

any one else would so combine the *fortiter* with the *suaviter*, unless it be Gull, perhaps.

How far Sir R. Christison's estimate was justified may be gathered from what Sir William Turner, the present President, has written elsewhere¹ of Acland:

His academic and social position and the innate nobility of his nature had, from an early period of his life, gained for him the friendship and confidence of the leaders of the medical profession, of statesmen of both parties, and others eminent in public life, and contributed in no small measure to ensure harmonious relations between the Medical Council and the departments of Government with which it is brought into official communication.

Indeed, there is hardly a single question affecting the public health or the interests of the medical profession in which his correspondence does not reveal him as the confidential adviser of Ministers and their subordinates. He was, I think I may say without exception, on terms of intimacy with the bearers of all the most distinguished names in Medicine and Surgery; and he was constantly being called upon to avail himself of his personal relations with the Prime Minister of the day, or with the various heads of departments, by laying before them in private representation, the rights and wrongs of some pressing matter of business. His connexion with a great University which has been a nursing mother of statesmen, the accident of birth and up-bringing which had thrown him from the earliest years into association with the foremost men of the time, all contributed to give him prestige in the council-room, and to raise the Council itself in the estimation of the outside world. The dinners and breakfast parties at which he used to entertain his colleagues, together with a liberal sprinkling of distinguished public men, are still remembered by the latter as well as by the former. The medical profession

¹ In the obituary notice contained in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*.

CHAPTER XII

PRESIDENT OF THE MEDICAL COUNCIL— ROYAL COMMISSIONS—UNIVERSITY POLITICS—FRIENDSHIPS AND COR- RESPONDENCE—TOWN AND GOWN

1865-1874

IN 1874 Acland was elected President of the Medical Council in succession to Sir George Paget, a post which he retained for thirteen years. In a sense it was the climax of his career. In the eyes of the public he now stood as the representative and the mouthpiece of the medical profession; through him the University of Oxford was brought into a more clearly defined connexion with the question of medical training, and he was able to give fuller prominence to his long-cherished views on the necessity of a liberal education for those about to 'be entered on the physic line.' And if his presidency was an epoch in Acland's own life, it was also one in the existence of the body over which he was called to preside. In point of professional attainments or reputation, Acland would have been the first to deprecate comparison between himself and many of the illustrious occupants of the chair. But in some ways he came to fill a place on the Council for which there has never been any exact parallel before or since.

In June of that year, while the election was in the balance, Sir Robert Christison had written to him in the following terms:

Of all the London men with whom I have come in contact lately, Gull is he whom I should prefer to be my President—unless I could appoint yourself. No one else has such experience: your University views make you the most impartial man for rule in such an assembly: nor do I think

was brought into connexion with the leaders of political and literary life in a manner which was wholesome for all concerned. On the occasion of one of these dinners the House of Commons had adjourned its morning sitting to allow members to be present at the funeral of Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Gladstone had to leave the table early so as to be in his place at the commencement of business. Acland rose in the middle of dinner to propose the health of the Prime Minister, and then, 'while the meat was yet in their mouths,' Mr. Gladstone gave an eloquent and luminous disquisition on the resemblances and the divergences between the careers of the doctor and the statesman.

In presiding at the deliberations of the Council, Acland is described as being 'courteous in manner, graceful in speech, dignified in presence.' It was no easy position; he had often a troublesome team to drive, and uniform success would have been beyond expectation. His somewhat elaborate oratory was not always received without impatience, and there were occasions when he seemed to be prone to talk round his subject. But Acland was shrewder than some of his critics; long experience in fighting an uphill battle at Oxford had taught him to move along the line of least resistance. If the rougher spirits from the sister isle or elsewhere showed at times a disposition to resent the 'grand manner' which was so conspicuous, albeit so unconscious, a characteristic, yet his urbanity and his never-failing consideration for all with whom he was in contact seldom failed in the long run to inspire the malcontents with feelings of affectionate regard and respect.

He contributed valuable assistance in the formation of the British Pharmacopoeia, and he laboured strenuously to obtain a public recognition of proficiency in State Medicine. He had the satisfaction of seeing a very general institution of Examinations in Public Health, and by the Medical Act of 1886, which rendered registrable the diplomas thus obtained, the sanction of

the State was given to them as a qualification for the discharge of the duties of a Medical Officer of Health. He failed, however, to induce the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London to establish a conjoint examination and confer a joint diploma in Public Health open to all qualified medical men. Had he been successful in the endeavour—and he only failed narrowly of carrying his point—we might have had one standard examination in this subject for the whole kingdom carried out by the three leading Universities of England.

During his years of office his energies were mainly devoted towards widening the scope of the scientific training of the medical student. He had no desire to see the functions of the Council enlarged. 'Let us limit ourselves,' he said to the select committee on the Medical Act Amendment Bill, 'as far as possible to all questions which pertain, first to the general education, character, and culture of our profession; second to its scientific teaching, education, and attainments; and then to the examinations in the practical knowledge of its students.'

The thoroughness and labour which he had bestowed on his duties as a member of the Council may be gathered from his statement to the same committee in June, 1879, that he had never been absent a single day that the Council had sat, except once when he had to attend Convocation at Oxford¹. As President his work was of course more onerous and responsible: he took special care in organizing the visits of inspection to the various examining bodies, and particularly in arranging for the presence and comfort of such visitors at Oxford,

¹ It was on his way to a council meeting that he was caught in the great storm of January, 1881, and snowed up in the Culham railway cutting for nearly thirty-six hours. Dean Liddell and his family were embedded in the same drift, but in a different train, as they were coming down from London. A large number of unfortunate travellers had to encamp for a day or two in the station waiting-room at Oxford, and Acland sent up supplies of food to them from his own house.

and he was perpetually travelling up and down to settle and determine matters of practical detail in the London office of the Council. It was impossible that such an absorption in the general affairs of the profession could fail to interfere with his private practice, from which he was gradually compelled to withdraw.

There were other disturbing causes which for some years past had taken him more and more from the daily round in Oxford and the neighbourhood. As far back as September, 1865, Acland had been invited, by a telegram from Sir Arthur Helps, to sit on the Royal Commission appointed to investigate the nature and origin of the cattle plague. He assented, but the delay consequent upon his absence from Oxford resulted in the Commission being filled up before his answer was received. Liddell, whom he had consulted in the matter, strongly dissuaded him from accepting.

