seminary in Rockford, Illinois, became Rockford College in 1892; Anglo-Saxon was part of the English curriculum by 1895.[37]

Spelman Seminary
Spelman's post-WWI transition from seminary to college is discussed in Chap. 3. Coordinating with Morehouse College and Atlanta University, Spelman deepened its upper-level curricula throughout the 1920s and 1930s. It became Spelman College in 1924; its first Anglo-Saxon class was offered as a joint effort with the other Atlanta schools in 1932.

Stephens Female College
Stephens College in Columbia, Missouri, was founded in 1833 as Columbia Female Academy; it became Stephens Female College in 1870 but its curriculum was still more preparatory than collegiate.[38] In 1874, the first year with documentation in the Stephens archives, Stephens offered no Latin or Greek (the most obvious markers of collegiate status, although most academies and seminaries offered at least some Latin) and no English literature. The curriculum became much more rigorous throughout the last quarter of the century, so that by 1898 most of the faculty had bachelor's or master's degrees and Anglo-Saxon was part of the literary course. Part of Stephens' assertion of its new academic expertise was the inclusion of a

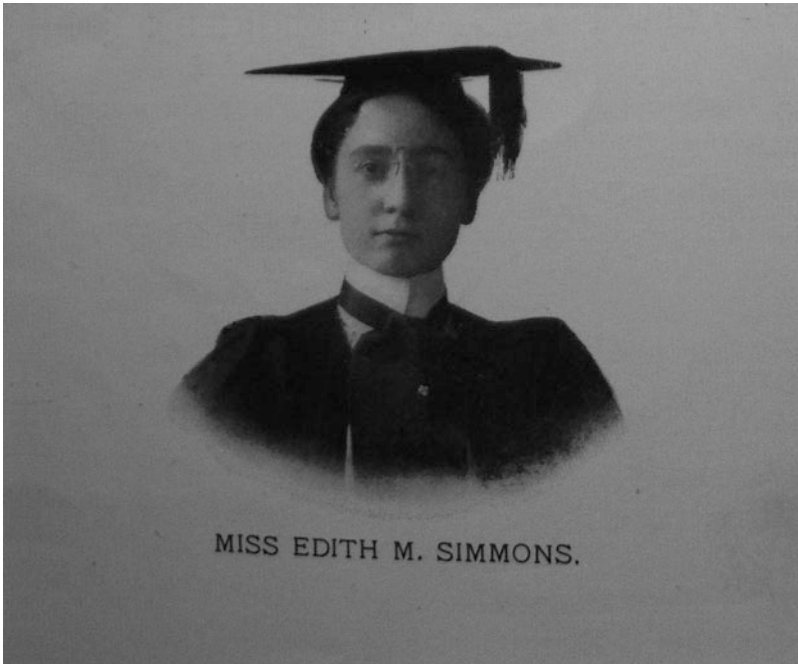

Fig. A1 Edith Simmons, Stephens College professor of Anglo-Saxon, reproduced by permission of the Stephens College Archives

photograph in the 1899 catalog of Edith Simmons, professor of Anglo-Saxon, in full academic attire (Fig. A1). Stephens declared itself a college rather than an academy more than 20 years before its curriculum became collegiate, a transition that included additions of Latin, Greek, and Anglo-Saxon. That transition was certified when Stephens was fully accredited by the North Central Association Higher Learning Commission in 1918.[39]

Wells College

Located in Aurora, NY, Wells was originally chartered as a seminary, but the trustees changed the name to "Wells College" before the official opening in 1870. The college first offered Anglo-Saxon in 1890 as part of its ongoing transition to a fully collegiate curriculum.[40] It was accredited in 1921.[41]

West Florida Seminary

The West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee (which was coeducational) offered a course in Anglo-Saxon when it eliminated men from its student body and became the Florida Female College in 1906.[42] In the next two years (as the school's name changed to the Florida State College for Women), no similar course was offered at all; then Anglo-Saxon became a regular part of the curriculum (in alternate years) starting in 1911.[43] Florida State College for Women was accredited in 1915 and listed as one of the Southern Association of College Women's seven "standard colleges" in 1916, indicating its success in positioning itself as an academically respectable institution.[44] Florida State College for Women returned to its coeducational roots when it became Florida State University in 1947.

Wheaton Seminary

Wheaton Seminary was one of the very earliest educational opportunities for women in the United States at its founding in Norton, MA, 1834. It became Wheaton College in 1912 and offered Anglo-Saxon in 1913. Since Wheaton was not accredited by NEASC until 1929, the addition of Anglo-Saxon to the curriculum was not influenced by external pressure; the administration and faculty decided internally that it was a crucial part of the transition from seminary to college.[45] As a seminary, Wheaton provided until 1912 a standard survey of English literature that studied the "rich stream of literature from Chaucer down."[46] In 1913, Wheaton College offered a full course in "Old English grammar, with readings from Beowulf, Judith, and The Battle of Maldon."[47] Wheaton is the longest-lived institution founded for the post-secondary education of women in this study.

Appendix 2: American Women Who Taught Anglo-Saxon at the Collegiate Level Before WWI

Note: that each section lists faculty alphabetically by last name. Except for the last, none of the sections purports to be exhaustive.

Faculty with No Degrees, Undergraduate or Graduate

Four of the earliest female professors of Anglo-Saxon had no college degrees at all; they started their careers as the very first English professors at their schools. Despite their lack of professional credentials, they had

extended and successful careers that included regularly offering coursework in Anglo-Saxon language and literature.

Anne Kirtley

At Judson College, Kirtley taught the inaugural course in Anglo-Saxon as the seminary became a college. She completed coursework but no degree at the University of Michigan and in 1909 was on leave from Judson to study at Oxford (United Kingdom).[48] "Miss Kirtley" was a foundational figure at the college, and her ghost is said to haunt various parts of the campus, including the building named after her.[49]

M.L. McKinney

McKinney was the inaugural English professor at Agnes Scott, where she taught the first class in Anglo-Saxon in 1896;[50] McKinney did take an entire year to study at Cornell in 1899, where she took graduate courses for professional development despite not having a bachelor's degree.[51]

Jennie C. Nixon

In 1886, Nixon was hired as Sophie Newcomb's first English professor. Nixon's unusual credentials are worth noting: a widow with two children, she had no university degree at all. After her husband's death, she went to Europe where she hired tutors to educate herself and her children;[52] upon her return to New Orleans, she was a school teacher, the society editor of the *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, and the commissioner of the Louisiana State Division of the Women's department at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial in 1884.[53] Nixon must have learned some Anglo-Saxon while abroad, since she taught a variety of English classes at Sophie Newcomb throughout her faculty career, including an annual Anglo-Saxon class, until her retirement in 1907.[54]

Irene Tisinger

Early Brenau College catalogs carefully noted Tisinger as "Mrs. Irene Tisinger" to indicate her widowhood and thus her respectability; she was the sole English faculty as the Georgia Female Seminary became Brenau College. Tisinger had no bachelor's degree, but she did non-matriculated graduate study at Columbia and the University of Chicago.[55]

Faculty with Bachelor's and/or Master's Degrees

Many of the faculty listed here did graduate work in the summer but did not complete a graduate program.

Mary Botsford
Botsford taught Anglo-Saxon at Wilson College in the 1890s. She was a Vassar graduate who had also taught at Rockford Seminary.

Elizabeth Chapman
Wesleyan Female College hired “Miss Elizabeth Chapman, A.M.,” as professor of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon in 1896; even after Miss Chapman's departure in 1898, the catalog continued to list Anglo-Saxon as an elective.[56] I have been unable to discover where Chapman did her undergraduate or graduate work.

Hadgie Booker Davies
Davies (mentioned in Chap. 2) taught Anglo-Saxon and English at Mary Baldwin Seminary from 1893 to 1897. She graduated from the University of Arkansas in 1893 and did some graduate study in Chicago.[57] She returned to the University of Arkansas to teach English there in 1897 but then retired in 1904 when she married.[58]

Elizabeth Eastman
Eastman taught a variety of English courses, including Anglo-Saxon, at Rockford Seminary and Rockford College from 1886 to 1898, as it transitioned from seminary to college (throughout the 1890s, the title page of the catalog varied from “seminary,” to “college,” to “college and seminary,” but it seems like there were non-collegiate students at Rockford until well into the twentieth century).[59] Eastman graduated from Smith in 1886 and did graduate work at Yale 1892. After her time at Rockford, she taught in secondary girls' schools before becoming dean at Wilson College and then at the Pennsylvania College for Women.[60]

Ida Josephine Everett
Everett's career is discussed in Chap. 2; she graduated from Mount Holyoke in 1893. Her first post-baccalaureate position was at Mills, where she taught English and Anglo-Saxon as Mills transitioned from seminary to college

(1893–1901). After some graduate work at Yale, she taught at Wheaton from 1905 to 1928. She also served as Wheaton's dean from 1912 to 1921.

