EDWARD WILSON
EDWARD MERYON WILSON

1906–1977

Edward Wilson was the second holder of the Chair of Spanish at Cambridge, succeeding J. B. Trend. Modern languages, in general, and Spanish in particular, were still recent additions to the list of respectable academic subjects when he matriculated as an undergraduate. The end of the First World War saw the founding of departments of Spanish in many British universities, but by 1925 there were only four chairs in existence, and none in Oxford or Cambridge. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, first in Liverpool and later in London (King’s College), had been a scholar of repute, and Ignacio González-Llubera in Belfast and W. J. Entwistle in Glasgow were scholars of distinction. E. Allison Peers was an indefatigable propagandist on behalf of the subject in schools and universities, but his unceasing flow of publications did not possess the depth consonant with their numbers; they did more, in fact, to place Spanish as a language more useful in the sphere of commerce than valuable in that of humane letters. The philological, textual, and historical scholarship of González-Llubera and Entwistle could not indicate that Spanish literature was worth the attention, in its own right, of serious readers. Outside Germany it had not been placed in the main stream of European culture. Its study in Britain, within its own small academic circle, was limited to Romance linguistics, to problems of textual criticism, to the study of literary sources and to plays and novels as delineators of ‘characters’. Aesthetic criteria, and any conception of literature as a humanistic discipline in the wide sense, were lacking.

Wilson, as a boy, had developed a fine poetic sense, and he looked in literature primarily for the means of fostering this. He could not find the means in the Spanish department in Cambridge. F. A. Kirkpatrick, who was Head of Department as Reader, had achieved distinction as a historian of Spain’s colonial empire, and of Latin America, but he was not a literary scholar. Wilson was to contribute in a pioneering way to the revolution that was to bring about the recognition of Spanish literature as a large, almost unexplored field of sensitive artistic creativity, and of ideas that penetrated into the depths of human problems and aspirations.

In this field of literary criticism he was to be overtaken by new
developments, and his work will now appear old-fashioned to those who believe in keeping up with every new trend, but it left its permanent mark. He had two other spheres of intellectual interest and scholarly activity, folklore with local history and textual criticism and bibliography, where he brought to Hispanic studies the rigorous scholarship of a discipline new to them. In this last field his achievements will endure.

Edward Meryon Wilson was born on 14 May 1906 in Kendal, Westmorland. He came from a family long prominent in the social and business life of the county. The first Wilson to settle there was Isaac, who went to Kendal in 1729 to work in the woollen industry. He married a distant cousin, Rachel Wilson, in 1740. Both were staunch Quakers, and Rachel had been made a Minister of the Society of Friends at the age of eighteen. Thirty years later she sailed to the American colonies, spending a year visiting the Quaker settlements. They had eight children and lived in Kendal, engaging in the woollen trade. Many of their descendants emigrated, but the head of each generation remained to develop the family business. A later Isaac (1784–1844) at the age of twenty-one rebuilt Castle Mills in Kendal. His son, John Wilson (1809–75) bought the freehold of Castle Mills and carried on the business on the lines established by his father. He was four times mayor of Kendal, and a powerful and popular figure in that small community. His son Isaac (1833–81) carried on Castle Mills and moved into Castle Lodge, Kendal, the ‘Mill House’, where all his ten children were born. Among them was Norman Forster Wilson (1869–1948), the sixth child of Isaac and father of Edward Meryon. He decided not to go into the woollen trade, but to become an engineer. He joined in 1895 the engineering firm of Gilbert Gilkes, his uncle by marriage. He became managing director of the company in 1899, and married Henrietta Gwendolen Meryon Harris, daughter of a Bradford banker.

John Wilson had abandoned the Quakers for the Plymouth Brethren, but Norman became a convert to the Church of England, serving as head churchwarden at the parish church. His wife, Henrietta, was very active in the church’s social work, especially among the poor. Norman Wilson possessed a good library and had a serious interest in history, especially the history of the Low Countries in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, including the rise of Protestantism. He was Low Church as an Anglican. He was a member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, although he took little
part in its activities. All these interests obviously left their mark on his second son, Edward.

The first son, Gilbert, was born in 1899. After serving in the Tank Corps in 1918, he studied engineering and geology at McGill University and became essentially a prospector. In 1925–26 he went to the Urals to look for gold, and in 1927 went with his Canadian wife on a prospecting job in Yugoslavia. She, however, disliked this activity so much that he abandoned prospecting and embraced an academic career, becoming Lecturer in Structural Geology at Imperial College. As a boy, Edward and his younger brother were introduced to rock-climbing by the geologist, Gilbert. Before Edward went up to Cambridge, the three brothers had climbed all the fells in the Lake District. Mountains and hills retained a strong attraction for Edward throughout his life, as indeed did all open countryside. His frequent country walks included visits to village churches and their churchyards, which continually fostered his antiquarian love.

In 1929 Norman Wilson purchased a farmworker’s cottage with barn attached at Crosthwaite near Kendal. Both barn and cottage were transformed into an attractive country house. Edward spent his vacations there and mixed freely with the local country people, with whom he had a great affinity. From them he learnt their customs and traditions, and this first-hand introduction into folklore was to develop into a scholarly interest and give rise to several learned studies.

The third son, Paul (1908–1980), was a mechanical engineer and served with distinction in the Royal Navy before becoming a specialist in water turbines and pumps. He was managing director, and later chairman, of Gilbert Gilkes & Gordon Ltd. of Kendal, thus following in his father’s footsteps. He wrote a number of books and papers dealing with water turbines and pumps. He was active also in the public life of Kendal and Westmorland, being Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland from 1965 to 1974, then having the title changed to HM Lieutenant of Cumbria. He was created a Life Peer in 1976, taking the title of Baron Wilson of High Wray, and regularly attended debates in the House of Lords.

