A LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR CHARLES EDWYN VAUGHAN (BORN, AT LEICESTER, 10 FEBRUARY, 1854; DIED, AT MANCHESTER, 8 OCTOBER, 1922).

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A LIST of Vaughan's writings is a very inadequate tribute to his memory; for he was greater than they. As the bulkiest of them are scholarly contributions to learning, they do, of course, reveal the quality of his mind; but they provide only hints of the other elements so richly mixed in him. His shorter and less formal writings, however, give fuller play to more temperamental features. And so in a way, the natural bent and the full-grown manner of the man may be discerned in a survey of the scholar's books. There is the rhetorical sweep, the broadest generalisation, the widest denunciation: but there is, too, the habitual scruple in the act of judgment, which came to him as much from instinctive honesty as from critical training. There is the passion for the speculative ideal; but it is disciplined by a fervid awareness of brave sublunary things. There is the underlying sense of rigid justice; but it is tempered by an overflowing stream of human kindness. And neither side of these potentially conflicting attributes is more Vaughan than the other.

His qualities gained by their complements. His rhetoric never dazzled his intelligence: rather, it illumined remoter regions for further intellectual exploration. The high, dry light of reason was in its turn filtered through those warmer tones, without which it distorts the natural object as does a flash-light portrait. But whilst others more competent must assess the gain to Vaughan's thought from the many-sided humanity of the thinker, the lay philosopher can at least discern the fitness in his finding his most satisfying occupation with political theories. For in no other domain do interests which are
abstract and concrete, speculative and practical at once, approach more closely to each other. Nor, surely, is there a speculative field in which the seizing of ultimate truths is more conditioned by grasp of human motive: and in such a venture, Vaughan went twice-armed, for the intuitive revelations which came from his spontaneous sympathies were sharpened and intensified by a life-long intimacy with the noblest poets of Europe’s greater ages.

Yet at this time, it is impossible to think of Vaughan as just the thinker or the author. It is the impression of the man which persists. The picture may be the same, but it is ampler, allowing us more easily and frequently to catch the diverse characteristics of which he was compounded. He was transparent, yet elusive; ascetic, yet hearty; austere, yet benevolent; unassuming as a child, yet impressive as a patriarch; so manifestly extraordinary, yet so palpably normal; in a word, as various as are the colours of the rainbow, but like them, too, except at momentary glimpses, harmoniously blended in one familiar air. The shy grace of bearing and the inviting benignity of demeanour, with which he charmed the smaller circle of his acquaintance, would in a flash be passionately transfigured to an arresting solemnity of gesture and to a consuming blaze of rapture or of wrath, which were the spell of his wider influence. The simple modesty, which caused him at all times to say nothing of himself, would at moments glow to incandescence through a casual phrase, which thus unconsciously said everything. The voice, usually slow, subdued and deliberate, would on occasion become strepitant with enthusiasm or strident with fury. The placid composure of hours spent largely in solitary retirement moved without strain to the easy sociability of a moorland tramp, to the genial conviviality of an intimate dinner-party, and to the eager exhilaration of a fight for things worth fighting for. If at the end, one must, then, think of Vaughan as a recluse, the impression must be corrected by remembering that his last hermitage was pitched within the bustle of a crowded city.

It is the continual need for modifications of this sort which makes one realise the hopelessness of attempting to put Vaughan’s features on to paper. One sketches a posture, and sees at once, that, pencilled lamely so, it hides more than it reveals of the figure of the man; for each trait was distinguished by singular complements. Celt and Saxon came together in him, not in casual contiguity, but struck into
one personality by natural alchemy. His humanity was the active philanthropy of mind and hand, which is more human and not less charitable, when it resents inhumanity and sentimental humanitarianism alike. His humanism, similarly, was not a traditional system and a dogma, but a motive force and a point of view. His scholarship was classical in the oldest and best sense; but it was the wisdom of the ancient world brought to the needs of the present. Hence, in his professional capacity, from a classical form-master, he became a professor of English literature; and in his private predilection, his province was the mind of Europe during the last two centuries. There was an air of sanctity about the zeal with which Vaughan devoted his life to these studies: and the impression was confirmed by seeing their domination so frequently suspended, or rather sacrificed, at the bidding of more compelling sanctions. For his ideal of service was rooted in a system of the ultimate nature of things. But it was freshly realised from day to day in tireless devotion to the immediate task of the moment; its hallmark was its minute susceptibility in detecting the calls of duty when none but the finest ears could catch a sound. Such exacting loyalty as this may have limited the scope of his activities: it took from him, for instance, the time needful to make many books. But it gave unmeasurable value to his influence over those whom accident brought within its range: it made him, for instance, a teacher, the like of whom one will not easily meet again.