Isabel Harris
A graduate of Richmond College (which became the current University of Richmond in 1920), Harris taught Anglo-Saxon at Baptist Female University (which became Meredith College) in 1903.[61]

Heloise Hersey
Hersey is likely the first female professor of Anglo-Saxon, not just in the United States but in the entire world. After graduating from Vassar in 1876, she was appointed to the Smith College English department by 1878; the Smith catalogs list her as the teacher of Anglo-Saxon in 1879, although she may have taught the course a year earlier.[62] After leaving Smith, Hersey was the Head of School at Miss Hersey's School for Girls in Boston until 1899; in 1901, she published a book of educational advice, *To Girls*.[63]

Mary Augusta Jordan
Jordan graduated from Vassar in 1876; she remained in Poughkeepsie as the college librarian while she earned a master's in English (awarded in 1878) and then as adjunct faculty in the English department. Smith College hired her in 1880 (see Fig. A2).[64] Jordan is first listed as "Teacher of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon" in the 1884 Smith catalog; she taught Anglo-Saxon periodically throughout her career at Smith, which ended in 1921.[65]

Ella Adelaide Knapp
Knapp earned a master's degree from the University of Michigan in 1890 to supplement her 1888 bachelor's from Kalamazoo College. Her master's thesis was "A Study of Thoreau,"[66] but she taught a variety of English courses, including Anglo-Saxon, at Mount Holyoke College beginning in 1890.[67] Records of the University of Michigan indicate that she also taught at the Pennsylvania College for Women (formerly Pennsylvania Female College) and at Goucher College after the turn to the twentieth century. Those same records indicate that she earned a Ph.D. from Michigan in 1899 (presumably in English), but I have been unable to find any information about her dissertation; I have thus left her in this section of the faculty list.[68]

Fig. A2 Mary Augusta Jordan teaching at Smith College. Courtesy of Smith College Archives

Mary K. Monroe

Monroe graduated from Oberlin in 1874. She taught at Wellesley from 1881 to 1888; her title was Teacher of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon. She was the first woman to teach Anglo-Saxon at Wellesley (her predecessor was George Dippold). Monroe retired at a relatively young age because of increasing deafness; she returned to Ohio to live with family.[69]

Pauline Orr

"Miss Orr" was the inaugural English professor at the Industrial Institute and College in Columbus, Mississippi (discussed in Chap. 3). Born in Mississippi, Orr studied at the Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn before returning to teach at the new public women's college in 1885. Throughout her career there, she clashed repeatedly with presidents and trustees who wanted to lower academic standards and emphasize the industrial and domestic science departments at the expense of the liberal arts. Orr

taught Anglo-Saxon throughout her career at the I.I.&C.; she was the impetus behind the college's requirement in Anglo-Saxon throughout the nineteenth century. Through those years, Orr and her life partner, Miriam Paslay, engaged in summer graduate study at Cornell, Radcliffe, the University of Zurich, the University of Munich, and Columbia University; Orr earned her master's degree from Columbia in 1913, just after she resigned her teaching position to devote herself full time to her suffrage work.[70]

Faculty with the Ph.D. Focused on a Topic Other than Anglo-Saxon

Annie Heloise Abel
Abel's connections with the suffrage movement are discussed in Chap. 4. She taught a combination of American and medieval history courses at Wells, Goucher, the Teachers College at Johns Hopkins, Smith, Sweet Briar, and Kansas State University (where she ended her career). Her bachelor's (1898) and master's (1900) degrees are from Kansas State; her 1905 Yale Ph.D., which won the 1906 Winsor Prize of the American Historical Association, was titled "The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi." All of Abel's published work focuses on Native American Indian history and the interactions of the tribes with US government. She studied Anglo-Saxon as part of her master's work at Kansas and in 1911 was listed as a fellow in "Germanic Philology" at Johns Hopkins; while she probably included Anglo-Saxon history as part of her more general medieval history classes, there is no evidence that she ever taught the language as part of an English language and literature curriculum.[71]

Martha Warren Beckwith
Beckwith was the first professor of Anglo-Saxon at Elmira College in 1896. She left the field of English entirely, earned her Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia in 1918, and became a professor of folklore and comparative literature at Vassar (she also spent substantial amounts of time in Hawaii, where she researched her *Hawaiian Mythology*, still a classic in the field).[72]

Elizabeth Deering Hanscom
Hanscom wrote her 1894 Yale Ph.D. dissertation on *Piers Plowman* before entering the English department at Smith, where she taught Anglo-Saxon periodically throughout her career.[73]

Sister Mary Vincent Hillman
Hillman, the first Anglo-Saxon professor at the College of St Elizabeth, produced a facing-page edition and translation of *Pearl* as her 1942 dissertation from Fordham University, almost 40 years after she earned her undergraduate degree.[74] She had earned her bachelor's at the College of St Elizabeth in 1904 and her master's from Chicago in 1909.

Laura Lockwood
Lockwood's 1898 Yale dissertation "Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton" was published (in slightly revised form) in 1907. She earned her bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Kansas. Lockwood was remembered by her students at Wellesley primarily as a professor of Anglo-Saxon (detail in Chap. 2). She taught in the Wellesley English department from 1899 to 1930.

Louise Pound
Pound spent much of her life in her native Nebraska. She earned her bachelor's (1892) and master's (1895) degrees at the University of Nebraska. After some graduate study at the University of Chicago, she completed her Ph.D. at the University of Heidelberg in 1900 (her dissertation focused on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English grammar). She spent her career at the University of Nebraska, where she taught a wide variety of courses, including Anglo-Saxon. In 1898 she published *A List of Strong Verbs and Preterite Present Verbs in Anglo-Saxon* "for use in elementary classes in the University of Nebraska. It is intended as auxiliary to grammars and dictionaries, to facilitate for beginners the finding of verb forms in Anglo-Saxon readings."[75] Pound was also the first female president of the Modern Language Association (in 1954–1955).[76]

Edith Rickert
Rickert graduated from Vassar in 1891. After her graduation, she simultaneously worked on her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and taught at Vassar. Her 1899 dissertation focused on the Middle English romance *Emaré*. After extensive European travel, Rickert returned to the University of Chicago, where she finished her career as an English instructor and part of the team working on a project on Chaucer manuscripts.[77]

Mary Augusta Scott
Scott was part of the Anglo-Saxonist-heavy Vassar class of 1876; she also earned a master's from Vassar (while she was teaching there as an instructor) and taught at a number of other schools and colleges before matriculating at Yale as a doctoral student. She wrote her 1894 Yale dissertation on "The Elizabethan Drama, especially in its relation to the Italians of the Renaissance" and was the most prolific female contributor to *PMLA* throughout the 1890s.[78] She taught Anglo-Saxon and other English classes at Smith throughout her career there.

M. Carey Thomas
Thomas, discussed in Chap. 3 as the first dean and English professor at Bryn Mawr, wrote her doctoral dissertation on the Middle English and the literary milieu of the Gawain-Poet for the University of Zurich.[79] She taught Anglo-Saxon at Bryn Mawr, less frequently as her administrative duties took more precedence.

American Women with the Ph.D. in English Focused on Anglo-Saxon

Helen Bartlett
Bartlett's 1896 Bryn Mawr Ph.D. led to administrative work, as she became Dean of Women at Bradley Polytechnic Institute in Peoria, Illinois, in 1897. Bartlett's dissertation on "The Metrical Division of the Paris Psalter" provides a detailed philological examination of the psalter's diction and metrical form to argue for a mid-tenth-century date for the *Psalter*.[80] After graduate school, her professional focus was no longer Anglo-Saxon or even English. In addition to her administrative work at Bradley, she was the head of the department of Modern Languages; Bradley's status as an academy with a two-year college ensured that Bartlett did not teach Anglo-Saxon there, although she taught German alongside her administrative work.[81]

Alma Blount
Blount's career at the Eastern Michigan Normal College is detailed in Chap. 2. She wrote her 1896 Cornell dissertation (now lost) on "The Phonetic and Grammatical Peculiarities of the Old English Poem *Andreas*."[82]

Mary Gwinn

Gwinn, known in much of the literature by her nickname "Mamie," was the first American woman to receive a Ph.D. in Anglo-Saxon. The only typical part of her career in English studies is that she left it when she married in 1904. Her 1888 Bryn Mawr Ph.D. is so unconventional that it represents the unfixed, emergent nature of the doctoral degree in the United States in general and for women in particular in the second half of the nineteenth century. Bryn Mawr, founded in 1885, had no academic policies or procedures in place in 1888 when the college conferred Gwinn's doctorate. The handwritten "Minutes of Faculty Meetings" in the Bryn Mawr Archives records the vote on 10 May 1888 to recommend Gwinn's doctorate to the trustees, the same day as a discussion about formalizing the practices for graduate examinations.[83]M. Carey Thomas, the dean and the only English professor at Bryn Mawr in 1888, was the only member of the faculty qualified to evaluate a doctoral dissertation in English; Thomas was also Gwinn's lifelong friend and companion. The exact nature of their relationship has been discussed in a number of venues; they were definitely deeply committed to one another emotionally and intellectually and they lived together at Bryn Mawr from 1885 until 1904.[84] Horowitz has proved that Gwinn wrote Thomas's master's thesis on Swinburne while they were in Europe as Thomas worked on her Ph.D.; Gwinn also wrote Thomas's lectures notes for Bryn Mawr's English literature survey course.[85] The inappropriateness of Thomas as Gwinn's dissertation director seems not to have been formally acknowledged in the Bryn Mawr archives (where, indeed, Gwinn seems not to have had an official dissertation director). The self-educated Gwinn had no other academic degrees; much of her academic expertise came from her relationship with Thomas as Thomas ascended the academic hierarchy. Like some of the early English professors listed above, Gwinn certainly had the skills and knowledge needed to teach English at the collegiate level even though she had no bachelor's degree.

