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Some Notes on the Life and Works of Catherine Winkworth

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poor souls into the outer darkness the preachers of the errancy of Scripture are responsible.

This teaching is an evil and malignant thing. We say with Dr. W. Dau: "We deplore and denounce the open and the covert attempts which are being made by misguided men, to question or to deny the plenary or verbal theopneusty of the Bible or of parts of it. We abhor and abominate the irreverent schemes which unwise learned men have invented for producing a Bible which in their opinion will suit men better than the Bible of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles. We are indignant at the presumption of men who would have us rise mornings and inquire: 'What is the Bible today? How much . . . is still left of the dear old book?' We consider all these efforts abortive, futile, and doomed to utter failure. The last resting-place for all such dreams will be amid the spiritual and moral wreckage and *débris* which since time immemorial is the goal of rationalism." (From an address on the "Inerrancy of Scripture.")

TH. ENGELDER

(To be continued)

Some Notes on the Life and Works of Catherine Winkworth

Essay read before the Northwest Pastoral Conference of the Norwegian Synod of the American Ev. Luth. Church, November 12, 1940

The change in the wording of my topic I ask you not to take amiss. To treat the "Life and Works of Catherine Winkworth" in one conference paper would demand more time than you would wish to devote to this topic and would tax too greatly the research facilities which I have had at hand. I have called this paper "Some Notes on the Life and Works of Catherine Winkworth" because of the unevenness and lack of balance which the subsequent pages will display, greater emphasis being placed on one or two topics than upon others. I had to do so partly because of the materials which were available to me, partly because I believed that those phases of her life and works which I have treated would be of grater interest to you than others.

While short biographical notices concerning Catherine Winkworth are numerous, only one seems to me to be of outstanding worth, that by Miss Elizabeth Lee in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.¹⁾ The closest approach to a full-length biography is found in *Memorials of Two Sisters: Susanna and Catherine Wink-*

1) Vol. LXII, London, 1900, pp. 194-5.

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worth, edited by their niece, Margaret J. Shaen.²⁾ The first eight chapters of this book are in narrative form, told by Susanna Winkworth, bringing the story down to the year 1859. This section is the better of the two parts, containing more details and giving a better selection of facts than the second part. The book is not a continuous narrative; it is rather a collection of letters strung together to form some sort of continuity—source material, it is true, for the biographer, but limited in its value for a thorough-going discussion of the life and works of Catherine Winkworth. By and large, it was this volume that was used in the preparation of these notes.

A memorial tablet erected to Catherine Winkworth in Bristol, England, briefly summarizes her life for us. It reads:

"In memory of Catherine Winkworth, who, in her *Lyra Germanica*, rendered into English verse the treasures of German sacred poetry, opened a new source of light, consolation, and strength in many thousand homes. Her works reveal a clear and harmonious intellect, a gift of true poetic insight and expression, and the firm Christian faith which was the mainspring of a life rich in tender and affectionate ministration and fruitful in various fields of active service. Her loss is mourned by all who shared her labor and by the many friends whom death has bereft of her rare sympathy and her unflinching help in every time of need. To commemorate her work and to perpetuate her efforts for the better education of women, a scholarship, bearing her name, has been founded in University College, Bristol, by friends who now dedicate this tablet to her memory."³⁾

From this we can see that her work was concerned mainly with the translation of German hymns and with education for women. It is in the former that we are interested, but in order to understand this the better, let us first learn something about her life.

Catherine Winkworth was born in London on the 13th of September, 1827. She died at the age of fifty on the 1st of July, 1878, in Monnetier (near Geneva), in Savoy, of heart disease and was buried there "in the corner of the churchyard set aside for Protestants."⁴⁾ She was the fourth daughter of Henry Winkworth, a silk merchant and manufacturer.⁵⁾ Her grandfather was William Winkworth, a clergyman, who belonged to "the then unpopular

2) London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906, XV and 341 pages. Hereafter cited as *Memorials*. Available to me through the courtesy of the Library of Congress.

3) *Memorials*, p. 330.

4) *Op. cit.*, p. 329. P. 1 gives the exact place of her birth as No. 20 Ely Place, Holborn, England.

5) Miss Lee, in *D. N. B.*, LXII, p. 194, calls him a silk "merchant"; Susanna, in *Memorials*, l. c., calls him a silk "manufacturer." It is probable that he was both.

Evangelical party."⁶⁾ Both parents came from religious homes, and both seem to have been very devout. Susanna, one of Catherine's elder sisters, says:

"Our mother's family was also actively concerned with the great revival which at that time concentrated the best religious life of the nation."⁷⁾

Naturally, religious instruction of the children was carried on in this home. We are not surprised to learn from Susanna:

". . . our childhood was passed in the warmest atmosphere of Evangelical devotion, and our early heroes were all great missionaries and preachers."⁸⁾

We should like to know specifically what passed for religion and what was taught in this home. We know that Catherine early in life was taught Watt's *Catechism*.

