THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT OF CHARLES KINGSLEY,
AND HIS PLACE IN THE ENGLISH CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST
MOVEMENT OF 1848 - 54.

THESIS
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by
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PRE FACE

The attempt is made in this study, by approaching him through the work of the Christian Socialists and his place in the Movement, and by a consideration of his main activities, to demonstrate the extent to which Kingsley's social thought and activity took their form and direction from the character of his theology. As subsidiary to this it is the aim of the first chapter to indicate the milieu out of which the Movement rose, and, by inference at least, that the circumstances of a time of social change conditioned both Kingsley's thought and the character of Maurice's theological restatement.
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CHAPTER ONE.

THE POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Politics and Society from 1815 to the Reform Act 1832.

On the political scene the years immediately following Waterloo in England reflected the Continental unsettlement, where the Holy Alliance of Austria, Russia and Prussia was trying to restore the pre-Napoleonic status quo. England, afraid of popular reform, which savoured to her of the French Revolution, lent herself to this policy of reaction and so unconsciously paved the way for the reform of which she was half afraid where the Continent was paving it for revolution.

The condition of the labourer was bad. He had suffered from the high price of corn during the wars, and though he had in reality always been very poor, the new groupings of society which were following the development of industry, later intensified by the growth of the railways, were to make him more conscious of it. The industrial labourer particularly was already facing the full savagery of the Industrial Revolution, and voiced his protests in the Luddite Riots of 1811 and 1812. Emigration was to take many away from the country districts, and the new manufacturing centres were to draw off more of the remainder. Between the poor and the aristocracy were the comfortably established new middle class.

The aristocracy, who still represented the people in Parliament, and below whose horizon the poor were completely submerged /

1. Woodward: The Age of Reform, 1815-70: 39
submerged, were losing the old character of resistance to plutocracy which their Tory element had possessed, and were becoming a coalition of Whig and Tory elements, united in defence of their privileged status quo.

Spiritually and morally society was at a low level. The new industrial entrepreneurs, supported by the quite unethical and anti-social science of political economy then developing, ravaged society with clear consciences. Their belief in capital as the sovereign authority lent a sanction to the law of inequality,¹ and from this and their belief in laissez-faire competition, Kingsley reacted strongly.²

The Tory reaction was to implement the dislocations which followed on the gradual development of a new social consciousness in the first half of the nineteenth century - a reaction which was to prevail as long as parliamentary leaders like Eldon, Wellington, and Castlereagh remained in office. The Whig opposition with Grey, Brougham, and Lord John Russell was to negotiate the Reform Act of 1832, but for the working man there was little to choose between the two parties. According to Hazlitt they were like rival stage coaches which splashed each other with mud, but went by the same road to the same place.³ The first major reform was obviously to be that of Parliament itself.

The main problems confronting Parliament in this period were /

2. Letters and Memories: ii, 313.
3. Woodward: op.cit.: 56.
were those connected with the general defence of property, and they were expressed in the questions of currency stabilisation, protection of agriculture, and maintenance of public order.¹ The first of these was regulated by the Bank Charter Acts of 1826 and 1833, the second by the Corn Laws of 1815, and the third by the suppression of popular disturbances.

The Corn Laws, by providing that grain could not be imported until the home price had reached 80/- per quarter, enabled the landowners and farmers to recover from the post-war depression, but left the labourer as badly off as ever. The riots which developed from the consequent working class dissatisfaction were harshly dealt with, and contributed their quota to the third problem, the serious one of the maintenance of public order.

Unemployment was rife after the wars, and the desultory rioting of starving labourers soon developed into the more serious series of riots which marked the internal history of England to 1832. There was the Spa Fields Riot of 1816, when the police and military dispersed a large meeting organised by the middle class reforming Hampden Club, and caused the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the holding of "seditious" meetings. There were the Blanketeers, marching on London in protest against these penalties; there was the "massacre of Peterloo" in 1819 when eleven were killed by police action in Manchester. The purely repressive measures of the government in

¹ Woodward: op.cit.: 56 ff.
in all these cases - a type of remedy stigmatised by Kingsley as "a mere ruinous, driving inward of the disease" — which represented the limit of its social understanding, hardened working class opinion.

Canning's leadership of the Tory party from 1822 to 1827 began to break the reaction, and some result of this was seen in the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828, and in the political emancipation of Roman Catholics in 1829. The French Revolution of 1830 checked the progress of popular reform to some extent, but nevertheless the Whig government prepared to introduce its Reform Bill the following year.

When the Reform Parliament met the country was seething with discontent; unemployment was rife and machinery destroyers and rick burners were common. Though the industrial masses and the rural poor were as much below the Whig horizon as they had been below that of the Tories, the strength of the Whigs lay in the fact that they felt their wisest policy as a governing aristocracy to lie in concession to sustained social pressure. 2

The Churches and Social Reform

At the beginning of the century the Established Church was in a condition of almost complete spiritual bankruptcy. It was rotten with pluralism and absenteeism, a low level of piety and learning prevailed among its clergy, and its services were "probably without a parallel in the world for their debasement." 3

The only exceptions were a few devout Laudians, and the Evangelicals. /

1. Letters and Memories: i, 243.
2. Woodward, op. cit.: 77.
3. Gladstone, quoted by Carpenter: Church and People: 54.
Evangelicals.

The Evangelicals formed the most active section of the Church in the early nineteenth century. Of excellent moral and religious life, and with a burning concern for missionary expansion, their weakness lay on the intellectual side. They thought of the Church as a framework of individuals each concerned with his own salvation, an idea which naturally tended to insulate the best elements in the Church from the great social challenges of the period. For them, generally speaking, the whole idea of social justice was spiritually irrelevant. As expressed in Wilberforce, one of the best of them, Christianity in politics was only one of the sanctions of the existing order, and he himself was largely responsible for the degradation of industrial life, due to savage reprisals against working class organisations for the defence of their own interests. His view, as typical, was that for the lesser orders their more lowly path had been allotted them by the hand of God. It is evident that a religion with such an outlook could exercise no guiding influence on contemporary social development. Both Kingsley and Newman had grown up as evangelicals. Newman carried over into the Oxford Movement its concern for personal religion, but Kingsley revolted against its individualising of religion, seeing clearly that it had no word for society.

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3. Carpenter: op.cit.: 44.
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\item Carpenter: op.cit.: 34, 41 ff.
\item Hammond: op.cit.: 231.
\item Carpenter: op.cit.: 44.
\item Kingsley: Literary and General Essays: 330; Letters and Memories, i, 142.
\end{enumerate}
as the Establishment. As such, many thought of it rather as a bulwark of the constitution than as lending any spiritual sanction to political authority. But there were others to whom any abandonment of the Church-State relationship would have threatened the spiritual solidarity of society.¹ In so de-spiritualised an age, however, a complete identification of society and church would have meant a restricted conception of the Church's spiritual mission. Coleridge made the best attempt to resolve this matter by distinguishing the supernatural and the national-cultural aspects of the Church.² As the supernatural, the true and only contra position of the Church was the world. As the national-cultural, the phrase Church and State had a sense and propriety in reference to the National' Church alone; and the Church was the final inheritor of a "clerisy" or class of persons entrusted with the cultural guardianship of society, which was a purely secular responsibility.³ As regards social reform, the Establishment had no policy except to hold on to existing privilege and hope for the best.⁴

Nonconformity on the whole was quiet. Its attitude to the Church was generally unfriendly and sometimes bitter. Its adherents were mainly Biblical literalists and individualists in the same sense as the Evangelicals, and were predominantly puritanical. Because this element had caused many to drop away from any form of Christianity, Kingsley was hard on puritanical and /

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1. Carpenter: op.cit.: 75.
2. Coleridge: On the Constitution of Church and State: 1830 edn.; 5
3. Ibid.; 53.
4. Carpenter; op.cit.; 59 f.
and dissenting bodies. Baptists, for instance, about whose influence in his parish Kingsley complained to Maurice, 1 were as rigid as the Tractarians about their own particular doctrines. Nonconformity was as quiescent in the face of social evils as the Establishment or Evangelicalism. Even the Methodists could be reactionary, and expelled a minister, Stephen, the Chartist leader, in 1834, nominally for accepting a position in an outside organisation without reference to his superiors, 2 but really for attacking the factory system. 3 On the other hand, nonconformity, particularly Methodism, offered a training ground for working class leaders, and provided the politically submerged labourer with a place in its government and a voice in its councils.

The progress of the Reform Bills brought the Establishment into notoriety, and its nepotism, sinecures, pluralities and absenteeisms made it evident that much internal reform would be needed to preserve it in its accustomed place. The action of the bishops in voting by twenty-one to two against the second reading of the Reform Bill made them the object of special detestation. 4 Even in 1844 Shaftesbury wrote: "the Bishops are timid, time-serving, and great worshippers of wealth and power. I can scarcely remember an instance in which a clergyman has been found to maintain the cause of the labourers in the face of the pew-holders." 5 If the bishops had seen their way to /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 127.
3. Hammond; Age of the Chartists, 1832-54; 247ff.
4. Halevy; op.cit.; 43.
5. Quoted in Masterman; "Life of Maurice"; 69.
to vote for reform, they and the Church would undoubtedly have become very popular, but it was doubly unfortunate that the Church's politics should have been marked as illiberal just when the Oxford Movement was about to bring its theology under the suspicion of Romanism.\(^1\) Several of the bishops were burnt in effigy outside their own palace gates, and riots marked their universal unpopularity.

It has to be remembered that the dread of revolution on the Continental scale was still operating. Looking back from more settled mid-Victorian days, Kingsley wrote of this time as one "when young lads believed (and not so wrongly) that the masses were their natural enemies and that they might have to fight, any year or any day, for the safety of their property and the honour of their sisters," and it was to fortify the State against these and other perils that the middle class was to be admitted as a body to the franchise by the Reform Act.\(^2\)

There was, as has been noted, a spirit of reform abroad after 1820, side by side with the fear of revolution, and it would have been to this that the Church could have allied itself as an agent of social renewal. In one sense the social conscience was alive. The Evangelicals were greatly concerned for the personal evangelism of individuals, though they were exhausting their social interests, such as they were, in the anti-slavery crusade.\(^3\) The fault of the Establishment, if it disliked the Evangelicals' emphasis, lay in its not having considered /

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1. Young; Victorian England; 66 f.
2. Ibid.; 27 f.
3. Carpenter; op.cit.; 60.
considered any constructive alternative to acquiescence in the grave contemporary social evils. Hence the Church lost its opportunity, and the ideology of reform is accordingly to be found wholly outside it, in the two main streams represented by Bentham and Owen.

Bentham founded his social philosophy on the unsound hedonistic principle of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." The principle was unsound because the differentiation of kinds of happiness which it involved introduced the non-hedonistic standard of goodness. But Bentham's interests were in the reform of bad laws in the attempt to raise the general level of happiness conceived as a rough and ready quantum, rather than in the realm of pure thought. Bentham's second principle, that every man is the best judge of his own interests, introduced the policy of laissez-faire whereby, if people were left free to act for themselves, they would act for the best. Hence Bentham attacked all laws interfering with religious or political freedom, and all that maintained class privilege, from the Church of England to the political pensions lists. He advocated the legalising of trade unions, abrogation of criminal penalties, suffrage reform, and reform of law court procedure. From Bentham has derived the great contemporary industrial plutocracy. The belief of the Benthamites in the freedom of competition made them useless to the working man as social reformers in the distribution of wealth.

Owen /

1. Woodward; op. cit.; 34.
2. Somervell; English Thought in the Nineteenth Century; 45 ff.
3. Young; op. cit.; 10.
Owen tried to relate the demands of popular radicalism to the economic situation, and argued that the new powers of industrial production opened up a vista of universal plenty and opportunity - a belief which he demonstrated at New Lanark. Owen's mistakes sprang from an exaggerated faith in the influence of environment, and the belief that men's characters are made for and not by them. His views set him against religion, and organised religion returned his attitude. It would have been infinitely valuable if organised religion had set itself to disentangle the evident truth from the falsehood of his ideas and so gained an understanding both of the new social forces at work and of Owen himself.

Standing entirely apart from the various schools was Shaftesbury, aristocratic, conservative, fundamentalist. With his narrowly evangelical outlook, his two goals of Bible teaching and protective legislation, he produced the Ten Hours Act in factory reform, and so did something to redeem the reputation of religion.

Reform of the Church was strongly demanded by the Benthamites. The issue in 1831 of the "Black Book, or Corruption Unmasked" brought out damaging facts about it. In 1830 up to 5,000 benefices out of 10,550 were non-resident, though as against this a great number were worth under £150 per annum, and the average of 10,000 of them was only £285. The Benthamites found tithing a grievance, a great part of which was paid to lay impropriators.

1. v. infra.
2. Owen; Denunciation of All Religion (1817).
3. Woodward; op.cit.; 145.
4. Carpenter; op.cit.; 56.
5. Wagner; The Church of England and Social Reform since 1854; 18.
impropriators. Even chapters were greedy, and a dean and chapter would take £1000 or £2000 from a parish and pay someone to do the work for £50 a year or less.  

In face of the whole religious situation, no less than of these abuses, four schools of reform appeared: the Broad Churchmen, led by Arnold; the Ecclesiastical Reformers, led by Blomfield; the High Churchmen, headed by the "Hackney Phalanx"; and the Oxford Movement, with Keble and Newman.  

The Broad Church school was dominated by Thomas Arnold of Rugby and by Stanley, father of Dean Stanley who became associated with the Christian Socialist group. Arnold feared that the old ecclesiastical structure was no longer suited to the needs of the times. In his view, the State was to be accepted and defined as being explicitly a Christian State, and it would thus become identical with the Church. He did not really believe in an institutional Church at all, and was ready to dispense altogether with its claims to a supernatural authority, and with its ecclesiastical traditions. "Is Dr. Arnold a Christian?" asked Newman: "the clergy must Arnoldize" said Kingsley, meaning that they should make friends of the new commercial aristocracy and thus influence the leadership of the age. 