Both Gilbert and Paul were educated at Gresham’s School. It was intended that Edward should follow his elder brother there, but he failed the Common Entrance Examination three times, the trouble being Latin, in which a pass was essential. After the first failure he was sent to a crammer in Scarborough; after the second
failure he transferred to St. Martin's, a High Church school in Scarborough, where he was very happy but still could not master sufficient Latin. This threefold failure in Latin led to his entry into Windermere Grammar School. The failures in Latin were very ironical for one who was to become a university teacher of a Romance language, but linguistics was not a necessary qualification for such a position, and Wilson never sought proficiency in philology. He approached Spanish through literature, especially poetry, and the groundwork for any literary appreciation and study had to be acquired, of course, through English. What is still surprising is that the secondary education he received after his Common Entrance failures gave him a special training not in English but in science. This was apparently due to the science master, who was the strongest personal influence on Edward in the school. Wilson said in later years that he had hated Windermere Grammar School, and that his scientific education had been a waste of time; certainly he never showed any interest in anything connected with physics or chemistry. The one scientific interest he acquired was geology, to which he had been introduced by his elder brother and which was so closely connected with his passion for hills and mountains. He took from school two accomplishments, wide reading in English poetry, which he had worked at on his own, and the ability to play the piano well. He used to recall how he played the piano accompaniment to the Gilbert and Sullivan operas which the school put on their stage. This, however, was a skill that he trained no further, feeling it useless to try to become an accomplished pianist when gramophone records of performances by the masters became so cheap and plentiful. Nevertheless, his musical training stood him in good stead in his folklore studies by enabling him to write down the melodies he heard among peasants. But it did not seem that music had an important part in his life; he seemed rarely to go to concerts, and he went to operas only if he was invited by friends.

It was different with poetry. He would have liked to have been a poet, and he certainly had the necessary sensitivity, command of language, and metrical skills, as he was to prove by his translations. His brother Paul thought that he did not publish any original verse, other than skits or parodies, because he (Edward) felt he had nothing to say. Although later in life an extremely sociable man with an apparently unflagging ability for conversation, he was inwardly very reserved. His brother Paul confirmed that he rarely talked about himself except on a superficial level, and I, who knew him well for forty-eight years, never felt that
I had his confidence or that our friendship approached intimacy. I did not know until after his death of his early scholastic failures, or of his unhappiness at school owing to an uncongenial education, but this knowledge came to illuminate what had always seemed puzzling about him: his failure to finish extensive research that he had planned. His frequent reluctance to publish, and a disinclination to discuss any academic subject in which he felt the lack of a total mastery, must have stemmed from a basic lack of confidence due to early setbacks.

His other major interest, religion, was what he and his father planned for his future. He decided to enter the Anglican ministry, and his father sent him to Cambridge in 1924. Trinity College was his choice, since it had the livings of many churches in Westmorland, including Kendal. I did not know Edward until 1928, and it has proved impossible to obtain information about his undergraduate years, except for one thing. His intention to enter the Church was abandoned, since he quickly lost his faith. Paul did not know the reason for this, but it must have been due to the totally different atmosphere that he breathed in Cambridge. By 1928 he had become associated with the F. R. Leavis group, which included or was later to include William Empson, James Smith, and Ronald Bottrall. He greatly admired William Empson and remained on terms of friendship for many years with Bottrall; both of them were poets, the former a distinguished one. James Smith was to become a convert to Roman Catholicism, but when Wilson first knew him his interests pointed anywhere but in that direction. Although this literary circle admired the poetry of T. S. Eliot, neither Leavis nor anyone else liked the religious and political directions Eliot was taking. A left-wing humanism was the hallmark of the young Cambridge intelligentsia in these years, and the diffident and insecure Edward Wilson, drawn to this group by his overriding interests in poetry, must have been torn loose from the religious and political anchors of his country-town formation.

These friendships must have been absorbing, but his entry into academic scholarship continued, though not so markedly, the disappointments of his schooldays. His primary interest in poetry and literature led him naturally to the English Tripos, but he failed to obtain a First Class in Part I, which he sat in 1926. This must have been a disappointment, and may have been the reason for his decision to transfer to the Modern and Medieval Languages Tripos for Part II. No information has been obtained about his work in the English department, but the fact that he never referred
with gratitude or respect to any of his English teachers was probably a sign that he was not happy in the department. Leavis and his friends and disciples were soon to found and publish the quarterly review, \textit{Scrutiny}, dedicated to English culture, primarily through the various ways in which a deep interest in literature, past and present, impinged upon the nation's social life. Wilson was from the start a keen supporter of this new venture. \textit{Scrutiny} filled what had come to be felt as a pressing need among many of the young Cambridge academics—the need to bring humanistic university studies into a fruitful dialogue with modern life. The intelligentsia had to be made more aware of cultural values, and of the dangers that industrial society posed for these values and the traditions which had nourished them. Universities were withdrawing into 'Ivory Towers'; insofar as scholarly disciplines were becoming more specialized, they were in danger of becoming remote and aridly self-contained. The \textit{Scrutiny} group saw the remedy for this state of affairs in the revitalization of the tradition of Humane Letters, not in the Classics, so wrapped up in centuries of often pedantic learning, but in the English culture that should be a primary interest of every English speaker. Their attitude was, however, aggressively polemical and their attacks on persons and movements that they disliked were often rude and offensive. Wilson himself was never offensive, although in private he could be sarcastically contemptuous. He certainly shared the derogatory opinion of academic scholarship in the humanities. He may have disliked the English department in consequence, but what made him turn to French and Spanish is not on record. He had no specialized training in languages, but it was possible to complete Part II of the Modern Languages Tripos by taking only literary papers in selected periods without any linguistic study. Wilson never needed to make good a deficiency in philology and linguistics, and his own specializations were not to suffer. Almost certainly his choice of Spanish, as against Italian or German, was due to his mother's twin brother, Cecil Meryon Harris (1876–c.1950). An antique-dealer by profession, he had retired early from business and in order to live as comfortably as possible on the legacy left him by his father, he settled in Málaga, in the south of Spain, which was then an incredibly cheap country. For doubtless the same reason there were numerous retired British subjects living there, and Cecil Harris came to run the British Club. He paid annual visits to his English relatives and spent four weeks every year with the Wilsons in Kendal. He was not an intellectual, but he was a lover of Spain, and from him Edward Wilson acquired
his first knowledge of the country and a desire to learn its language and read its literature.