"The doctrines we were taught," says her sister, "were those of the Calvinistic Evangelical school of Newton, Romaine, Toplady, etc., but in my mother's teachings the love of God was so brought out as almost to conceal with its brightness the sterner aspects of the creed to which she, too, subscribed."⁹⁾

This early religious atmosphere and the training which she received from her mother left an indelible stamp on Catherine. All her life she was more Evangelical than Anglican or Lutheran, a fact betrayed by the choice of hymns which she translated.¹⁰⁾

Catherine is described to us as a "delicate child," who matured late, precocious, gentle, obedient, intelligent, — she learned to read before the age of four, — with "thick, straight, dark-brown hair" and "very large, bright, dark eyes" ("her chief beauty").¹¹⁾ She was very ill between her tenth and twelfth year and again between her twentieth and twenty-second year.¹²⁾ This fact may help to account in part for the fact that she was drawn to the hymns of Paul Gerhardt.¹³⁾ Then, too, she lost her mother when she was only thirteen years of age.¹⁴⁾ Her father married again four years later.¹⁵⁾ Her adolescent years, we see, were filled with emotional problems of more than usual severity. During just these years, in the summer of 1845, she went to Dresden, Germany,¹⁶⁾ there to live with an aunt,¹⁷⁾ returning to England in July of the following

6) *Op. cit.*, l. c.

8) *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

7) *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

9) *Op. cit.*, p. 8 f.

10) An examination of her translations reveals that she favored those hymns which spoke of God's love and breathed comfort and trust in God. She did not translate many hymns of a purely doctrinal character.

11) *Memorials*, pp. 7, 8.

12) *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

13) *Vide infra*, p. 14.

14) *Memorials*, p. 12. Her mother died on April 21, 1841.

15) *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

16) *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

17) *D. N. B.*, LXII, p. 194.

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year (1846).¹⁸⁾ We are told that in the "‘*Sturm-und-Drang-Periode*’ of her life she turned to Goethe as her chief guide."¹⁹⁾ All these circumstances must be taken into consideration in gaging the influences which were active in her life, as they left an imprint on the character of her later work.

There were yet other influences which must be mentioned, the influence of her teachers. One of them was the philosopher James Martineau, who taught both Susanna and Catherine logic and rhetoric. Of him Susanna says that he "formed a very important and beneficial era in the development of our intellectual and spiritual life"²⁰⁾ and that his "teaching had fixed for her [Catherine] the intellectual foundations of faith."²¹⁾ Catherine also took lessons in German²²⁾ and in Greek from William Gaskell, who also guided her into a "wide and thorough knowledge of English literature and her keen appreciation of style."²³⁾ The wife of this William Gaskell was a literary figure of some prominence, through whom the two sisters learned to know many of the important writers of that day.²⁴⁾ Catherine did not learn much Greek and knew no Latin.²⁵⁾ She was at home in Italian and in German. Her stay in Germany, when she was eighteen years of age (1845—1846), where she also studied music, perfected her knowledge of German;²⁶⁾ she had come in contact with German and moved in a circle of German merchants in Manchester before her year in Germany.²⁷⁾

18) *Memorials*, l. c.19) *Op. cit.*, p. 20.20) *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

21) *Op. cit.*, p. 21. — James Martineau was a Unitarian philosopher of the last century (1810—1900). "His philosophy . . . was recently religious philosophy; individual freedom and the being and presence of God were his fundamental certainties. . . . In a series of essays he showed his power as a critic of materialism and naturalism, . . . and he showed no lack of power or effectiveness in dealing with the claims of the philosophy of evolution." (W. R. Sorley, "Philosophers," chap. I of Vol. XIV of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, New York, 1933, p. 29 f.) "In earlier life Martineau had adopted the determinist and utilitarian theories of morals, but he proved their effective critic in his octogenarian volume, *Types of Ethical Theory* (1885). Three years later he vindicated theistic belief in *A Study of Religion*." F. E. Hutchison, "The Growth of Liberal Theology," chap. XIII, in Vol. XII of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, ed. by Ward and Waller, p. 330.

22) *Memorials*, p. 119.

23) *Op. cit.*, p. 23. Gaskell was a Unitarian; he is described to us as an "accomplished scholar." (*Cambr. Hist. of Engl. Lit.*, XIII, 413.) For Mrs. Gaskell cf. *op. cit.*, XIII, pp. 411—423. She was a writer of social novels.

24) *Memorials*, p. 25.25) *Op. cit.*, p. 60. Cf. also p. 157.

26) *Op. cit.*, p. 15. Susanna says that when Catherine came to Germany, she "laid aside her Italian, of which she had now a very thorough knowledge, . . . took lessons in German and music."

27) *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

After her return from Germany, Catherine was sick for a period of two years.²⁸⁾ She was now, after her recovery, twenty-two years of age and probably felt that she ought to find some means of earning her own livelihood. At least her sister, Susanna, even earlier, was concerned with this problem, for she wrote to Emily (a third sister):

"You know as well as I do that beside the uncertainties of business, etc., if anything happened to Papa now, we are, according to present arrangements, not *adequately* provided for, and he knows it, too; so it is but common justice to put into my hands the means of providing myself."²⁹⁾

Susanna had become interested in translating a life of Niebuhr early in 1849 "with a view," she says, "to gaining some money of my own by publishing."³⁰⁾ She spent almost a year in Bonn (August, 1850, to May, 1851), working on the *Life of Niebuhr*.³¹⁾ At home, in Manchester, Catherine gave her help on this project,³²⁾ and it is interesting to note that they would read their translations to each other for correction.³³⁾

This endeavor, coming as it did just at this time and under those circumstances, was a decisive factor in the life of Catherine Winkworth. She, too, began translating from the German. In 1853 she was working on the translation of *Perthes' Leben*, but another translation was announced.³⁴⁾ It would seem from this that Catherine, too, had determined that translating from the German for publication would be a good means of earning her own livelihood.