Nor, perhaps, is it unjust to think of Vaughan as realising himself most completely as a teacher, and most of all, as a teacher of English literature in a modern University. There the range of his endowments had fullest scope. Every occasion found him its ideal minister: the casual friendly chat with a pupil in difficulties; the breezy seriousness of a small study circle; the thrill of a lecture to a larger class—rhapsodies on Parnassus, as we, his pupils, used to call them. They were lectures as incapable of description as of imitation. They were extempore, and passed imperceptibly from sudden question shot at front row and at back row, through penetrating analysis and summary apophthegm, to passages of sustained eloquence of a temper all his own. They compelled keen thinking, and they thrilled with inspiring enthusiasm. At times the gesture might appear a mannerism, and the attitude theatrical: but that can hardly be its name, for it came spontaneously, and was never reproduced. Even the traditional wit-
ticisms were not the stock jokes of the University tradesmen, but shafts
ingaged at the moment as some modern instance of an ancient saw was
suddenly perceived. What wonder that his pupils loved him? and
loved, rather than worshipped, is the better word; it gives the right
sense of mingled reverence and admiration, and avoids the implication
of remote aloofness in their object. For Vaughan never sat above,
wrapped in academic splendour, exhaling clouds of higher mysteries
which hide the summits from the view; he strode on ahead, guide and
vigorous partner, in a bracing venture up the mountain side.

Obviously, a lively expedition of this sort has lost much of its vital
thrill when it has become mere words on a printed page. That is why
Vaughan's books are only a part of the man. He did not write easily.
Even in a physical sense, the pen moved slowly and laboriously; the
script had a quaint distinction which suggested the coming together of
Greek and Teutonic, without an intervening Italic. He composed
much more freely on the rostrum, warmed by the sympathetic stimulus
of an audience. His style was essentially oratorical. Many of the
items recorded below are, in fact, reports of addresses, printed, too,
not infrequently, in the exact form in which they were extemporarily
shaped. Literary composition of the regular sort was less congenial
to him. Pen in hand, he was retarded by a meticulous sense of form,
how exquisite, those of us who have submitted writings to him well
know. He was even more impeded by his rigorous standard of
historic exactitude and of personal honesty: on one occasion, he read
again some eight volumes of a French philosopher, to find conviction
for retaining a rather depreciatory epithet which he had provisionally
attached to that author's writings.

Yet, despite all this, Vaughan's literary works are in themselves a
great achievement. In the mass, they fall into a striking unity, and,
piece by piece, they represent a remarkable continuity of interest.
Whether in the way of prefatory paragraph, magazine article, school-
edition, casual lecture or lengthy treatise, whether nominally on
politics, poetry, drama or novel, their concern is with the attempt of
the better minds to illustrate and to probe the problems of corporate
life in the modern world. They lead naturally to the magnum opus,
the Political Writings of Rousseau, the product, literally, of a life-
time. Of the material which went to its making, Vaughan wrote in
1895, that it was brought "nearly to completion"; in 1901, he
reported it as in "the last stage of completion," adding that he hoped to send it to the press within twelve months. In effect, it was to occupy him continuously for another fourteen years, until at length a part of it was given to the world in the two large volumes issued by the Cambridge Press in 1915. There is indeed hope that the rest, the complete history of Political Philosophy during the two centuries prior to 1850, into which Rousseau will fall in middle place, may be sorted from his manuscript remains, and published as a larger rounding off of his life’s work.