If you were an ordinary man and would work at a commission without much labour and expenditure of time as some men can, I should say 'Accept.' But, as you are, and will be, I should be inclined to say you had better decline. The work will involve a good deal of anxiety and trouble, will take you much away from Oxford, and in the end probably will not come to much. . . . Supposing no very great practical result to be likely to be attained—will your acting on the Commission profit you in your profession? I should think rather the reverse. There is now a notion abroad that you have been taking the scientific rather than the practical line, and will not your acting on such commissions strengthen this notion? If you *wish* this to be so, then accept the offer by all means.

Liddell gave similar advice two or three years later, and impressed upon him the certain pecuniary loss, to say nothing of the heavy additional labour, which must follow upon such an extension of his activities. But Acland had counted the cost, and his help was given freely to the public service, whenever and wherever he felt he could contribute to the general well-being. In

1867 he was appointed a member of the Cubic Space Commission, the object of which was to ascertain the space and area allowed in the dormitories and infirmary-wards for each inmate of the metropolitan workhouses. In 1869 he served on a much wider inquiry, the Royal Commission into the sanitary laws of England and Wales. It was a work which entailed enormous labour and visits of inspection into all parts of the country. Acland's share in the work was almost preponderant; his knowledge of detail and his practical mind were the admiration of his fellow workers, and many of his most valued friendships date from incidents and expeditions arising out of this Commission. Among these may be mentioned Sir John Lambert and Sir Douglas Galton, and it was in this way that he first made the acquaintance of Mr. Chamberlain.

His 'cholera-book' and his reports on kindred subjects¹ had made him a special authority on the drainage of the Thames Valley, and he was an important witness before the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the sewage disposal of London. It would be impossible to enumerate all the committees and commissions before which he was called upon to give evidence, but I may mention the Public Schools' Commission, the second University Commission, the so-called Vivisection Commission, the above-mentioned Committee on the Medical Acts, and the highly important Commission on 'Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science' appointed in 1870 and presided over by the then Duke of Devonshire. In addition to this public work he was in constant request where private individuals or bodies wanted an adviser on some sanitary question. He was called in to inspect the cottages on the Sandringham estate; in inviting him to Woburn on a similar errand, the Duke

¹ e.g. Notes on Drainage with reference to sewers and swamps of the Upper Thames (1857); Fever in Agricultural Districts (1858); Report on the general Sanitary Condition of Cowley Industrial School (1863).

of Bedford wrote: 'You may do good if you will teach me to house the poor as an example to others and not as a rich man's fancy.' In June, 1873, he was corresponding with Lord Carnarvon and Lord Salisbury with a view to a scheme for the erection of model cottages. We have seen him at Rugby, and at a later date he was brought down to Uppingham, then a prey to an outbreak of typhoid, which rendered necessary the temporary removal of the school to the sea-breezes of Borth. A characteristic story is told of how Acland fidgeted the school doctor to distraction by his apparent interest in everything but the school drains. When only half an hour remained he suddenly proposed an excursion to the top of the church tower. Then with the town spread out below him like a map, and with its plan under his eyes, he was able in a few minutes to point out how the drainage ought to go; and the business was done. And it ought to be added that for many years he was an active member of the Council of King's College, where his old pupil Lionel Beale was Professor of the principles and practice of Medicine: the existence of the laboratories and their maintenance on a proper scale was largely due to Acland's efforts and to those of Archbishop Thomson.

Moreover, these were years of considerable literary activity. In 1864 he published his biographical sketch of Sir Benjamin Brodie, originally read before the Royal Society. In 1865 he delivered an address before the British Association at Birmingham on the relations of physiology and medicine, and on the visit of the British Medical Association to Oxford in 1868 he gave the presidential address. In 1865, moreover, he was appointed to give the Harveian Oration, and he chose for his subject 'a discussion on Comte's statement concerning Final Causes,' making a notable, but much approved innovation by delivering it in English. Liddell was pleased, but blended, as was his wont, a little reproof with the commendation.

I thought your address very clear, pertinent, and useful; nor, as Conybeare rather led me to expect, do I see how it can give umbrage to the Physiologists, or to any mortal man.

If you will adhere to the line of work you lay down, you will be very wise, and will (I am sure) get on very well. Add to this, if the Acland nature will permit, a little economy of time and more rigour of punctuality, and nothing will be wanting to make your life happy. You will have more leisure for professional work, and more time for meals and sleep, which last matter you cannot continue to neglect with impunity.

In 1868 he published his address on the opening of the new school at St. George's Hospital, rich in the memories of his past days. In 1871 he expanded into a pamphlet of 100 pages a lecture which he had delivered in the Royal College of Physicians on National Health, dedicated 'to all who are striving to combine material progress with advance in morality.' At the Brighton Church Congress of 1874 he read a paper on the 'Influence of Social and Sanitary Conditions on Religion.' There are other lectures and addresses too numerous to mention. Acland always took immense pains with them, having in his mind's eye the multitudes who would be reached by the written rather than the spoken word; and then with a few revisions and additions they were ready for the press.

The present Controller of the University Press, Mr. Horace Hart, has supplied me with some interesting particulars of the interest he took in the printing and correction of his writings:

He was constantly in and out, bringing with him such small matters as notices which he wished to be printed and circulated, occasionally larger works in the shape of lectures and pamphlets, and in one instance a considerable and important book. There was always about him a breezy and vigorous air as he came bustling into the Press; he invariably wished to meet the actual workman who was to have the putting of his MS. into type; and when the work was done,

would always want to thank him personally. He had an embarrassing habit also of desiring to bestow pecuniary rewards on the artisan who pleased him, and I remember one instance in which a gratuity had to be made over to the workmen's benefit fund, because, as I pointed out to him, the man had already been paid for his labour, and it would make those engaged on other work discontented if he persisted. We generally managed to send him clean proofs notwithstanding the very bad hand which he wrote during the days at any rate when I knew him, and he almost always called personally at the University Press to give vent to his gratitude and his admiration of the skill of the compositor and reader in deciphering his MS. He was delighted when I told him that his handwriting was legibility itself compared with that of Dean Stanley. 'Didn't think anything could be worse,' he said. In 1893 his little book on the Museum was reprinted. It was published by Mr. George Allen and had to be printed on hand-made paper with large margins in the manner adopted for the Ruskin publications. In all the details of publication he took a delight which was almost boyish, and he was most appreciative of any help in carrying out his ideas. I have before me a copy of the book in which Sir Henry has written, 'Pray accept *my* copy of your beautiful *work*.' This was quite seriously intended, and he would have been much hurt if it had been treated as a joke.