Part II of the new Tripos which he sat in 1928 was his first scholastic success. Recognition in the Spanish field followed quickly. He was awarded the Esmé Howard Studentship to the Residencia de Estudiantes in Madrid in 1929, the Rouse Ball Studentship at Trinity College in 1930, the Jane Eliza Proctor Visiting Fellowship at Princeton in 1932, and he was appointed to an assistant lectureship in Cambridge in 1933. He took his Ph.D. in 1934. The subject was the influence of Góngora on Calderón, namely the direct quotations from, glosses on, and allusions to poems of the former in the plays of the latter. Both these authors remained prominent in Wilson’s interests, Calderón becoming his major field of literary investigation. The French department seemed to have left no influence on him, and he did not turn to French literature in his research. English literature, on the other hand, remained a primary interest and the relations between English and Spanish literatures furnished important topics for future publications.¹

From 1928 to the foundation of the Chair of Spanish and the appointment of its first professor, J. B. Trend, in 1933, the small Spanish department had no distinctive characteristics except in the field of history. In literature, there were no methods or policy for Wilson to oppose, except the normal dull insistence on sources and the search for ‘life-like’ characters. The opposition of Leavis and his followers to academic literary scholarship centred in the field of literary history which they thought irrelevant in the detailed ways it was pursued—irrelevant, that is to say, to the reading of literature as the means of forming a critical sensibility with the power to judge values and to distinguish the finer shades of quality. Literary criticism, as it tended to be practised, often

meant for drama and novels the recreation of fictional societies independent of the texts from which they were extracted. Fictional characters were endowed with psychological aspects which had been disregarded by their authors. L. C. Knights, a prominent member of Scrutiny, satirized this tendency in his essay ‘How many children had Lady Macbeth?’1 In poetry, Leavis insisted on making his students and readers concentrate closely on the texts before them, analysing the language to discern shades of meaning which would interconnect the different images, to discern possible ambiguities, examining the imagery, not to determine its classifiable structures but the relation of one image to others in order to bring out the underlying unity of thought and feeling. It was an analytical method that was much more intellectual than any type of literary criticism since the Romantic period. Form was not independent of content, for what was expressed could not be expressed in any other way: the sensuous qualities of language were manipulated by poets to express subtleties of thought as well as of feeling. Poetic statements came to be recognized, when focused through the imagination of a great poet, to be far more complex and significant than other types of statement. Stylistic analysis of this kind could grade every kind of statement from the highly significant to the trivial, and the aim of this literary study was to train minds to discriminate and evaluate. Wilson was entirely sympathetic to these aims, but there was no need in the still relatively untilled ground of Hispanic literary criticism to embark on any aggressive attack.

1 Gordon Fraser: The Minority Press, Cambridge, 1933. This extensive essay examines the new reorientation of literary criticism, with special regard to Shakespeare. Traditional criticism, Knights explained, was based on the assumption that the function of literature was to create ‘living’ characters, ‘real human beings’, and that the poetry of Shakespeare’s plays merely created a magical atmosphere. Knights quoted many revealing remarks from literary critics and authors. For example: “The test of a character in any novel is that it should have existed before the book that reveals it to us began and should continue after the book is closed . . . These are our friends for life . . .” (Hugh Walpole) (pp. 2–3). Knights referred to the questions asked by Ellen Terry in her Lectures on Shakespeare, for instance: how did the Boy in Henry V learn to speak French? ‘Robin’s French is quite fluent. Did he learn to speak the lingo from Prince Hal, or from Falstaff in London, or did he pick it up during his few weeks in France with the army?’ (pp. 3–4). On Logan Pearsall Smith’s On Reading Shakespeare he states: ‘Here Shakespeare is praised because he provides “the illusion of reality”, because he puts “living people” upon the stage, because he creates characters who are “independent of the work in which they appear . . . and when the curtain falls they go on living in our imaginations and remain as real to us as our familiar friends’” (pp. 4–5).
EDWARD MERYON WILSON

Because of his developing Hispanic formation, Wilson was not, so to speak, a fully-fledged Leavisite, nor had he the intellectual sharpness that could have made him one. As a social member of the group, he acquired for a time a certain position within it. Professor L. C. Knights has written as follows: ‘I know Leavis treated him with respect. In fact, I have a distinct memory of asking Leavis about a new poet, W. H. Auden, and his saying “I don’t know: you must ask Edward Wilson about that”’. Since he could not achieve his desire to become a poet by original writing, he turned to translating Spanish poetry into English verse. In the 1920s the revival of interest in the English Metaphysical Poets, so long under a cloud for their alleged obscurity and ‘unpoetic’ features of style, was paralleled in Spanish studies by the revival of Góngora (1561–1627), who had for long been dismissed as, in his major works, a bombastic pedant. Wilson saw otherwise and felt in tune with the developing change of taste that was eventually to bring Góngora to the summit of Spanish critical acclaim. In this respect he was a pioneer among English-speaking Hispanists, but it cannot now be determined whether he came to this position of his own accord or under the influence of the new school of young Spanish critics. Whatever the reason, and supported by the revaluation of the Metaphysicals, he produced a verse translation of Soledades, Góngora’s longest but unfinished poem: The Solitudes of Don Luis de Góngora. Fragments of this translation appeared in Experiment, in Cambridge Poetry (1929), and in The Criterion. T. S. Eliot, editor of the last-named periodical, hoped to find a publisher for the complete translation, but it would not have been easy to find a professional publisher for so difficult and apparently so esoteric a work. It was published in 1931 by a friend of Wilson, Gordon Fraser, who had established in Cambridge the small avant-garde Minority Press. No British Hispanist would have believed, when Wilson set to work, that any translation of Soledades would have been possible; until Dámaso Alonso published in 1927 a prose paraphrase with his edition of the poem, no one really believed that it made continuous sense. Wilson’s version was a most remarkable achievement for its time, revealing a genuine and most unusual sympathy for ‘baroque’ poetry and a most sensitive poetic feeling in both Spanish and English.¹

¹ His translation was republished by Cambridge University Press (1965) in response to a pirated American edition which had arbitrarily altered parts of Wilson’s text. There was a later translation by Gilbert Cunningham (The Solitudes of Luis de Góngora, The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1968). This was
Wilson later published in the *Cambridge Review* verse translations of some Góngora sonnets, and for a time he tried his hand at translations of old Spanish ballads. The best metrical form to use was a problem in this case, since the Spanish assonating octosyllabics would have sounded strange in English, and since the old English ballad metre would have seemed affected. He devised a form of free verse with effective rhythms. The outbreak of the Second World War put a stop to this activity. It was not taken up again and these ballad translations were never published.