Gwinn's dissertation, unpublished but preserved in the archives at Bryn Mawr, is the first dissertation by an American woman on an Anglo-Saxon topic; it is an unusual academic document, even by the fluid standards of the time. Titled "The First Part of *Beowulf*," it is typed but includes many handwritten additions and cross-outs (in contrast, Bryn Mawr by 1892 required all dissertations to be professionally printed, as were those of the men's and coeducational universities). Gwinn worked for much of her life on a translation of *Beowulf*, drafts of which are stored in the archives at Princeton

with her husband's papers, but "The First Part of *Beowulf*" contains no indication that she could read Anglo-Saxon with any facility, and her analysis seems to rely on and quote only from translation (although not hers).[86] Her topic is not philological at all; her analysis of the folkloric and epic elements of *Beowulf* argues for "a purely literary enjoyment and appreciation" of the poem and focuses on the poem's use of imagery.[87] The extant copy of the Gwinn dissertation contains no bibliography and no formal citations, although there are many references to contemporary philological scholarship throughout the text. In short, it lacks many of the formal elements expected in a dissertation in the late nineteenth century. Although she had no bachelor's or master's degree, Gwinn taught English at Bryn Mawr as a "Fellow in English" before she was awarded her doctorate; she was promoted to an associate professorship in 1889 and then a full professorship in 1898.[88] In 1904, she eloped with fellow English professor Alfred Hodder, ending her relationship of more than 25 years with Thomas as well as her professional career.[89] Hodder died only three years later, but Gwinn never returned to academia. Samples of Gwinn's translations and adaptations of Anglo-Saxon literature are included in Appendix 4.

Alice Dudek Halley

Halley did some part-time teaching at the Brooklyn Institute in 1897 (when she was still Alice Dudek), but she was married before she finished her 1898 New York University dissertation on "The Sources of the National Epic, *Beowulf*" and she never worked in academia with her doctorate.[90]

Martha Anstice Harris

Harris's career at Elmira College is discussed in detail in Chap. 2. Her 1896 Yale dissertation is titled *A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels.*

Constance Pessels

Pessels earned her doctorate at Johns Hopkins in 1894 with a dissertation on "The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon." Like most of the others noted here, Pessels' dissertation is unflaggingly philological, with lists of verb forms from a variety of textual examples, sorted by verbal mood. She even includes a number of tables providing quantitative data on periphrastic tense usages in Anglo-Saxon texts translated from Latin.[91] Pessels had done her undergraduate and master's work at the University of Texas; she returned to the Lone Star State to become the English department head at San Antonio High School, where she was "prominent

in civil life."[92] Like many of her colleagues, Pessels used her doctorate in Anglo-Saxon for professional status and advancement rather than for regular classroom material.

Marguerite Sweet

By 1892, the year Bryn Mawr awarded Sweet the Ph.D. degree, Bryn Mawr had instituted regular policies about examinations and dissertations for doctoral students. The college had also hired faculty in a number of fields, so that in addition to M. Carey Thomas and Mary Gwinn (both listed in this appendix), Sweet had access to James Douglas Bruce, "Associate in Anglo-Saxon," who had studied in Europe and at Johns Hopkins.[93] Sweet's dissertation, titled "The Third Class of Weak Verbs in Primitive Teutonic, with special reference to its development in Anglo-Saxon," is evidence of the ascendance of the rigor and legitimacy of the "science" of Germanic philology in the late-nineteenth-century American English department, as discussed in Chap. 1. Sweet's dissertation is full of linguistically technical and philologically detailed analysis, complete with extensive vocabulary lists; in her introduction, she asks, "What is the significance for Primitive Teutonic of this mixture of forms, and which, Gothic or Anglo-Saxon, is nearer the primitive condition?"[94] Sweet's Germanic (and, for modern readers, absolutely stultifying) dissertation led her to teaching positions at Vassar and Mount Holyoke. She was an "instructor in English" at Vassar (her alma mater) from 1892 to 1897, where she taught Anglo-Saxon and other English classes; she left Vassar to become a professor at Mount Holyoke, where she stayed for only two years.[95] Renker uses Sweet as an example of the trend toward the professionalization of literary studies in the American college; while Mount Holyoke admired Sweet's Ph.D., the faculty was hostile to her and the changes she represented. Renker states that:

> Sweet . . . brought to Mount Holyoke along with her Ph.D. and her Teutonic dissertation a new definition of what a serious college curriculum in English should look like . . . given the momentous shift she represented as well as the hostility with which the other faculty treated her, Sweet remained on the faculty for only two years. We have no record of why she left, whether voluntarily or involuntarily.[96]

Sweet ended her career as an English teacher and then headmistress at a series of private schools for girls in New York City, including the Misses Ely's School, the Hawthorne School, and the Veltin School. We have no

way of knowing exactly what curriculum she taught, or whether she enjoyed her younger pupils and more cosmopolitan address.[97] One of the girls' schools prominently displayed Sweet's Ph.D. credential in a 1913 advertisement, indicating that the degree was professionally useful even if she was no longer teaching her students about Anglo-Saxon verb forms.[98]

Caroline Louisa White

White did not teach Anglo-Saxon after she earned her Ph.D. Throughout her adult life, White alternated teaching positions with opportunities to further her own education, probably due to financial constraints. She graduated from Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1871 and then taught at her alma mater until 1878, when she became the head of the Ladies' Department at Washburn College in Topeka, Kansas. In 1883, she enrolled at what was then known as the Harvard Annex (later Radcliffe) and taught at Bradford Academy in Haverhill, Massachusetts. White returned to Washburn as an English professor in 1889, even though she still did not have a bachelor's degree. In 1894, she graduated from Mount Holyoke again, this time with an undergraduate degree, and began her doctoral study at Yale. She earned her Ph.D. and published her 1898 Yale dissertation, *Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings*, when she was 49 years old.[99] Her last professional position was the English professorship at the French-American College in Springfield, Massachusetts (now American International College); from 1901 to 1903, she taught both the college and the academy students (most of whom were descendants of French Canadians who used English as a second language).[100] The curriculum there included rhetoric, grammar, and a wide variety of literary texts, but no courses focused on Anglo-Saxon.[101] Like others in her cohort, White used her doctorate as an academic credential rather than a part of her daily academic work.

Kathryne Janette Wilson

Wilson earned her Ph.D. from Stanford in 1896 with a now-lost dissertation on *Beowulf*; she married in February of that year, however, and never held any kind of academic position.[102]

Ida Wood

Wood's 1891 Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr led to a position as dean of women at the University of Pennsylvania; she discovered after she accepted the job that it was "unsalaried." After leaving Penn, Wood became the "secretary" (as the head of the school was termed) at the Bryn Mawr School for girls in

Baltimore.[103] While Wood's dissertation presented a translation of *Widsith* and an argument about its unity, her postdoctoral positions were purely administrative.

Appendix 3: Translations by Anna Robertson Brown of Selections from *Beowulf*, *Genesis B*, *The Dream of the Rood*, *The Phoenix*, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and *The Wanderer*

(Reproduced by permission from Pre-1900 Issues of *Poet-Lore*, the Oldest Continuously Published Poetry Journal in the United States)

Anna Robertson Brown

Anna Robertson Brown (1864–1948) received the first Ph.D. awarded by the University of Pennsylvania to a woman, and the first Ph.D. ever awarded by the University in English. Her dissertation, now lost, focused on the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* in the Thornton manuscript.[104]

Although her dissertation focused on Middle English rather than Old English, Brown's published translations of Old English poetry show that study of Anglo-Saxon was an integral part of her graduate training. All seven of Brown's translations from Old English were published in *Poet-Lore*, a literary journal founded in Philadelphia by Helen A. Clarke and Charlotte Endymion Porter in 1889. Brown's work appears in all of the first six volumes (1889–1894), although her translations from Old English cluster in 1890 and 1891. Brown probably knew Clarke through Clarke's father, who taught in the music department at Penn when Brown was a non-matriculated student there in the 1870s. *Poet-Lore* is still an active literary journal; its website celebrates its long history and founding editors.[105]

Unusually for the time period, Brown did not retire from professional life when she married. She is more well-known for her work in religion than in English studies; she published eight books on theology and missionary work from 1893 to 1907, remaining an active author after her marriage in 1896 to Samuel McCune Lindsay.[106] She did leave medieval studies, however, as well as any desire she may have had in the early 1890s to disseminate Old English poetry to those who could not read it in the original.

The translations here are the only record of her engagement with Old English and her attempts to share it with a wider literary community.

Unlike Gwinn with her "preface" (see Appendix 4), Brown provides very little indication of the reasoning for her translation choices. She includes accent marks to indicate stress or rhythm unusual to the modern ear, with many more marked stresses in the *Beowulf* translations than in the other texts. She usually but not slavishly utilizes two of the main characteristics of Old English verse: many but not all lines contain some form of alliteration, and the majority also use enjambment or caesura (although the typesetting or punctuation does not always mark it as such). True to Old English poetic form, there is no rhyme.[107] The seven translations show Brown's awareness of the challenges of presenting Old English poetry in poetic translation; while sometimes she sacrifices Modern English sense or word order for a more "Anglo-Saxon" rhythm, her translations strike a balance between modern comprehension needs and appreciation of Old English poetic form. The titles and brief introductions are Brown's. Stress marks, capitalization, italics, and esoteric spellings are hers as well; italics usually indicate a pronoun or adverb added (by Brown) for clarity. Lineation follows that of standard editions of the Old English original texts as indicated in the endnotes. Brown's original footnotes are reproduced in the endnotes to start with (ARB):. Editorial additions to Brown's footnotes are indicted with <> brackets.

THE PASSING OF SCYLD
BEÓWULF, 26–53[108]

[Scyld is an ancestor of Hrôthgâr, whose hall Beówulf frees from the deadly visits of the monster Grendel. At Scyld's death, he is laid upon a richly adorned ship and left to drift out to sea. The following version has four accents and a caesura in each line.]