The outside interests, though largely destructive of his private practice, were not allowed by Acland to interfere with the various University offices which he held. Besides the Regius and Clinical Professorships and the Radcliffe Librarianship, he was a Curator of the Bodleian and of the University Art Galleries, and a sort of general 'Protector' of the Museum, now rapidly increasing in scope and usefulness. He was thus drawn into the whirlpool of University politics, and his position in them requires attention.

The epoch which lies between the first and the second University Commissions was one of extraordinary activity at Oxford. The stroke of a pen had trans-

formed the mediaeval *πόλις* into a modern University town. Its government had passed from the hands of the old Hebdomadal Board, and a group of reformers was ready to organize the new structure which had risen on the foundations of the old. There has never been a time when Oxford was richer in men of large views, boundless energy and powers of work, and possessing clear ideas both of what they wanted and of how to compass it. In their eyes the moulding of individual character and the success of an individual college in the class lists was not the be-all and end-all of University existence. Content to leave tutorial work to those whom it more directly concerned, they concentrated themselves on 'administration' in the highest sense of the word. It would be equally invidious and difficult to compile anything like a catalogue of these reformers, but no one, I think, will dispute the titles of Dean Liddell, Professor H. J. S. Smith, and Professor Bartholomew Price to the highest place among them. And if Acland cannot 'attain unto the first three,' no one who has followed the inner workings of University machinery during those years would question his claim to rank among the very foremost.

But there are reasons why, in the history of the transformation of Oxford, Acland's share has never met with full recognition. The efforts of the party of reform flowed in two distinct streams; one was the enlargement and improvement of University studies, the other the 'nationalization' of the Universities by the abolition of tests and theological restrictions. With the latter object he had no overpowering sympathy, and he regarded the men who directed this branch of the Liberal movement in Oxford with very little confidence. At the same time he took a broad and comprehensive view in the quasi-theological battles which raged in Oxford during the sixties. One of the most famous of these was the contest for the Professorship of Sanskrit, which rocked University society to its foundations;

and his letter to his father, who had been summoned up from his retreat at Killerton, shows the spirit in which he approached these vexed questions.

Can I solve the dilemma? I should prefer an Englishman to a German, tho' I may be mean for doing so. But if I were ever to prefer a foreigner it would be Max Müller, old Bunsen's creation and friend to his death. The arguments for Mr. Williams¹ do not weigh with me nearly as strongly as those for Müller. There seems to be no question that Müller as a scholar is supreme. Williams's claims as a scholar are not professed to rival Müller's, but he is presumed to be a great teacher. He has been where he had many pupils, and has therefore many supporters in India. But see what is said of Müller in India, where *he has no pupil and no friend* but on public grounds, and see what is thought of him in literary Europe generally. All this being admitted in fact, it has been hinted that he may not promote Christianity tho' he may promote philology. Now happily I need not answer this. The answer is by abler men, and better judges. Both Dr. Macbride, the ancient evangelical leader in this place, and Dr. Pusey, who have known him and observed him for fifteen years, are his warm supporters. *Here* there is no question as to the weight of metal in the two scales. If *numbers* are in Müller's favour it will be a rare testimony in favour of the value of great merit with natural disadvantages when pitted against moderate merit with great accidents to aid and support it. How I wish you would pair and not take this long journey.

The tone which the advanced section of the Radical Dons of those days adopted towards all questions concerning the Church of England was profoundly distasteful to Acland. He was no partisan of the old exclusiveness, and he recognized the hardship which was suffered by men of high character and great attainments under the existing *régime*, but he felt that the abolition, or even the modification of the tests, however inevitable, was a step towards that impending seculari-

¹ Max Müller's successful opponent was Professor Monier Williams.

zation of Oxford which he could not regard without alarm. One of the early acts of the Reformed Parliament of 1869 was to render Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham more accessible to the nation by the removal of divers restrictions, tests, and disabilities¹. Acland accepted the measure, with the full knowledge that it was only an instalment. The attitude of those who felt bound as a matter of conscience and duty to oppose the Bill is admirably expressed in the following letter from Lord Salisbury. It is dated some three years previous to the passing of the Act of 1871, and refers to a Bill with the same object which Mr. John Duke Coleridge, Q.C., member for Exeter, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England, had introduced into the House of Commons², where Lord Cranborne, as he then was, sat for Stamford.

Many thanks for your letter. I quite comprehend your difficulties, for there can be no doubt that the existing tests are in an unsatisfactory form and that they only indirectly meet the exigencies of the present time. They were made to keep out Romanists and Nonconformists, of whom we are not now most afraid. They are much too minute for a time when consciences, though by no means powerful, are remarkably fastidious and microscopic.

But Coleridge's Bill is a step not to better tests but to no tests at all. The reservation of power to the Colleges is quite illusory. The visitor is almost always either the Crown or some Bishop; and the Bishops are unlikely to authorize the imposition of a special test in any college.

I agree that the tests do not exclude careless men. But I am not afraid of careless men. What I am afraid of is the Atheistic propaganda which is growing to be such a terrible power in modern cultivated society. It is idle of course to

¹ The Act of 1871 (34 Vict. c. 26) will always be associated with the name of Lord Goschen, then member for the City of London and a former fellow of Oriel.

² It was brought in on February 18, 1868, and the second reading was carried by a majority of fifty, but it made no further progress, and was withdrawn on July 22.

suppose that any manner of restriction will silence these opinions. But allowing them free scope is one thing: bringing them into close contact with what are to be the leading minds of England, at the soft and plastic age, is quite another. It seems to me carrying free trade in dogma a great deal too far.

If I saw anything in Coleridge's Bill of the nature of a compromise I should try to meet him, for we are too feeble and too shattered to hope for anything on any subject but favourable terms of capitulation. But the permission to Colleges, with the consent of their Visitors, to make exclusive statutes if they dare, is only a bitter mockery of the notorious timidity and helplessness of those who are attached to established institutions. I am afraid you are buying the admission of a few choice and scrupulous men—an important object, I quite grant—at too dear a price. But I am afraid your view will prevail, and the price will be paid.