During these years Wilson planned a series of critical essays on separate Calderón plays, which were to constitute a study, more or less along *Scrutiny* lines, of Calderón’s secular drama. This was intended to be a companion to a similar volume (not to be written by him) on Calderón’s theological ‘moralities’ (*autos sacramentales*), but Wilson’s volume was not completed. The first of these essays, on *El príncipe constante*, was published in the *Modern Language Review* in 1939. The new approach was marked. Whereas previous attention had concentrated on the politico-religious aspects of the theme (the Crusade between Christian and Muslim and the exaltation of martyrdom), Wilson showed that the true poetic centre of the play lay in human problems and emotions as conveyed through the quality of the verse, and the play emerged as a more moving work of art than anyone had previously realized. William J. Entwistle, the Professor of Spanish at Oxford and editor of *MLR*, was fired by this new interpretation to add to Wilson’s an appreciation of his own.¹ Wilson was not impressed by this and considered, privately, that the side-by-side publication detracted from the effect of his paper, but actually time has shown that Entwistle was more far-sighted than Wilson. He saw the main characters as representing moral ideas, which could make the characters represent abstractions, rather than individuals. This was, in fact, the allegorical technique of Calderón’s *autos sacramentales*, and Wilson considered it a critical fallacy to apply to one dramatic genre the critical principles proper to another. In this he was partly right, but Entwistle was also right in seeing that Calderón’s technique of characterization had behind it an ethical framework of a philosophical kind. The revaluation of Calderón’s secular drama that this study initiated was to disclose and analyse an equally fine and sensitive version, and in one sense, more skilful in that it preserved the metrical patterns and rhyme schemes of the original.

the intellectual structure of Calderón’s plots and the philosophical nature of his themes. Though Wilson was not insensitive to intellectual patterns of construction, he remained primarily centred in the poetry of human experience, which was, indeed, a great step forward, for Calderón had been dismissed as too rigid and un lifelike. Wilson remained only partially receptive to Calderón’s intellectual systematizations and to the symbols or near-allegories they required. The progress of Calderonian criticism ever further in this direction produced methods of analysis which Wilson did not want to follow, as well as critical judgements that tended, in his opinion, to be exaggerated. The consciousness that Calderonian criticism was moving in other directions made him abandon the idea of writing a general study of Calderón’s poetry and drama. Nevertheless, some studies of individual plays continued to appear, revealing new insights into Calderón’s technique which others were to develop. The most influential was the one on *La vida es sueno*, in which he proved convincingly, against generations of misunderstandings, that the play did not have a dualistic structure of unconnected main and sub-plots, pulling the theme in contrary directions, but an unfamiliar and carefully planned structure with a firm unity of conception and execution. The other influential insight was the revaluation, which he initiated, of the honour or wife-murder plays, which had, over many generations, been assumed to represent the dramatist’s personal adherence to a barbarous moral code. Wilson was the first to point to subtleties of construction and tragic ironies of situation which showed that the dramatist, far from being uncritically inhuman, had a deep and penetrating awareness of the tragedy of the human condition. Others have developed these insights, but Wilson was the pioneer.¹

The consciousness of being outstripped by developments in literary criticism such as had finally led to ‘unhumanistic’ movements like structuralism led Wilson to move away from criticism into fields of literary study where factual research predominated. He became very conscious that younger critics were moving ahead and developing aspects which he had scarcely touched in the works he had written about. He concentrated, therefore, on aspects of Spanish literature in which no one else would compete. He abandoned the intention to write a study of

¹ His intention was to write a study of the wife-murder theme in the Golden Age drama but his change to bibliographical research prevented the completion of this project. The parts of the book he did finish were published as separate papers.
Spanish wife-murder plays, though he left important interpretations of Calderón’s *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* and of *El pintor de su deshonra*, as well as of Lope de Vega’s *El castigo sin venganza*. All Wilson’s dramatic criticism is characterized by a careful analysis of the human motives and situations, arrived at in most cases through a sensitive response to the diction and the poetic imagery, rather than from structural features of thought and plot. It is in the best tradition of humane criticism. This remains his strong point as a critic, but it makes him nowadays ‘old-fashioned’ in comparison with the newer schools. He abandoned his first intention to write critical studies of Calderón’s major plays, and his only attempt to survey the work of that dramatist as a whole was in his chapter on Calderón which he contributed to the volume on Golden Age drama, which formed part of the new *Literary History of Spain*, edited by R. O. Jones.¹ This volume was published in 1971 and, apart from the chapter on Calderón, was the work of D. W. Moir. The whole volume, though it contained many new ideas and some new facts, was literary history of a still traditional type, but as a review of Calderón’s life and work within a limited compass, Wilson’s chapter has not been superseded.

Wilson, however, contributed definitive studies of Calderón’s life and publications as part of his new orientation towards factual research. He re-examined and reinterpreted many biographical documents and made important corrections and additions to Calderón’s *Life*. These were published in separate papers, and it is to be regretted that he never intended to write a new *Life*, but he left essential material for the future biographer. Even more important were his studies on the printing and publication of Calderón’s complete plays (*autos sacramentales* as well as *comedias*) which led to the unexpected discovery that there were two separate printings, at different dates and at different places, of the ‘first edition’ of the collected *autos* (1717). This was part of the bibliographical researches into the Golden Age drama which were to prove his major contribution to Hispanic scholarship, and one in which he had no rival. Any disapproval of academic literary scholarship that might have remained from his early days was now totally lost. His new research made him more academically erudite than any literary critic. It is in fact ironical that he who had once disapproved of ‘pure scholarship’ being applied to literature, because of its irrelevance to the problems of life, came now to be looked upon by his fellow Hispanists as himself obsessed with irrelevant minutiae. There was much good-humoured

laughter at his discovering that the type used by one Spanish seventeenth-century printer contained the letter j with two dots.