THÉN Scyld passed at the fore-doomed hour,
The war-keen to go to the keeping of God.
Théy then bare him to the stream of the sea,
Dear companions, as he himself bade,
Whilst the friend of the Scyldings ruled with words, 30
The lovéd land-prince long held *sway.*
There at the haven stood the ringéd prow,

Shining and ready, the atheling's craft,
Laid they then the belovèd lord,
Giver of rings, in the bosom of the ship,— 35
The renowned by the mast. There was many a treasure,—
Curios brought from the ways afar,—
Never heard I more grandly a keel to grace
With weapons of battle and weeds of war,
With bills and byrnies. In his bosom lay 40
Many a treasure that should with him
Ínto the power of the flood go far.
By nó means they decked him less with gifts
The peoples'-jewel, thán those did
Who at the beginning sent him forth 45
Alone over the wave, being a child.
A golden banner moreóver they then set
High over head; they let the deep sea bear,
They gave unto the flood: to them was a sad heart,
A mourning mind. Men know nót 50
To say, in truth, the allotment of fate,
Heroes under the heavens, who received that burden.

THE BATTLE WITH THE WATER-SPRITE
BEÓWULF, 1493–1571[109]

[Beówulf seeks Grendel and his mother in the water-haunts. He is attacked by Grendel's mother, fights her, and finally slays the monster.]

AFTER these words, the hero of the Weder-Geats
Hasted with might, not at all an answer
Would he bide; the sea-surge received
The battle-man. It was a dayswhile 1495
Before he could distinguish the sea-bottom.
Soon that one perceived—she who the expanse of the flood,
Sword-eager, held for fifty years,

Grim and greedy—that there a man
The haunts of strange wights explored from above. 1500
She then gript at him, she seized the battle-man
With grisly claws, yet did not thereby scathe
The sound body: the ring-mail roundabout protected him
So that she could not pierce through the war-dress—
The link-sark interlocked—with loathly fingers. 1505
Bare then the sea-wolf, when she came to bottom,
The ruler of rings to her dwelling,
That he might not (he was brave to that degree)
Wield weapons, but him many of these monsters
Swinked a-swimming, many a sea-beast 1510
With battle-teeth the war-sark brake;
They pursued the sorrow-bringer. Then the noble-born perceived
That he was in he knew not what nether-hall,
Where him no water harmed a whit
Nor might touch him, for the hall-roof, 1515
The sudden gripe of the flood. He saw the fire-light,
The dazzling gleam shine brightly.
The good *one* then perceived the wolf of the sea-bottom,
The mighty mere-wife. He made a furious onset
With battle-bill, *his* hand drew not back from the blow, 1520
So that upon her head the ring-etched[110] sang
A greedy battle-lay. Then the stranger found
That the battle-light[111] would not bite
To injure life, but the blade failed
The hero at need: it had suffered before many 1525
A hand-to-hand encounter, oft it clove the helm,
The war-dress of the death-doomed: this was the first time
That its force failed the costly treasure.
Thereupon he waxed resolute, he weakened not at all in strength,

Mindful of glory, the kinsman of Hygelâc. 1530
He cast away the wounden-chased,[112] with ornaments inlaid,
The ireful hero, so that it lay upon the ground
Stiff and steel-edged; he trusted in *his* strength,
In the hand-gripe of hero-might. So shall one prevail,
When he in battle thinketh to reach 1535
Long-lasting fame,—he careth not about his life.
Then grasped he by the shoulder—he recoiled not from the combat—
The hero of the Battle-Geats, the mother of Grendel.
Swung then the brave in strife, since he was an-angered,
The life-enemy, so that she sank on the floor. 1540
Thereupon she quickly returned payment,
With grim claws, and grasped at him.
Stumbled then, weary-minded, the strongest of warriors,
The foot-soldier, so that he had a fall.
Then she sat upon the hall-guest, and drew her saxe, 1545
Broad and brown-edged,—she would avenge her child,—
Her only son. On his shoulder lay
A woven breast-net;[113] it saved *his* life:
Against spear-point and sword-edge it withstood ingoing.
Then had perished the son of Ecgtheów— 1550
The warrior of the Geats—in the deep sea-bottom,
Had not his battle-byrnie aided him with help,
The firm war-net; and the holy God
Wielded the war-victory, the wise Lord;
The Ruler of the skies decided it in accord with right:— 1555
Easily he afterwards arose.
He saw then among the war-gear the victory-blessed bill,
The old sword of the giants, a doughty blade,
The glory of warriors; it was the best of weapons,

But it was more than any other man 1560
Could bear in a battle-tilt,—
The good and splendid work of the giants.
He seized the sword-hilt, the wolf of the Scyldings,
Fierce and sword-grim; he swung the ring-etched[114]
Despairing of life, angrily he felled, 1565
So that the hard *blade* grasped her neck,
And broke her bone-rings; the bill pierced through all
The death-doomed flesh-covering, she sank to the ground;
The sword was gory, he rejoiced in *his* work.

THE FALL OF THE ANGELS
CÆDMON (SO-CALLED)[115]

THEN was the Mighty One angered,

The Ruler of highest heaven; he cast him from the high seat. 300
Hate he had gained from his Lord, his favor he had lost.
Wroth against him was the Good One in his mind; therefore he must seek the abyss
Of hell's hard torments, because he strove against heaven's Ruler.
He rejected him then from his favor, and cast him into hell,
Into the deep dales, there he was changed to a devil, 305
The fiend with all his feres: they fell from heaven
Throughout three nights and days.
The angels from above into hell, and them all transformed
The Lord to devils, because they his will and word
Would not honor; therefore them in a worse light[116] 310
Under earth beneath Almighty God
Set victory-reft in the swart hell.
There have they in *that* night immeasurably long,

Each one of all the fiends, unquenchèd fire.
Then cometh at dawn an eastern wind, 315
A bitterly cold frost: always fire or freezing;[117]
They must have some cruel torment;
They wrought themselves their punishment, their life was changed,
For the first time hell filled
With the apostates. The angels still held 320
The height of the kingdom of heaven, who erst fulfilled God's pleasure.
The other fiends lay in the fire, who before had so many
A strife against their Ruler; they suffer torment,
A hot battle-wave in the midst of hell,
Fire and broad flames, likewise the bitter reeks, 325
Smoke and darkness, because they the service
Of God neglected: their folly deluded them,
The overweening pride of the angels. They would not the Almighty's
Word honor; they had great punishment,
They fell into the fire at the bottom, 330
In the hot hell, through folly
And through pride: they sought[118] another land
That was void of light and full of flames,
The great peril of fire. The fiends perceived
That they had obtained innumerable torments 335
Through their proud heart, and through the might of God,
And, most of all, through pride.

THE DREAM OF THE HOLY ROOD
CYNEWULF[119]

Lo, I the best of dreams will tell,
That which medreamt in the middle of the night

When the speech-endowed[120] remained in bed.
Methought that I saw a wondrous tree
Rising aloft, with light begirt, 5
The brightest of trees: all that sign was
Overlaid with gold; gems stood
Fair at the surface of the earth,[121] likewise there were five
Upon the shoulder-span.[122] The angels of the Lord beheld it
Fair through the future, nor was that truly the gibbet of a vile *one*, 10
But holy spirits watched it there,
Men upon earth, and all this great creation.
Wondrous was the victory-tree, and guilty I with sins,
Blemished[123] with stains. I saw the tree of glory
With weeds bedight shine joyfully; 15
Geared with gold, gems had
Worthily covered the wildwood-tree.
However, I through the gold could see
The former agony of the miserable *ones*, when it first began
To bleed on the right side. I was all with sorrows troubled, 20
Frighted I was at the fair sight. I saw the beacon quick
To change in weeds and hues: sometimes it was with wet bedewed,
Besoiled with the blood's flowing, sometimes with treasure decked.
Whereupon I lying there for a long while
Gazed, care-saddened, upon the tree of the Saviour, 25
Until I heard it uttering sound;
The best of woods then began to speak words:
"It was of yore (yet I remember it),
That I was hewn down at the holt's edge,
Stirred from my roots. Strong foes seized me there, 30

They wrought themselves there a spectacle, they bade me uplift their felons;

There men bare me on *their* shoulders, till they set me on a hill,

Foes enow fastened me there. Then saw I the Lord of mankind

Hasten with great courage, since he would ascend on me.

There then durst I not, against the will of the Lord, 35

Bow or break, then saw I tremble

The ends of the earth: I could all

Foes fell, however I stood fast.

Then the young hero prepared himself, who was God Almighty,

Strong and brave of mood; he ascended the high gibbet 40

Proud in the sight of many, when he would redeem mankind.

Trembled I then, the Prince embraced me: I durst not bow to earth however,

To fall to the surface[124] of the earth, but I must needs stand fast.

A rood I was upreared, I lifted up the mighty King,

The Lord of heavens, I durst not incline myself. 45

They drave me through with dark nails, wounds are then seen in me,

Gaping gashes of guile: nor durst I harm any of them.

They insulted us two both together, I was all with blood bedewed,

Flooded from the side of the hero, after he had yielded up his ghost.

I have endured on this hill many 50

A grievous fate: I saw the God of legions

Cruelly outstretched: darkness[125] had

Covered with clouds the corpse of the Ruler,

Shadow overcame the bright skies,

Wan under the welkin. All creation wept, 55

They bewailed the fall of the King: Christ was on the rood.

But there they came, eager from afar,

To the princely one; I beheld all that.