Arnold's strength was his sense of the significance of history as the revelation of God,  

1. Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 221.  
2. Carpenter; op.cit.  
3. Ibid.; 61 ff.  
4. Letters and Memories; i; 143.  
5. Young; op.cit.; 69.
Kingsley - and his weakness that he saw the Church and even Christianity as secondary to this. He wanted the National Church to submerge all doctrinal differences and include all except Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Unitarians.\(^1\) His purpose was highly ethical, and he was thoroughly alive to social evils, and so tried to awaken the Church to speak significantly in the circumstances of the Industrial Revolution. He worked along the line of reform of the Church's application of its revenues, of its administration, and of the conception of the Church which he held. His influence on the succession of social reform reached the Christian Socialists of whom Ludlow in particular had been influenced by his ideas, and of whom Hughes and Dean Stanley,\(^2\) who contributed to "Politics for the People" had been his pupils. In the sphere of theology his most abiding influence was as a protagonist of Biblical criticism.\(^3\)

The Broad Church wing which Arnold represented included Copleston, Whately and Hampden. It was associated with Oxford and was Aristotelian in outlook, displaying in faith a formal logic and exaltation of the intellect; while the Broad Church wing to which Maurice, Kingsley, Hare, and Dean Stanley belonged took its character from Coleridge, was associated with Cambridge, and was Platonic in outlook, preferring the intuition of Coleridge and Kant, looking for the truth to be revealed not to the intellect only, but to the whole man.\(^4\) Kingsley voiced this /

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1. Carpenter; op.cit.; 63.
2. Hughes; Memoir of Daniel MacMillan; 130.
3. Storr; Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century; 106.
4. Sanders; Coleridge and the Broad Church Movement; 14.
this, as when he wrote that he started from a moral and not an intellectual idea of God;¹ and it forms the substance of the only ground on which he would admit the use of the term "muscular Christianity".²

Blomfield as leader of the Ecclesiastical reformers, intended to forestall reform of the Church from outside by stimulating it from the inside, and by co-operating with the State to do so. He became a central figure in the 1831 Commission of Enquiry into Church Affairs, which developed in 1836 into the permanent Ecclesiastical Commission.³ The Commission attacked and largely extinguished by 1838 the abuse of pluralities; it accomplished the reduction of Cathedral staffs by 1840, the resulting revenues going to needy areas; it effected some pooling of endowments; and had the new sees of Ripon and Manchester created.⁴

But for the Commission, the Church might well have been reorganised out of hand without any expert help at all.⁵ Blomfield founded in 1843 the still virile Metropolitan Visiting and Relief Association,⁶ which works on the principle of palliation, dealing with individual cases of necessity through the agency of the parish and its minister. This, in principle, was social reform for Blomfield.

The chief pre-occupation of the High Church was education in Church principles.⁷ They did not believe that either Arnold's

1. Letters and Memories; i; 328.
2. Ibid. ii; 213.
3. Carpenter; op.cit.; 93.
4. Ibid. 102.
5. Carpenter; op.cit.; 105.
7. Woodward; op.cit.; 487. Carpenter; op.cit.; 58 ff.
view of the Church or Blomfield's administrative reform would make the Church effective in society, yet they themselves were too moderate to produce the desired result, and did not have a grasp of the real elements of the situation. Their activity extended to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and to assisting in founding the National Society of Education. A link with this party and the Oxford Movement came through Rose at whose rectory the idea of their Tracts was discussed and the Movement itself launched.

The roots of the Oxford Movement are in part in the Romantic Movement, and in part in reaction against the individualism of the Nonconformists. There were also Churchmen who distrusted liberalism, thinking that it would supplant dogmatic belief by a vague theism, if not by agnosticism.

In answer, the Oxford Movement claimed that the Church of England was essentially Catholic, that its sanctions were supernatural and hence of infallible authority, that its ministerial succession was apostolic, and that its sacraments were essential modes of grace. The Movement centred in the Universities and bore the marks of an environment somewhat out of scale with the contemporary industrial milieu. Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy", a protest against the abolition of the "redundant" Irish bishoprics in 1833, marked the beginning of the Movement, but Newman, shrewd, clever, and deeply /

1. Halevy; op.cit.; 151.
2. Woodward; op.cit.; 493.
deeply religious was its outstanding genius.

Newman, Keble and Froude formed an "Association of Friends of the Church" in 1833 and decided to publish the "Tracts for the Times". These were addressed mainly to the clergy, and set out in effect the basic doctrines mentioned above. To the layman the Tracts appeared to be merely assertions of clerical authority, and to insist dishonestly on doctrines which the Reformers had disallowed. "The Tractarians are Jesuits" wrote Kingsley in 1841.

The admission of dissenters to the Universities which would follow the removal of University tests put the Tractarians in an unfortunate position. If they opposed it they were defending privilege of a kind they wanted to remove. Then they were brought face to face with theological liberalism over the appointment in 1836 of Hampden as Regius Professor of Divinity. If they opposed this they were in effect opposing the episcopal authority that they wished to preserve in their authoritarian view of the Church. The statement of the Roman Catholics that Anglican Orders were invalid and apostolic succession non-applicable to the Anglican ministry caused the evangelicals and Broad Church opponents to ask why the Tractarians did not take their way logically to the Roman Church itself. It was on this point that the Movement was wrecked when Newman attempted to show in Tract XC that Anglican teaching and Roman doctrine were not incompatible. For example as to purgatory, if the

1. Woodward; op. cit. 496.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 56.
3. Woodward; op. cit.; 497.
Articles condemned the Roman view, they did not thereby condemn all views, but only a perverted version of the true one. Tract XC appeared in February 1841. In March Newman was censured by the heads of the colleges, but not by the bishops as a body. In 1843 Pusey was delated for heresy.

For Newman the crisis was brought to a head by the outspokenness of W.G. Ward, a layman, who was editing the Tractarian journal, the "British Critic". Ward had encouraged Newman to publish Tract XC, and in the subsequent discussions he went far beyond Newman's extreme position by maintaining that the Articles were Protestant in intention, but that it was possible to give them a Catholic interpretation. This destroyed Newman's reasoning whereby he had distinguished between the abuses which the Articles condemned and the doctrines which they could be held to take for granted. Ward announced further that in subscribing to the Articles he had renounced no Roman doctrine, that he did not hide his opinions and had received no censure. The result was that in February 1845 he was deprived of his degree, and joined the Roman Church. The same convocation condemned Tract XC. The party was now virtually broken up and in October 1845 Newman entered the Roman Church followed by many of his supporters.

Despite this, the Oxford Movement continued to be the strongest factor in the Anglican Church.\(^1\) It encouraged greater care for external order and a deeper conception of the clerical office. It was the clearest affirmation then received by the Church.\(^1\)

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1. Woodward; op.cit.; 500.
Church of the primacy of the spiritual.

In its social significance its emphasis on corporate life and the duties of membership in a society made it a potent factor in the development of collectivist ideals, and it was thus an instalment of the later nineteenth century reaction against individualism. Unfortunately the leaders had never met the liberals on their own ground, and so the movement's relative success did not help the Church to meet the disruptive attacks of nineteenth century thought which were given great weight by the new scientific outlook consequent upon the publication of Lyell's "Principles of Geology" in 1830, and Darwin's "Origin of Species" in 1859.

Politics and Society from the Reform Act to Chartism.

The first Reform Bill introduced in March 1831 proposed the abolition of 168 seats in Parliament and their replacement by 97 new ones, and extended the franchise to certain classes of property holders. The second Bill, substantially similar, passed the Commons in September 1831 and was rejected by the Lords in October, twenty-one of the bishops voting against it. Among the riots which were consequently provoked was the serious one at Bristol which had such a deep effect on Kingsley as a schoolboy. The third Bill, introduced in December 1831, containing a few further franchise concessions, passed the Commons by a two to one majority, but was in danger of being held up in the Lords, and was passed on June 4th, 1832, only on a government threat to have sufficient new peers created to ensure /

1. Raven; Christian Socialism; 22.
2. Woodward; op.cit.; 78.
3. Ibid. 79.
ensure its passage.¹

The Reform Act of 1832 was a turning point in English history, for by it constitutional government was established as against the personal sovereignty of the monarch. Its one great defect was that it left the working classes exactly where they were,² and gave the political power to the upper and middle classes. The struggle was now to pass to working class movements, of which Chartism was the most significant.

The many popular reforms which followed the passing of the Act were indicative of the growth of a real spirit of humanitarianism in the nation, and the succeeding Whig administration was noted with satisfaction by Kingsley.³

The first reform was with elections where the chief abuses had been the nomination of members by individuals, election by close corporations, and unwarrantable expense.⁴ Some members had been returned even when, as in the case of Old Sarum, there was no town at all. Two-thirds of the members were nominated by landlords or peers who bought and sold seats and even advertised them for sale. Some places no longer on the map had members, while such great manufacturing centres as Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham had none at all. Even after 1832, though representation was better, abuses such as the use of dead men's names and fictitious rent receipts to increase voting power, continued, as did the bribery and unwarrantable expense of elections. Kingsley, writing in 1858, still felt the /

¹. Woodward; op.cit.; 81.
². Halevy; History of the English People, 1830-41; 64.
³. Kingsley; Yeast; viii.
⁴. McCarthy; The Epoch of Reform, 1830-50; 51.
the futility caused by the persistence of such abuses. ¹

The abolition of slavery was accomplished in 1833 under the impetus of evangelical piety, ² and as a consequence of Zachary Macaulay's revelations of West Indian brutality. ³ The success of this caused attention to be turned to the conditions of labour in England, where there was strong evidence that the labourers were hardly better off than some of the West Indian slaves.

The findings of the various Parliamentary Commissions of Enquiry into the state of the labouring population brought to light a bad state of affairs both in town and country.

To begin with, the towns themselves were grossly overcrowded, and without proper sanitation. House drains in some of the largest were not allowed to enter sewers except under penalty, or in the case of the wealthy. ⁴ As a result, human excrement lay about in heaps in the crowded slum quarters of towns like Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool, producing consequences that were not only disgusting but dangerous to health. The water supply, legally restricted to the laying of mains only in the principal streets, did not serve the poor; ⁵ while the Window Tax put a premium on adequate ventilation. In Manchester Engels alleged deliberate concealment of working class slums behind high facades. ⁶

To read the Reports of the Commissions is to understand at once

1. Kingsley; Prose Idylls; 140 f.
2. Halevy; op.cit.; 86.
3. McCarthy; op.cit.; 89.
5. Ibid. xi.
once why the Christian Socialists, and Kingsley in particular, had so burning a concern for the cause of public health.

The Factory Commission of 1833 had soon amassed plenty of evidence to show the serious effect, moral and spiritual, of the overworking of women and children. Its activity led among other things to the cessation of the species of slave traffic in pauper apprentices, which had grown up under the aegis of public authorities.¹

Probably the most incredible barbarity was that revealed by the 1842 Commission of Inquiry on the Employment of Women and Girls in Mines. Here they worked under the same conditions as men, the difference being that to them fell the more degrading tasks. They were customarily employed in carrying and drawing the coal from the face to the discharging point, and where they did not carry it in baskets containing over one hundredweight, they drew it on all fours in trolleys by means of harness strapped to a chain which passed between their legs to the trolley. The women were scantily clad, often wearing only a pair of coarse trousers, while the men were generally completely naked. The moral and physical injuries resulting were obvious. Ashley's Act prohibited the employment of female labour underground for all time.

Similar conditions were disclosed by the 1843 Commission on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture. Housing was nearly always inadequate, separate sleeping accommodation for either sex not being provided for.² This established

¹. Trevelyan: English Social History: 483
². Commission on Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture; 1843; 23.
a connection between bad housing and immorality of which Kingsley was only too well aware.\textsuperscript{1} In some parishes, owned wholly by one landlord, the cottages would be allowed to fall into disrepair, and no new ones would be built, in order to prevent an increase of new families and to keep down the rates.\textsuperscript{2} The field work for women and girls was heavy and incessant, but the worst effects were that the education of the young and opportunity to receive spiritual instruction suffered.

The deplorable overworking of labour in the factories and mines resulted in efforts to limit the working day for women and children, which was met for the time being by the Ten Hours Act of 1847. The manufacturers, who had resented outside pressure during the negotiations to bring the Act into force, turned on the landlords to point out the condition of agricultural labour.\textsuperscript{3} This was to raise the question of Poor Law administration.

The Poor Law Commissioners had before them the system of parish relief established in Elizabethan days, which had been modified in 1795 by the Speenhamland system, whereby a minimum wage for the county (of Berkshire) was fixed in relation to the price of bread. It was the right course,\textsuperscript{4} but was defeated by a compromise, which gradually spread widely, that wages in such cases should be supplemented out of parish rates. The effect was universally demoralising, for the employer was relieved from paying a living wage, the labourer with savings got no help, the labourer /

\begin{enumerate}
\item Kingsley; Yeast; 150.
\item Commission on Agriculture; op.cit.; 220 f.
\item McCarthy; op.cit.; 93.
\item Trevelyan; English Social History; 469.
\end{enumerate}
labourer who received no relief obtained no work from the 
farmer, and those outside the problem altogether found 
themselves virtually paying the farmer's wage bill through rates.¹

The 1833 Commission found many abuses within the system, 
though none so bad as the system itself.² They uncovered 
systems of graft between parish officers and tradesmen over the 
supply of goods; they found poor rates being manipulated as 
franchise bribes; they discovered that pauperism had become 
hereditary, and led to improvidence and reckless marriages; and 
that the relief system was grossly abused even by manufacturers 
who dismissed men and re-employed them at lower rates with the 
balance as parish relief.³

The Commission suggested that no relief should be given to 
the able-bodied except in return for labour, or in a well 
regulated workhouse, and that Poor Law administration should be 
centralised for the country. As a result, the Commissioners 
remained in office for the next fifteen years as a permanent 
body, universally disliked, and efficiently served by the hard, 
unpopular, yet energetic Chadwick,⁴ their secretary.