I once thought that we might have fought this point for a time successfully and so protected Oxford until the tide of unbelief which is running so strong outside had turned, and better days had come back. But if you and others whose judgement and devotion are so much respected have decided to give way, there is little more to be done. Long before those better days come back, Oxford will be contributing to the sustenance of religious life in this country about as much as an average German University. God help us all, it is a bitter comfortless prospect.

In the course of the following year Lord Salisbury, who had now succeeded to the family honours, was elected Chancellor of the University in succession to the Earl of Derby. Needless to say it was a source of much satisfaction to Acland that one for whom on personal and private grounds he had so deep a regard should be placed in the highest post of honour which Oxford can bestow. The new Chancellor's letter throws a further light on the relations between the two. Acland may have sympathized with his correspondent's forebodings, but he was prepared to confront the battle in a more buoyant spirit.

Many thanks for your kind expressions. I value them much more than I do the Chancellorship.

I am sorry that I have been in any way a cause of discord, but it is no fault of mine. I not only did not seek the post, but sought to decline it: feeling with you, that the holder of it should be less of a partisan, and more of a scholar. I allowed myself to be nominated only on receiving from several independent authorities the assurance that by so doing I should spare the University a contest, as my candidature was less likely to excite hostility than any other at this moment practicable. It was only natural that those who agree with my general opinions should be forward to support me. But I do not think any party demonstration was intended. I quite agree with you that a University should be governed, both by its nominal and its real chiefs, without reference to the political struggles of the day.

But an Ethiopian cannot change his skin—nor can I put off my 'Toryism'—my deep distrust of the changes which are succeeding each other so rapidly. Numbers of men support them who are not of the spirit that bred them: but that spirit is essentially a pagan spirit, discarding the supernatural, and worshipping not God but man. It is creeping over Europe rapidly: and I cannot put off the conviction that it is dissolving every cement that holds society together.

I have given you enough and too much of my gloomy thoughts. They have been excited by reading in a Liberal paper 'that learning is too high and sacred a thing to be sectarian.' Bah!

One more dictum of Lord Salisbury's. In June, 1870, it was proposed to confer an Honorary Degree on Charles Darwin. This was warmly opposed by Pusey, and once again Acland's personal influence with him was called into requisition. In a long interview he strove to dissuade the great divine from stirring up the embers of an unhappy controversy and giving fresh occasion for the foes of Oxford to blaspheme. The issue was uncertain when they parted, but Acland returned to the charge with the following letter:

It was very kind of you after giving me so much time on

Friday to take the trouble of sending me the passage which seemed to you important in respect to the estimate of Darwin.

As I understand him I do not agree with the writer. He seems to me to misapprehend the nature of Darwin's work, which is an inquiry into the facts of the Material organism of the Planet. The writer seems to forget Butler's argument (which I feel more and more keenly) as to the partial knowledge of the Creation which is attainable by us. It will indeed be poor encouragement to the honest pursuit of truth if men may not state without fear the facts they discover. I would add, as I had occasion to say many years ago to one who had neither the sagacity nor the courage to follow you in helping the study of Physical science, that his evident fear of inquiry necessarily suggested to scientific students and others doubts as to the strength of *his* faith in God. No student of nature has anything to fear, and he takes the universe as he finds it. He learns what scraps of it he can; and if morally tender, like Harvey, Newton, or Hunter, he seeks and adores; though he seeks dimly, and adores in hope and trust yet not with sight.

If you will show me a single irreverent passage or uncharitable passage in Darwin's writings, I will re-consider the whole matter. Meanwhile it seems strange to cast a slur on Darwin just when the learned author of Mansel's Bampton Lectures is made, as I said on Friday, a Dean in the Metropolis after all the tendencies, real or supposed, of his arguments.

I wish to keep clear of the question whether Darwin's inferences are correct. It is Darwin's exceeding eminence and his character as a working man that justify and required me to beg you respectfully to pause before bringing about his rejection here. Lord Salisbury, as you, my dear Dr. Pusey, know, is a devout man. What must be the difficulty in which he finds himself? However, I must cease, again thanking you for your great and ready kindness on Friday.

The opposition was withdrawn, though how far Acland's reasoning was efficacious is uncertain, for Pusey declared to him that he acted 'on the authority of one whose judgement I deservedly set far above my own.' This authority is conjectured by Lord Salisbury,

to whom Acland forwarded the correspondence, to have been Liddon.

'Your reply to Pusey,' he wrote, 'was excellent. I am very glad he found a wise man of his own way of thinking to back it up. I never could understand why creation cut up into short lengths was any the less creation. It would seem to me, on the contrary, a demonstration of greater and more enduring power, if such adjectives can be used on such a subject.'

But Pusey was wounded to the heart. 'I shall not take any part in the University proceedings except in mourning over them' were his parting words to Acland. The whole affair was crowned by Darwin declining, on the score of ill-health, to come up and receive the proffered distinction.

The position which Acland took up with regard to general politics was a somewhat peculiar one. In the first place he maintained that a doctor ought to have no politics. In the second he held it, upon the whole, to be the best course for one who, like himself, was not a practical politician, to support the Queen's Government whatever its shibboleths might be. It was the duty of the Government to promote that progress of internal improvement in the condition of the whole people in which he took so keen an interest. Sanitary questions, education, the due adjustment of local wants and rights and areas of administration, together with efficiency in the Army and Navy, these were the affairs of state on which, as a citizen and a specialist, he laid most stress, as well as he might in the days before the Eastern Question, Ireland, South Africa, China, and Egypt had relegated domestic affairs to the second place in party programmes. He had been a warm supporter of Mr. Gladstone as Member for the University, had served on his election committees, and had deeply deplored his rejection in 1865. But in 1874, when the Conservatives were placed in power, he was for giving them a trial.

A government (he wrote) which has not a powerful majority can never be at its best. Had Mr. Gladstone had full confidence and proper support he would have had fewer critics and prolonged power. The finest parts of his great nature would have had time and opportunity denied to one who had a divided army behind him. Shall we because the 'Liberal party' has done much, for which I am grateful, do what in us lies to hamper their successors in office? . . . Extreme opinions on either side have been the bane of the English *haute politique* ever since I can remember. Extreme opinions are the terror of all sober patriots. Which are the worst enemies of steady progress, Tory obstruction or Radical intemperance, I know not. . . . Looking, then, as calmly and as practically as I can at the existing state of affairs, I desire that the present Cabinet should have the fullest opportunity of carrying forward the best work of the late Government and the good work of their own. As sure as they flinch from this their days are numbered.