Susanna's work on the life of Niebuhr brought still another influence into the life of her sister Catherine, the influence of the Chevalier de Bunsen. Bunsen had asked Mrs. Austin to translate the life of Niebuhr, but providentially "she was otherwise engaged." Susanna Winkworth was suggested then as a possible translator by Mrs. Gaskell, the wife of the tutor of Susanna and Catherine Winkworth, who was well acquainted with Mrs. Austin.³⁵⁾ Susanna, as we have seen, was soon occupied with this work, but she had not yet met Bunsen. She met him for the first time in Manchester on Thursday, September 20, 1849. Writing to Emily and Catherine on that same day, she tells in detail about the meeting, beginning her letter with these words:

"Be it known unto you that I have this day seen, heard, talked, and shaken hands with — *Bunsen*, in *propria persona*, and that

28) *Vide supra*, p. 4, n. 12.

29) *Memorials*, p. 19. This letter is dated September 20, 1846.

30) *Op. cit.*, p. 32 f. Cf. also pp. 41, 44, 50.

31) *Op. cit.*, p. 66. Cf. also p. 155.

32) *Op. cit.*, p. 67. Cf. also pp. 72 and 73.

33) *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

34) *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

35) *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

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our interview wound up with his asking me to come and see him when I came to London!!!! Hurrah! Oh, if you were but here to have a skip with me!"³⁶⁾

We can understand her girlish excitement. It really was a big day in Susanna's life, and we might add, this day certainly had its repercussions in the life of her sister Catherine.

However, it was not until four years later that Catherine was introduced to Bunsen. The circumstances of this meeting are told us by Susanna:

"In April [1853] Catherine had paid a visit to Emily while I was at the Bunsens', and it must have been during this visit in London that Catherine was introduced to Bunsen. I had mentioned to him her translation of *Perthes' Leben* and consulted him about *Arndts Leben* and other books, in consequence of which he asked me to bring her to Carlton Terrace to talk the matter over with him. This must have been about the time, too, when Catherine was first introduced to the German hymns as well as to Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie*, all of which interested her extremely, though the idea of her translating the *Lyra Germanica* was not conceived till the following year."³⁷⁾

During the next months (in 1853) she tried her hand at desultory translation of hymns, "but was so far from having any definite plan of publishing them that she was still looking for some book to translate, in which case she would give them up."³⁸⁾ "I have been trying to translate some German hymns that Susie and I are fond of," she writes to Emily, "and don't succeed very well, but I like doing it."³⁹⁾

Where did the idea of the *Lyra Germanica* come from? Let us permit Susanna to tell us the story of the genesis of this work.

"We now come to what was the turning-point in my sister's life," she says, namely, the production of the *Lyra Germanica*. She was, as we have seen, much delighted with the *Theologia Germanica* and afterwards with Tauler. I had intended to arrange a series of Tauler's sermons according to the ecclesiastical year, and I think it must have been in the summer of 1854 that I suggested she should translate a companion volume of sacred poetry since she had always succeeded well with the translations from the German poetry which Mr. Gaskell required of his pupils. She replied that that was quite beyond her powers; but when at Heidelberg I imparted my idea to Bunsen, who strongly approved of it and afterwards wrote to her on the subject, . . . I think that the letter of Bunsen's to which I had alluded brought her floating ideas to the crystallizing point."⁴⁰⁾

I wish I had this letter written by Bunsen to Catherine, but I have not been able to uncover it. It would seem that it would

36) *Op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

37) *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

38) *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

39) *Op. cit.*, p. 120. This letter is dated September 13, 1854.

40) *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

be invaluable in determining just what considerations led Catherine to her great work. But, then, this letter was not the only means by which Bunsen exerted his influence on Catherine. Susanna gives us another indication of the baron's influence on her sister. She tells us that Bunsen had made a present of his *Andachtsbuch* to Catherine and that it was by means of this book that Catherine "had first become acquainted with the treasures of German hymnology" and that it was through Bunsen's "persuasion and encouragement she had been stimulated to attempt to introduce them to the English public."⁴¹⁾

In the preface of her *Lyra Germanica*, which was dedicated "to His Excellency the Chevalier Bunsen, etc., etc., etc.,"⁴²⁾ Catherine tells us:

"The following hymns are selected from the Chevalier Bunsen's 'Versuch eines allgemeinen Gesang-und Gebetbuchs,' published in 1833. From the large number there given, about nine hundred, little more than one hundred have been chosen."⁴³⁾

This is conclusive evidence, I believe, that Bunsen deserves much credit for setting Catherine's feet on the path of hymn-translation. Her native talent, no doubt, together with the training which she had received particularly from her mother and Mr. Gaskell, enabled her to respond to the encouragement of others. Her sorrows and trials made her receptive to the messages of many of the hymns. How much credit shall we assign to Susanna for the suggestions and encouragement which she gave? Susanna tells the story and probably minimized the part she played in influencing her sister. So, whether Susanna or Bunsen should receive the greater credit, I cannot tell. It may be noted, too, that the literary climate of the time favored translations. Carlyle's influence was still felt; Rossetti was active. Russell, Massie, Edward Caswell, Mercer, Chandler, Buckoll, Neale, Miss Frances Cox,