Sorely I was with sorrows saddened, bowed I down however to the hands of the men,

Humble in mood, with great courage. There they took Almighty God, 60
They raised him from the grievous torment; left me then the battle-men,
To stand covered with moisture, I was all wounded with arrows.
They laid him down limb-weary, they stood at his body's head,
There they gazed upon the Lord of heaven, and there he rested him awhile,
Weary after the great agony. Began they then to prepare him an earth-house, 65
The men in the sight of the murderers, they carved it out of bright stone,
They set therein the Ruler of victories. Began they then to sing him a sorrow-lay,
Sadly in eventide, they would then afterwards journey
Weary, away from the glorious Lord: he rested there alone.
However we weeping there a good while 70
Stood at the base; the lamentation went up
Of the battle-men; the corpse grew cold,
The fair house of life. Then they began to fell us
All to earth: that was a fearful fate!
They buried us in a deep pit, but there me the disciples of the Lord 75
His friends found, . . .[126]
They geared me with gold and silver.
Now thou mayst hear, my hero dear,
How I have suffered the work of criminals,
Sore sorrows. Now is come the time 80
That they honor me far and wide,
Men upon earth, and all this great creation.
They pray to this sign. On me the Son of God
Suffered erewhile; therefore I now glorious
Tower under the heavens, and I may heal 85
Each one of those who fear me;

Formerly I was receiving the hardest of torments,
Those loathest to people, before I to them the way of life—
The right *way*—opened to the speech-endowed."

THE HAPPY LAND
CYNEWULF'S PHŒNIX[127]

["The Phœnix," an Old English rendering of the ancient myth, with a Christian interpretation read into it, is based upon a Latin poem ascribed by tradition to Lactantius.]

I HAVE learnt that there is far hence
In the east regions, the noblest land
Known to men. . . . There may no rain nor snow, 3 . . . 14
No breath of frost, nor blast of fire, 15
No death of hail, nor fall of rime,
No heat of sun, nor lasting cold,
No weather warm, nor winter-shower
Destroy a whit; but that plain remains
Blest and quite whole: it is a lordly land, 20
Bourgeoning with bloom. No crags nor mountains there
Stand steep, nor rock-ribbed cliffs
Rise high, as here with us;
No vales nor dales, nor mountain-caves,
No hills nor hillocks; there nothing slopes 25
At all unsmooth, but a noble plain
Flourishes under the welkin, abloom with joys.
It is a radiant land, higher by twelve
Fathoms' measure—so men sage by hearsay,
Wise through wisdom, say in writings— 30
Than any of the peaks that brightly here with us
Tower aloft beneath the stars of heaven.
Serene is the victory-plain, the sun-grove shines,
A winsome wood; the fruits do not fall,

The bright fruits, but those trees for aye 35
Stand green, as God bade them;
Summer and winter alike the wood will be
Behung with fruits; never mouldereth
A leaf in the air, never shall fire scathe it
To all eternity, until the end 40
Of the world shall be.. . . 41 . . .
Nor is there in that land a loathly foe, . . . 50
Nor wrack nor weeping, nor a sign of woe,
Old age nor want, nor cruel death,
Nor dying,[128] nor approach of ill;
No sin nor strife, nor sore revenge,
No stress of want, nor plenty's lack, 55
No sleep nor sorrow, no grievous ail,
No winter-blast,[129] nor tempest's tossing,
Rough under heaven, *and* the hard frost
With cold icicles beateth none.
No hail nor hoar-frost there descend on earth, 60
Nor windy cloud, nor water falleth there
Troubled in air; but fountains there
Wellsprings gush forth wondrously with marvels,
With fair bubblings water the soil;
A winsome water from the wood's midst 65
There every month from the grass of the ground
Springeth sea-cool, traverseth all the grove
Gloriously at intervals: it is the lord's command
That twelve times over that lordly land
The joy of the water-flood shall flow. 70
There be groves behung with fruits,
With beauteous fruits; there never fade
Hallowed under heaven the adornments of the wood.

There never fall the yellowed blooms to earth,
The beauty of the forest-trees, but there wondrously be 75
The boughs of the trees aye laden,—
Fresh fruits in every season.
On that grassy plain stand green,
Joyfully adorned by the might of the Holy One,
The brightest groves. Never shall be dimmed 80
The holt in hue; there sacred savours
Dwell in that happy land; it shall never change
To all eternity, until shall end
The wise ancient work *of Him* who created it in the beginning.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH
OLD ENGLISH CHRONICLE, 937[130]

[This stirring war-song, the Lay of Athelstan, is found in four of the Old English Chronicles under the year 937 A.D. In a fifth, it is entered under the year 938. It commemorates the victory of the Saxons under King Athelstan and his brother Edmund over the Scots and the Danes.]

IN this year King Athelstan, lord of earls,
Ring-giver of heroes, and his brother eke,
Edmund Atheling, life-long fame
Won in fight, with the edges of swords,
At Brunanburh. The board-wall they clove, 5
They hewed the war-lindens[131] with the leavings of hammers,[132]
The sons of Edward. So it was inborn
In their race that they in battle oft
Against each foe their land defended,—
Hoards and homes. The haters were laid low,[133] 10
The Scottish folk, and the ship-farers,
Fated fell; the field became slippery
With heroes' blood, what time the risen sun
In the morning-tide, a glorious orb,

Glided o'er earth, bright candle of God, 15
Of the Eternal Lord, till when the noble creature
Sank to rest. There many a warrior lay
Stricken with spears; men of the North,
Shot over shield, and Scotsmen eke,
Weary, sated with war. West-Saxons forth 20
The live-long day with banded troops
Pressed on the tracks of the hostile folk,
Felled the fleeing host very sorely from behind,
With sharp-whet swords. The Mercians refused not
Hard hand-play with any of the heroes 25
Who with Anlaf over the weltering wave
In the bosom of the ship had sought land,
Doomed to die in the fight. Five lay
On the battle-stead, young kings
Sleep-smitten by the sword,—other seven, too, 30
Anlaf's earls, uncounted hosts,
Sea-men and Scots. There was put to flight
The Northmen's leader, pressed by need
To the ship's prow with a little band.
The boat drave out to sea;[134] the king fared forth 35
On the fallow flood: *his* life he saved.
Likewise by flight there also came that wary[135] one
To his kith in the north, Constantinus,
The hoar war-hero; he needed not to boast
Of the sword's mingling! he was of kinsmen lorn, 40
Of friends bereft on the folk-stead,
Slain in strife; he had left his son
On the field of death, mangled with wounds,
The youth in the fight. He need not vaunt,
The gray-haired warrior, of the clash of swords, 45

Wily old *foe*!—nor Anlaf the more.
With the remnant of hosts they need not chuckle
That they in battle-works were better
On the battle-stead, at the clash of banners,
At the gathering of spears, at the meeting of men, 50
At the wrestling of weapons, when they upon the slaughter-field
Strove against the sons of Edward.
Forthwent the Northmen then in nailèd ships,
Drear leaving of darts, on the sea of storm[136]
Over the deep water to seek Dublin. 55
And after, their land, ashamed in mind.
Likewise the brothers, both together,
King and Atheling sought *their* kith,
The West-Saxons' land, exulting in war.
Behind them, to divide the corpses, they left 60
The dark-coated *fowl*, the raven swart,
The horny-beaked, and the ashen-feathered
White-tailed eagle to enjoy the prey,—
The greedy war-hawk, and that grey beast,
The wolf in the weald. Ne'er was greater slaughter 65
In this island ever yet,
Of folk felled before this,
By sword's-edges, so far as books tell us,
Sages of old, since hither from the east
Angles and Saxons came up 70
Over the wide wave, *and* sought Britain;
Since the proud war-smiths overcame the Welsh;
The glory-eager earls gat a country.

THE WANDERER'S LAMENT[137]

[This is one of the earliest English lyrics and strikes the national note of longing for vanished joys. It is the plaint of one whose home has been

broken up by some accident of fate, and who has then gone to sea. Out on the wintry ocean he thinks of happy, bygone days. He dreams of his lord, and of the hall-joys. Waking, a friendless wanderer upon the sea, his grief is all the greater for the memories that his dream has revived. His lot has something in common with the desolate sadness of the old ruins of England, and the thought of them brings before his mind the time when all the world shall be a like state of ruin. The poem ends with the thought that the true solace is trust in the providence of God.]

I

“OFT the solitary looks for mercy for himself,
For the favor of the Creator, though he, anxious in heart,
On the water-way must longwhile
Row[138] upon the ice-cold sea,
Must follow the exile’s paths. Fate is full unkind!” 5
Thus quoth the Wanderer, mindful of woes,
Of grievous slaughters, of friendly kinsmen’s fall:

II

“Oft must I each dawn alone
Bewail my care: there now is none alive
To whom I should dare my heart 10
Open frankly. I know, in sooth,
A noble habit is in man,
To close fast his heart’s coffer,
To hold his treasure-chamber, think as he may.
The weary-minded cannot withstand Fate, 15
Nor the troubled spirit afford help:
Therefore aspiring *souls* oft a sad *heart*
In their bosom’s depths lock fast.
Thus must I my soul
Miserable and sad, deprived of native land, 20
Far from kinsmen, oft bind with fetters,

Since long ago my gold-friend[139]
The darkness of earth enshrouded, and I thenceforward wretched,
Age-saddened, went over the frozen waves,
Sought, mournful, the dwelling of the giver of gold, 25
Where I far or near might find
Him that would feel love *for me* in the mead-hall,
Or that would cheer me friendless,
That would treat *me* with kindness. 29a

III

"He knows, who's tried it, 29b
How cruel is sorrow to a comrade,— 30
To him that hath for himself few dear protectors:
An exile's path guards him, not at all the twisted gold;—
A trembling body, not at all the riches of the earth.
He remembers the hall-warriors, and the treasure-receivers,—
How in youth his lord 35
Treated him with feasts: all kindness he enjoyed.
That knows he, who must of his joy-lord's
Dear counsels for a long time be deprived;
When both sorrow and sleep together
Oft bind the wretched solitary, 40
He thinks in his heart that he his lord
Clasps and kisses, and lays upon *his* knee
Hands and head, as he had done erewhiles,
In the days of yore, whilst he enjoyed the gift-stool.