The quotation is from a printed but unpublished letter written by Acland during the bye-election at Oxford, caused by the elevation to the Peerage, in February, 1874, of Mr. Cardwell. The Conservative and Liberal candidates were Mr. A. W. Hall and Mr. J. D. Lewis respectively; and Acland declared that if he voted at all it would not be for the latter. In the course of the contest Mr. Lewis was exposed to bitter personal attacks by the opponents of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Acland wrote a strong letter of protest to the local press, as an act of justice to which he considered the Liberal candidate was entitled; but he refused to be drawn into any action which might be construed as an endorsement of Mr. Lewis's candidature.

To him, as to many others, the Agricultural Labourers' Union had seemed a movement which, if wisely directed, might do much in raising the standard of life and comfort in the villages. It was a subject in which he had always taken deep interest, and when in October, 1872, Mr. Joseph Arch was announced to speak at Oxford,

Acland felt strongly inclined to go and hear him. He was dissuaded, however, by Lord Carnarvon in the following letter:

My inclinations in doubtful cases of this kind are always to the cautious side, and so I should advise you not to attend the meeting.

In the first place, Arch is apparently becoming more and more of a political agitator, and those who seem to sympathize with him will naturally lose influence and power of usefulness with the more moderate part of the country. In the next place, such a meeting as is convened by him will probably not be one where moderate and sound counsels will have a chance of being heard. The time is probably at hand when reasonable men will get the chance and have a right to give their opinion, and it is of consequence that those who can give good advice should not prejudice themselves in popular judgement by premature or ill-advised action. You *can* do extremely little good by attending; you may find yourself in an awkward position personally, and find your ultimate power of good much curtailed¹.

It was sound advice, and it exactly embodied the rule of conduct which Acland had evolved for his own general guidance.

It is impossible to give any adequate account of the various interests and the various friendships which went to make up his life during these busy years. A few extracts, taken almost at random from his papers, must serve to show the many-sidedness of the man and the broad humanity which could attract so miscellaneous a correspondence. If the effect produced is kaleidoscopic, I can only answer that Acland's life *was* a kaleidoscope.

THE DANISH ISLAND OF FALSTEN, *September 27, 1862.*

You perhaps recollect having met, my dear Sir, on the road between Windsor and London, two travellers towards

¹ Acland does not appear to have attended the memorable meeting ten years later, when Joseph Arch revisited Oxford and Professor Smith contracted his fatal chill while occupying the chair.

whom you were in a way kind that they hardly ever will forget you. You asked them to come and to spend a whole Sunday with you at Oxford, and to join those young students for whom you have room besides your own seven sons. We did not come, for we dare not come; we indeed were too foreign to you. Still I feel I am bound, and more, to tell you how thankful I feel for your exceeding kindness; a kindness which you only, and I am sorry to say so, find in England. You treated us not as foreigners, but like old acquaintances. Allow me to ask you to do me a little favour, and not take it amiss when I try to show how deeply I recognized your wish to let us spend a day in an English family, and let me send you a small trial of my dairy, which generally produces pretty good butter.

Once more repeating my best thanks, and asking you to excuse these bad English lines, I sign me,

Yours very truly,
EDW. FESDORFF.

(FROM CHARLES MAYO¹.)

CAMP IN REAR OF VICKSBURG, *June 23, 1863.*

As my connexion with the medical service of the United States seems to be drawing to a close, I have thought that you might be interested in hearing of the career of the only member of our University who has entered the service.

I reached Washington about the middle of November last, offered myself for examination, and was promised a commission as Assistant-Surgeon of Volunteers, i.e. Staff Assistant-Surgeon. I was put on duty immediately in Washington in attendance on sick and wounded volunteer officers, in which duty I remained till the middle of last month. Having found favour in the eyes of the authorities, I was recommended by the Surgeon-General for promotion to Staff-Surgeon about February 5. About the same time I was ordered to serve as a member of the Examining Board for Staff-Surgeons; but as my commission had not then been confirmed by the Senator, this order was found to be illegal, and I did not serve on the Board, which I much regret. In April, Major-General

¹ Mr. Mayo, the distinguished army surgeon, was a Fellow of New College. Besides his work with the Federal Army he did admirable service with the Prussian ambulance in 1870.

Hartsuff, who was then going from Washington to take command of a new Army Corps, the 23rd, in Kentucky and East Tennessee among the mountains, asked me to come with him as Medical Inspector of his corps, and on my consenting, obtained verbal orders from the Surgeon-General and the Secretary-of-War to that effect. But the person whose duty it was to write out the order, inserted by mistake the name of General Grant instead of that of General Burnside as commander of the department to which Hartsuff's corps belonged; and his superiors signed the order without looking at it. In consequence of this blunder, which the Surgeon-General told me he could not afford to acknowledge and rectify, I was sent down here. I left Washington about the middle of May. My present duty is that of Medical Inspector of the 13th Corps, commanded by Major-General Ord, who has replaced McClernand within the last week. The corps numbers from 20,000 to 25,000 men. Ever since my arrival I have been troubled with an illness which prevents me from doing much duty; and as the worst season of the year has not yet begun, I do not expect to be of much use in this climate. Consequently I have determined to resign, and to leave the service whether they accept my resignation or not. I shall wait till the 30th of this month, which will have given the Surgeon-General ample time to reply to the requests addressed to him by General Hartsuff, whom I saw at Louisville (Kentucky) on my way to this place.

Vicksburg still holds out, and seems likely to do so. It is not known with certainty whether the besieged have thrown up an inner line of works besides those which confront us since the beginning of the siege; it is certain that they had a second line when the siege began. Up to this point they have lost nothing. They are careful not to waste ammunition, and are feeding their men on half rations, if the deserters are to be believed. I am getting accustomed to the whizzing and banging of shells, and the whistle of rifled cannon shot. My tent is pitched under a pair of fine beeches, on a hill; and if it were not for the climate and the badness of the water, would be a most desirable summer residence. The want of water will be a serious difficulty when the contents of the cisterns, which the inhabitants use exclusively, have

been exhausted. The springs are all bad, and there are no running streams. The country is all hill and valley, with plenty of fine trees; the magnolia, which is often as large as an elm, is the most conspicuous. Blackberries, plums, and peaches abound everywhere. There is not an able-bodied white man to be seen in the country. They have all gone with the army, or escaped into Texas. The negroes are living on rations drawn from the Federal Commissioners; they will not long remain to embarrass their liberators, for they are dying off like rotten sheep wherever they leave their masters. The men are impressed and made to work for the army, or put into the negro regiments; and the women and children are kept in camps, which soon become foul and unhealthy. The same thing is going on at Washington with the Virginia slaves.