In the face of such an output, a foregoing remark that Vaughan’s writings are an inadequate representation of the man, may well seem absurd. It was inspired by the feeling that books are after all, relatively dead things, relatively, that is, to the living personality of the author, when that author is such a man as was Vaughan. And if further extenuation be needed, let it be that the writer of these lines was a pupil of Vaughan’s, and is still under the spell of his presence.

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(Titles recorded in the following list have been exactly transcribed, except in the matter of the form of the author’s name and the titular descriptions attached thereto. For this, a uniform phrase has been adopted, “by C. E. V. . . .” Attention is drawn to such of the articles as are unsigned or signed pseudonymously.)

A. INDEPENDENT WORKS, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.


The editorial matter consists of an Introduction, pp. vii-xiv, Analysis, pp. xv-xvi, and Notes, pp. 125-144.


The editorial matter consists of an Introduction, pp. vii-xx, Analysis, pp. xxi-xxii, and Notes, pp. 121-154. C. E. V. acted as general editor to the series of which no. 1 and no. 2 are a part. This and the foregoing item, although professedly for use in schools, have a substantive value in themselves, and are steps on the way to the author’s Rousseau: even the Notes are not infrequently succinct paragraphs of his political scholarship. Vaughan had been schoolmaster at Clifton from 1878 to 1888, and then for a very short time at Rugby. He felt very keenly the need for such radical alterations in the curriculum of secondary and public schools as would make the modern world, its history, languages, and literature, their main occupation on the Arts side. In a lengthy paper, still in MS., and written about 1919, he draws up a very serious indictment against the traditional classical education, all the more telling when we remember that he took a First in Classical Moderations (1874), a First in Litterae Humaneiores (1877), was twice bracketed Jenkyns Exhibitioner (1876, 1877), and then taught Classics for ten years. It is very probable that the British Institute of Adult Education will shortly publish a lecture he gave, at its invitation, in Manchester in March, 1922, on The Place of Modern Languages in Adult Education.

The Preface occupies pp. v-xv, and throws new light on the source of the play.

4. English Literary Criticism. With an Introduction by C. E. V. . . . Blackie & Son, 1896. (This is a volume in the series, the Warwick Library of English Literature, of which C. H. Herford was general editor.) Pp. cii, 219 (reprinted 1901, 1903, 1905, 1911, 1912).


Besides the Areopagitica, this contains the Letter on Education, and Autobiographical Extracts from four other tracts. The editorial matter consists of Notes, pp. 135-147, an introductory note to the Letter, pp. 70-71, and a longer one to the Areopagitica, pp. 148-155. One of Vaughan's most impressive lectures to his pupils at Leeds was on the Areopagitica and Taylor's Liberty of Prophecy as documents in the history of political and religious toleration.

6. The Romantic Revolt. By C. E. V. . . . Blackwood & Sons, 1907 (reprinted 1923). (This is a volume in the series, Epochs of European Literature, of which G. Saintsbury was general editor.) Pp. vii and 507.

This is a very characteristic survey of European literature from the death of Rousseau and of Voltaire in 1778 to the death of Schiller in 1805. Except for what concerns Russian, it was based throughout on original sources, and is particularly noteworthy for the German section.


A reproduction, more or less faithful, of a course of lectures on Tragedy from Aeschylus to Ibsen, delivered to a general audience in the Leeds University during the winter of 1906. Each lecture was written out within a week after delivery. The volume is probably the best illustration of the critical method and the expository manner of Vaughan as a teacher of literature.


The following details will indicate the extent of Vaughan's own writing in the two volumes. Besides a general introductory essay on Rousseau as a Political Philosopher (vol. 1, pp. 1-117), each separate work contained in the collection has an introduction and a full critical apparatus of its own. Thus in vol. 1, the introduction to the Discours sur l'industrie consists of pp. 118-123; that to L'économie politique, pp. 228-236; that to L'état de guerre, pp. 281-292; that to La guerre perpétuelle, pp. 359-363; that to Diderot's Droit naturel, pp. 423-428; and that to the First Draft of the Contrat social, pp. 434-445. In vol. 2, the introduction...
to the Final Draft of the Contrat social occupies pp. 1-20; that to the Passages illustrating the Contrat, pp. 137-142; that to the Lettres de la Montagne, pp. 173-196; that to the Projet . . . de la Corse, pp. 292-305; that to the Considerations sur . . . Pologne, pp. 369-409; then follows an Epilogue, pp. 517-526, whist an Appendix II reprints a large part of a previously published lecture, Rousseau and his Enemies, which is recorded below (No. 11).