IV

"Then awakeneth again the friendless wanderer: 45
He sees before him the fallow waves,

The sea-birds bathe, *and* stretch *their* feathers,
The hoar-frost fall, and snow mingled with hail.
Then are the heart's wounds heavier
Grieving for the dear one; sorrow is renewed; 50.
Then the memory of kindred flits across *his* mind;
He greets *them* joyfully,—earnestly he gazes.
But the vision of the warriors passes soon away,[140]
The spirit of the sea-farers brings not back thereby the many
Well-known songs; sadness grows afresh 55
Upon him that must very often send
A weary heart over the frozen waves.

V

"Since I may not think of it in this life,
Wherefore should not my mind become sad,
When I think over all the life of men, 60
How suddenly they gave up their halls,
The proud leaders! Thus the world
Day by day perishes and falls:
Therefore man cannot be wise ere he possess
A deal of winters in the earth-kingdom. A wise man shall be patient, 65
He shall not be too hot-hearted, not too quick of speech,
Nor too weak a warrior, nor too rash,
Nor too fearful, nor too fain, nor too avaricious,
Nor ever too eager in boasting, ere he is well-informed.
A man shall wait, when he makes a boast, 70
Bold in spirit,—until he knows well
Whither the counsel of the mind will turn.

VI

"The thoughtful man shall perceive how dreary it will be

When all the wealth of the world shall stand waste,
As now upon earth 75
Various walls stand, wind-buffeted,
Covered with rime, the dwellings in ruins.
Crumbling is the wine-hall, its master lies *low*,
Deprived of joy: his retainers have all fallen,
The proud by the walls. Some, war has rapt away, 80
Borne on their journey hence; some birds bare
Over the high seas; some, the grey wolf
Divided at death; some, with a sad face,
Their lord laid in the earth-cave:[141]
Thus the Creator of men laid waste this world, 85
Until, deprived of the voices of their inhabitants,
The old works of the giants stood desolate."

VII

Then thought he wisely upon the place of walls,
And deeply considered this dark life:
Sad in heart, oft he remembered by-gone *things*, 90
The many slaughters, and these words he spake:
"Where has gone the steed? where the rider? where the gift-giver?
Where has gone the hall of feasting? Where are the festivities?
Ah, bright cup! Ah, the mailèd warrior!
Ah, the glory of the prince! How time flies, 95
Darkened under the night-shade, as it had never been!
As a vestige of the dear company now stands
The wall high with wonders, glittering with serpents:
The strength of spears took off its masters,
Slaughter-greedy weapons;—Fate, the greater *part*, 100
And tempests beat the rocky slope;
The driving storm freezes the earth,

The terror of winter, when dusk cometh;
The shades of night darken, the north sends forth
The fierce hail-storm, with injury to men; 105
All is wretched in the earth-kingdom,—
The decrees of Fate change the world beneath the skies.
Here riches are fleeting, here friends are passing,
Here man is transitory, and kinsman for a time:
All the foundation of the earth shall be desolate." 110
So spake the wise man in his heart; he sat him apart in the council.
Good is he that keepeth faith: never shall his anger too hastily
A warrior shew in his heart, unless he first knows the reparation,—
The man who would act with valor. Well shall it be for him that seeketh mercy,
Solace from the Father in heaven, in whom all our security dwells! 115

Appendix 4: Selections from Mary Gwinn's Translation of *Beowulf* as well as the Full Text of *A Ballad of Hart Hall*, a 206-Line Adaptation of the First Third of *Beowulf*

(Reproduced by permission from Materials in the Princeton University Archives)

Mary Gwinn (1861–1940)

Mary Gwinn's academic and professional life is discussed in some detail in Appendix 2 above; she was the first American woman to earn a Ph.D. in English with a dissertation on Anglo-Saxon literature. Mary Gwinn and Anna Robertson Brown (see Appendix 3) must have known of and probably knew each other; they were among the few women in the United States, let alone in the greater Philadelphia area, who could read Anglo-Saxon in the early 1890s. The links between Gwinn's Bryn Mawr and Brown's "Graduate Department for Women" at the University of Pennsylvania were deep. Ida Wood, who earned her Ph.D. in English from Bryn Mawr in May 1891 with a dissertation on the Old English *Widsith*, was named

"secretary" of the Graduate Department for Women at Penn in November of 1891. M. Carey Thomas, dean of Bryn Mawr, spoke at the ceremonial opening of that department in May 1892, and Brown received her Ph.D. that June.

Mary Gwinn was the first American woman to receive a Ph.D. in English focused on an Anglo-Saxon topic and thus one of the first American women able to read *Beowulf* in the original; *Beowulf* forms the basis of the ballad and the translations presented below. She was a diligent student of the poem; Gwinn's dissertation, unpublished but preserved in the archives at Bryn Mawr, is titled "The First Part of *Beowulf*."[142] Gwinn's aesthetic engagement with the text is apparent throughout her dissertation; it also led to her *Beowulf* translation project, probably begun at the same time as the dissertation but never entirely finished.[143]

Throughout Gwinn's time at Bryn Mawr, her brief marriage, and her widowhood, she pursued her wide-ranging literary interests but never published any of her work. She continued to tinker with her *Beowulf* translation, which exists in multiple undated drafts. Also archived in multiple copies, Gwinn's "A Ballad of Hart Hall" is likewise not precisely datable, although one copy in the Princeton University Special Collection has a note clipped to it that states: "Carbon copy: Hart Hall (cont.) (pages: 17–29) March 3, 1929," so presumably she had developed the idea for the ballad at some point during the translation process and continued to refine it for many years afterward. The "Ballad" uses couplets and numerous mythographic elements to create a fictional "source" for the Anglo-Saxon poem.

Throughout the 1890s, probably in something of a partnership with Thomas, Gwinn worked on crafting her translation of *Beowulf* into alliterative prose. Her papers include a "preface" to the translation which begins with some statements about her translation methods before adapting parts of her dissertation into a more thematic (and, to the modern reader, somewhat antiquated) analysis of the structure of the poem. Like Brown, Gwinn tries to preserve the original's "mannerism of varied repetition"; she also strives to incorporate substantial amounts of alliteration, since "without it the style and temper of this poetry are scarcely recognizable."[144] Unlike Brown's poetic translations, Gwinn's translation is in prose, but a rhythmic prose that tries to take into account the poetry's original venue of musical performance. For ease of comparison between the two women's translation styles, these excerpts from Gwinn's translation of the entire poem are the same as those chosen by Brown for *Poet-Lore*. Paragraph breaks and

spellings of proper names are Gwinn's. All notes are editorial additions; Gwinn did not annotate her work as Brown did hers.

Her papers at Princeton indicate that Gwinn envisioned some sort of book-length study of *Beowulf* that would include refinements of the aesthetic analysis from her dissertation, her translation of the poem, and the *Ballad*, but Gwinn never managed to pull the project together into a cohesive whole. Perhaps most crucial to an understanding of Gwinn's commitment to *Beowulf* is her dedication from the beginning of this "book," which remained the same throughout her many drafts and collations: "To Story Lovers by a Story Lover."[145]

A BALLAD OF HART HALL

1

Holy and high Hart Castle stands,
Seen is its light from many lands,
With gold it gleams outside and in;
Its minstrels make a merry din,
Singing to wights that know not woe 5
Man's first beginning long ago.
They say how God in goodness willed
Their world to be a seagirt field,
And set exultingly his sun
And moon above for benison, 10
Made fair its face with grass and grove
And all such wrought as live and rove.
Loathly and low in barren lands
Under the sea Wolf Castle stands.
Around it moors and marshes spread 15
And cliff-tracks treacherous to tread;
Indoors its light is light of flame.
There never royal revel came,
There never frolic footstep trod;
Its master is the foe of God. 20

Its master is a mournful man
Since erst with all his giant clan
Against high heaven in vain he strove,
And found it recompense thereof.

2

Ill may that exile bear to hear 25
The heavenly clamor echoing clear,
And minstrels making music sweet
In mockery of his old defeat.
He quits his hall, he stalks his moor,
He comes where with a sullen roar 30
Down a tall rock a torrent falls
Into a tarn with riftless walls
And under earth is lost for aye;
He climbs the cliff, he scales the sky;
Swimming he cleaves in his ascent 35
The waters of his firmament;
At eve he treads the upper fields;
Under his grasp the great door yields,
The bright bar breaks, the hinges fall:
Bolt[146] becomes master in Hart Hall. 40
Monstrous in might and height is he,
Sword-proof by ancient sorcery,
With old hunger and desire.
His eyes shed shimmering sheen of fire.
As sharp steal *(sic)* talons are his hands. 45
Fleet-foot he strides the floor and stands
Over one startled man of fight.
Far fares the lawful lord tonight
Seeking his own beyond the sea.

After the ale-feast carelessly 50
His clansmen sleep along the wall
In dreams still keeping carnival.
Vainly they spring to arms to fend
The grim guest from their fated friend:
His rind no edge of blade will bite. 55
Roofward he swings the wretched knight,
Into his game-sack drops him down;
Claps whom he will by waist or crown,
For booty takes a score and ten;
Turns to his dark abode again; 60
Waits till once more the sunshine yields
To shadow in the upper fields,
Mounts with emboldened heart once more,
Bursts with light stroke the battered door,
Reckless anon in rapine, plies 65
Nightly the pathway of the skies;
Keeps some in fear and more in thrall:
Sore is the sorrow in Hart Hall.