For the next two years good harvests in the south and 
plenty of railway construction work kept the labourers busy. 
In the industrial north, however, mass unemployment combined 
with a long series of disturbances, caused a modification of 
the tests in favour of an Outdoor Labour Test Order allowing 
relief /

1. Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 57 f. 
2. Ibid. 58. 
3. McCarthy; op.cit.; 122 f, 
4. Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 292.
relief to the able-bodied in return for a task of work.

In 1845 the Andover Workhouse scandal - where the starved inmates fought for the putrid gristle of the bones supplied for bone-crushing\(^1\) - led to a popular demand for an investigation into Poor Law administration, with the result that in 1847 a new Poor Law Board replaced the Commission, and remained until 1894. Henceforth the law was less harshly administered.

Kingsley had been alive to the demoralising effect of the 1833 administration,\(^2\) and felt the change in 1847 as one for the better.\(^3\) The fact had been that under the Commission "every workman saw himself exposed to the danger of imprisonment in the Bastille with the breakup of his family and home"\(^4\) at its dictation. The abuses of the old Poor Law were great, but the administration of the 1833 Commissioners had gone to the other extreme. Not without reason did Kingsley depict the little group of men, women, and children huddled on the bare ground outside the Union workhouse in which they had been refused lodging for the night,\(^5\) for the workhouse had become in many cases an instrument of downright brutality, and was a fair expression of a law which marked out the new proletariat as a servile caste, demanding special treatment of a deterrent nature.

Other reforms were those of municipal corporations in 1835, the establishment of national education, criminal law reform, and press-gang abolition. The prohibition of juvenile chimney sweeping /

1. Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 68.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 121.
3. Kingsley; Yeast; v.
4. Hammond; op.cit.; 70.
5. Kingsley; Yeast; 166.
sweeping in 1840 is worth noting because of Kingsley's "Water Babies". This Act, evaded by everyone, was reinforced by another in 1864, the year following the publication of Kingsley's book, to the appearance of which it was largely due.¹

Educational reform commenced with the attempt in 1834 to establish a national system. The provision of grants-in-aid, to be administered by the (Anglican) National School Society satisfied neither Catholics nor the Nonconformist British and Foreign School Society. In 1839 an education board was set up to allocate the grants, which even then were only £30,000 for the whole nation, raised to £100,000 in 1846.² Kingsley noted with satisfaction the establishment of the first "good" National School at Eversley in 1853.³

The Corn Laws had resulted in considerable hardship, and the Anti-Corn Law League of Cobden and others began to conduct Free Trade propaganda from about 1838, at the beginning of the distress leading to the "hungry forties".⁴ Popular feeling against the laws expressed itself in disturbances by men to whom the prospect of relief by Free Trade was more remote than by direct action.⁵ The Irish potato famine brought the matter to a head in Parliament, and because of the necessity of getting food from any quarter where it was available, the laws, which invoked the principle of Protection, were repealed in 1846. Kingsley was on the side of repeal and believed in Free Trade.⁶

¹ Trevelyan; English Social History; 544.
² Woodward; op. cit.; 461.
³ Letters and Memories; i; 365.
⁴ Woodward; op. cit.; 114.
⁵ Young; Victorian England; 35.
⁶ Letters and Memories; i; 315.
The roots of the Chartist Movement are to be found in the breakdown of attempts to correlate working class movements with Toryism, and in the internal breakdown of workers' movements themselves. On the side of the Tories, the "Young England" Tory reforming party, represented in its ideal form in Kingsley's "Alton Locke" by Lord Ellerton who sells one of his estates in order to cultivate the other one better, offered the workers the landed aristocracy as leaders on a reformed paternal feudal basis. It was begun by a group of Cambridge friends prominent among whom were Smythe and Manners, influenced by the tractarian F.W. Faber. The idea of Smythe and Manners was to bring the upper and lower classes together to resist the radicals and manufacturers and so avoid revolution, but they did not really understand what they were attacking. Disraeli joined the movement in 1842. The movement did not attract the workers, to whom the aristocracy, unreformed, was their worst oppressor. The approaches of the Manchester school broke down because to the workers they represented the hated factory system. The Whigs after 1832 could not help, because they were identified with the hated new Poor Law.

On the side of the workers the roots of Chartism are to be found in the failure of groups which arose after the repeal of the combination laws. The first of these was the Lancashire Cotton-spinners Grand General Union of the United Kingdom formed in 1829, which was superseded in 1830 by the National Association for

1. Woodward; op.cit.; 109.
2. Kingsley; Alton Locke; 265.
3. Woodward; op.cit.; 122.
for the Protection of Labour at Manchester, which broke down in 1832. The General Traders' Union formed in 1830 had some success. In 1834 there was founded the Owenite Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, and the early breakdown of this was the proximate ground on which Chartism was raised. The movement grew fast, fed by the working class disappointment with the Reform Act, urged on by the economic pressure of the slump period, and rendered urgent by the failure of the early Trade Unions as noted above.

The Charter was promulgated in 1838 and presented to Parliament in 1839. It had six demands: universal male suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, abolition of the franchise property qualification, payment of Members of Parliaments, and the division of the country into equal electoral districts.

Chartism had an uneven existence. It would die down during good harvest years and take new force with the return of bad times. It had even some middle class support. In its later stages it was diverted from a political programme to a crude agrarian one, in connection with which latter phase Kingsley has drawn some scenes of rural agitation in "Alton Locke".

Owen stood in the succession of anti-capitalist thought represented by Spence, Hall, Ogilvie and others. Ricardo, Hodgkin, and Colquhoun statistically and theoretically demonstrated the bad position of the labouring class in the distribution /

1. Woodward; op.cit.; 122.
distribution of wealth, and so fed the idea of co-operative production. Owen, with his belief that the evils of industrialism were curable, and that human character depended on environment, set up his model factories at New Lanark to demonstrate it. He made the welfare of his people his first concern, providing good housing and education out of profits. He refused to countenance class hatred and wanted the working class to abandon the method of strikes and instead set up small self-directing producers communities. His attempts to found these in America failed, and in Britain his model villages met with a similar fate.

Out of their failure there was conceived the plan of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, which by fostering economic co-operation and interdependence on the plans Owen suggested, would give the workers economic and political control of the country. In a few weeks the movement had half a million supporters, but was soon involved in a large number of sectional strikes and collapsed, to the deep disappointment of the poorer paid labourers. The two main results of this were that the highly skilled trades concentrated on improvements within their own spheres, and that the working class leaders determined to get franchise extension as a prelude to social reform.

Lovett, Hetherington, and the leaders of this second group founded the London Working Men's Association in 1836, and Lovett and Francis Place drew up the Charter. To support the Charter before
before Parliament when the time should be ripe, a National
Petition was to be prepared. The Charter soon became the voice,
not only of political reform, but of all the disappointed
working class elements. Lovett was alarmed at its rapid
popularity, and feared outbreaks of violence.

Lovett's associate, Bronterre O'Brien, was not alarmed, and
left the London Working Men's Association to join Feargus
O'Connor who founded another body, the London Democratic
Association. O'Connor, an Irish demagogue, for whom the
peaceful Lovett was no match, was to prove a poor leader of the
labourers' interests, and finally wrecked the movement by his
defects of character and lack of real leadership. Had the
lead remained with Lovett, it is likely that democratic advance
would have been much more rapid at this time.

Lovett and his party, disliking the extremism which became
associated with O'Connor's group, could nevertheless not draw
back from the cause. Both groups were committed to a Convention
of the Industrious Classes in London at which the Charter and
Petition were to be acclaimed.

On 6th May, 1839, the Petition had 1,200,000 signatures, but
its presentation had to wait on account of the resignation of
Parliament on May 7th. O'Connor had used his influence against
moderation, and the Convention had recognised the right of the
people to arm themselves. The Whig government countered this
by commissioning Sir Charles Napier to watch the situation, and
he /

1. West; History of the Chartist Movement; 84 ff.
2. Ibid. op.cit.; 204. (Lovett on O'Connor).
he tactfully and firmly established his authority.¹

The second approach with the Petition was turned down by
the government on July 12, 1839, and the general strike which
was mooted in protest came to nothing. In November an attempt
at armed rebellion in Wales, led by one Frost, who had
anticipated a similar rising in Lancashire, was quelled by a
small force of troops at Newport, and Frost transported.

The first great political movement of the labouring classes
had thus been a failure, and both Lovett and O'Connor served
short terms of imprisonment for offences arising out of it.²

Lovett and the moderates wanted now to enlist middle class
help, but O'Connor disapproved. In 1841 Lovett, Sturge, and
O'Brien formed the Complete Suffrage Association. O'Connor
attacked them, and agitated for a second national petition,
which was eventually completed with well over three million
signatures, and brought before the House. The House again
refused to receive the petitioners and some control of the
movement passed to the "physical force" Chartists, with ensuing
riots and strikes.³

Lovett's Complete Suffrage Association broke down, and
O'Connor was left in possession of the field.⁴ He now
experimented with a land scheme to relieve unemployment, and its
initial success and his consequent popularity resulted in his
election as first Chartist Member of Parliament in July 1847.

The final phase of Chartism was to end in the fiasco of 1848.

The /

1. Woodward; op.cit.; 132.
2. Ibid. 134.
3. Ibid. 135.
4. West; op.cit.; 186 ff. re O'Connor's dominance.
The great excitement caused by the fall of Louis Philippe in February 1848 caused the movement to revive, and the leaders called a general convention for April 3rd. A new petition was prepared, and it was decided that if it was rejected the Queen should be asked to remove her ministers and call a national assembly for the enforcement of the Charter. The government at once prohibited the proposed procession to the House of Commons, and troops and special constables were enrolled to guarantee order. The petition, instead of proceeding in triumphant procession to Parliament from Kennington Common as had been planned, went there in three cabs, and the huge demonstration which had been organised for the Common broke up. In the House of Commons the Petition upon examination was found to contain a great number of bogus signatures, and the whole movement was discredited.1 It was on this same evening that the Christian Socialist group came into existence by the issue of Kingsley's placard.2

Chartism, as representing the genuine political needs of the working men,3 had deserved better leaders than O'Connor, and it was to offer them such that Kingsley and his associates addressed themselves to the "workmen of England".4

Already before the Chartist Movement reached its conclusion the series of great Parliamentary Commissions of Enquiry into the conditions of contemporary life showed that the question of a juster social order was being taken seriously.

The /

1. Woodward; op.cit.; 139.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 157.
3. Kingsley; Alton Locke; cix.
4. Letters and Memories; i; 156.
The Period after the Reform Act and the Church

There was little direct recognition of the worth of working class agitation from the side of organised religion in the years before 1848. Some ministers of religion had given help as Chartist leaders, but the prevailing attitude of clerical thought was that expressed in the pamphlet of Stowell: "if some of the working men are starving, it is no fault of the masters, for the interests of both are identical." "May you never cast off your reverence for that Book which teaches that the powers that be are ordained of God." "Meddle not with them that are given to change." Because of this, which confirmed the Chartists in their recognition of the clergymen of the Church of England as their worst enemies, the religious revival in other classes was leaving the workers untouched. "By the neglect of the Church" wrote Kingsley in 1851, the devil had got the best of "the cream and pith of the working class intellect" long ago. The chief cause of the Church's unpopularity was its reputation for inhumanity. Kingsley, sensing this, had refused to sit as a magistrate over his parishioners. On the other hand, the rivalry between the evangelicals and tractarians had helped to keep the attention of the Church of England away from the social question. It was in this milieu that the prophetic voice of F.D. Maurice began to be heard.

Maurice /

1. Faulkner; Chartism and the Churches; 110 ff.
2. Ibid.  63 f.
3. Ibid.  59
4. Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 217.
5. Letters and Memories; i; 248.
6. Hammond; op.cit.; 218.
7. Letters and Memories; i; 124-5.
Maurice was an isolated figure in theology for many years, because he sought a different centre for theology from that chosen by his contemporaries. He stood on what he called the theocratic principle - the claim that it is the will of God which is the essential reality in all human affairs, and that personal and corporate actions must conform to it if justice and harmony are to be realised. He would admit of no dualism in the world; it was entirely God's world. The Kingdom of God had been planted in the very nature of things and was eternally present. It was not something to be thought of as a consequence of sanctified effort on the part of the faithful. It was, in fact, the actual world, because it was the world as divinely and eternally constructed in the will of God. In line with this he declared that society was not to be made anew by human efforts, and insisted on having this principle carried out as far as he could in the work of the Christian Socialist group.¹

For Maurice the Church was not a body isolated from the rest of mankind by conversion. It was the world opening its heart to the Truth,² and those whose hearts were opened were to frame the social life upon it.³ It was to the Church that Maurice looked as of its nature the source of the social element vital to a true harmony.⁴ The Incarnation gave the vital sanction to this, and hence the doctrine of the Person of Christ was at the centre of his creed.⁵ For Maurice, baptism had /

¹. Vide Ch.3 infra.
². Scott Lidgett; The Victorian Transformation of Theology; 33.
³. Jenkins; Maurice and the New Reformation; Ch.2.
⁴. Life of Maurice; ii; 8.
⁵. Scott Lidgett; op.cit. 69.
had a new significance. It could only be acceptable to him if it meant, not the communication of a new nature to the baptised, but the recognition of a real nature that was already there. In baptism it followed that the baptised was translated from his individualism into the visible fellowship of the Church, established to make actual the fact of men as the family of God.

Maurice was well aware that he was not only challenging theology, but joining issue with the prevailing social philosophy.