41) *Op. cit.*, p. 129. — It seems odd to me that so little reference is made to Catherine Winkworth in *The Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen* by Augustus J. C. Hare (two volumes complete in one, New York: George Routledge and Sons and Anson. D. F. Rudolph Co. No date. The Minneapolis Public Library copy, acquisitioned on October 4, 1895, was used). One footnote, p. 251 n, tells us that the *Theologia Germanica* was later translated by Catherine Winkworth, which is incorrect, since Susanna translated it. Cf. *Memorials*, p. 333; *D. N. B.* LXII, 195. The only other reference to Catherine Winkworth in Hare, *op. cit.*, is in a letter written on July 9, 1858. The baroness, writing to her daughter, Mary, says, "Miss Winkworth is come" and then goes on to tell why Florence Nightingale did not come.

42) *Lyra Germanica*. Hymns for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Christian Year. Translated from the German by Catherine Winkworth. New York: Thomas N. Stanford, 1856, p. V. This copy, the earliest edition I have seen, was used through the courtesy of the Rev. Norman A. Madson of Princeton, Minn.

43) *Op. cit.*, p. VII.

Kelly, Miss Jane Borthwick, and Mrs. Sarah Findlater were active as translators of German, Latin, or even Greek hymns in the middle and third quarter of the nineteenth century,⁴⁴⁾ the Victorian Age, which looked to the Continent for much of its culture and learning. Then, too, Catherine needed an income. It seems almost "natural" that she should be a translator of German hymns.

We may pause at this point to ask, Who was Bunsen? particularly since his influence on Catherine Winkworth continued to influence her work.

Christian Charles Josias, Baron von Bunsen, was the son of an obscure German family of Corbach, of captivating personality, educated at Marburg and Oettingen, recipient of an honorary Doctor's degree from Jena at the age of twenty-one, philologist, philosopher, theologian, historian, diplomat, and author. He was interested in union, the union of the German states, the Evangelical Union, the union of Protestantism in Palestine. He served as representative at the Vatican and was the Prussian ambassador in England between 1842 and 1854. The later years of his life—he died in 1860—were spent in literary labors.

"To restore to the Bible that place in the households of his country which it had possessed in the first generations after the Reformation, to revive the knowledge and love of the German reformers' hymns, to give his people such a Book of Common Prayer, resting upon the liturgies of all Christian ages as would help congregations in 'presenting themselves a living sacrifice,' to rekindle the fervor of other days for works of self-devotion and charity, to work out a Christian philosophy of history,—such were the purposes to which he devoted the happiest and best hours in each succeeding year."⁴⁵⁾

Among his writings are: *Bibelwerk*, *Epistles of St. Ignatius*, *On All the Heresies by Hippolytus*, an article on Martin Luther (described as "one of the finest biographies of the great Reformer") in the eighth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Signs of the Times*, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, his *Andachtsbuch*

44) David R. Breed, *The History and Use of Hymns and Hymn Tunes*, Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903, p. 230.—H. Augustine Smith, *Lyric Religion: The Romance of Immortal Hymns*, New York and London: The Century Co., 1931, p. 452.—L. Fuerbringer, *Zur Geschichte des englischen Gesanges. Eine Konferenzarbeit*, *passim*.—John Julian (editor), *A Dictionary of Hymnology* setting forth the Origin and History of Christian Hymns of All Ages and Nations, with special reference to those contained in the hymn-books of English-speaking countries and now in common use, together with biographical and critical notices of their authors and translators, etc., New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892, *passim*.—*The Cambridge History of English Literature*, edited by Ward and Waller, especially Vols. XII, XIII, and XIV, *passim*.—T. B. Hewitt, *Paul Gerhardt as a Hymn-writer and His Influence on English Hymnody*. New Haven, 1918, pp. 32-3.

45) *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed. (1890), IV, 523.

(already mentioned), *Outlines of Universal History as Applied to Language and Religion*, and his *God in History*.⁴⁶⁾

Though not germane to our topic, I cannot refrain from adding a brief word about his philosophy of history. "The progress of mankind, he contends, marches parallel to the conception of God formed within each nation by the highest exponent of its thought." His desire, aim, chief purpose, is "to trace the firm path of God through the stream of ages."⁴⁷⁾

His *Gott in der Geschichte* was translated into English by Susanna Winkworth;⁴⁸⁾ the translation of his *Zeichen der Zeit* is the joint work of Susanna and Catherine, though published as a translation by Susanna.⁴⁹⁾ It was in 1855 and 1856, immediately after the appearance of the *Lyra Germanica*, that the sisters were busily engaged in this work.

And so our excursus has brought us back to the *Lyra Germanica*, published in 1855.⁵⁰⁾ Susanna, who had urged the work, had expected the hymns to be translated by Christmas, 1854,⁵¹⁾ but in March, 1855, Catherine had completed only sixty of the hundred she wished to translate and was hoping to finish the remainder by the middle of May. "I am doing them at the rate of one a day when I can get a day to myself," she writes.⁵²⁾ The first edition of the *Lyra Germanica* was published in August (1855) and was sold out by October; so Catherine was soon busy correcting proof

46) My sketch of Bunsen has been drawn from the *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., IV, 521—525. I have consulted *A Memoir of Baron Bunsen* by Frances Bunsen, his wife. Leopold von Ranke, the great historian, edited a collection of his letters, chiefly his correspondence with Friedrich Wilhelm IV while Bunsen was ambassador in London.