I presented the note which you were kind enough to give me to General McClellan when he was in exile at Trenton, and I also called upon him lately in New York. We hear that Lee has advanced into Maryland and Pennsylvania; from what I saw and heard in the Army of the Potomac just before Hooker's defeat, I have no doubt that as soon as there is any real danger there will be a cry for McClellan which the Government can scarcely resist. I was surprised at the constancy with which that army holds to its first love.

We are just notified by the Commander of the Corps that a battle is expected at any moment: probably with some of Johnston's forces in our rear. We do not believe that he has enough men to do much harm; at all events I hope not to have to take a tour round the South as prisoner. I must now hasten to my duties.

CHARLES MAYO.

(FROM HERBERT SPENCER.)

88 KENSINGTON GARDENS' SQUARE, December 11, 1865.

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for the copy of the *Oration*¹ which you have been so good as to send me. Without discussing the view which you take, let me say that I am very glad to see the question deliberately treated. Nothing but

¹ The Harveian.

good can result from the comparison of opinions on these fundamental problems.

I wish every success to your efforts towards the extension of scientific culture at Oxford. I feel some doubt whether these old educational institutions can be adequately modified to suit modern requirements, but I shall be glad to hear my doubts proved groundless.

Faithfully,

HERBERT SPENCER.

(FROM GENERAL McCLELLAN.)

PARIS, October 24, 1867.

MY DEAR ACLAND,

I came here the night before last on some important business, by no means on a pleasure trip; and I am beyond expression disappointed in finding that it will not be possible for me to get through in time to enable me to get to Oxford on Saturday. . . . Trusting, my dear Doctor, you will believe that nothing but the force of imperative circumstances has made me break my engagement, and with the hope that I shall see your face, if only for an hour,

I am, with kindest respects to Mrs. Acland,

Your sincere friend,

GEO. B. McCLELLAN.

(FROM PROFESSOR TYNDALL.)

February 9, 1867.

MY DEAR DR. ACLAND,

Many times since I received your *Oration* I have thought of writing to thank you for it. But I have been hard pressed by other matters, and thus rendered tardy in the performance of my duty to you. I read the discourse with great interest, coming as it does from a high heart and a cultivated head. For my own part, when I look over human history and see how the belief for which you contend helped men to the performance of deeds which are even now classed among the greatest and most sublime achievements of humanity, I am tempted to ask is there no way of preserving the force intact? Must we go with all the forms to which in special ages it linked itself? I cannot, I confess, look at the ex-

tion of this grand motive power without regret, and I can hardly imagine it doomed to destruction.

Perhaps the most significant phrase of the whole lecture is that where you speak of a Supreme Will 'whom the reason cannot comprehend, but whom the heart can approach'.¹ What you here translate into the approach of the heart is the thing which gives the discussion value in your eyes. As a purely intellectual problem in which your heart had no share the question of a Supreme Will would possess comparatively little interest for you. You find this feeling to be of an ennobling character, and you would therefore defend, not only it but the conceptions with which it has been associated, from all assault. But is it of necessity that the beat of heart and height of soul should express themselves in theological forms? I hope not, for they will come to grief. Judge of theological inquiry by its tendency and achievements hitherto. The idea of entrusting any department or investigation of general interest to humanity to the exclusive treatment of theologians is, I confess, exceedingly unacceptable to me. If they knew their vocation the case might be different. But, taking them as they are, they appear to me to be specially endowed with the capacity of bringing into contempt the noblest aspirations of the human soul.

Excuse this rather random production, and

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

JOHN TYNDALL.

(FROM SIR THOMAS WATSON.)

August 10, 1868.

MY DEAR ACLAND,

I have just been reading in the *British Medical Journal* with great delight your most able and most interesting address as President of the Association. I sit down at once to congratulate, applaud, and thank you for it. I know no one in our Profession who could have acquitted himself of the appointed and necessary task half so eloquently or half so well. What you have said cannot fail to have a salutary, elevating, and permanent influence on the whole body to which we belong; nor to raise the character of our science

¹ See p. 73.

and art in the minds of all outsiders who may read it. And I trust, or rather take it for granted, that you will give outsiders the opportunity and temptation to read it in a separate form. The whole spirit of it—scientific, humanitarian, religious—is excellent, and the diction admirable. I don't shrink from using these strong expressions to you, because I know you will not suspect me of using towards you words of insincere or mere fulsome compliment. That your own future course may be happy and brilliant in correspondence with your noble aspirations is the prayer of,

Yours ever affectionately,

THOS. WATSON.

(FROM PROFESSOR HUXLEY.)

February 7, 1871.

MY DEAR ACLAND,

I see nothing to prevent my accepting your invitation for the 18th, unless this wretched influenza which I have been suffering from for the last fortnight should disable me again. But I hope for better things. I shall be obliged to return on the Sunday evening, if the Canon¹ won't be scandalized. But I will make up by going to hear him preach in the morning, if you will take such a heretic under your wing.

Ever yours very faithfully,

T. H. HUXLEY.

(FROM SIR WILLIAM GULL AT SANDRINGHAM DURING THE PRINCE OF WALES'S ILLNESS.)

December 14, 1871, 10 a.m.

DEAR ACLAND,

Yesterday was sad indeed, and both Jenner and I began to drift from our hope. In the evening a change came which has lasted up to now: first sleep, then slower and fuller breathing, and lowering number of pulse. These changes occurring at the expected time and beginning definitely make us hope we are over the bar into smoother water.

I cannot delay communicating to you the ground of our hopes.

Yours always most sincerely,

WILLIAM W. GULL.

¹ I have been unable to identify the preacher.

(FROM THE LATE BISHOP RYLE.)

STRADBROKE VICARAGE, SUFFOLK, Dec. 21, 1872.