The school of Maurice's Christian Socialist followers under his theological leadership, in reviving a sense of social moral responsibility, was to counterbalance the over-emphasis on doctrine and ceremony resulting from the Oxford Movement, to offset the individualism of the Evangelicals, and to indict the indifference of the Establishment. Kingsley's novels were to reach a public, only vaguely conscious, if at all, of the great contemporary social needs, and to help to awaken in its mind the beginnings of a Christian social conscience.

Maurice's theological restatement, as well as operating on the Christian ethic, was to prepare the way for liberal scholars like Westcott and Hort, and thus aid indirectly in the reconciliation of the new scientific outlook with religion.

1. Tulloch; Movements of Religious Thought; 271.
2. Hidgett; The Victorian Transformation of Theology; 32 ff.
3. Woodward; op.cit.; 502.
CHAPTER TWO

LIFE OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

"The name of Kingsley, naturalist, health reformer, poet and preacher may stand for the meeting place of all the forces at work on the younger imagination when, as it seemed to those who recalled the sordid and sullen past ............ England was renewing her youth."¹ The life of Kingsley almost exactly spans the transition from the social, religious and political unsettlement of the early century, to the more settled later decades when the distinctive Victorian character had found fruition.

Charles Kingsley was born on June 12th 1819, the second of a family of five boys and one girl, at Holne, in Devonshire, where his father was rector. His father traced his descent through a genealogy of English gentry, mainly fighting men, of over seven hundred years, to Cheshire. Early an orphan, the good patrimony which he should have had on coming of age was found to have been misused by his guardians, and he himself consumed the remainder by the time he was thirty. Versatile, cultivated, and refined, a good sportsman, but lacking professional training of any kind, and faced with the necessity of earning a living, he decided, because he was too old for the Army, to read for the Church. Though married, he entered Cambridge; and soon after his ordination he settled at Holne.²

Charles¹ /

1. Young; Victorian England; 76.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 4.
Charles' mother was born in the West Indies where her father had been a magistrate. She is described as being a woman of much enthusiasm with a great deal of poetry in her nature. Sensitive to environment, she believed that its influence would react on her unborn child, and in anticipation of Charles' birth she "gave herself up to the enjoyment of every sight and sound which she hoped would be dear to her child in after life." Kingsley himself later spoke of her as having, unlike his father, good practical and administrative power, and of being "a second Mrs. Fry" in her parish work; while of his father he said that he possessed every talent except that of using his talents. Writing to Galton in 1865 Kingsley said "our talent, such as it is, is altogether hereditary". Whether in the light of later knowledge this is as true as he supposed it or not, his mother's hopes were not disappointed, for though he never saw Devonshire from the age of six weeks to thirty years, its associations all his life had such an appeal for him that he can be said to have made people aware of it as Scott made them aware of Scotland. From his father he would inherit his sporting tastes, the fighting blood which he displayed in the causes he took up; and from his mother his love of travel and of romance, his sense of humour, his force, and his originality.

From Holne the Kingsleys moved first to Burton-on-Trent and Clifton, then to the rectory of Barnack near Peterborough, where

1. Letters and Memories;  4.
2. Ibid.  1; 5.
3. Ibid.  1; 5.
Kingsley senior was to hold the living until the bishop's son should be ready for it. It was here that Charles' precocity became apparent. From the age of four he preached juvenile sermons and wrote poems. The specimen sermon described in Chapter Four, preserved by his mother and taken down in writing unknown to her son, is remarkable for a child of that age.

At five years of age his precocity was apparent with regard to science - the interest in which developed in him very quickly and never abated all his life - when he noticed and named the pyrites in the coal of the sitting room fire. The appreciation of natural science was at one with his appreciation of nature, which was always true to the end of his life. The extent to which the Fen country round Barnack fed his memory and imagination in this direction is described by him in the lecture on The Fens given in 1867.

After six years at Barnack the family moved to Clovelly where Charles, from the age of seven, received upon his impressionable mind and lively imagination marks from the hardy community of sailors and fishermen which found expression in his later writings. The close community bond engendered by their dangerous calling was emphasised by his father's custom of having quayside worship before the fishing fleet put to sea. Some of the tragedies of the community are reflected in the shipwreck scenes in Prose Idylls and "Two Years Ago". It was at Clovelly that he began the study of littoral flora and fauna, the fruits of which

1. Letters and Memories; i; 11;
2. Kingsley; Prose Idylls; 95 ff.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 18.
4. Kingsley; Prose Idylls; 291 ff.
5. Ibid. Two Years Ago; i; 78 ff.
which were to appear in "Glaucus"and in various correspondences with such scientific men as Darwin and Huxley, and to provide the foundation for that understanding of the scientific outlook whereby he found it natural to reconcile biological evolution with theology at a time when the majority found no such facility.

Charles' first schooling was with a private tutor, followed in 1831 with a period at Clifton School, near Bristol, to which he went with his brother George. It was during his first year here that he saw the Reform riots at Bristol, the effect of which on his mind he later described. The flames of the burning gaol from which the prisoners had been set free, and the "still more awful sight, not of corpses, but of corpse fragments," brought him up against ultimate reality and strengthened his later conviction that human welfare could only be found in a Divine source. Of his later political opinions the experience made him "the veriest aristocrat" aware of the "dangerous" classes whose existence he had just then discovered, and anxious to find a sociology better than that which stopped at "mere almsgiving and charity schools". The dangerous classes must be faced, not by repression, but by improvement. From this experience he dated his interest in social science.

Instead of attending a public school after Clifton, Charles was sent to Helston Grammar School under the headmastership of Derwent Coleridge, a son of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. His parents had considered Rugby, but had decided against it, to

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1. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 190.
2. Ibid. 191.
Kingsley's later regret, because of Arnold's liberal ideas. At Helston a member of the staff encouraged his taste for botany, of which along with geology he was more fond than classics. According to a friend, he was not particularly popular as a schoolboy, because he knew too much for the other boys and lacked ability at games. Perhaps because of this some essential qualities that marked him throughout life were more noticeable than they might otherwise have been, for he was tender hearted, and very generous in forgiving offence, despite great sensitiveness to ridicule. Powles, his lifelong friend, thought that Kingsley's passion for natural science was led by a strong religious feeling - a sense of the nearness of God. This is an acute observation if Powles recognised it in their school days, and it is possible that in this observation of after years he may be crediting the boy with the knowledge he had of the man.

In 1836 the Kingsley family moved for the last time - to Chelsea, where Kingsley senior became rector of St.Lukes. Charles now lived at home, becoming a day student at King's College, London. He found the city life uncongenial, and was irked by the triviality of clerical conversation - the endless "shop" - and by the futility of the orthodox parish visiting which fell to the lot of some of the ladies of the parish. He referred to this indirectly when in 1855 he lectured to the Needlewomen's Institution on "Women's Work in a Country Parish".

1. Letters and Memories; i; 22.
2. Ibid. i; 37.
3. Ibid. i; 38.
4. Sanitary and Social Essays; 3 ff.
and defined what he held to be the best way of doing this kind of work so that it might become real and effective. In London he saw more of the poverty and way of life of the poorer classes, and doubtless his earlier impressions at Bristol were strengthened, to issue later in the work for the Christian Socialist group.

At Magdalene College, Cambridge, to which Kingsley went in 1838, the religious crisis of his life developed and he fought it through to a satisfactory conclusion. He did not find this easy, and more than once nearly abandoned the whole struggle, with the idea, he says, of living his life on the prairies of Western America. "I was very idle and very sinful during my first year" he wrote to a friend at the end of his course, and added the Carlylean advice that toil was "a condition of our being". He had certainly been idle during his first year, but exactly to what depths his sinfulness led him is uncertain, for there is no evidence in his subsequent letters that he had the kind of remorse that such a man would have had if it had been immorality. His sinfulness may have been of the kind deplored in themselves by men of high ideals who accuse themselves of crimes which the average person would hardly consider as sin at all. More than likely his moral struggles were the ordinary undergraduate ones by which many are assailed. To a man of Kingsley's temperament they would be more than usually vivid, and it is evident that the victory which he eventually won over himself /

1. Letters and Memories; 1: 46.
2. Ibid. 1: 61.
himself cost him much moral effort.

To his ultimate victory he owed a great deal to the help of his future wife, whom he met during the summer vacation of 1839. Miss Fanny Grenfell was a daughter of Pascoe Grenfell, M.P., a wealthy man whose three other daughters eventually married distinguished men. One became the wife of Baron Wolverton, one of the Reverend Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, and the other the wife of J.A. Froude the historian. Kingsley discussed his religious doubts with her and promised to take the religious disciplines on himself more faithfully in the hope of receiving the "light", but no light came.

The appearance of the Oxford Tracts caused Kingsley, aet. twenty, to denounce their ascetic outlook mainly because of the unsatisfactory view of marriage which he saw to be implicit within them. He had found in his affection for Miss Grenfell what he was always to believe to be the key to a noble life, namely, the ideal of married love. So completely satisfying was the later reality for him that he spoke afterwards of his first meeting with her as his "real wedding day". The further bearing of the importance which Kingsley attached to married life and its connection with his theology is discussed later.

When he returned to Cambridge after his meeting with Miss Grenfell, his doubts returned and, almost abandoning the promises he had made to her, he became reckless about his faith and

1. Letters and Memories; i; 44.
2. Rigg; Memoir of Canon Kingsley; 33 f.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 45.
4. Ibid. i; 44.
5. v. Ch.4 infra.
and tried to dull the thought of the struggle in pleasures like boxing, boating and riding, in which he indulged to the detriment of his studies. He won considerable personal popularity owing to his social gifts which found acceptance with all kinds of fellow students. His doubts extended to the Trinity, to prayer, and even to the existence of God. The Athanasian Creed, to which he held strongly later on, seemed now to him to suggest bigotry, cruelty, and quibbling. Nor could be get any help from the clergy; to him they seemed one and all to have built up a huge superstructure of argument from the Bible on flimsy grounds.

This phase lasted till towards the end of 1840 when he at length began the upward climb, which resulted in his definite spiritual stability the following year. "I have struggled to alter lately" he wrote, "and my alteration has been remarked with pleasure by some, with sneers by others." Public opinion, he said, had been too much his god. Defining the direction of his new outlook, he wrote that though at that time he had only reason for his guide, when he did believe fully there would be no middle course between either deism or the highest system of Catholicism. The fact that he mentioned the Tractarian position as even a possibility, in view of his life-long antipathy to most of its views, is doubtless an indication of the influence of Miss Grenfell who was, according to one who knew her in later life, strongly inclined to it at this time.

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1. Letters and Memories; i; 48 f.
2. Ibid. i; 48.
3. Ibid. i. 49.
4. Ibid. i; 50.
It is evident that her own mind was firm and settled, her judgment sound, and her Christian faith established. Several years his senior, her outlook must also have been more mature.

It was through Miss Grenfell that Kingsley was introduced to the writings of Carlyle, Coleridge, and Maurice. She sent him Carlyle's "French Revolution", "Miscellanies", and "Past and Present", and Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection", while he was still at Cambridge. Carlyle established and intensified his belief in God's righteous government of the world,¹ a principle which runs through Kingsley's writings. He formed a great admiration for Carlyle which is expressed again and again in his works. Carlyle is the prototype of Mackaye in "Alton Locke" and Alton himself puts Carlyle's "French Revolution" second only to the writings of Milton. In "Yeast" Carlyle appears as one of Lancelot's heroes,² and there it is evident that Kingsley had absorbed what Carlyle had to say on Chartism and the social picture behind it.³ In 1867 he still found the "French Revolution" inspiring and would turn to it when out of spirits.⁴

Caroline Fox who used to visit the family at Eversley records that Kingsley used to pay Carlyle long visits "and come away talking just like him."⁵ "I cannot say what I personally owe to that man's writings"⁶ he wrote in 1853, though in 1857 he insisted that he was no follower of Carlyle in theology.⁷

Coleridge was for Kingsley the interpreter of a positive spiritual

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1. Kingsley; The Roman and the Teuton; 36.
2. Kingsley; Yeast; 38, 99.
3. Ibid. 75.
4. Letters and Memories; ii; 257.
5. ed. Pym; Caroline Fox, her Journals and Letters; 317.
6. Letters and Memories; i; 378.
7. Ibid. ii; 22.
spiritual philosophy, which regarded Christianity as something more than a means of salvation in the limited sense of the evangelicals. For Kingsley Coleridge established both the rationality of religion and the rationality of the higher life of the human spirit by demonstrating the essential divinity of man. Kingsley, in assimilating these doctrines, was delivered from whatever of the narrow evangelicalism of his early years may have remained with him.