47) *Enc. Brit.*, 9th ed., IV, 525.

48) *Memorials*, pp. 261, 335.

49) *Op. cit.*, p. 135. Catherine speaks of "our joint translation of Bunsen's *Signs of Our Times*." — Catherine also writes to Emily: "Susie told you, of course, all her publishing affairs, and aren't you pleased that we are to get £150 for *Zeichen der Zeit*? It turns out, however, no easy matter to translate Bunsen, and I feel a little fearful whether I, unused to this style of translation, am equal to it. I have agreed to do whatever Susy sets me in that way, as if I am really to help her and all the responsibility is hers, it is but fair I should work under her orders." *Op. cit.*, pp. 132-3. Susanna writes: "In May [1856] the first volume of *Signs of the Times*, at which Catherine and I had been working together, was published, and Bunsen wrote of it: "I must particularly thank you for that excellent preface, which is not only perfect in itself, but just what I must have wished as a German and as a Prussian, because it says exactly what every good Englishman and Protestant should see and feel as well as every German. You have done a real service to a good cause as well as to myself." *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

50) *Op. cit.*, pp. 122, 129, 333. *Julian's Dictionary*, p. 1287. The date, 1853, given in the *D. N. B.*, LXII, p. 194, is incorrect.

51) *Memorials*, p. 124.

52) *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

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for a second edition.⁵³⁾ Twenty-three editions of this book had been published by 1900.⁵⁴⁾

The book met with immediate favor. Many quotations could be brought to show this; but we shall cite only the letter which Baron von Bunsen wrote to Catherine from Charlottenburg, on the 23d of September, 1855. He writes:

"Mein Liebes Fraeulein Winkworth. — Das Herz treibt mich, mit Ihnen Deutsch zu reden, da Sie mir meine deutschen Lieblingslieder, die heiligen Gesaenge meines Volkes, so herrlich verstanden und wiedergegeben haben. Ich danke Ihnen also *doppelt* fuer Ihre freundliche Zueignung; es ist mir eine wahre Ehre und Freude, meinen Namen mit einem so *gelungenen* Werke verbunden zu sehen. Meine Frau und Tochter teilen meine Bewunderung dafuer und gruessen Sie herzlich. Ich habe auch andere Beweise, wie sehr fromme englische Christenseelen sich daran erbauen als an einem Nationalwerke. Das Buch wird seinen Weg machen. Ihre *Vorerinnerungen* sind sehr zweckmaessig und klar. . . . Da haben Sie mein Angebind fuer eine zweite oder vierte oder zehnte Ausgabe! . . . Ihr aufrichtiger Freund. BUNSEN."⁵⁵⁾

The *Lyra Germanica* is a collection of "hymns for the Sundays and chief festivals of the Christian year," as the subtitle of the work informs us. It also contains morning and evening hymns, hymns for the sick and the dying, and hymns for the burial of the dead. For the Sundays and festivals a verse from either the Gospel or the Epistle is cited, and then the hymn is given. *E. g.*, for Christmas Eve, Luke 2:10 is quoted, and then follows Luther's "Vom Himmel hoch" in her unexcelled translation.⁵⁶⁾

Catherine Winkworth's judgment of Luther as a hymn-writer is interesting. She writes:

"Luther's hymns are wanting in harmony and correctness of meter to a degree which often makes them jarring to our modern ears, but they are always full of fire and strength, of clear Christian faith, and brave, joyful trust in God."⁵⁷⁾

Paul Gerhardt was her favorite hymn-writer. Of him she said:

"He is without doubt the greatest of the German hymn-writers, possessing loftier poetical genius and a richer variety of thought and feeling than any other. . . . With him culminated the elder school of German sacred poetry, a school distinguished by its depth and simplicity. Most of its hymns are either written for the high festivals and services of the Church or are expressive of a simple Christian faith, ready to dare or suffer all things for God's sake."⁵⁸⁾

Again:

"As a poet he undoubtedly holds the highest place among the hymn-writers of Germany. His hymns seem to be the spontaneous outpouring of a heart that overflows with love, trust, and praise; his language is simple and pure; if it has sometimes a

53) *Op. cit.*, p. 129; cf. p. 133.

54) *D. N. B.*, LXII, 194.

55) *Memorials*, p. 130.

56) *Lyra Germanica*, New York, 1856, p. 12 ff.

57) *Op. cit.*, p. X.