DEAR SIR,

I believe we were at Christ Church together, and this must be my apology for writing this letter. I hope you will not think I take a liberty in asking you, as a medical man of experience, to favour me with your opinion on a point in Scripture.

The point I refer to is a fact narrated by St. John, in his Gospel, chap. xix. 34. He says that 'blood and water' came forth from our Lord's body, after death, when a soldier pierced his side with a spear.

What I venture to ask is this: (1) Is it correct, *anatomically*, that blood and water, or something closely resembling blood and water, would naturally flow from the side of a dead person if the heart or pericardium was pierced with a spear? (2) Or are we to regard this issue of blood and water recorded by St. John as an event, to say the least, extraordinary and supernatural, and contrary to usual experience?

My reason for asking is very simple: I am just finishing a very full Commentary on St. John's Gospel, and I find that the opinions of commentators differ much on this verse.

I have never studied anatomy, and of course have no right to speak positively about it. Whatever your opinion may be on the subject, I shall value it highly, and I should really esteem it a favour if you would let me know it. Of course I should make no use of your name.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN C. RYLE.

(FROM THE LATE LORD COLERIDGE.)

MIDLAND CIRCUIT, DERBY, March 5, 1875.

MY DEAR ACLAND,

I am very sorry you did not come in when you called at my house in London. I should very much like to have shown you *in situ* some work of Butterfield's to which I do not think you could have taken exception; and it is always pleasant on any occasion to see you or Mrs. Acland. But indeed I never

dreamed of your having said anything which needed either regret or excuse when we talked together at Willis's. I am quite aware that every one does not look at my dear friend as I look at him. It would be strange if they did; for I have been to some extent taught by him in many things about art, and know his noble qualities and extraordinary powers in a way in which men in general cannot and do not know them. I should not be honest if I affected to doubt that my judgement about him is right, and that hereafter people will feel that a very great man has been amongst them; but I am not so foolish as to expect other people to feel my certainty when I know they cannot feel the grounds of it. It is foolish if I ever manifest impatience at a difference of opinion which is inevitable, and I did not know that to you I had. If I did, and so far as I did, I ought to be sorry and not you.

What does sometimes provoke me is the utter unreason of the reasons given for hostile judgements on him, which shows not judgement but mere prejudice. Chequered bricks may be beautiful or ugly; but why should men declaim against in Keble the very same thing which they admire extravagantly in a Suffolk or Essex Manor-House? Windows 35 feet from the ground may be good or bad; but at least it is no more 'audacious' and 'eccentric' to use them in Keble Chapel than in New College, or Magdalen, or King's, or Eton, or a dozen other grand old buildings. Neither of these things wring *your* withers, so I may say them to you; but this sort of criticism is for the most part the kind of thing which I hear directed against him, and it is provoking because it is what I call no criticism at all.

Yours always most truly,
COLERIDGE.

(FROM SIR BARTLE FRERE.)

WRESSIL LODGE, WIMBLEDON, May 12, 1875.

MY DEAR ACLAND,

Many thanks for your note and its enclosure. I sincerely trust you will be able to support the resolutions to be proposed to-morrow in your Convocation, for enabling candidates for the Indian Civil Service to reside at the

University. It has always seemed to me most disastrous—I was almost saying disgraceful—to all parties concerned, that it should be so difficult for a man to enter the Indian Civil Service without sacrificing his University career that few University men now attempt it. The Legislature professes to open the Civil Service to the best-educated men of all classes; but practically University men are almost excluded by the terms of the competition. This seems to me a double injustice and wrong to India, because we lose what I believe to be the best class of men for all Indian purposes—men taken from all ranks of our great middle-class population, liberally trained and instructed, physically and intellectually, in our best schools, and with the best associations, moral, social, and political, which Englishmen can have to make them hardworking, energetic, patriotic *Englishmen*, fitted in every respect to rule and influence men of other races and creeds. No Hindoos, however intellectual, no pedants, however learned, will be efficient substitutes for such *men* as you train at Oxford, and have trained for many hundred years past (I do not say you at Oxford exclusively, but you of both our Universities) with such eminent success. There is much of the modern training which is especially valuable—*inter alia*, all you are doing to teach Physical Science, and Sanitary Science, both of which sciences have special utility as branches of education for India at the present day.

On the other hand, it seems to me that it is most unjust to the University students that they alone should be debarred from competing for such careers as the Indian Civil Service affords.

One naturally asks whose fault is it that they are debarred? The Civil Service Commissioners deny it is theirs. I do not suppose you admit it is yours; but you are now proposing to do what in you lies to remove the bar, and I heartily trust you will succeed, and that your example will aid the Civil Service Commissioners to do their part.

Please let me know the result, and believe me in great haste,

Ever yours affectionately,
H. B. FRERE.

Acland and Sir Bartle Frere, though in no wise related to one another, had an aunt in common, Mrs. Henry Hoare of Morden, at whose house and at Mitcham they had played together as children. On Sir Bartle's retirement from the Indian service and return to England the old intimacy was renewed. With what interest Acland followed his subsequent career at the Cape will be seen on a later page¹.

Early in the seventies the now defunct Metaphysical Society was founded, and Acland, brought in by the indefatigable Secretary, Mr. James Knowles, was an occasional attendant at its evening meetings at the Grosvenor Hotel. The part which Cardinal Manning took in its discussions is well known², and in more than one interesting letter to Acland he goes again over the ground traversed in debate. 'What you said on Tuesday night,' he writes on one occasion, 'seemed to me to be very much to the point, and I hope in my comments I did not seem to imply any variance. I thought we were on the same track. . . . This was my drift against the semi-materialism of Huxley.'

Jenny Lind—to turn to a very different side of Acland's nature—and her husband Mr. Goldschmidt, were not unfrequent visitors to Broad Street. 'It is indeed very kind of you, dear Mrs. Acland,' wrote the Swedish nightingale in May, 1862, 'to think of us and invite us to kill the peace of your house. We shall not, however, go quite so far as to accept your most kind invitation, as we have ordered rooms at the hotel; but if we should let Walter come with us, I shall be very happy to send him to play with your children, if you allow.'

The acquaintance dated from her first visit to Oxford in 1848, and was never allowed to drop. On one occasion Acland pointed out to her the gap that had just been made in the dining-room furniture by the loss of a beautiful little organ belonging to Canon Courtenay,

¹ See p. 401, *infra*.