The fascination that everything connected with popular culture and popular literature exercised upon him led him to explore untrodden paths, along which none of his colleagues, then or since, have felt impelled to follow. The study of broadsheets and chap-books disclosed the extent to which sophisticated literary culture percolated down to the illiterate populace and influenced their own anonymous compositions in traditional 'folk-literature'. All these researches were rewarding for the sociological background to the seventeenth century, especially when it meant the popular and the sophisticated combining in one major poet. Quevedo was strongly attracted to various manifestations of low life, particularly the ballads and popular songs recording the deeds of famous gangsters and bullies. Wilson studied Quevedo's jácaras, or original poems in this vein, and his analysis of the tradition illuminates the range, both social and thematic, of Spanish literature. Such studies as these are more important than Wilson's papers and essays on the old ballads, to which other distinguished scholars were directing attention; in fields allied to jácaras Wilson had no competitor. These journeys through the byways of Spanish literature, which historians and critics had totally neglected, stemmed originally from his contact with Westmorland farm labourers, and were now given a precise scholarly orientation by the development of his specialization in bibliography. These byways were the subject of the Taylorian Lecture he gave at Oxford in 1966.1

The Taylorian Lecture was essentially a defence of a particular kind of literary historiography; an argument that major works of literature can be fully understood and appreciated only when we know their sources and the cultural backgrounds against which they were written. As such, it was an indication of how Wilson had come to reject, or at least to modify, what he regarded as the more extreme parts of Leavisite doctrine. It was as if he had come to believe that the Scrutiny group's theories about revitalization were not practicable, or at least that their aggressive polemizing was counter-productive. Rather than polemical, his tone was one of an almost wistful nostalgia for a time when cultural divisions among the classes had been less marked, when some portion of the European cultural tradition was part of the inheritance of every man. However, or perhaps accordingly, his lecture was also

a criticism of those simplistic histories of literature which conceal and distort, which use misleadingly convenient labels and pigeon-holes: misleading because they make us think too readily in terms of periods, styles, changes, and innovations, neglecting the great continuities such as folk-tales, folk-songs, ballads, religious, and pious texts.

These notions were not entirely original, and Wilson admitted debts to several scholars, among them Menéndez Pidal and Rodríguez-Moñino. He showed originality, however, in his choice of evidence, and in his argument that Golden Age Spain, more than any other European countries, had a smaller gap between the learned and the 'ignorant' than exists today. He maintained that only in Spain could one find so many examples of the way in which a great writer could use the humblest material to produce a masterpiece—which, because it therefore remained sufficiently familiar to the limited artistic experience of the unlettered members of his public, could be appreciated by them, and even provide fresh material to be adapted in turn for mainly popular consumption. Wilson's wide knowledge of English literature was able to provide him with appropriate evidence in this field, and his occasional references to French literature perhaps indicate that he did owe some kind of debt to his undergraduate studies. However this may be, his lecture made a valuable contribution to Spanish literary historiography. It has helped to inspire other studies on the subject, as well as on such related topics as the best-seller in Spanish literature, and on the role of the book trade in promoting popular literature.¹

The change of direction from an exclusive concentration on literary criticism to a primary interest in bibliography came after the war, during which Wilson served as a temporary civil servant, at first in Bletchley Park but later in London. This change of direction was due to a new friendship that deeply influenced him. In the years that followed his emergence as a Hispanist, Wilson had had many contacts with Spain—with the young poets associated with Cruz y Raya, and especially with Dámaso Alonso, a poet who was to become the most distinguished literary critic of his generation. These contacts were broken by the Spanish Civil

War and by the Second World War. The new contacts that were thereafter made in Spain were more academic than literary and were slow in surmounting the political isolation of Spain. In England these years were marked by a close friendship with James Smith, whom he had known at Trinity and as a member of the Scrutiny group. Where literary criticism was concerned, Wilson was always to acknowledge Smith as his mentor. An accomplished linguist in Classical and European languages (Germanic, Romance, and Slavonic), a distinguished literary critic with a philosophical cast of mind, Smith must have been one of the most brilliant intellects never to have been appointed to an academic post in this country, though he became Professor of English at Fribourg University, continuing to reside in Cambridge during the vacations.¹

In 1945 Wilson was appointed Cervantes Professor of Spanish in the University of London in succession to Antonio Pastor. His was the only Spanish department in the university. Wilson kept it small but nonetheless produced a number of distinguished graduates who were to become professors in their turn.

During his period at King’s College, Wilson returned to his Anglican allegiance. This may have been influenced by the continuing tradition of this Church of England foundation, with its Dean, Chaplain, and its chapel, but his brother Paul thought it was due, more than anything else, to his friendship with John William Crow (1904–1969), Reader in English in the college. Crow was the most colourful figure in the college, an unconventional, indeed eccentric, figure with a racy, often rude sense of humour, and a very pungent wit. A very erudite man, he had come late to academic life after a varied journalistic career, mostly as boxing correspondent for British and American newspapers and magazines. He was a highly entertaining conversationalist and raconteur, such as Wilson himself became in the later years of his life. Crow was a devout member of the Church of England, a lay theologian, and a patristic scholar of repute, and early in his life he had worked in the Wellington College Mission at Walworth. While at King’s, he was connected, in some such capacity as churchwarden, with St. Mary Le Strand at the gate of the college.

¹ After Smith’s death, Wilson collected his unpublished and unfinished essays, and despite the difficulties caused by Smith’s handwriting and his often unsystematic method of composition, Wilson painstakingly edited them and added to them a biography of, and a tribute to, his friend: James Smith, Shakespearian and Other Essays (Cambridge University Press, 1974). This volume reprints some essays previously published in Scrutiny.
His influence over Wilson was far-reaching in academic as well as in personal matters.

Crow specialized in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and was an avid collector of old books. The combination of these two interests had led him to become an exponent of the relatively new discipline of analytical bibliography, in which he joined McKerrow, Greg, and Bowers, all of whom were scholars of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, as Crow was. As a discipline, analytical bibliography was almost completely unknown in the field of Spanish literature; the fact that this situation is now changing is principally Wilson’s doing, although he owed his introduction to the subject to Crow.