This translation of Rousseau's two treatises has an Introduction, pp. 5-35, written in the early summer of 1916, pointing out the bearing of Rousseau's thought on the state of Europe in that year.


Of the editorial matter, the Introduction occupies pp. xi-lxxvi, and the Notes and an Appendix, pp. 125-178. One of the many services Vaughan rendered to Manchester University was as active member of its Press Committee. Although he had retired from the Chair at Leeds partly from ill-health, during the war-years he freely gave his strength and time to help the Universities in emergencies. After a year spent in a Government office, which played havoc with his health, he filled gaps in the English Departments at Liverpool during one winter, and at Leeds during another. But Manchester University benefited most largely. During 1919-20, he voluntarily gave two full courses of lectures in the English Department; the next session, he accepted an appointment as Special Lecturer in that department; and in 1921-22, again voluntarily, he held regular conferences with a group of students who were preparing theses on politico-literary topics. The University conferred upon him its Doctorate of Letters, honoris causa, in 1919.

B. INDEPENDENT ARTICLES, PUBLISHED SEPARATELY OR IN COLLABORATED VOLUMES.

I. Published Separately:


A large part of this is reprinted as an Appendix to Vol. 2, of Rousseau's Political Writings (no. 8 above). It exposes the worthlessness of Diderot's and Grimm's evidence against Rousseau's character. A preliminary note by C. E. V. allows us to see a congenial way in which he made his books: "I desire to express my sincere thanks to the President and Council of the Society, for having kindly secured the services of a highly skilled Reporter on this occasion."


This is reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. VI, Oxford Press, 1914. The Lecture was delivered before the Academy on 29 October, 1913, and, as was his custom, was given without notes of any sort.


Vaughan served on the General Committee of the English Association, was President of the Yorkshire Branch of it (1908-1911), and frequently lectured to other northern
branches. Reports, longer and shorter, of some of these lectures will be found in the Bulletin of the English Association as under:

No. 23, June, 1914, p. 29, The Edinburgh Review and its Victims, a lecture given at Manchester, 6 March, 1914.

He also lectured at Manchester under the same auspices 26 April, 1912, on Elizabethan Drama and Foreign Politics, but apparently no report was sent to the Bulletin.


This is a reprint, from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 6, No. 3, July 1921, of a lecture delivered at the Library on 9 March, 1921. C. E. V. was Governor of the Library from 1915 to his death.

II. Contributed to collaborated volumes:

15. To The British Quarterly Review, Hodder and Stoughton:
Vol. 80, July 1884, pp. 1-27: Mr. Browning, by C. E. V. . . .

These articles may easily escape attention, since, although they are signed, they have curiously slipped from the Index appended to the Review, and are consequently omitted from the list of authors in Poole’s Index to Periodical Literature. Other of Vaughan’s writings on Browning are noted below. The Hugo article follows the main motives of his work as dramatist, poet, novelist and public man. Hugo was one of Vaughan’s earliest idols and one of his lasting passions. As a school-boy, he had addressed a letter of homage to him, and set great store on the reply it brought. And one of the present writer’s last memories of Vaughan is of his declaiming one of the political hymns to the Derbyshire hills.

16. To The Dictionary of National Biography:

This is a three-column life of his uncle, who was Headmaster of Harrow, Master of the Temple, and Dean of Llandaff.

17. To The Cambridge Modern History:

18. To The Cambridge History of English Literature:

Vaughan’s scepticism as to the worth of a history of Literature of such composite structure as the above, did not detract from the value of his own contributions. Their brevity throws into high light his power of disentangling the essential from its massed encumbrances, and his genius for summary appraisement.
19. To Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association, Oxford Press:—

20. To Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society, Byles and Sons, Bradford:—

This is a lecture delivered to the Society at Leeds, 31 October, 1910. Its main thesis is indicated by a paragraph towards the end: "the theory which would build a blank verse of feet, in any sense approaching to strictness, starts with everything in its favour: it is consistent, it is logical, it can claim historical probability; the one thing wanting to it . . . is that it does not tally with the facts."