58) *Op. cit.*, p. XIII.

touch of homeliness, it has no vulgarity, (the only hymn which does not deserve this commendation is a translation from the Latin), and at times it rises to a beauty and grace which always gives the impression of being understudied, yet could hardly have been improved by art. His tenderness and fervor never degenerate into the sentimentality and petty conceits which were already becoming fashionable in his days; nor his penitence and sorrow into that morbid despondency which we find in Gryphius and for which the disappointments of his own life might have furnished some excuse. If he is not altogether free from the long-windedness and repetition which are the besetting sins of so many German writers, and especially hymn-writers, he at least more rarely succumbs to them; and in his days they were not considered a blemish."⁵⁹)

It seems to have been Gerhardt's faith in *the love of God*—as distinguished from God's redemptive grace—which drew Catherine Winkworth to this poet, not less than Gerhardt's poetical excellence.⁶⁰) This is shown, I believe, by a letter which she wrote to Richard Massie, the translator of *Luther's Spiritual Songs*:

"I admire and love Gerhardt's hymns so much that I am half unwilling to admit their defects; yet while many have marvelous dignity, force, and tender sweetness, others, it must be confessed, are curiously prolix and unpoetical. The latter were evidently written not from the impulse of some deep experience, but because he wanted a hymn of a certain class for the sake of instruction or some other extraneous purpose."⁶¹)

What this "love of God" meant to Catherine—and that something different than it did to Gerhardt—we can see from the consolation which she gives to "a friend in ill health and mental difficulties."⁶²) She counsels this friend to strive against "self-engrossment and self-consciousness." "As God Himself is Love and all happiness is in Him," she says, "so there is no happiness for any of us, His creatures, except in living out of ourselves, which is the life of love."⁶³) And she ends this first letter:

"So it all comes to this: *the great help is the love of God, out of ourselves; and if we cannot rise to feeling love, one can do the works of love towards them, and God has so ordered that the feeling will certainly follow. But in all our religion we must not think chiefly of ourselves, of our sins even, or be always examining what our religion is doing to us, what its effect on our mind and feeling is. One must think of God, of His infinite, unspeakable goodness and patience and tenderness, till one can't help longing to make some*

59) Catherine Winkworth, *Christian Singers of Germany*. J. B. Lipincott & Co., Philadelphia. Macmillan & Co., publishers. No date. P. 209.

60) I have inferred this from the hymns which she translated and from the remark which she quotes from Gervinus. *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

61) *Memorials*, p. 180. The letter is dated June 11, 1858.

62) *Op. cit.*, pp. 246—251. These letters were written in June, 1867.

63) *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

return at least to show that one is thankful, by doing His will wherever one can see it. Then one is glad to do one's own little bit of His great battle with evil, whether it be in helping others or struggling with pain and weakness in one's self and turning it from a curse into a blessing."⁶⁴⁾

In the next letter she says:

"When we can once grasp the truth that our Father in heaven has cared so intensely for His children on earth (even when, too often, they did not care for Him) that He has interposed in their behalf in a way that seems only too good to be true and yet is absolutely true, a fact that has become the turning-point of history. For He sent His own Son, a very part of Himself, to live and die in human nature, so to show us, as no other means could, at once what God is towards us and what the ideal life for man and his true attitude towards God ought to be. When we have once learned to see this truth, we feel that our feet are on the rock, because the *fact* of what God has done for us and His great love to us is always there and does not shift with our variable feelings and moods."⁶⁵⁾

It is evident from this, I believe, that Catherine lacked a true understanding of the atoning work of Christ and of *sola gratia*. It becomes still more evident from a letter which she wrote to Edward Herfor in January, 1858:

"You seemed to me to hold that there is no salvation out of the Church; and it seems to me that the Bible teaches that there is no salvation out of Christ, which is not the same thing. For I believe that none are saved except by Him, but that some are saved by Him who have never known Him by name here. I believe that many a poor struggling soul among our neglected working-men, for instance, that has been blindly striving after a more honest and manly life, whose very honesty and manliness have been in part the cause of its fierce rebellion against the form of religion which is all it has known of Christianity, will find the veil drop from its eyes in the next world and see that in Christ was the noble manhood, the divine love and justice it has ignorantly, yet earnestly sought for here. We none of us see all the truth now; we shall all need a new enlightenment then."⁶⁶⁾

This denies Christianity and agrees with what she wrote in 1864:

"It seems to me that our *certainly* as to the ultimate facts of the universe or fundamental propositions of belief rests on a twofold foundation—our own consciousness and the external witness to that consciousness given by the external consciousness of the race and by the laws of the universe, so far as we know them."⁶⁷⁾

When she expatiates on this idea at some length,⁶⁸⁾ she says, e. g.: "Courage, self-sacrifice, loyalty, love of family and country, are admired everywhere; treachery, cowardice, cruelty, are condemned."⁶⁹⁾ Certainly she did not believe that the Bible, the written Word, was the sole revelation of God to man, but that

64) *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

65) *Op. cit.*, pp. 249, 250.

66) *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

67) *Op. cit.*, p. 232, written to "a friend."

68) *Op. cit.*, pp. 232—234.

69) *Op. cit.*, p. 234 f.

there is a revelation "by the Spirit of God to the spirit of each believer."⁷⁰ Nor did she believe in the Sacrament of Baptism as a means of grace. In November, 1852, she wrote to her sister Emily, asking if Emily would have her child baptized.

"But it seems to me," she says, "such a right and beautiful and appropriate thing, whether the apostles did it or not, to consecrate the little creature to God as soon as He has given it, and mark it with the sign of the faith in which it is to be brought up."⁷¹

Catherine, it must be remembered, was a member of the Anglican Church, unlike her sister Susanna, who was a Unitarian (at least up to the year 1874).⁷² Her Anglicanism, however, was latitudinarian, liberal, rather than conservative, owing to her associates; for she tells us that she had been "brought much in contact with the extreme liberal party within the Church and Unitarians out of it; in fact," she says, "I may say that I know all the chief heretics in England, except . . . Mr. Jowett."⁷³

Her views and notions, however, were not read into the hymns which she translated, for which we can thank God. The beautiful, orthodox Lutheran hymns are translated in all their orthodoxy and in much of their beauty. Catherine Winkworth rendered a great service thereby to the Lutheran Church in this country, particularly by the translations which appeared in the two series of the *Lyra Germanica*.