Apart from Crow, the main influence behind Wilson’s studies in Spanish bibliography was Don Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino (1910–1970). They had first met in Madrid in 1936, very shortly before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, but this incipient friendship was interrupted by the two wars which followed, and not renewed until the early 1950s. Rodríguez-Moñino was another enthusiastic bibliophile, a prodigious editor and publisher, and a meticulous scholar. His interests were (in Spain at the time) unfashionable ones: regional literature (viz., of Extremadura, of which he was a native), descriptive bibliography, the rescuing from oblivion of obscure or ‘lost’ editions and manuscripts, often of minor writers; and popular and folk literature, which the work of Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal had already made more fashionable. Wilson came to share all these interests. A similar, but lesser, influence was Don Antonio Pérez Gómez (1902–1976), a lawyer from Murcia, another great bibliophile and a publisher, often in facsimile form, of rare and obscure works of the kind rediscovered by Rodríguez-Moñino.

When Wilson returned to Cambridge as professor in 1953, he came in contact with more bibliographers, some of whom he had first met in Cambridge before the war. Among them were J. C. T. Oates (another Trinity man who was some six years younger) and F. J. Norton, a friend from undergraduate days. Both of them were then librarians in the University Library, and their names came to recur regularly in Wilson’s acknowledgements. As a fellow Hispanist who had an almost unrivalled familiarity with collections of old Spanish books, as well as good contacts with appropriate antiquarian booksellers, Norton was a particularly welcome colleague: some of the most prized items in Wilson’s collection were acquired for him by Norton. At the same time, however, the friendship was of mutual benefit: it resulted in joint
publication, and not long before his death Wilson read one set of the proofs of Norton’s magnum opus, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal, 1501–1520* (1978). He was one of the few people living who was capable of reading it as an expert. Some of his acknowledged eminence among a group of very distinguished Cambridge bibliographers may be inferred from his election, in 1975, as the President of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society.

Another important part in Wilson’s development as a bibliographer was played by the libraries of Cambridge. The University Library was particularly rich in early editions of both Calderón and Góngora, Wilson’s favourite authors; and when his own collection was added (as it has since been, by his bequest), the total collection of these two authors was superior to any other outside the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. With smaller collections such as the Spanish books of Samuel Pepys (Magdalene College) also taken into account, it is perhaps not surprising that Wilson’s growing interest in bibliography expanded to become his main field of interest. Significantly enough, his first truly bibliographical publications date from the period after 1953. This date might lead one to suppose that they were as much a product of the mixed reception accorded to the edition (with J. M. Blecua) of Quevedo’s *Lágrimas de Hieremías castellanas*, which appeared in 1953, as of the stimulation of these bibliographical friendships and surroundings. Some of the reviews of *Lágrimas* were unfavourable, and Wilson was distressed by them. Certainly, when he was asked later why he was devoting so much of his energy to ‘minor’ matters such as chap-books and the like, he replied that he felt he must live down the charge of inaccurate scholarship. However this may be, the return to Cambridge initiated a long series of studies on chapbook bibliography. Samuel Pepys’s collection of Spanish chapbooks inspired a number of these, the most important of which appeared in three parts in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* between 1955 and 1957. It was a complete catalogue and bibliographical description of the collection, and included lists of other editions, notes on authorship and on parallels, an identification of printers by means of wood-blocks, and an index of first lines which ran to five pages; everything, in fact, except an index of authors, which Wilson had promised in 1955 but which was not included in 1957. It was a minor omission, but it is perhaps significant that in Wilson’s own bound and interleaved copy the omission was made good by a list in the hand of Rodríguez-Moñino. The praise and interest of Wilson’s bibliographical friends must have been welcome, and amid the growing
amount of studies on chap-books, he turned to bibliographical
and textual studies of major authors, principally of Calderón.

The earliest important one of these Calderón studies was that
on the first edition of Fieras afemina Amor, which was prompted by
the purchase in 1957 of a copy of that edition; it appeared in 1960.
Subsequent studies on the textual history of the volumes in which
the play was printed have relied on and confirmed the importance
of this work. Wilson’s intention was to produce an edition of the
play, and he wrote a lengthy critical study of it. Although he never
managed to complete the edition himself, it has been rescued by
two of his pupils and will be published in 1983.

During the same period (1958–61) Wilson published five other
articles on Calderonian manuscripts. In two cases (A secreto
agravio, secreta venganza and La púrpura de la rosa) he drew attention
to the textual importance of manuscripts which had been wrongly
ignored by editors. In these two cases also, his work formed an
essential preliminary to the production of definitive editions, but
he never produced them. His output of articles and other minor
pieces during this period was enormous, and it was clearly
impossible for the head of an academic department and Vice-
Master of his college (1961–5) to increase further this prodigious
output by adding to it the detailed labour which play-editing
demands. It is clear, too, however, that he was still choosing,
consciously or otherwise, to avoid lengthy projects; whether from
diffidence or fear of criticism is not certain. It was as if he was
willing to break the new ground, but content to let others sow the
seed and reap the harvest.

The later 1950s also saw Wilson’s entry into the subject of
Calderonian analytical bibliography, with an examination of the
two ‘1640’ editions of the Primera parte. It had been known for
many years that there were two editions with the same date, but
the genuine one, and the date and printers of the false one, had
never been identified. Wilson was able to do both, using a com-
bination of evidence from textual and spelling variants, wood-
blocks, typographical style, and the type itself. Typographical
evidence had long been of vital importance in the study of
incunabula and post-incunabula (an area in which Norton was to
emerge as the acknowledged Hispanic authority), but Wilson was
the first to apply it to Calderón studies, and one of the first to apply
it to the examination of seventeenth-century Spanish books in
general. His innovations here have been productive, and his lead
has been followed by his own pupils and by others in Britain,
North America, and Spain itself. His use of spelling evidence has
been similarly influential; deriving from Wilson’s friendship with Crow and from the work of other scholars of English drama such as Bowers and Hinman, it has become a common feature of Spanish Golden Age textual studies. For this he is not uniquely responsible, but he deserves most of the credit.