The review of Harper's volume is one of Vaughan's most characteristic writings. He seldom reviewed books: he said it was liable to breed detestable intellectual habits. But the review in question is as much an independent article as a review.


This is a skilled reporter's account of an address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Bronte Society, held at Keighley on 20 January, 1912. The editor writes that it "required almost no editing." (It gives a very good impression of Vaughan's style of lecturing to a popular audience.) It had been previously printed in Bronte Society Publications, Part 22, Transactions, Vol. 4, pp. 217-235. In the copy of this in the Vaughan collection in the Library of the Leeds University are a few proof corrections in his hand.

C. BriefeR and More Fugitive Contributions to MagaZines.

23. To The Marlburian:—
Vol. VII, No. 121, 13 Nov., 1872, Thomas de Quincey, by "Volpone."

This article, which runs to two and a half pages, is certainly by Vaughan. It is, however, impossible to detect as his any other contribution, as they were usually either without signature or with a pseudonymous one. Major Davenport, who has generously searched the file for me, adds that in Vol. VII, No. 111, 24 April, 1872, there is a two-page article, Poetry of the Century, which, being signed "V." may or may not, be Vaughan's. He was a pupil at Marlborough from Feb. 1867 to Midsummer, 1873.
24. To The Omnium:—
No. 15 July, 1878, pp. 21-22, "What might have been," by "Sampson."

Nothing in this article precludes our giving it to Vaughan; but the only reason for assuming that it is his, is the discovery amongst his papers of a copy of it with many corrections in his hand.

25. To The Oxford Magazine:—

The review occupies a little more than a column, and although only signed "V." is known to be by C. E. V. who was T. H. Green's cousin. Vaughan was at Balliol from 1873 to 1877, leaving the University five years before the Oxford Magazine was founded.

26. To The National Home-reading Union Magazine, Special Courses Section:—

No. 4. Jan., 1894, Romola, I, pp. 85-86.
No. 2. Nov., 1894, Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, pp. 31-33.
No. 5. Mar., 1895, The Love Poems of Browning, pp. 149-152.
No. 3. Dec., 1896, Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, pp. 72-73.
No. 2. Nov., 1898, Marlowe's Dr. Faustus, pp. 31-33.
No. 9. June, 1899, Browning's In a Balcony, pp. 247-249.
No. 6. Mar., 1900, Browning's Abt Vogler and A Grammarian's Funeral, pp. 156-158.
No. 7. April, 1902, Browning's The Inn Album, pp. 175-178.

All the above articles are signed. There is also in the General Course Section of the Magazine (issued independently of the Special Section) a signed article by Vaughan on Carlyle's Heroes (Vol. 25, No. 2, 1913). The Union also issued a little book called Notes to the Pocket Volume of Selections from the Poems of Robert Browning, by Alex. Hill . . . with Essays on Several Aspects of Browning's Genius by C. E. V., etc., etc., published by the National Home-reading Union, 1897, pp. 158. Vaughan's essays in this compilation, Browning's Relation to other Poets of the Century, pp. 13-16, and The Love Poems of Browning, pp. 73-79. Vaughan had shown active interest in the work of the Union; he was chairman of the Council of the Cardiff Branch of it. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that all he did and wrote for it were gratuitous contributions to the cause it represented.
27. **To the Magazine of the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire:**


This is a satirical addition to Donnelly’s cryptogram, proving Bacon’s authorship of Twelfth Night.


Humorous verse in the manner of Chaucer.


An unsigned article, but certainly by Vaughan, on his uncle, then newly elected President of the College.

Vol. 8, No. 1, Dec., 1895, *The Episcopal Judas*, p. 16.

A verse satire on the Church Union’s attack on the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. Percival, who had been Vaughan’s head at Clifton. It is not signed but is almost certainly Vaughan’s.