Soon after he left Cambridge, Miss Grenfell sent Kingsley Maurice's "Kingdom of Christ", and under its influence his views were finally cleared and his faith established.¹ In it he found the scheme and harmony of spiritual law which fully satisfied his craving for Divine Law in all its aspects, the need of which his scientific studies had made him aware.² In the "Kingdom of Christ" Maurice set out to show that only in the Church of England, as against other denominations, could the full embodiment of the kingdom be found. There is plenty of evidence in Kingsley's letters to show how fully he accepted this primacy of the Anglican Church, and it is interesting to see how it affects his understanding of dissent: "Do not reject Wardlaw because he is a Presbyterian", he wrote, "the poor man was born so. It is very different to a man's dissenting personally."³ The view of the Church which he received from Maurice confirmed him in the political and social outlook whereby he always considered that the pattern of society should /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 84.
2. Kingsley; Glaucus; 65, 222.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 82.
should follow the supremacy of Church, throne, and gentry.¹

Kingsley's work had improved after his misspent first year, and the stability of his spiritual life was so well established by 1841 that in May of that year he expressed his intention of becoming a clergyman instead of going on to the bar as he had originally intended. By cramming his studies he finished with a first class pass in classics and a good place in mathematics, but it was nothing to what he might have done.²

In 1842 Kingsley was ordained at Farnham and appointed curate at Eversley in Hampshire. In the interval between leaving Cambridge and taking up the post, he began the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary which he published in 1848 as "The Saint's Tragedy". His purpose, he says, was to exhibit Elizabeth as a type of two great struggles of the Middle Ages, namely, the struggle between scriptural and Popish purity, or between innocence and prudery; and the struggle between healthy human affection and the "Manichaean contempt with which a celibate clergy would have all men regard the names of husband, wife, and parent", and "to exhibit this latter falsehood in its miserable consequences".³ There is also some of the social concern for the rural labourer in the play, reminiscent of "Yeast". By the time of its publication, Kingsley had been six years in a country parish and knew rural problems. The strength of his denunciations against religious celibacy did not abate for the rest of his life, and naturally earned him many opponents among

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 135.
². Ibid. i; 58.
³. Kingsley; Poems; 12.
the Anglo-Catholics. Indirectly, through the opposition of Pusey and some others, the Anglo-Catholic antagonism cost him the degree of D.C.L. of Oxford which it had been proposed to confer on him in 1863. ¹

The parish of Eversley was in Kingsley's day, as it is today, a scattered one, containing three hamlets and consisting mainly of common land interspersed with fir trees. The people were rural labourers, but poachers by instinct and heritage, ² the descendants of many generations of deer stealers ³ and smugglers. ⁴ When Kingsley entered on his duties he found a greatly neglected parish, the vicar perfunctory in the performance of his duties, the public houses full, and the Church empty on Sundays; and the Church itself shabby and ugly inside. Kingsley immediately began to introduce as much improvement as his position allowed. He taught every day in the school for as long as he could stand the heat and the smell, ⁵ and these must have been considerable in a school room ten feet square and seven feet high. Quite soon he knew everyone intimately, largely because of his assiduous visiting, which in those days was almost a novelty. His delight in physical activity won him acceptance with the men, and this, combined with his knowledge of country ways, soon gave him great personal influence. Benson, in his reminiscences of him, recalled Kingsley's striding across the ploughed field to ask a young ploughman in the distance why he had /

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 179 f.
². Ibid. i; 73.
³. Ibid. i; 74.
⁴. Stubbs; Charles Kingsley; 49.
⁵. Letters and Memories; i; 76.
had not been at church on Sunday, his unremitting visits to the sick and helpless, the great respectfulness of his tone to the old, and the gipsies who had informed him that they looked on Eversley as their parish church. By any standards, Kingsley was a model minister.

Harrison, a former curate, has described the Eversley Sunday during Kingsley's rectorship as being marked by an absence of all artificial solemnity of manner and of unnatural restraints of speech and conduct. Kingsley's perfectly natural and reverent behaviour was the same on all the other days of the week. He was no "sabbatarian" and believed that Sunday diversions which he encouraged would be beneficial both socially and physically.

Kingsley had determined to get married as soon as he could get a suitable appointment, and was away considering a curacy at Pimperne, when the living of Eversley fell vacant and, in response to a general desire, he was presented to it. Before his marriage, which took place in 1844, he and Miss Grenfell, in discussing their future life together, decided on a treatment of the household servants which reflects in Kingsley the real understanding of the value of individual personality which is reflected in his social activities later. They were to be treated not as traders who sold a certain amount of work for a certain sum of money, but as persons who had a distinct claim on his affections. When Kingsley became rector the rectory had /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 158.
2. Ibid. ii; 282 f.
3. Ibid. i; 109.
had not been repaired for more than a hundred years, and expensive drainage works to clear the surplus rain water which made the house damp and unwholesome helped to keep Kingsley short of money for years.¹

Kingsley, now in full charge of the parish, soon made many improvements, in all of which his social interests were both fed and expressed. He established clubs for the poor—coal club, a shoes club, a maternal society, a loan fund, and a lending library. A youth was sent at his expense to Winchester Teachers' Training College with a view to subsequent work in the parish school. An adult school was held in the rectory three nights a week in winter, a Sunday school met there on Sunday morning and afternoon, and weekly cottage lectures were established in the outlying districts for the old and feeble. It took Kingsley much labour to "redeem the parish from barbarism" for when he arrived none of the adult labourers could read, a cracked kitchen basin inside the font held the water for baptism, a broken chair covered with a moth-eaten cloth stood at the altar, and Communion was held only three times a year, the vestry deciding that if he wanted it oftener he must pay for the elements himself.²

The sense of moral responsibility which he felt for his people caused him, though fond of shooting and hunting, to allow himself fishing as his only recreation. The shooting he denied himself because of the association with it of his people's poaching /

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 122 f.
². Ibid. i; 123.
poaching habits. Likewise he refused the office of magistrate so that he would not have to sit in judgment on unfortunate parishioners. In his work he set new standards in the preparation of communicants: and if, as his Bishop claimed, his preaching was too colloquial, this was rather a virtue than a defect in Eversley.¹

Just prior to the Chartist crisis of 1848, Kingsley was feeling the contemporary social unrest, and in a deep pessimism wrote of the country as being in danger of internal decay, and without much spiritual faith. Anglo-Catholicism, he thought, was as impotent as Evangelicalism to meet the social needs of the times, for the real struggle lay deeper than was understood by either of them. It would be between Atheism and Christ. He proposed the remedy which was very shortly to be tried by the Christian Socialists that democracy, the new element in Church and State, should be Christianised. He could not then have realised how soon he would find the opportunity, with Maurice, Ludlow, and Mansfield, to put it to the test, but the maturity of his plans was evident in the programme he sketched for a reforming periodical which he would like to see commenced by a body of progressive and liberal minded "Arnoldite" young men, to demonstrate that the contemporary social progress was of God and had potential elements that the clergy ought to take up.²

Though this particular plan came to nothing, most of it was to find fruition in the writings of "Parson Lot".

So /

¹ Letters and Memories; i; 124 f.
² Ibid. i; 142 f.
So much activity engaged Kingsley in 1848 that towards the end of it he broke down in health. When the news of the Chartist demonstration proposed for April 10th reached Eversley, he went to London to see what was going on, and that same evening the Christian Socialist group took its initial action with the issue of Kingsley's placard. The social concern he was feeling found expression in his sermons when back in his parish, and at the same time he finished "Yeast" and had it published. He accepted the Professorship of English Literature and Composition at Queen's College for Women, London, going up from Eversley once a week to lecture, and remaining in constant communication with Maurice and the other members of the Christian Socialist group.

The next two years gave him no respite, so that he twice suffered a breakdown in health. The extra work for the Christian Socialist group had forced him to resign his Queen's College Professorship. A parish fever epidemic and the cholera visitation in England focussed his energies on the cause of public health. The three "cholera sermons" - famous in their day - and the relevant passages in "Alton Locke" were amongst the result. In addition, he was spending as much time as possible at his writing.

A good deal of unrest was caused by the failure of the Chartist movement and by the economic depression which was just finishing. Roaming bands of armed marauders, and their murder of

1. Kingsley; Alton Locke; 379-80.
of the rector of Frimley nearby, were evidence of its depth. All classes were feeling the economic pressure, and Kingsley, though he needed the money, earned the lasting gratitude of his people by refunding them ten per cent. of their tithes. He also resigned the clerkship in holy orders of his father's church, which he felt he could no longer hold as a sinecure.

Kingsley's parish all his life was always at the centre of his mind, and all his other interests were subsidiary to it. Parish work increasingly claimed his time and he was not able to give as much of it as he would have liked to the later projects of the Christian Socialist group. This fact was interpreted by some to mean that he was losing interest in social reforming work, but this was never the case - not even when he finally relinquished all official connection with the movement on the dissolution of the original Council of Promoters. When that stage came, his zeal was merely turned in the different directions of public health - or "sanitary science" as he termed it - educational reform, and, to a limited extent, of women's suffrage. He felt then that the tide in favour of general social improvement had turned,¹ and that his energies were no longer needed in their former application. That his interest in cooperative work remained after 1854 is evident from the fact that he was on the Committee of the first Co-operative Conference (representing both distributive and producing associations) in 1869;² and that he was still ready to act in the interests of social

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¹. Letters and Memories; i; 307: Kingsley, Yeast, v.
². Wagner: Church of England and Social Reform after 1854; 122.
social justice is shown by his concern in 1861 over the revelations of the Report of the Commission on the Employment of Children.¹

Kingsley's association with the Christian Socialists and the strong tone of such social reforming propaganda as "Yeast" and "Alton Locke" had brought him under much unfavourable criticism in some quarters,² and 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, when the incident in St. John's District Church, St. Pancras, occurred,³ is described by Hughes as being that in which both Maurice and Kingsley experienced against themselves the "high water mark of the outbreak of fanaticism and pedantry, religious and aesthetic" as "the allies of the dangerous fanatics who were turning the Continent upside down".⁴ This was brought to a head by the dismissal of Maurice from the chair of theology at King's College, London, in 1854, over the publication of his "Theological Essays" where, it was alleged, that his final essay on the nature of everlasting punishment was unsound.

Jelf, the Principal, had been uneasy over Maurice's Christian Socialism which brought him into association with a "reckless and dangerous writer" like Kingsley,⁵ who was accustomed to contribute to the socialistic and communistic "Leader" - a journal for which Kingsley had, in any case, no sympathy.⁶ Jelf was a typical "via media" man,⁷ and his subsequent actions, and the injustice of the proceedings resulting /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 132.
2. Ibid. i; 246.
3. v. Ch.3 infra.
5. Life of Maurice; ii; 80 f.
7. Life of Maurice; i; 363.
resulting in Maurice's dismissal, brought Maurice expressions of confidence from all sound quarters.\(^1\) In Kingsley's case the final deliverance from popular notoriety was to come a little later, with his appointment in 1859 as a Court Chaplain, and in 1861 as a private tutor to the Prince of Wales.

Kingsley's literary activity was due as much to economic need as anything.\(^2\) As he tried never to let it interfere with his parish work, he often wrote late at night or early in the morning with consequent nervous exhaustion.\(^3\) "Yeast", "Alton Locke", "Hypatia", "Westward Ho!" and "Two Years Ago", all appeared before 1858. In 1865 he spoke of "the long debauchery of fiction writing"\(^4\) and produced his last novel "Hereward the Wake" the following year. By then several volumes of sermons had appeared, and a steady flow of them was maintained until his death in 1875. The production of miscellaneous articles on such subjects as natural, social, and sanitary science was unremitting, and was interspersed with poems, such as "Madam How and Lady Why" (1870), and with various studies like "The Hermits" (1868). Considering the extent of his public activities and his close attention to his parish work, Kingsley's literary production is very considerable indeed.

His home life was particularly happy, and largely took its character from his own ideas of child psychology. Corporal punishment was never allowed for his children on account of the fear and consequent lying to escape it which would follow.\(^5\)

Family /

1. Hughes; op. cit.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 233.
3. Ibid. i; 184.
4. Ibid. ii; 216.
5. Ibid. ii; 4.
Family prayers were held in the morning and evening; and there was no code of small rules to burden the children, but rather, as a guide, the sense of what was right and wrong, which Kingsley conveyed by his own unvarying conduct. His wife records that he displayed no moody behaviour to his family, but always appeared bright and cheerful no matter what depression may have burdened him when alone. "I wonder", he would say, "if there is so much laughing in any other house in England as in ours." Martineau, who lived at the rectory as Kingsley's pupil, found him at first "rather grave" and not given to laughter. This contradiction is perhaps an evidence of Mrs. Kingsley's tendency to idealise her late husband, and to omit from the account of his life, or to touch very lightly upon, the more unpleasant public episodes (e.g. the controversy about Eyre), but it need not detract from the general impression that Kingsley in his home life was as good a father as it was possible to be.

Kingsley's theological opponent, Rigg, an evangelical Methodist, to whom, but for his own forbearance and understanding Kingsley could well have become inimical, became his warm friend, and though Rigg's estimate of Kingsley's theology remained the same, he defended Kingsley in the Newman controversy with an article in the "London Quarterly", and wrote of him after his death that "he was always the same, a model of Christian chivalry—devout, truthful, tender, brave, a God-fearing, a Christ-loving, perfectly humane, whole reality of a man." Though tempered by

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 5.
2. Violet Martineau; John Martineau; 5.
3. v. Ch.5 infra.
4. v. Ch.4 infra.
5. Life of J.H. Rigg; 119.
the discipline of his public interests and by his own continual self-control, Kingsley's restless, excitable, and impetuous nature would sometimes reveal itself in situations that he felt called for direct action. On one occasion the warning that a heath fire had broken out was given during a service. Kingsley immediately rushed out of the church and, leaping the fence still clad in surplice, stole, and hood, helped to put it out. The diphtheria epidemic of 1858 saw him with great bottles of gargle under his arm, treating all in the parish; and on another occasion the foetid air of a cottage sick room, where all the windows were sealed, caused him to bore some air-holes, with an augur above the head of the astonished patient.

Kingsley was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge in 1860, an office which he held until overwork and some public criticism of his lectures caused him to resign in 1869. His view of history as "the history of men and women and of nothing else" was expressed in his inaugural lecture on "The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History". As a professor he proved to be a very popular lecturer whose classes were always crowded. His principle of teaching, he declared, was not so much to teach history as to teach his students to teach history to themselves.

His scientific work was recognised in 1857 by his election as a Fellow of the Linnaean Society, and in 1863 as a Fellow of the Geological Society. As already mentioned, the honour of D.C.L. /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 316.
2. Ibid; ii; 47.
D.C.L. of Oxford did not eventuate, and though Kingsley would dearly have esteemed it, he held no rancour over its non-reception. "Pray take what God does not send as not good for us" he said in regard to it, "and trust Him to send us what is good." ¹

Parish work, his Oxford lectures, the controversy with Newman in 1864,² the continued study of natural science, and a health trip in France and Spain with Boude, made the years from 1860 to 1869 one of the busiest decades of his life. On the resignation of his professorship in the latter year, he was offered a canonry at Chester.