After the work on the Primera parte, similar studies followed: on the Pando edition of the autos (1959 and 1962), in which he disentangled a complex series of editions and states, on the 1677 autos (1960) and on the Tercera parte (1962), where he solved problems similar to those which beset the Primera parte. All of these were on Calderón, but in 1968 he produced a significant piece of work on press-variants in the first edition of Góngora, his old enthusiasm. This was a long way from his 1931 translation of the Soledades, but it was informed by the same desire to foster a proper understanding of one of his favourite authors. It has been (and no doubt will continue to be) possible to add to these bibliographical and textual studies, but they will never be wholly superseded: they constitute a basic groundwork that will endure because it will not have to be done again. Six of them were reprinted in the collection The Textual Criticism of Calderón’s comedias in 1973, which also included a new piece on comedias sueltas.

Into the same category of erudition which will endure falls one of Wilson’s most ambitious works of this period: a study of the origins of the poems and songs incorporated by Calderón in his plays, which was produced in collaboration with Jack Sage, a former pupil from King’s College, and published in book form in 1964. Deriving in part from his doctoral thesis, it provided ample justification for the arguments that he was to put forward in his Taylorian Lecture a couple of years later, and attracted wide interest from the growing number of historians of Spanish popular literature. Some addenda were published as an article in 1977, just before his death, and plans are in hand to publish a revised edition, incorporating the extensive notes from his own interleaved copy.

Wilson travelled widely in pursuit of his researches, particularly to Spain and the United States, and searched in numerous library catalogues for rare items, descriptions or transcriptions of which he would take down in his numerous notebooks for future use. At some time in the 1950s he began to collect descriptions of Calderonian comedias sueltas, editions of single plays which were published in large numbers from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. A few catalogues of small collections of these had been or were shortly to be published, but Wilson soon realized that the kind of description used in these early catalogues was
wholly inadequate for the purpose of distinguishing between page-for-page reprints, of which there were a great many. Accordingly, he devised a method of description which was based on that being used by such scholars of English drama as Greg and Bowers. His first published use of it was in his description of the princeps of Fieras afemina Amor, and it has gradually come to be adopted, either completely or in its basic principles, by virtually all the recent cataloguers of sueltas. At the time of his death, Wilson’s own catalogue of Calderón suelta descriptions ran to many hundreds, for they represented years of work. They have been published in their entirety in the third volume of the Reichenberger Calderón-Handbuch (1981); the volume contains sets of descriptions from several sources, collected by various scholars, but Wilson’s is by far the largest single contribution.

As he collected his suelta descriptions, Wilson continued to look for other Calderón material, particularly minor works, both printed and manuscript. Some of the printed ones were published in a facsimile collection by Pérez Gómez in 1969; the manuscript material was published separately, sometimes in homage volumes. Like much of the work that appears in Festschriften, these studies were not always of major importance; but they were pieces, each complete in itself, of useful scholarship, which would serve scholars of the future: facts, not opinions. Wilson had an old-fashioned belief in the value of ‘adding to the sum of human knowledge’, and even the task of merely making the bricks with which others might construct the edifice was not to be despised.

Although Wilson, by the time of his death, was the acknowledged expert on the bibliography of Calderón, he continued to pursue wider interests in the fields of popular literature and bibliography in general. The most important result of these was Two Spanish Verse Chap-books, published in collaboration with F. J. Norton in 1969, and dedicated to Rodríguez-Moñino. The volume included facsimiles of the chap-books, and Wilson’s share comprised critical studies of the ballads contained in them, examinations of their sources and parallels, as well as a short chapter on oral and printers’ variants in sixteenth-century Spanish ballads in general. In 1970 he produced ‘The history of a refrain’ (with A. L.-F. Askins) and ‘Un romancero tardio y desconocido’. Both of these pieces were further illustrations of the claims made in the Taylorian lecture about the ‘great continuities’ of folk-songs and ballads. In 1975 there appeared a piece on the plague sermons of Richard Leake, a Kendal-born divine; in 1976, ‘Three printed ballad texts from Birmingham’, and ‘On the
Romanze que dize mi padre era de Ronda; while the lecture ‘Samuel Pepys and Spain’ was published posthumously in 1979. Wilson’s chief interest in Pepys was as a collector of Spanish books, and particularly of Spanish popular literature, but he also had a considerable admiration for the diarist: as a discerning collector of books and prints in general; as an enthusiastic student of drama; as a writer whose ‘good, taut English prose’ had not been sufficiently appreciated; as a man with an almost obsessively eager desire for knowledge; and as a believing Christian of Anglican persuasion but unusually wide toleration. It was perhaps not wholly inappropriate that the last piece of work which he managed (nearly) to complete was a monograph on Samuel Pepys’s Spanish Plays, a study which complemented the work he had done on the companion volume, the chap-books, twenty years previously.1

As Wilson’s interest in bibliography grew, he found less time for folklore, and most of his publications in that field belonged to the early part of his career. He became a member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society in 1936 and contributed a number of papers to their Transactions. The earliest of these (1938) dealt with ‘Some extinct Kendal customs’. This was followed in subsequent years by a number of entertaining articles in the journal Folklore dealing with folktales and traditions in remote rural areas. He was particularly interested in the spread of tales throughout England and worked with L. F. Newman in the early 1950s on the comparison of the folk traditions of Westmorland and Essex.2 Though these counties are far apart they were found to be comparable because their populations had a similar view on life. His last contribution to his local Antiquarian and Archaeological Society was a paper on Ralph Tyrer, BD, Vicar of Kendal, 1592–1627, which was to be read in Hull in September 1978. The paper was read by someone else, for Wilson died the previous year. It was published in volume lxxvii (1978) of the Transactions. In this interesting paper Wilson made an important correction to the common interpretation of Tyrer’s famous epitaph in Kendal Parish Church, which he had composed himself. He also discussed Tyrer’s Füue godlie sermons (1602), with some characteristic bibliographic remarks.