² See Purcell's *Life of Manning*, vol. ii, p. 513.

and now reclaimed by him. Mr. and Mrs. Goldschmidt were sympathetic, and took special trouble to procure from Paris a large harmonium built practically under the direction of Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, to replace as far as possible the vanished instrument¹.

I have said elsewhere that Acland had no strong taste for the theatre. There is extant a letter to him from Macready, in which the latter places a stall at his disposal with the words, 'My desire to manifest to you my wish to render you any little courtesy in my power will, I know, be understood by you.' As to whether the offer was accepted, history is silent; but Acland's friendship with Tom Taylor took him not unfrequently to the play in company with that accomplished critic and dramatist. He was not always or easily pleased, but his admiration for Fechter's 'Hamlet' was unbounded.

He had been first brought into touch with Taylor during the course of his efforts, eventually successful, to induce the citizens of Oxford to adopt the Local Government Act in lieu of their effete sanitary regulations². Acland's first introduction to municipal life dated from his appointment as Lee's Reader in Anatomy, when he found himself officially required to be a Commissioner of Lighting and Paving. What the state of affairs was at that time and for years after, under the rule of the city authorities, has appeared sufficiently in the story of the cholera outbreak. Acland has summed it up in another place in vigorous language:

The sanitary condition of Oxford and its surroundings was deplorable. The workhouse was ill-placed and ill-managed; human *excreta* which entered the river from the lowest parts of the suburbs were pumped unfiltered through the town.

¹ On Acland's death the harmonium was given to the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, the parish in which the Broad Street house stood.

² Tom Taylor was an official in what is now the Local Government Board, but was then the Local Government Act Office.

The alleys were miserable. There was no attempt at protecting the Thames from the sewage, such as there was, of the houses; the Commissioners had no adequate power to raise money on loan so as to remedy systematically the frightful evils. Such was the force of custom and of aversion to change that when it was proposed to abolish the Paving Acts, as they were called, and to place the town under the improved Imperial Laws, the motion was not even seconded, though at a subsequent meeting of the Commissioners it was carried by ten to one.

In the same speech, delivered at a dinner of the Oxford Corporation in 1892, Acland was able to point to a veritable revolution along the whole line. A new Union House had been built, the Thames had been purified of its turbid filth, a system of drainage had been constructed in accordance with the most modern requirements and in conjunction with a sewage farm. A new and constant water-supply was served from admirably equipped waterworks, and the arrangements for the care of the masses in sickness had been altered out of all recognition. The Radcliffe Infirmary had been extended and improved in every direction, a hospital for infectious diseases had been constructed, a competent officer of health appointed, and a complete system of nursing the sick—poor and rich alike—had been established. With regard to all these great changes Acland was well entitled to say *pars magna fui*. As a member of the Board of Guardians and the Board of Health he had been persistent and untiring, as Physician to the Radcliffe he had, in the face of much opposition, active and passive, carried most necessary reforms, and his practical knowledge of sanitation had always been at the service of the Corporation with regard to drainage and water-supply. He took a leading part in abolishing the old pauperizing doles, in obtaining a new Charity Scheme, and in organizing out of the old Cutler Boulter Foundation a new Provident Dispensary, through which the

working-classes were visited and treated in their own homes. How directly the improved system of nursing was due to him and to Mrs. Acland will appear in the next chapter.

Much of this work, during the earlier stages at any rate, was done in the face of great discouragement. 'The longer I live here,' he wrote in 1866, 'the more unbearable it seems to me. The Dean and I have both been pointedly told that whatever he or I proposed at the Local Board would have been equally and violently opposed.' The vested interests and the forces of ignorance and prejudice would have been too strong for Acland, even with Liddell to help him, but for the fact that earnest and enlightened men were gradually replacing the do-nothings and the busybodies both in the City and the University: the difficult thing was to organize them and to promote harmonious working between townsman and gownsman.

Here was Acland's great opportunity. In his twofold capacity of Physician and Professor he belonged to both parties. The antagonism between the Corporation and the University authorities was traditional and apparently irremediable. As late as 1858 we find the Mayor of Oxford declining to take the oath to observe the privileges of the University, and Convocation first authorizing the Vice-Chancellor to proceed against that official with all the rigours of the law, and then empowering him to abstain from opposing the Bill intended to relieve the Mayor (Mr. Isaac Grubb) from the obligation to which he had conceived an objection. The causes of the antagonism lay deep down in academical history, but the mere existence of an *imperium in imperio* is enough to account for it. To-day it is almost a thing of the past; the University is represented in every municipal institution, it contributes its quota of members to the Town Council, and its most distinguished sons do not shrink from their share in the government of the city. In this great process of union and reconcilia-

tion, culminating in the Act of 1889¹, Acland was the pioneer. He threw himself vigorously into all that concerned the health and welfare of Oxford, he attended meetings, served on committees, gave lectures², was insistent—in season and out of season—in preaching his unpopular gospel of cleanliness and sanitation. On the Local Board he, and Rolleston after him, discharged without remuneration the duties of a permanent Health Officer. Nor was he neglectful of purely social agencies. In evening parties at his own house, in more ceremonial soirées at the Radcliffe Camera and the New Museum, he knew no distinction between town and gown. The progressive and public-spirited element among the Oxford tradesfolk were brought face to face with all the punctilious elements in academical society. By degrees the barriers were broken down. Other Dons beside Liddell and Acland and Neate were found to interest themselves in the details of civic work. Rolleston and Thorold Rogers, and in a later generation T. H. Green and Humphrey Ward, followed in the same path. But no member of the University ever came to occupy the position in the estimation and affection of the townsfolk which Acland ultimately filled. During the later years of his life his influence was supreme; his tact, his urbanity, his commanding presence, and the remembrance of his self-denying life and his services in the past, placed him without a rival in the hearts of his fellow citizens.

¹ The Local Government Board's Provisional Orders Confirmation Act (Oxford).

² It was Alderman Sadler who, as far back as 1847, had reproachfully alluded to the very little practical interest taken in the town by the members of the University. Acland's lectures were the outcome. In after years he and the members of his family used to give a free entertainment of music, reading, and recitations in the Town Hall on Boxing night, and Acland would read to an appreciative audience his favourite selections from Tennyson and Longfellow, delighting especially in *Hiawatha*.