We have not yet mentioned the second series of translations, which she began soon after the publication of the first series.⁷⁴ This second series appeared in 1858 with the subtitle "The Christian Life."⁷⁵ I have not seen this book. In the following year (1859) *A Selection of Hymns from the Lyra Germanica* was published.⁷⁶ Nor have I seen this collection. An illustrated edition of the first series appeared in 1860,⁷⁷ and of the second, in 1867.⁷⁸

70) *Op. cit.*, p. 241, in a letter written to the Bishop of Argyll (June, 1865).

71) *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

72) *Op. cit.*, pp. 148, 319. Cf. also pp. 311—319, 197, 148, 164 n.

73) *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

74) On September 5, 1856, she mentions in a letter that she is busy with her new series. *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

75) *Op. cit.*, p. 333. Published by Longmans.

76) *Op. cit.*, l. c. Likewise published by Longmans. The preface of this edition was written by Alexander Ewing, Bishop of Argyll.

77) She asked Ruskin to recommend an artist for this work. *Op. cit.*, p. 206. It was published "with about 225 illustrations from original drawings, engraved on wood under the superintendence of John Leighton, F. S. A." Published by Longmans, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

78) Published by Longmans "with about 200 illustrations by John Leighton, F. S. A., E. Armitage, A. R. A., and F. Madox Brown." *Op. cit.*, l. c. Twelve editions of the second series were published by 1900. *D. N. B.*, LXII, 195.

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But the *Chorale Book* was the work with which she showed the greatest concern during these years.⁷⁹⁾

Again it was Bunsen's suggestion which led to the publication of the *Chorale Book for England*.⁸⁰⁾ The main problem was to find a musical editor for this work.⁸¹⁾ Dr. Bennett of Cambridge, who had been recommended very highly to her, consented to serve in this capacity.⁸²⁾ Bunsen, however, recommended Otto Goldschmidt, a first-rate German musician; Bennett and Goldschmidt agreed to collaborate.⁸³⁾ The book appeared in 1862 under the following title:

The Chorale Book for England; a complete Hymn Book for Public and Private Worship in accordance with the Services and Festivals of the Church of England; the Hymns, from the Lyra Germanica and other sources, translated from the German by Catherine Winkworth; the Tunes, from the sacred Music of the Lutheran, Latin, and other Churches, for four voices, with Historical Notes, &c., compiled and edited by William Sterndale Bennett, Professor of Music in the University of Cambridge, and by Otto Goldschmidt.

By July 20, 1863, this work was in its third edition;⁸⁴⁾ a supplement appeared in 1865.⁸⁵⁾ I have not been able to examine this

79) Catherine contributed translations to various hymnals published at this time, e. g., the *Lyra Eucharistica* by Mr. Orby Shipley (whom she thought "extremely High Church" in his position on the Sacrament of the Altar). *Memorials*, p. 229 f. Cf. also pp. 135—137.

80) *Op. cit.*, p. 135; pp. 158, 159. Bunsen's letter, *ibidem*, pp. 138, 139, reads: "I mean to propose a plan to our dear Kate the idea of which has come to me through Neukomm's visit. As her really wonderful translations seem to promise to effect what hitherto has proved impossible, namely, to naturalize in England the German hymns, the most immortal literary fruit of the Reformation, it should be attempted to naturalize also its inseparable companion, the Latin and German chorale, but with due regard for the English element of congregational singing, the *Liederweise*; for such all really English melodies for their so-called psalms or hymns are. The hymns translated by her should be divided into two parts: the real *Kirchenlied* (hymn for public worship) and the *Andachtslied* (hymn for private devotions). The first must be sung as chorales; where the meter has been changed, the melody of the original must be adapted (which surely is possible?), or another melody must be substituted for it, which can easily be furnished from the store of 1,200 good chorales we possess. But with regard to the *Andachtslieder*, they must have a singable character, with a rhythmical swing, but really melodious and dignified. I have already a good number of such, and Neukomm is now composing twenty-five similar ones for the Evangelical community at Jerusalem. He would like this very autumn to compose those which are still wanting. Then an edition of the hymns would have to be issued with printed tunes for one voice, with accompaniment for organ or piano, which is quite feasible and inexpensive. The accompaniment must be so arranged that the notes would also serve for four singing parts. If it takes, which I am sure it would, an immense thing would be effected."

81) *Op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180.

82) *Op. cit.*, p. 193. Cf. pp. 208, 209, 222, 223, 224, 226, 334.