Vol. 8, No. 2, March, 1896, *A Sketch of Principal Viriamu Jones*, pp. 41-44.

Also unsigned but identified as Vaughan’s.


Again unsigned, but believed to be by Vaughan: his account of Dean Vaughan in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is entered above, No. 16.

Vol. 11, No. 4, 1899, *Balliol Five and Twenty Years Ago*, pp. 137-145.


This is the report of a lecture which Vaughan gave to the Literary and Debating Society of the College on 11 Dec., 1900, that is, after his migration to Newcastle. Echoes of the welcome he received on the occasion of this visit to Cardiff will be found on pp. 75 and 85 of this same number.


This is signed C. V.

Vol. 15, No. 3, Feb., 1903, *A Sketch of Professor Little*, pp. 87-89.

This is signed C. V., and was written on the retirement of Professor Little from his Chair at Cardiff.


Vaughan was Professor of English at Cardiff from 1889 to 1898. He resigned to become Professor at Newcastle (1899 to 1904). The *Magazine* has several records of parts he played in College life at Cardiff. He was President of the Debating Society; a lecture before it on Bismarck is reported, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1889, p. 48; another on Pedantry in Vol. 3, 1890, p. 36. A further number (Vol. 11, No. 3, Feb., 1899) has many items relating to him, and arising from his resignation of the Chair. There is a portrait; there are appreciations by A. G. L. and by A., an account of a presentation made to him by the students, a report of his speech on that occasion, and lastly a few words with which he took leave of his last class at Cardiff. The next number of
the same volume records a further presentation, this time from old students. It may be added here that no articles by Vaughan have been identified in the magazine of Armstrong College (The Northerner), nor in that of Manchester University (The Serpent).

28. To The Gryphon:—

This is but a brief resumé of a lecture delivered before the Literary and Historical Society of the University of Leeds, and so is not one of Vaughan's writings in the same sense as are the other items of this List. Yet as many of them are, though fuller, reports of his speeches a point has been strained to provide opportunity for naming this little thing, and with it, the Gryphon, the Magazine of the University in which Vaughan's last professorial years were spent (1904 to 1912). Shortly after his retirement from Leeds, the Gryphon printed an appreciation and a cartoon (Vol. 16, No. 5, May, 1913).

D. OCCASIONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS:—


In the Preface to the former of these volumes (by A. C. B.) it is stated that the persons jointly responsible for their publication are the editors named on the title-page, and Professor C. E. Vaughan, one of the executors of Nettleship's will. But Vaughan's responsibility was almost entirely legal: there was, however, a project to publish, as further Remains, a set of Notes of Nettleship's lectures on the History of Philosophy, and if this had matured, Vaughan would have been called in for more strictly editorial duties.


The brief Preface (pp. 3-4) by Vaughan, is dated March, 1912. The volume is a commemorative record of an institution of which Vaughan's uncle, the Rev. David James Vaughan, was founder. The first chapter, pp. 11-28, by C. J. Bilson, and the second, pp. 29-36, by Agnes A. Evans, give some account of the Vaughan family.


The Memoir of Moorman, who had been Vaughan's colleague in the English Department during the whole of Vaughan's tenure of the Chair at Leeds, and who was tragically drowned on 8 Sept., 1919, fills pp. 7-20. On the whole it is not one of the more satisfying of Vaughan's writings.

32. Under FLIGHTS IN FAIRYLAND. By the staff and pupils of Lothian School for Girls, Harrogate. Edited by Jean Miller and Rose E. Speight. Introductory Remarks by C. E. V. . . . and Mrs. J. E. Buckrose. Saville and Co., Gower St. n.d. (1923.)

Pp. 60.

Vaughan's Remarks are four paragraphs, pp. 4-5, written at the request of one of the editors, Miss Speight, who had been a pupil of his at Leeds. Vaughan never saw the book in print; proofs reached him in the last days of his fatal illness. But it is altogether a fitting circumstance that in this, the last item of the record of his literary works,
the last act, indeed, of his literary life, we should see him stretching out a hand of encouragement and aid to one of the many hundreds of his former pupils, who are, in fact, far more than the books recorded here, his real works.