Kingsley accepted the Chester canonry, and before entering on its duties, took his long anticipated voyage to the West Indies, an account of which is contained in "At Last". In Chester, where he resided for three months a year, though still keeping in touch with his parish, he formed the Chester Natural Science Society, with Sir Charles Lyell as an honorary member.³ His concerned for social justice flashed out in a widely noticed sermon on "Human Soot" where he pleaded for the care of child life in industry. He took occasion, on the opening of the Chester race week which customarily turned the city into a pandemonium, to express his views on gambling, the habit he "hated most", in an open letter to the young men of the city.⁴ He became greatly attached to the Cathedral, habitually spending time in reading and prayer in the chapter house before the 8 a.m. daily services, which were his great refreshment. So busily was he

¹. Letters and Memories; ii; 180.
². v. Ch. 4 infra.
³. Letters and Memories; ii; 350.
⁴. Ibid. ii; 360.
he occupied with all his activities that his friends wondered how long he could go on. ¹

In 1873 an ambition was realised when he became a Canon of Westminster, ² bringing to the chapter, says Stanley, a sense of triumph that so famous a name was enrolled; ³ but he was fast burning out his energies and did not live long to enjoy it. He took a health trip to America where he was splendidly received by all, from the President down, but near the end of his stay there, he caught a severe cold which his brother, then a doctor in Denver, diagnosed as pleurisy. Recovering sufficiently, he returned to England and resumed duty at Eversley and Westminster. On November 29th, 1874, he preached what was to be his last sermon in the Abbey, for a day or two later he caught another cold which brought about his death on January 23rd, 1875. Though the Abbey was offered, he was buried, as at his own previous request, in Eversley churchyard. The many tributes sent to his wife included one from Queen Victoria herself.

¹ Letters and Memories; ii; 379.
² Ibid. ii; 415.
³ Ibid. ii; 418.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALISTS AND CHARLES KINGSLEY

Forerunners of the Movement

The ideological forerunners of the Christian Socialist movement are to be found in Southey, Coleridge, and Carlyle.

Southey had, like Coleridge, been influenced by Godwin's "Enquiry concerning Political Justice". Godwin's purpose had been to prove that man could achieve a perfect society if only he would focus his will on the question. "Opinion" was at the root, and if opinion could be changed by "reason" the object would be achieved. Godwin advocated the abolition of law, which would then cause men to enquire after equity. The establishment of equity would bring about a just distribution of property on the basis of the needs of each.

In 1829 Southey published his "Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society" wherein he expressed his belief in the value of co-operative methods of economic reform, and showed his belief in the moral and spiritual aspects of the social problem as against the views of the Utilitarians and laissez-faire.

Coleridge had proposed his pantisocracy to Godwin in 1794 and had developed a concern for social justice. In his "Lay Sermons" he contrasted the pauperism of the peasantry with the wealth of the farmer, and that of the urban labourer with the profits of the manufacturer. His remedy was a moral one. "Let /

2. Ibid. i; 121.
"Let us become a better people" he said, "and the reform of all public grievances will follow of itself." This utterance has been called "the first voice of Christian Socialism".¹

Both Southey and Coleridge prepared the way for Carlyle and Maurice, but Maurice's greatest debt was to Coleridge.²

Though Maurice and his group were not in sympathy with Owenism, and though Owen could not be called a "forerunner" in the strict sense, his work, as has been noted in Chapter One, by giving the idea of association to the people of his day, and by preparing the ground for Chartism, and thus for Christian Socialism, may be said to have contributed indirectly to the origin and work of the movement.

If the Chartist crisis of April 10th, 1848, precipitated the Christian Socialist school, the figure of Carlyle was not far away. Though Maurice felt that Carlyle was out of sympathy with the Church, he acknowledged that Carlyle would be better able than most to make them feel their need of one.³ Maurice praised Carlyle's work in the "French Revolution", where Carlyle had pointed out that only a constitution based upon a divine order could satisfy. Carlyle influenced Maurice by his work on Chartism, and by his hatred of commercialism, and also exercised a strongly formative influence on Kingsley.⁴

Founders of Christian Socialism

In 1846 Maurice was Professor of English Literature and History at King's College, and Chaplain of Lincolns Inn. In this /

¹ Beer; op.cit.; i; 137.
² cf. Maurice; "Dedication" in The Kingdom of Christ.
³ Life of Maurice; i; 273.
⁴ v. Ch.2 infra.
this year he met J.M.F. Ludlow, a man of strong democratic
leanings, who after an early education in France, came to
London in 1838, where he threw himself into reform movements
under the impulse of a religious conviction. Called to the
bar in 1843, he became horrified by the condition of the poor
in the neighbourhood of Lincoln's Inn, and called on Maurice in
1846 to see if some social work could be started among them.
At this time Maurice was suffering from bereavement, and nothing
came of the interview. Ludlow found him "a good man, but very
impractical." 1 "It was Ludlow who, as the founder of the .......
Christian Socialist Movement, by his knowledge of Continental
democracy, his legal training, and his long lifetime of social
service, created an alliance between the champions of popular
emancipation and the prophets of the Christian gospel." 2

In March, 1846, Ludlow wrote from Paris to Maurice
describing the grip that Blanc's socialism had on the workers,
and that unless understood by Christians it would shake their
faith to its foundations. 3 This letter was to become the
starting point of Christian Socialism. 4 Its immediate result
was to strengthen Ludlow's intimacy with Maurice, a partnership
that was to count for a great deal in the ensuing work, for
Ludlow had all the practical qualities that Maurice lacked,
while Maurice had an outstanding spirituality and spiritual
insight that made him the chosen leader of the movement. Ludlow
was essentially of the school of Maurice and Kingsley in religious
outlook /

1. Life of Maurice; 1; 430.
2. Raven; Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century
   (ed. Martin); 149-50.
3. Life of Maurice; 1; 458.
4. Raven: Christian Socialism; 1848-54; 72.
outlook, and for him, as for them, religion had to cover the whole field of experience and conduct.

Maurice had been ordained after revolting against the Unitarian and Calvinistic influences of his youth. At one stage he might have been a Tractarian, but as against this his profound appreciation of the implications of the Incarnation and the social mission of the Church convinced him that they conceived their task too narrowly.

In 1838 Maurice had published his "Kingdom of Christ". He regarded himself as essentially a theologian, and this conditioned his whole approach to the social problem. His type of socialism is seen in his letter to Ludlow in 1852: "My task ..... is to show that society is not to be made anew by arrangements of ours, but is to be regenerated by finding the law and ground of its order and harmony, the only secret of its existence, in God."2 He was averse to all attempts to change the existing order, which characterise most branches of pure socialism.3 By "Christian Socialism" he meant the substitution of co-operation for competition in the industrial order, and the subjugation of self-will and selfishness in the sphere of individual morality: The "Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels was to be published only four months before Kingsley's first placard to the "Workmen of England", and although the two movements were thus to develop at the same time, there is no mention of the Marxist school in Christian Socialism. It would have.

1. Tulloch; Movements of Religious Thought, 271; Life of Maurice; i; 119.
2. Ibid. ii; 137.
3. Ibid. ii; 42-45.
have, as already noted, seemed the antithesis of sound social reform to Maurice.

Politically Maurice disagreed somewhat with Ludlow. He thought that democracy was "the devil's voice and not God's" and expressed himself as having a horror of it which was "a horror in the interests of the people." He held that there must be some visible principle of authority, which would best be obtained by Church, monarchy and aristocracy acting in the interests of constitutional government. As we have seen, this was also Kingsley's view.

Kingsley had admired Maurice since his student days, and had corresponded with him since 1844. Theologically, his outlook was similar to Maurice's, though he had arrived at it by a different path. They soon became lifelong friends, and Kingsley liked to speak of and address Maurice, his senior in years, and superior in intellectual ability, as "Master". In the early phase of the movements, Kingsley's aggressive activity on behalf of the group soon gave him the active lead.

With Kingsley the fourth and last of the original members came into the group. This was C.B. Mansfield whom Kingsley had known at Cambridge. In Kingsley's account of him he says that Mansfield suffered considerably as a schoolboy at Winchester, an experience which gave him in after life "a stern horror of injustice". Kingsley was attracted to him by his intellect, his athletic ability, his interest in natural science, and by his moral earnestness. The Christian Socialist appears in his concern /

1. Life of Maurice; ii; 497.
2. Raven; op. cit.; 101.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 441-4.
concern for justice, which was grounded on what Kingsley calls his central idea: "that Right was right, and wrong wrong; that Right must conquer; that there was a Kingdom of God eternal in the heavens, an ideal righteous polity, to which the world .... some day would be conformed." Mansfield died tragically in 1855.

First Phase of the Movement

Kingsley had heard at Eversley that the National Petition was to be taken by the Chartist supporters to Parliament after a mass demonstration on Kennington Common, and came up to London on the morning of the day appointed, 10th April, 1848. With Parker, he called on Maurice, who gave him an introduction to Ludlow, and in the afternoon he and Ludlow set off for the Common. Hearing the news of the fiasco, they returned with the news to Maurice and discussed the situation. That night they decided to act, and their plan consisted first of all in preparing some public placards. Kingsley wrote to his wife that he was up till 4 a.m. the following morning doing this work under Maurice's auspices. He stated also the other preliminary plans on which the little group had decided, - meetings for prayer and study, and the issue of a new set of "Tracts for the Times" on the lines of the Oxford Movement Tracts, to be "addressed to the higher orders."

This first placard was headed "Workmen of England" and told the workmen that they had friends in unexpected places who loved /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 155 f.
loved them because of their mutual brotherhood, and because of their fear of God. Then the Charter was indicated as being "not bad; if the men who use it are not bad." By itself, unaccompanied by moral and spiritual reform, the Charter could not guarantee the freedom for which its supporters hoped. It was "the first manifesto of the Church of England, her first public act of atonement for half a century of apostasy, of class prejudice, and political sycophancy."\(^1\)

On the evening of the 12th April, Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, Mansfield, Scott, and Parker, met and decided to start a new periodical to take the place of the defunct "Saturday Magazine", with Maurice and Ludlow as editors. The next day Kingsley returned to Eversley much exhausted, and spent the succeeding weeks in his parish writing for the new journal, discussing its projects, and engaging in his parish work.

The journal, which began to appear weekly as from 6th May, 1848, was called "Politics for the People", and was published by Parker snr. at one penny per issue. Each weekly part consisted of sixteen pages 8 vo. with two columns per page. A supplementary issue was published every month to include matter too lengthy for the weekly issues. The journal had a short life: only thirteen weekly numbers and four supplements appeared before the last issue was announced for July 29th, 1848, and an intimation made that the cause was lack of funds.\(^2\) With the issue of this journal the movement was fairly launched.

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1. Raven; op. cit.; 107 f.
2. Politics for the People; 1/7/1848; 177.
The first number commenced with a "prospectus", which stated that it was proposed to consider such leading questions of the day as suffrage extension, the relation of the capitalist to the labourer, what a government can or cannot do to find work or pay for the poor. The approach, in accordance with the principles of the group, was to be made along the line of religion because "the world is governed by God: this is the rich man's warning and the poor man's comfort: this is the real hope in the consideration of all questions."

The tone and approach of the journal is indicated by other articles in the first issue. Maurice's article on "Fraternity" said that true fraternity was Christian fraternity, "centred in Father and Elder Brother". An article on "Chapters in Recent History" on the reign of Louis Philippe of France claimed that France's need lay not in a change of rulers, but in moral regeneration. There was also an article on "Sanitary Reform".

The pseudonym of "Parson Lot" which Kingsley employed for his contributions had its origin at one of the meetings of Maurice at Lincolns Inn, where he found himself in a minority of one, and remarked jokingly that he felt much as Lot must have felt in the Cities of the Plain, when he seemed to his sons-in-law as one that mocked. He used the name from 1848 to 1856.

Parson Lot's contributions to "Politics for the People" consisted of the series of "Letters to Chartists", a series on

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2. Hughes' Preface to Alton Locke, x.
the "National Gallery" and "British Museum", "Letters to Landlords", and some verse and odd miscellany. The "Letters to Chartists" appeared in the second, fourth, and eighth issues, and were the utterances that really brought him notoriety.

In the first letter Kingsley said that he did not laugh at the National Petition. Even if it was wrong, its supporters still had a right to fair play. Proceeding to call himself "a radical reformer", he said that his only quarrel with the Charter was that it did "not go far enough in reform". He wanted to see them free, but (reverting to the principle of Christian Social reform) their mistake was that of mistaking legislative for social reform; "if any one will tell me of a country where a Charter made the rogues honest or the idle industrious, I shall alter my opinion of the Charter, but not till then." In the letter he complained of having seen Chartist literature for sale in a shop that sold literature of an immoral type, and also that the Chartist publications carried unsavoury advertisements. A final homily in the letter pointed a moral on "God's reform and the Devil's reform", that was to say "reform of ourselves" as compared with the "very easy" "reform of others".¹

In the second letter Kingsley discussed the Bible as the "true Reformer's Guide". He apologised if his readers must sneer at it, and accepted much of the blame himself because parsons had used the Bible as "a mere book to keep the poor in order ..... an opium dose for keeping beasts of burden patient while they were being overloaded." They had insisted that the Bible

¹ Politics for the People; 13/5/1848, 28 ff.
Bible preached "the rights of property and the duties of labour" when the truth was rather that it preached "the duties of property and the rights of labour". Many texts had been found for rebuking the sins of the poor, but very few for rebuking the sins of the rich.¹

In the third letter Kingsley attempted to show why the Bible should be used as a "Radical Reformer's Guide" by illustrating from it the answers to typical working class slogans. "In the Bible is the very social programme you want - it is God's too". The text "he that will not work neither shall he eat" was meant for the idle rich as well as for the idle poor. It was true that "the poor has his rights as well as the rich", for the Bible bore it out: "Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the poor". Regarding the slogan "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work" the Bible said that every man shall be judged according to his works.²

Parson Lot's first article on "The National Gallery" urged on his readers the importance of cultivating a taste for the beautiful, as a way to the true knowledge of God.³ In the second article he described individual pictures in the gallery as a guide to those who might visit it.⁴ The article of the same nature on "The British Museum" described it as "a truly equalizing place, in the deepest and most spiritual sense", and therefore pleaded for the opening of private galleries and collections to all, with the voluntary help of men of artistic and

2. Ibid. 17/6/1848; 136 f.
3. Ibid. 6/5/1848; 5.
4. Ibid. 20/5/1848; 38 ff.
and scientific knowledge for instruction in appreciation. This would help brotherhood, and counteract bad moral influences like the gin shop.¹

In the "Letters to Landlords"² Parson Lot was writing from his own experience of the game laws, whose existence he defended as a consequence of the private ownership of land: but on account of the poaching evils associated with their too stringent application, he urged landlords to petition for the abolition of all laws which put game on a different footing to other property.