Wilson was elected Corresponding Member of the Hispanic Society of America in 1963, of the Real Academia Española in

2 ‘Folklore survivals in the southern “Lake Counties” and in Essex’, Folklore lxii (1951), 252–66; lxiii (1952), 91–104; lxiv (1953), 286–99.
1964, and of the Real Academia de Buenas Letras of Barcelona in 1974. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1964 and awarded an Honorary D.Litt. of the University of Southampton in 1972. He was President of the International Association of Hispanists from 1971 to 1974 and elected President of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society in 1975. After retirement he was Visiting Professor at the Universities of California (Berkeley), Texas (Austin), and Wisconsin (Madison).

In 1973 he was presented with a volume of studies written by many of his colleagues.¹ In this volume will be found the list of his publications up to and including 1973. Posthumously there was published a volume of his papers, some of which had not previously appeared.² Here the list of his publications was brought up to date (1980), including some studies awaiting publication.

His writings are characterized by lucidity and a neat and concise style, but an excellent academic writer is not ipso facto a good teacher. Wilson could write formal lectures that were a pleasure to listen to, but he was never really at home in the lecture room before a class of undergraduates. His delivery was often awkward and his subject-matter at times too diffuse. He made no concessions to students, generally giving them what he wanted them to hear, rather than what their curricula demanded. In this respect, of course, he followed a tradition of the old universities, although this was already on the way out. On the other hand, his former postgraduate students are agreed that he was excellent as a supervisor of research and as director of postgraduate seminars which he regularly organized.³ His research


³ Mr R. G. G. Coleman wrote the following in an obituary article in the Emmanuel College Magazine lx (1977–8), 101–2: '... he subscribed to the old-fashioned Cambridge view that to lecture well was to advertise publicly that one’s talents and energies were not being directed to their proper purpose... His great strength as a teacher was in the supervision of research students. Unlike many of his colleagues in Arts subjects, who seem to believe that the function of a research supervisor is to leave his students to get on with it with the minimum of interference, Wilson saw it as his duty to give those entrusted to his charge, who were invariably working on seventeenth-century subjects, a thorough grounding in the techniques of scholarship that he himself had mastered and used to such good effect. Not all of them, to be sure, shared his enthusiasm for bibliographical research, but all without exception looked back with gratitude to the initiation he had given them into the meaning and value of scholarship.'
students could consult him at any time and he was painstaking in advising them. His erudition was most formidable, and this was made possible by a phenomenal memory.

As a head of department he met with approval from those lecturers who liked to be left free. He did not direct the running of the department, and there were some of his colleagues who felt that there were aspects of the work of the department that would have benefited if he had planned with more detail and exercised more control. Again this conformed to what had been the practice in the old universities, and it is clear that Wilson had not allowed his period at King’s College, London, to modify his academic practice.

He conformed to the old tradition, also, in his tolerance. In discussing essays with his students, he was hard on bad syntax and slipshod style, and quite intolerant of jargon and preconceived ideas; as for the ideas themselves, he was always prepared to agree to disagree. One of his students at King’s College in the immediate post-war years has written: ‘He was remarkably tolerant of Marxist interpretations, as I recall, so long as they were based on historical insight and not on repeated jargon, and so long as they respected the text and were based on a close reading of it. I am sure he did not like such interpretations, but I think his feeling for what the world had just gone through, combined with his real sympathy for the young at that juncture, enabled him to allow that we too were seeking values in literature and not just determinist structures.’ This tolerance, so uncharacteristic of his friend Crow, was all the more noteworthy for his strong conservative, or as some said, reactionary views. In literary criticism he came to repudiate any interpretations that could be considered subjective, and that departed from the ‘literal sense’ of a text. He became an exponent of ‘historical’ criticism in his insistence that no personal judgement or modern standpoint should intrude into interpretation, and that no meaning should be found in a work that was not clearly deducible from the text and consonant with the ideas of the age that produced it. He was reluctant to believe that every period’s experience of life necessarily modifies, to some extent, the varying understanding of literary works that previous ages had shown. He disliked impressionist criticism and was suspicious of archetypal, allegorical, or psychological interpretations. Literary scholarship, in one of its directions, has sought objectivity, but Wilson’s version of this is now rather old-fashioned; on the other hand, in another of its directions, modern literary scholarship has developed what Wilson rejected.
This conservatism was extended not only to the new 'isms' that have flooded the world of scholarship, but also to every branch of life, including politics. He disliked intensely the numerous and sweeping changes in the churches, the universities, and in society as a whole that the post-war period ushered in. Though he could be sarcastic in private, even virulently so, he was never aggressive in public or in print. He hated polemics and controversy of any kind, and was unfailingly good-natured and courteous, so much so that those who did not know him well, assumed that his strictures against the contemporary world were spoken in jest. Though utterly opposed to such developments as the admission of women to men's colleges in Cambridge as fellows and undergraduates, he welcomed with friendly warmth the first woman to be admitted to the High Table at Emmanuel. In later life he had an air of benevolence and goodwill which must have seemed old-fashioned to the young.

He was very much a 'College man'. As a bachelor he lived in college from his first appointment as Fellow, and being elected later a Life Fellow, he lived in his rooms after retirement. He never thought of anything else as 'home'. He was elected Vice-Master and steered the Fellows through the difficult task of electing a new Master. He left a substantial bequest to his college, to be realized through the sale of the greater portion of his extensive library; a smaller number of the rarest and most valuable items were bequeathed to the University Library.

A. A. PARKER
D. W. CRUICKSHANK

Note. The section covering Wilson's bibliographical research and publications has been written by Dr Don W. Cruickshank, to whom I am also indebted for advice on the remainder, and especially for invaluable assistance in the preparation of the typescript. Weakened eyesight has left me unable to read and write. Dr Denis Aliaga-Kelly wrote most of my section to my dictation, helped out at times by my wife. My grateful thanks are due to both. I have been helped by many of Wilson's friends, colleagues, and former students who kindly gave me their impressions and information which I have utilized. The late Lord Wilson of High Wray, shortly before his death, gave me information about the family and about his brother's early years until 1928, when I first met him. I gratefully acknowledge help, particularly from Mr. R. G. G. Coleman, Professor J. S. Cummins, Professor P. N. Dunn, Professor O. N. V. Glendinning, Mrs Helen Grant, Professor L. C. Knights, Dr F. H. Stubbings, Mr T. P. Waldron.

A.A.P.