3

Whose ship so shimmers on the sea.
Carrying a mail clad company? 70
His who through wintry nights and days
Swam safe the seething water-ways:
His who came whole from many a fight
With sea beasts under sea by night;
His who had never need of brand, 75
Whose strength was ever strength of hand,
Whose hand was ever strong to save:
Kindest of comrades of the brave.

Lordliest of lords the brave obey!
Beachward he bends his vessel's way 80
Toward the far gleaming of Hart Hall,
Climbs with his band the clean cliff wall
Treads with high heart his own fair field—
Besom, the far-famed son of Shield.[147]
Toward with quickening breath that band 85
Fares in hot haste once more to stand
In the dear shelter of Hart Hall,
Keeping with kinsmen carnival.
Ruin and wrack they find within
And kinsfolk clamorous for kin. 90
Hart's highest holds the watch tonight.
Fain were the foe of sudden flight,
Caught in the closure of those arms.
Small now the succor of sword-charms!
Vainly he winds and writhes, to win 95
Out where he blithely entered in.
Under that clasp his fingers crack:
Shrieking along the seaward track
He reels with right arm left behind,
Plunges through waves incarnadined, 100
Seeks the sad shelter of the fen
Glad in old gloom to dwell again
For beyond following foot of foe
Sole sovereign in the house of woe.

4

Seaward along the hated track 105
Moves Besom when the day comes back,
Mindful of the beloved men

Born by that sea-wolf to his den.
His sword he bids his kinsmen keep,
Clad in clear mail he cleaves the deep, 110
Hour after hour alone he braves
The wild beasts of the ocean waves.
At the day's end alone he gains
The dim sky of the dismal plains,
Sets foot upon the steep cliff wall 115
Above the boisterous waterfall,
Comes by rough rock and roadless moor
Alone to the unopening door
Of wan Wolf Castle in the fen;
Makes singing signal to his men, 120
Hears from within their faint reply
Thrill the dim dungeon where they lie,
Lays on the door his sacred hands.
Vainly has Bolt with iron bands
Bedizened it in days of yore, 125
Vainly with body stiff and sore
And straining sinews stays it now.
Under its weight his shoulders bow.
On the crushed corp[s]es the barred gates fall:
Besom is master in Wolf Hall. 130
Down the dim room he stares, and sees
Sheathed swords and war-worn harnesses
Shimmer in firesheen on the wall;
Grasps a great glaive, and therewithal
Hews with strong stroke the hated head 135
From the huge body of the dead
And leaves it laying where it leaps.
Light as of noonday fills the deeps.

Fleet-foot he strides the mouldering floor,
Fiercely flings open door by door, 140
Comes where his captive clansmen dwell—
"Besom hath burst the gates of hell!"
Loud their rejoicing voices rise:
Swift on the pathways of the skies
Their freed feet follow in his wake; 145
Through the purged waves their way they make
Come once more by the clean cliff wall
To dear meadows of Hart Hall
By the long locks, with stress and strain,
Four strong men of the glorious train 150
Bear the great wolf's head to the door,
Greeting they give with glad uproar,
Glad greeting answers from within
Welcome and wassail with their kin
After long woe are theirs once more; 155
High-nailed upon the holy door
The wolf's head watches the sea-wall.
Great is the gladness in Hart Hall.

5

Yet wise men have been heard to say
This Bolt shall come another day, 160
Or else his image in his son,
And warfare be again begun,
And Bolt bear down the steep sea-track
Brave men, and Besom bring them back,
And Bolt re-enter the bright room, 165
Till breaks the burning dawn of doom,
And earth and heaven concume *(sic)* away

And a new heaven in endless day
Houses the foeless friends of God.
And some say that no period 170
Of the fell conflict shall befall
But always between hall and hall
Rebuilt or unconsumed of flame
The border-warfare be the same,
And earth rob heaven, and heaven rob earth, 175
And birth be death, and death be birth.
For to the understanding mind
This Besom is the sweeping wind
That swoops to snatch away man's breath,
And Bolt a counter-blast of death, 180
The ground-wind that assails the skies,
Rending wronged souls from paradise.
And Besom, if we read him well,
Is bolt of heaven as he of hell,
Being warden of the holy ground; 185
And each is huntsman, each is hound.
Watchdog at home and wolf in strife,
And each is Death, and each is Life.
And some, so deeming, yearn to cease
From death and life in sluggard peace, 190
And some for weariness would dwell
Forever in deeper hell,
Forgetful of the heavenly board.
But, for lo[y]al lovers of their Lord—
Whether at last unmatched in might 195
He reign, or win and lose in fight
Forever—by his aide to stand
For an hour's space, and clasp his hand,

And quaff his cup, and share his strife,
Were worth a century of life 200
Thrilled with all throes of earth or hell.
Unwaveringly they face and well
Alike earth's labours and its lures,
Waiting the wind-song from the moors
Or sword stroke that shall call them home. 205
Amen! even so Lord Woden, come!

Beowulf, ll. 26–53
Forth Shield the ever-stirring in the hour of fate had fared under the guard of God. Boon comrades bore him to the current out, according as himself decreed the Shieldings' lover, while yet speech had he and long-lived lordship of the land. There waited in the port with wellgirt prow a ship fit for a sovereign, shining bright as ice and outward bound; the lord beloved and giver of their gold down laid they in the vessel's lap and set beside the mast the man of might. There many were the fair gifts fetched from far and works of curious craft; men tell not of a bark more beauteously bedight with weeds of war and weapons of assault and swords and shirts of mail; its lap held loads of treasure that afar with him should fare upon the flood. No whit more sparingly with spoil of war and clan-wealth they equipped him than had those who launched him at the outset forth alone over the billows, being yet a babe. A golden banner high above his head moreover they upraised, and left him for the brine to bear away, and to the ocean gave. Sad souls and heavy hearts were theirs; nor ever any human lord of hall or hero under heaven may for certain say to whom that cargo came.

Beowulf, ll. 1492–1569
So saying, the leader of the Gauts sought speed, nor would for any answer wait; soon closed wave-welter on the knight of war. No small span of a day was spent ere he its floor might spy. Soon she that had a hundred half years through, aye hating, hungry, and of foray fain, inhabited the flood's domain, was ware of some man seeking from above the country of the eldritch kinds. She caught at him, and presently in fell embrace had fast enfolded him, yet none the more might cause him inward harm; so close his byrnie compassed him about that nowhere could her cruel fingers cleave his coat of battle or asunder rend his hand-linked robe of fight.

The sea-wolf, being to the bottom come, so to her own court bore the lord of largess that for all his will no weapon might the warrior wield; but marvels many mauled him in the flood, sea-beasts with war-tusks on his byrnie beat, and monsters vexed him sore. Then found he that in who shall say what hall of hatreds straight he stood, where water there was none to work him woe, and onslaught of the waves, because of the roofed room could reach him not at all; and sheen on fire shed radiance white and bright. The mighty mere-wolf then he saw, the she-wolf of the nether plain; his full force lent he to his war-sword's stroke, his hand no whit refrained, till sang upon her head his scroll-marked blade its hungry song of strife. Then learned the stranger that his lamp of war refused to bite or bring her bane; at need it utterly had failed its lord. In many a struggle hand to hand its strength it erst had shown, and many a harness hewn, and helm, of men to death foredoomed; the first time was it for that well-loved brand in strife to suffer shame.

Still single-souled and undismayed and wholly heedful of renown was Hygelac's kinsman; angrily to earth he slung the chain[–]hung, scroll-marked sword where strong and sharp it lay, and solely on his single strength relied and on his hands' hard grasp. So ever should he fight that loves not life and looks for lasting fame. Then shrinking not from strife but strong in fight and utterly incensed, the War-Gauts' prince seized Grendel's mother by the hair, and swung so sturdily his mortal foe that on the floor she fell. She readily requital wrought and grimly grasped at him; with weary soul the first of fighters upon foot so far outreached himself that he too fell. Then sat she on her hall's strange guest, and drew her broad bright blade, expecting to avenge the slaying of her child, the only son she bore; but on his slayer's shoulder hung his braided breast-net, and that saved his soul, withstanding point and edge. A fatal journey under the flood-floor had Ecgtheo's son then made, had not his byrnie and his close-knit coat of battle given him aid, and God the holy and all-heeding Lord not swayed the combat's course. Just judgment readily the Ruler of the skies then rendered; up he stood.

Then saw he among other arms of war an old sword of the giants' age, a conquering weapon, keen of edge, fit ornament for men of fight; all else excelling, save that more in size than any other than he had strength to carry to the sport of strife; superb and steadfast, and by giants shaped. Its chain-hung hilt the champion of the Shieldings grasped, and fighting for his life, with soul incensed and fierce with fury of the fray, in ire so swung the scroll-marked blade that at her throat it beat, and broke her rings of bone, and slit

her fated robe of flesh. She fell upon the floor. The sword was wet. The warrior in his work rejoiced.