Kingsley, as has been mentioned, suffered much unjust criticism from those who disliked the activities of the group, and who thought uncritically of him as a dangerous revolutionary. Hughes mentions the example of the "Times" obituary notice of January 25th 1875 on Kingsley's death, which even at that distance of time spoke of Kingsley as having been the "Parson Lot" of earlier days who had declared that the Charter "did not go nearly far enough",³ whereas in his first letter to Chartists he had said that the Charter "did not go far enough in reform". The omission of the last two words altered the whole sense of the statement, but it expressed the general attitude which prevailed towards Kingsley at the time.

It is interesting to note that Kingsley's complaint about the Bible being used as "an opium dose" for the people, in the second letter to Chartists, anticipated in almost the same form the later Marxian declaration "religion is the opium of the people."

Kingsley /

¹ Politics for the People; 1/7/1848; 183 ff.
² Ibid. 22/7/47; 228 ff.
³ Letters and Memories; i; 159.
Kingsley shortly added to the notoriety which he was receiving as "Parson Lot" by directly proclaiming strongly Chartist sympathies. In the summer of 1848 at a meeting in the Cranbourn Tavern under the presidency of Maurice, which had been arranged to give leading Chartists an opportunity for justifying their claims, a bitter attack against the clergy developed in some of the speeches, and to save the meeting Kingsley rose and said, "I am a Church of England parson, and a Chartist". ¹ He went on to qualify the statement by urging that true reform was moral reform, a qualification which showed that he was committing himself probably only to the six points of the Charter, and not to Chartist polity itself. Nevertheless the declaration strengthened the general opinion that Kingsley was "dangerous" in the minds of people like the Principal of King's College, London, in whom the feeling was brought to a head over the incident of Kingsley's sermon to labouring men at St. John's District Church in 1851, when he warned Maurice not to continue his association with Kingsley. ² The statement was in line with Kingsley's general outspokenness, about which Maurice had gently reproved him from time to time ³, and with the estimate of Hughes who wrote later that Kingsley was "born a fighting man, and believed in bold attack." ⁴

The incident at St. John's Church left no doubt as to the extent to which Kingsley's notoriety had grown in the three years since 1848. To mark the 1851 Exhibition, some of the clergy

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¹. Letters and Memories; i; 166.
². Life of Maurice; ii; 79.
³. Ibid; ii; 31, 109.
⁴. Letters and Memories; i; 167.
clergy had arranged to have courses of sermons specially addressed to working men. Kingsley was invited to preach by Drew, the rector of St. John's, and took as his subject "The Message of the Church to the Labouring Man", declaring in it that the business of a Christian clergyman in a Christian nation was to preach freedom, equality, and brotherhood in the truest and fullest sense, namely, in the sense which attached to men's status as children of God. Even in these days there could have been nothing extreme in the sermon. The large congregation heard him with profound attention, and just as he was about to give the blessing, Drew rose in his seat and said that he believed much of what Kingsley had said to be dangerous and untrue. The incident won a great deal of sympathy for Kingsley in many quarters, and even in the end from the Bishop of London who had at first supported his rector. Commendatory letters appeared in the "Christian Socialist"; but a few of his critics, including the ultra-orthodox like Jelf, held the incident against him.

"Politics for the People" marked the first stage in the movement. Though it had sprung from the original band of four or five, others became associated with it through contributing, and in many cases joined the movement. Stubbs gives a list of these as noted by Joseph Parker: Archbishop Whately, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dean Stanley, Conington, Guy, Spedding, Daniel Macmillan, Sydney Godolphin Osborne, Strachey, and Helps. The journal had the primary result of cementing the central group, and this effect was probably /

1. Letters and Memories: 1: 288 ff. 4. Raven; op. cit. 121.
3. Hughes: Marriott's Lecture on Kingsley (1892).
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probably more important to it than any it had on public opinion, for its failure proved that it had not appealed to those for whom it was intended.

The group gradually increased through the inclusion of personal friends. Some of these were Furnivall, a young man at the time reading law, who was very active with writings in defence of the Christian Socialists, but who turned out unsatisfactory later; Campbell, a cousin of Mansfield; Walsh, a doctor who helped with public health reform; D. and A. Macmillan, the publishers; Viscount Goderich; Parker the publisher; and Ellison, a representative of the Young England party.

On the cessation of "Politics" the group commenced some reform work for the people of Little Ormond Yard, an unsavoury locality near Maurice's house. They started a night school for the men of the place, which before long included the youths and women. Thomas Hughes joined the group at this point. His potentiality was not taken seriously on account of his athletic reputation, which was held to mark him as devoid of intellectual interest, but he soon proved his worth by his interest in public health reform and association. Kingsley struck up a lifelong friendship with him founded on his evident admiration of Hughes' type as the ideal "muscular Christian".

During this period the group met for weekly Bible readings and discussion at Maurice's house. That the meetings had

2. Stubbs; op.cit.; 107 f.
3. Raven; op.cit. 121 ff.
3. Ibid. 131.
profound value for the members is shown by the case of Maurice himself upon whose later writings they had much influence, giving him an increased insight into human nature. Ludlow's was a stimulating influence on this phase of activity. It is not likely that Kingsley could attend often as he had had a breakdown in health before the meetings began and was recuperating in Devon at the time. His parish was to keep him fully occupied during 1849, as was his writing, but as far as he was able, his pen and voice were at the disposal of the group.

Second Phase of the Movement

The next phase in the history of the group was about to begin. The first phase had enabled them to gain an idea of the issues before them, and they did not intend to rest. Ludlow followed up his Chartist and working class contacts, and with Walter Cooper - afterwards entrusted with responsibility which he did not faithfully discharge, but of whom Octavia Hill spoke as her great friend, - he and his colleagues of the group met together with leading Chartists for informal discussion once a week. It was at the first of these that Kingsley had declared himself a Chartist.

The meetings enlisted at least one valuable recruit to Christian Socialism - Lloyd Jones, who was acquainted with socialism other than that of Fourier, Leroux, Proudhon, and Blanc and the French school, which had hitherto, through Ludlow, been /

1. Life of Maurice; i; 494-5.
2. Ibid. i; 494.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 206.
4. E.S. Maurice; Octavia Hill; 26.
been the source of their knowledge of general socialism.¹

Jones, who had conducted a co-operative store in the north of England, and was versed in the pre-Marxian English socialists, had valuable experience to offer.

The minds of all had turned to the idea of co-operative associations of workmen for production as a remedy for the social problem, and Ludlow visited France in the summer of 1848-49 to study the Associations Ouvriers which arose out of Blanc’s co-operative "National Workshops" scheme. He believed that this scheme was admirably suited for the purposes of the group in England, and it was later decided to mould the plan of the Working Men’s Associations on it.

On September 25th, 1849, the articles of Mayhew in the "Morning Chronicle" gave an account of the appalling conditions under which the poor of Bermondsey were living. All the energies of the group were immediately diverted to public health reform. The disclosures coincided with an outbreak of cholera, and public opinion was alarmed. Kingsley’s account of Bermondsey to his wife, after seeing the district with Walsh and Mansfield, reflects the strong effect it had on his mind:

"Oh God! what I saw! people having no water to drink - hundreds of them - but the water of the common sewer which stagnated full of dead fish, cats and dogs, under their windows. At the time the cholera was raging, Walsh saw them throwing untold horrors into the ditch, and then dipping out the water and drinking it!"²

He presently wrote his article on the "Water Supply of London" and shortly set out the public health scene in graphic form in "Alton Locke".

1. Raven: op.cit.; 141.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 216.
About this time Kingsley became aware of the misery in the tailoring trade, where sweated labour was rife, and a few weeks later set out the case in his pamphlet "Cheap Clothes and Nasty", which focussed the group's attention on the tailoring trade, and made them anxious to see the principles of co-operative association applied to it. At first Maurice, because of his dislike of societies and leagues of any kind, opposed the idea, and it was only when he saw that the others, led by Ludlow, were determined on it, that he joined in. Later he became fully in accord with the idea.

Having accepted the principle of co-operative production, the members of the group constituted themselves a Society for the Promotion of Working Men's Associations and subscribed the necessary funds to set up a co-operative tailors' shop.

The Working Tailors' Association, as this was called, was formed early in 1850, Cooper being appointed manager at a fixed salary. Premises were found at 34 Castle Street, London, and a lease taken for three years. Twelve journeymen tailors formed the first group, the number doubling itself two months later. The workers were to be their own employers, and the profit was to be distributed according to the labour and skill of each member. Maurice hoped that a Needlewomen's Association would soon commence on the same principle, as in this trade conditions were even worse than in tailoring.

Maurice's original desire for a new series of Tracts for the

1. Life of Maurice; ii; 31.
2. Raven; op.cit.; 153.
the Times was now partially fulfilled by the commencement of the series of "Tracts on Christian Socialism" to meet the need felt for a new journal to replace "Politics for the People". It had been hoped to commence a new periodical instead, but it was not found to be practicable then. The Tracts, eight in number, appeared over a period of nine months from February 1850, and succeeded in giving some publicity to the proceedings of the group. Four of the Tracts were written by Maurice, two by Ludlow, one by Hughes, and one by Ludlow in co-operation with Sully. Kingsley did not contribute.

With the issue of the Tracts the group had deliberately identified itself with the unpopular word "Socialism", and had done so, as Maurice said, to commit them to the conflict which they must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the un-Christian Socialists.¹ (The name had been used earlier in another connection.)² Masterman comments that it was apparently adopted with a desire to offend the maximum number of people on both sides,³ but Maurice made it clear that the name was chosen so that there should be no misunderstanding as to the real purpose and nature of the group.⁴

The Tracts were unsuitable for the needs of the new associations, and on 2nd November, 1850, there appeared the first number of a new periodical "The Christian Socialist". Ludlow became editor, after Kingsley had declined owing to a breakdown in health, and pressure of other duties.⁵ It was printed /

1. Life of Maurice; ii; 35.
2. In 1839; Hudson: Christian Socialism explained and defended, etc. - an anti-Owenite publication.
4. Life of Maurice; ii; 35.
5. Letters and Memories; i; 241.
printed by the Working Printers' Association, and published weekly at one penny. The first volume was of quarto size, and the second was reduced to the 3vo. of "Politics for the People". As the "Christian Socialist" the periodical ran until the end of 1851, when it was continued under the name of "The Journal of Association" - which had been the sub-title of "The Christian Socialist" - until it ceased publication with the issue of June 28th, 1852.

The "Christian Socialist" included articles, poetry, correspondence, reports of addresses given to trade societies, and kindred matters. It also attacked the system of government contracting for army, police, and other uniforms, which fostered conditions of sweated labour. In addition, each issue included a separate Gazette of the Working Men's Association. Kingsley's contributions included verse, his tale "The Nun's Pool", the series on "Bible Politics", "My Political Creed", "The Frimley Murder", and "The Long Game".

"The Nun's Pool", originally rejected by Maurice from "Politics for the People" because of certain moral implications in the love scenes out of which critics might have made capital, has for its theme the romance of a yeoman, a Lutheran, who believes in marriage, with a nun, who questions her vows and decides that celibacy is against the Divine order. Kingsley includes in the course of his tale a criticism of those aristocracy whose estates date back to the dissolution of the monasteries, /

1. Kingsley: Alton Locke; 118. cf
monasteries, and who, by a neglect of moral responsibility for the community, are not justifying their tenure - a recurring theme with him. "Let them be to England now what the old monks were to England in the middle age - the pioneers of civilisation and agriculture ...... the champions of the poor, and of Him who died for the poor, and then we will forgive and forget."¹

The "Nun's Pool" appeared serially in seven of the issues of volume 2.

In the series on "Bible Politics" which appeared in eight of the issues, Kingsley attempted to demonstrate the falsehood of the belief that the Bible was the book which supported priest-craft, superstition, and tyranny. In "My Political Creed" he stated that he was a monarchist, a rule which was above all class interests. The French rule of the will of the people was atheistic in theory, and impossible in practice. He believed that there was no authority but God, and that the authorities that existed were ordained of God. In the "Thoughts on the Frimley Murder", he blamed the harvest indulgences of the hop picking. Wages were customarily squandered in debauchery, and the ensuing poverty drove men to crime. "The Long Game" dealt with the use of principles of association. He used the name of "Parson Lot" for the contributions on "The Frimley Murder", "Bible Politics", and "My Political Creed".