83) *Op. cit.*, pp. 208, 209. 84) *Op. cit.*, p. 230. 85) *D. N. B.*, LXII, 195.

work. For this reason, too, I can but mention ten other works, translations, with which Catherine Winkworth was engaged in the 1860's: *Life of Amelia Wilhelmina Sieveking*, which appeared in 1863,⁸⁶⁾ and the *Life of Pastor Fliedner*, the founder of the Kaiserswerth Sisterhood of Protestant Deaconesses, which came out in 1867.⁸⁷⁾

These two works show us a change of direction in Catherine's interests. We may well ask, Did Catherine Winkworth feel some affinity for Amelia Sieveking? She writes of her *Life*:

"I think it is very full of instruction and interest, too. The two points that especially attracted me in it were, first, the progress of her mind from a dry, hard rationalism to that warm, vivid, rejoicing faith, so strikingly characteristic of her later life; and then the fact that a life under such disadvantageous circumstances—as a poor, proud, unattractive young woman, shut up in a dreary, narrow, formal little round of intercourse and occupation—should have unfolded itself into a career of such generous and joyful activity. Many of those who make so much noise about 'women's work' nowadays might learn, too, from her how much may be accomplished by quietly embracing any opportunity of usefulness opened to the mind and making no unnecessary stir about it."⁸⁸⁾

To me this seems to be an important bit of self-revelation. I believe that Catherine, unconsciously, has found in Amelia Sieveking a picture of herself and what she would like to be. Disclaiming that she is a "women's rights" woman, she becomes interested in the welfare and education of women. Certainly she could not forget her first love, the religious poetry of Germany, nor would she neglect her debt of gratitude to Bunsen for encouraging her to publish the *Lyra Germanica*. This debt she discharged by publishing a collection of Bunsen's prayers in 1871, undertaken at the request of his widow.⁸⁹⁾ The former is evident from the publication of the *Christian Singers of Germany* in 1869, a historical account of the religious poetry of Germany.⁹⁰⁾ But the later years of her life were devoted to the education of women,

86) *Op. cit.*, l. c. Memorials, pp. 235, 228, 334.

87) *Op. cit.*, pp. 254, 256. *D. N. B.*, LXII, l. c.

88) *Memorials*, pp. 235, 236. In a letter to Richard Massie on February 28, 1864.

89) *Op. cit.*, p. 283. She had planned to translate a selection of Bunsen's prayers as early as 1859, p. 193. The first part of the published volume contains prayers for the family; the second part, prayers and meditations for private use, p. 335.

90) *Op. cit.*, pp. 255, 268—271, 335. *D. N. B.*, LXII, 195. Miss Lee says that this work appeared in 1866 and 1869. I find no other evidence for the earlier date. The preface of the edition I have used is dated April, 1869.

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particularly in connection with the "Clifton Association for the Higher Education of Women" and similar organizations.⁹¹⁾

But a few more words about her *Christian Singers of Germany*. The volume appeared in the *Sunday Library for Household Reading* which Macmillan & Co. was publishing. It was meant to be, and is, a popular account of the song heritage of Germany. The scope of her work, based almost entirely on secondary authorities (Wackernagel, Koch, Von Hagenbach, Corvinus, and Gustav Freitag),⁹²⁾ she delineates for us in the preface as follows:

"Such a work as the present cannot attempt more than an outline of a subject which is . . . linked, on the one side, to the general history and literature of Germany, while, on the other, it has a separate history of its own, full of minute and almost technical details. Only the principal schools and authors are described, and specimens are selected from their works; but other writers of secondary rank are mentioned to enable readers who may be inclined to do so to fill up the picture of any particular school or period more completely for themselves. The choice of the specimens has been determined partly by their intrinsic merits, partly by their novelty to the English public; hence nearly all the great classical hymns are named as illustrating the spirit of certain times; but they are not given in full, because they have been previously translated and are in many instances familiar to us already. A very few, which it was impossible to pass over, form the only exceptions to this rule."⁹³⁾

In this book she discusses, for instance, Notker's *Sequences*, the *Heliand*, Otfried of Weissenburg, Ezzo of Babingberg, the German sequences ("Leisen"), the Minnesingers, Ulrich von Hutten, Luther, Jonas, Hans Sachs, Philip Nicolai, Paul Gerhardt, Zinzendorf, Klopstock.⁹⁴⁾ For the purpose for which it was written the book is eminently worth while and could well be studied by the average pastor with profit.

Much more could be said about the life and works of Catherine Winkworth. No attempt, for instance, has been made to discuss any one of her hymn translations in particular. Only a general overview, with some attention to a few details of her life and thought, has been attempted. Perhaps Catherine Winkworth ought to be known better within the Lutheran Church. Many of her hymns are known and used within our Lutheran circles. One Lutheran hymnal, published in Decorah, Iowa, in 1884, containing 150 hymns plus 10 doxologies, has fifty-four of Catherine Winkworth's translations (of these 15 are unaltered and

91) *Memorials*, pp. 193, 260, 261, 328, 332. D. N. B., LXII, 1. c., Julian, op. cit., l. c.

92) *Winkworth, Christian Singers of Germany*, p. VI.

93) *Op. cit.*, pp. III, IV.

94) *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

39 altered). *The Lutheran Hymnary* contains 67 of her translations. Miss Lee says of Miss Winkworth:

"Catherine Winkworth's translations of German hymns are widely used and have done more to influence the modern use in England of German hymns than any other version. The translations are always faithful and at the same time poetical."⁹⁵)

And Julian writes:

"Miss Winkworth, although not the earliest of modern translators from the German into English, is certainly the foremost in rank and popularity. Her translations are the most widely used of any from that language and have had more to do with the modern revival of the English use of German hymns than the versions of any other writer."⁹⁶)

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95) *D. N. B.*, LXII, 195.

96) Julian, *op. cit.*, l. c.