Notes

1. Columbia College, *Columbia College Collegiate Course for Women, Circular of Information* (New York: Columbia College, 1886–7), 10.
2. Barnard College, *Announcement*, 1895–1898.
3. Barnard College, *Barnard Mortarboard* (New York: Barnard College, 1898), 101.
4. Western Reserve University, *The College for Women 1893–1894* (Cleveland, OH: Press of Winn and Judson, 1893), 28–31. Accessed 23 July 2015, hathitrust.org.
5. Western Reserve University, *College for Women*, 5.
6. Randolph-Macon Colleges and Academies, *Catalogue* (Richmond, VA: Fergusson and Son, 1893–1897). Accessed 2 February 2014, www.archive.org.
7. Colton, *Various Types of Colleges*, 3.
8. Tulane University, *Register and Catalogue (University, High School, H. Sophie Newcomb Memorial College for Women, and Law and Medical Departments)* (New Orleans: The University, 1887–1907). Accessed 2 February 2014, books.google.com.
9. Tulane University, *Register*, 1886–1889.
10. Smith College, *Official Circular* (Northampton, MA: The College, 1874–79), Accessed 2 February 2014, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/smith/catalogs/.
11. Wellesley College, *Circular (*Wellesley, MA: The College, 1875–76).
12. Wilson College, *Catalog*, C. Elizabeth Boyd '33 Archives, Wilson College (Chambersburg, PA: The College, 1873–1890).
13. The Woman's College of Baltimore is not the same institution as Baltimore Female College, a Methodist institution open from 1849 to 1890 which did not offer Anglo-Saxon at all.
14. I am indebted to Christie Kliewer of the Goucher College Archives for searching the very early, undigitized materials for this information.
15. Woman's College of Baltimore, *Program* (Baltimore: Boyle and Sons, 1889), 21. Accessed 2 February 2014, www.goucher.edu/the-library/special-collections-and-archives.
16. Colton, *Various Types*, 5.
17. Agnes Scott Institute, *Announcement* (Atlanta, GA: Franklin Printing, 1890–1905), accessed1 February 2014, libguides.agnesscott.edu; Agnes Scott College, *Bulletin* (Atlanta, GA: Foote and Davies Co. 1906–1910), accessed 1 February 2014, libguides.agnesscott.edu.

18. Colton, *Various Types of Southern Colleges*, 4.
19. Meredith College, "College Timeline," accessed 10 Sept 2015, http://www.meredith.edu/about_meredith/college-timeline/; Baptist Female University, *Catalogue of the Schools of the Baptist Female University* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton), 1903, 34; Colton, *Various Types*, 8; Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, accessed 10 Sept 2015: http://www.sacscoc.org/details.asp?instid=47680.
20. Sr. Blanche Marie McEniry, *Three Score and Ten; a History of the College of Saint Elizabeth, 1889–1969* (Convent Station, NJ: College of Saint Elizabeth, 1969).
21. The missionary nature of much Catholic higher education for women tended to keep the curricular focuses on religion and basic academics; the curriculum was more that of an academy or high school rather than a college. Catholic schools that existed before WWI and that did not offer Anglo-Saxon include: Mount Mary College in Milwaukee, WI; Notre Dame of Maryland in Baltimore, MD; and Saint Mary of the Woods in Indiana. This list does not purport to be exhaustive.
22. College of Saint Elizabeth, *Catalogue* (Convent Station, NJ: College of Saint Elizabeth, 1899–1913).
23. Because of the nuns' hesitation about any gestures that might be construed as prideful, there were no faculty lists in the early catalogs of the College of St Elizabeth, so the assignment of the Old and Middle English class to Sister Mary Vincent must remain conjectural. I am indebted to Sister Mary Ellen Gleason, archivist at the College, for insights upon this and other points.
24. Colton, *Various Types*, 4; Converse College, *Catalog*, Mickel Archives & Special Collections, Case No. 13, Shelf No. 3 (Spartanburg, South Carolina: Converse College, 1890–1911).
25. Middle States Commission on Higher Education, accessed 10 Sept 2015: http://www.msche.org/Institutions_Directory.asp.
26. Hood College, *Thirtieth Annual Catalogue of Hood College* (Frederick, MD: Hood College, 1922), 41; Middle States Consortium for Higher Education, accessed 9 September 2015: http://www.msche.org/institutions_view.asp?idinstitution=268.
27. Information from http://www.wesleyancollege.edu/about/history.cfm accessed 7 September 2015.
28. Wesleyan Female College, *Catalog* (Macon, GA: The College, 1896–1903). I am indebted to Virginia Blake, the archivist at Willet Library of Wesleyan College, for much of this information.
29. Brenau College, *Catalogue* (Gainesville, GA: Brenau College, 1902), 37; Brenau College, *Catalogue* (Gainesville, GA: Brenau College, 1908), 24.

30. Louise Manly, *History of Judson College* (Atlanta, Ga.: Foote & Davies company, 1913).
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107. The only exception is the woe/foe rhyme at ll.50–51 of *The Phoenix*; the Old English of course does not rhyme in this instance, so Brown must have had other reasons for choosing to include rhyme at this point.
108. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 2 (1890):133–134. Lineation is the same as that used in standard editions of *Beowulf* in Old English, including that in R. D. Fulk, ed., *The Beowulf Manuscript* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 88–89. Here and in all of the Brown translations, I am indebted to Genevieve DeLeon and the editorial board of *Poet-Lore*(now *Poet Lore*) for their blessings in reproducing Brown's work and for their enthusiasm for *Poet-Lore*'s history.
109. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 2 (1890): 185–187. Brown errs in her line references here. These are lines 1492–1569 in standard lineation; see Fulk, *Beowulf*, 184–189.
110. (ARB):Epithet for sword.
111. (ARB):Epithet for sword.

112. (ARB):Epithet for sword.
113. (ARB):Shirt of mail.
114. (ARB):Epithet for sword.
115. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 2 (1890): 251–252. It presents lines 299–337 of the poem now editorially titled *Genesis*. Brown was probably working from Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, which includes these lines (and others) under the same title, "The Fall of the Angels." Lineation is the same as that used in standard editions, including that in "Genesis," *The Junius Manuscript*, ASPR vol. I, ed. G.P. Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), 12–13.
116. (ARB):That is, Estate.
117. (ARB):(?) <it is unclear why Brown did not translate OE *gar* as "spear" or "dart," since that certainly qualifies as a form of *geswinc*, torment. Her question mark indicates her unease with her rendering.>
118. (ARB):That is, found, or reached.
119. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 2 (1890): 371–374. It includes only ll.1–89 of the 156-line text, although the presentation makes no indication that almost half of the original is missing. Brown was probably working from Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, which includes exactly this selection. Lineation is the same as that used in standard editions, including that in "The Dream of the Rood," *The Vercelli Book*, ASPR vol. II, ed. G.P. Krapp (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 61–65.
120. (ARB):Epithet for men.
121. (ARB):That is, at the foot of the Cross—*Sweet* <Brown references Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, 206>.
122. (ARB):Place where the two beams of the cross intersect—*Grein* <Brown references the second volume of Christian W.M. Grein and Richard Paul Wülker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, vol. 2 (Kassel: Georg Wigand, 1888), 117. >.
123. (ARB):*Lit.*, wounded.
124. (ARB):*Lit.*, surfaces.
125. (ARB):*Lit.*, darknesses.
126. <Brown's ellipsis indicates the short or imperfect line, not an abridgment from the original text.>
127. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 2 (1890): 523–525. It includes only an abridged version of ll.1–84 of the 677-line text; the presentation makes no indication that the majority of the poem is missing (although readers of only the translation may wonder why a poem called "The Phoenix" makes no mention of a phoenix). Brown also cuts lines 3b–14a and 41b–49, indicating the cuts with ellipses. She was probably working from Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*, which includes the first 84 lines of the poem. Lineation is the same as that used in standard

editions, including that in "The Phoenix," *The Exeter Book*, ASPR vol. III, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press), 94–97.

128. (ARB):*Lit.*, loss of life.
129. (ARB):(?) <Brown seems to question unnecessarily her rendering of *wintergeweorp* >.
130. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 3 (1890): 20–23. Lineation is the same as that used in standard editions, including that in "The Battle of Brunanburh (937)," *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ASPR vol. VI, ed. E.V.K. Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942), 16–20.
131. (ARB):That is, shields.
132. (ARB):The text has "hamora lafum," with the leavings of hammers. A sword is thus called; it is what is left after the hammer has been at work. 'Laf' is the Lowland Scottish *lave*. —*Skeat*. <Brown takes this note directly from Tennyson's prose translation of *Brunanburh*, which appeared in *The Contemporary Review* 28 (1876): 920–922. Tennyson introduces these notes by stating that "Mr Skeat has kindly allowed me to publish the subjoined notes made by him on this translation of mine" (922); books.google.com 9 June 2014. >
133. (ARB):*Lit.*, cringed.
134. (ARB):The Parker manuscript reads "creed cnearen flot," a difficult passage to render with exact literalness. The other manuscripts show variants. I translate by a poetic phrase, sufficiently accurate, which is used in Middle English literature.
135. (ARB):*Lit.*, agèd.
136. (ARB):The Parker manuscript has "dinges." This word has given translators a heap of trouble. I use the variant "dinnes," though the Chronicle in which it occurs is really a copy of the Parker manuscript.
137. This translation originally appeared in *Poet-Lore* 3 (1890): 140–144. Brown was probably working again from the Old English text provided in Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader in Prose and Verse*. Lineation is that used in standard editions, including that in "The Wanderer," *The Exeter Book*, ASPR vol. III, eds. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 134–137. The division into seven sections seems to be Brown's initiative.
138. (ARB):*Lit.*, stir with hands.
139. (ARB):That is, lord.
140. (ARB):Conjectural.
141. (ARB):That is, tomb.
142. Mary Gwinn, "The First Part of *Beowulf*" (PhD diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1888).

143. Gwinn's papers are held by Rare Books and Special Collections at Firestone Library of Princeton University as part of the Alfred and Mary Gwinn Hodder papers. These papers include her lecture notes from Bryn Mawr courses on English and American literature from 1608 to the late nineteenth century. For a full description of the Hodder papers, see http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/ns064605x.
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