An editorial of Ludlow's discussed the idea of co-operation as applied to the lowest kinds of labour. It is significant as

¹. Christian Socialist; 47; 19/7/1851.
as showing the thorough reach of the group, and as evidence of the appalling straits to which some were reduced for their livelihood. The article notes the effect of the competitive system in degrading a class to the level of its employment in the case of the bone-grubbers and their kindred. They are "lonely and taciturn in their habits as well as filthy in their persons, their eyes always fixed on the ground where their foul treasures lie:" - "the crippled waterman and his wife reduced to collect dog's dung .... pinched more and more by the falling prices of the filth." These workers must be trained morally for self-government, and association could be introduced under a manager of more than average ability, and given more stringent powers.¹

Continuing as the "Journal of Association" the periodical confined itself more closely to matters directly concerned with industrial life, such as the progress of co-operative methods, the lock-out in the iron trade, and the Slaney Act. It became financially embarrassed after only fifteen weekly issues had appeared, and its projected cessation, announced on 5th April, 1852, was only staved off by Ludlow's help.²

Kingsley's contributions were not extensive. They consisted of a poem "Epicedium on the Death of this Journal", the fourth and fifth verses suggestive of Tennyson's "In Memoriam"; and "Parson Lot's Last Words"³ in which he counselled patience with regard to association, in the face of unsympathetic /

unsympathetic criticism. Before publication ceased Kingsley remonstrated with Fraser's Magazine for its article on "The State and Prospects of England", where the Christian Socialists were spoken of as being pure in their intentions but apparently sanctioning revolutionary and communistic doctrines. The explanations of the editor were apparently satisfactory, and Kingsley gave his views on the matter in the pamphlet "Who are the Friends of Order?".

Before the journal came to an end, the "Tracts on Christian Socialism" were continued as the "Tracts by Christian Socialists", commencing in May, 1851. Kingsley's, the second in the series, was a reprint of "Cheap Clothes and Nasty". The series ended when four tracts had appeared, owing to the demand by Maurice for the suppression of Coderich's tract on democracy and suffrage, wherein Maurice recognized a political view different to his own, and, as he held, to the principles of the group. A third series of "Tracts for Priests and People" was continued under Maurice's auspices in 1861-62, but they were almost entirely religious and theological.

Kingsley's two novels "Yeast" and "Alton Locke" remain as the most outstanding literary contributions to the movement from any of its members. "Yeast" properly belongs to the first phase of Christian Socialism, and as its title suggests, was written against the background of the political and social ferment of 1848. The polemic quality of the book outweighs its /

1. Raven; op. cit.; 164.
2. Ibid. 165.
its value as a novel. It was written under pressure, hurriedly, appearing as a serial in "Fraser's Magazine" in 1848, and in book form in 1851. In it Kingsley considers the Oxford Movement, the aesthetic renaissance, an ideal "Young England" tradition, where the best aristocrats are fully discharging their responsibilities to their tenants, and rural social reform. Of the latter, he had the intimate knowledge provided by Eversley.

He presents a graphic picture of the rural poor, describing their desperate poverty, long hours of work, harmful pleasures, and low moral condition, the latter occasioned by the field work of women and girls, and by the bad housing of the tenants.

"Our daughters with base-born babies
Have wandered away in their shame;
If your misses had slept, squire, where they did,
Your misses might do the same."

In "Yeast" Kingsley provided a concrete base for the exposition of many of the questions agitating the Christian Socialist group which they had made known in "Politics", and because of this, with the interest of the story, he succeeded didactically where "Politics" had failed.

Well received in serial form, the book was attacked on its appearance as a separate volume by the High Church organ "The Guardian", which accused its author of heresy and of inciting to profligacy, neglecting almost entirely the social aspect. Kingsley replied, but "The Guardian" reiterated its charges, and Kingsley's growing notoriety was established even further.

Kingsley /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 184.
2. Kingsley: Yeast; 150.
3. Letters and Memories; i; 224.
Kingsley followed up "Yeast" with a lecture before the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations on "The Application of Associative Principles to Agriculture", which was well received. He said that as the peasantry were poor, and the productivity of the land must be increased, the best method was the use of sewage. Regarding association, any group of labourers who could raise the money could rent a farm and start an association under a competent foreman.

"Alton Locke" followed in 1850, and here Kingsley considered the slop-system, the cause of the sweating in the tailoring trade, into which he had received insight during his exploration in Bermondsey in 1849. Where "Yeast" was received with interest, "Alton Locke" was received with concern, and proved itself an even more effective polemic. The "Edinburgh Review" criticised it in an article on "English Socialism and Communistic Associations" in which a defence of the competent judgment of orthodox political economists was made against Kingsley and the associations. The author, Greg, shrewdly indicated a stage which might be reached where associations were forced into competition among themselves. "Alton Locke" was also criticised by the "Quarterly" in September 1851, in an article by Croker on "Revolutionary Literature". Kingsley felt these criticisms, but made no reply.

"Alton Locke's" vivid descriptions of the sweating conditions in the tailoring trade included the foul cramped quarters /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 287.
quarters where the men lived and worked, the beggarly pay, the
appalling sanitary conditions - based on his Bermondsey
experiences - the undernourishment and deaths from starvation,
the prevalence of disease, and the pitiful state of sweated
labourers among needlewomen who were often driven to prostitution
to supplement their pittances. The book had a marked effect
on the social conscience of England, and Kingsley received
letters of appreciation for years afterwards.¹

On account of his distance from London and pressure of
parish work, Kingsley was never able to take much part in the
main activities of the group in its second phase. Some of
these activities have been mentioned, and an account of them is
now given. They were in the fields of industrial co-operation,
or association, legal reform, and education.

As already mentioned, the first experiment in association
was in the tailoring trade, where the Association of Working
Tailors was formed under the management of Walter Cooper, with
premises in Castle Street. This was soon followed by
associations for bakers, bootmakers, builders, pianoforte
makers, weavers, working smiths, printers and needlewomen.²

The work among women is significant as having brought Octavia
Hill into contact with Christian Socialist principles, through
the association of her mother with the "Ladies Guild" of 1852
where distressed gentlewomen had been formed into an association
for the work of painting on glass. Years later she

acknowledged /

¹. Letters and Memories; ii; 233.
². Raven; op.cit.; Ch.6.
acknowledged that her work in housing reform had owed its spirit to the Christian Socialist group. ¹

After the formation of the Working Tailors' Association, as the movement seemed about to increase, the need for a central board of control was suggested and carried through, and a constitution for the Society of Promoters was accordingly drawn up, though it was characteristically at first opposed by Maurice as seeming like a lapse into the trusting of machinery instead of in Christian brotherhood. The constitution finally adopted defined a "Society" as all those engaged in co-operative association whether as Promoters or Associates. The Society met regularly for business and for social purposes.²

The executive work of the Society was divided between the Council of Promoters - the original group with later additions of whom Maurice always remained president - and the Central Board, the Council to transact all business between the Society and the Associations, and the Associations and the public, the Central Board to represent the Associations and to be composed of the managers of all the Associations. Its duties were to regulate the relations of the Associations with each other and to see that the provisions of the Constitution were carried out by all. Each Association was controlled by its own Council of Administration acting in a consultative capacity, and the executive authority for the working of the individual association was in the hands of the manager.³

¹ C.E. Maurice; Life of Octavia Hill; 330.
² Raven; op.cit. 187.
³ Ibid. 188 f.
A period of probation on pay was fixed for the appointment of new associates. Following the Paris groups, it was laid down that payment to each associate would be on the scale of a fair remuneration for a day's work, varying according to skill and energy, and that the balance of the profit after meeting an amount for increase of capital and interest on loans, would be divided every six months on a basis of length of time worked. There was to be no Sunday work, and no "home" work. The scheme could not be legally enforced under the existing legislation, and this led partly to the activity in legal reform which will be mentioned later.

Several of the Associations did very well, but others like the Shoemakers lost heavily. An attempt was made by some of the stronger units to help with the burdens of the weaker, but on the financial side, lack of capital, and on the moral side, lack of character, finally wrecked producers' associations. Several of the managers, including Cooper, were too ignorant of book-keeping and business methods. The men themselves, who had had no real character test as a condition precedent of admission, too often quarrelled amongst themselves and did not place sufficient trust in their managers. Writing later, Kingsley admitted that the principle might well have succeeded with associations for distribution instead of for production.¹ There is every truth in this². Maurice and his group did not understand the conditions of modern industry well enough to foresee /

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 474.
foresee the inevitable difficulties on the technical side. They would, as producers, have had to meet increasingly the competition from machine produced products. Maurice's ideal was suited rather to the past than to the future; the rise of modern industry was divorcing employer from employed, and industry from the ownership of capital. In 1854 the Society of Promoters turned its duties over to the executive committee of the Working Men's Association, and gradually the associations one by one ceased to exist.

E.V. Neale, one of the greatest of the group, joined the movement with the opening of the first association, and shortly after his appearance on the Council of Promoters their work was by his influence extended in two separate directions. The first was an attempt to induce the Trade Unions to take up the principle of co-operative production, and the second was the work in the sphere of co-operative distribution, in which Neale was particularly prominent.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers was constituted in 1851 by a fusion of nearly all the engineering and iron-working trades. The Society consulted the Council of Promoters about investing in co-operative production, and had planned to acquire an iron works in Liverpool, but its scheme was killed by the lockout of 1852. Neale set up works on an associative basis in East London for members of the Amalgamated Society, but after flourishing at first they eventually failed, costing Neale, who was /

1. Raven; op. cit.; 226 ff.
was a wealthy man, a great deal of money.

The Christian Socialists felt the challenge of the 1852 lockout, and backed up the men whose case they were convinced was right. Kingsley was not in favour of any interference, however, because he considered that those not in the trade would have insufficient knowledge of the issues, and because he thought the workmen were not dealing effectively with their own side of the question. To show them how to associate would be the best help that the Christian Socialists could give.¹

Neale was responsible for turning the attention of the group to association for distribution as well as for production, a step which Maurice and Ludlow would not countenance, holding that it was an appeal to the commercial instincts and false to the moral principles of the movement. He founded the first London Co-operative Stores in October 1850, and then in 1851 closed the retail stores and established a Central Co-operative Agency, for the supply of goods on a wholesale basis to any co-operative retail stores that might want to deal with them. Co-operative distribution had commenced successfully at Rochdale in 1844, though it had not established itself in the south. Maurice and Ludlow had seemed hardly to be aware of the economic advantages of co-operative distribution as already established. Neale's main object was to organize and stimulate consumption by providing a central society through which the stores could obtain all their supplies on the best wholesale basis.

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 311-313
wholesale terms, and to supply a market for the products of the Associations. The movement's success brought the Christian Socialists much deserved recognition and goodwill. With the development of the movement the need for protective legislation could not be delayed.

At a meeting on July 26 and 27, 1852, of twenty-eight co-operative associations, both productive and distributive, it was decided to press for the necessary legislation, which was duly passed the same year as the "Industrial and Provident Societies' Act", popularly known as the "Slaney Act". Ludlow and Neale were chiefly responsible for pushing the subsequent negotiations to their successful conclusion. The security given by the Act gave a great stimulus to co-operative distribution; and the second general conference of Co-operators at Manchester in August, 1853, adopted three principles, noticed with pleasure in 1883 by the Queen and Prince of Wales as Maurice's work, that Maurice had originally laid down.

1. That human society is a body consisting of many members, not a collection of warring atoms.

2. That true workmen must be fellow workers and not rivals.

3. That a principle of justice, not of selfishness, must govern exchanges.

Neale retained a life-long connection with the movement and died in 1893.

Of the Slaney Act, Kingsley wrote in 1852 that it would do more to reconcile the workmen with the real aristocracy than any other

1. Life of Maurice; ii; 157.
2. Stubbs; op. cit.; 145.
any politician had done for twenty years.¹

At the meeting in July Kingsley had put forward a resolution designed to ensure that the co-operative stores sold only goods that were true to label and free from adulteration. Octavia Hill was present on this occasion.²

Beginning with the night school in 1848 in Little Ormond Yard, and continuing with the weekly working class meetings after April, 1849, the Working Men's College was founded in 1854 as the final achievement of Christian Socialism.

Maurice had lost his chair at King's College, and acceded to a request from many quarters that he should become the Principal of a Working Men's College. The College opened on 2nd November 1854 for its first term with an entry of 176 students - operatives and clerks. Others on the staff included Ludlow, Furnivall, Walsh, Hughes, and from outside the group, Ruskin, who taught until 1860, and in whose department the teaching was helped by Rossetti and the pre-Raphaelites Burne-Jones and Ford Madox Brown.³

Kingsley, though he was appointed to the original committee, found that he could give no time to the College, and wrote to Maurice commending the venture and expressing his regret at being unable to participate.⁴

Significance of the Movement

The real significance of the Christian Socialist movement is to be found not in their economics or politics, but in their moral

1. Letters and Memories; i; 313.
2. Brown; Charles Kingsley and Parson Lot; Ch.xvi.
3. Wagner; Church of England and Social Reform after 1854; 114.
4. Letters and Memories; i; 433.
moral courage in aligning themselves with terms like "Socialism" and "Association", at that time associated with hostility to religion and the established order, and thus signifying that the Church was about to recover its social theory and practice, slow though that recovery was to be. "The spiritual blindness which made possible the general acquiescence in the horrors of the early factory system was not a novelty, but the habit of a century."¹

It would be tempting to ascribe the whole awakening of the social conscience to the movement, but it is to the Chartist Movement that most of that credit must go. It is probable, however, that the Movement contributed something to a better understanding between the Church and the working classes by bringing the two into more intimate contact through the co-operative movement and the Working Men's College: and its spirit and intention were taken up later - too much later - by the Christian Social Union of 1890.

The real failure of the movement was not in the breakdown of its industrial experiments in production, but in the very limited effect of its immediate impact on the Church. The failure of the Church to apprehend its significance can be partly explained by hostility to Maurice's theology,² and partly by the public pre-occupation with the Crimean War; but as against this the Church itself, though good in private virtue was weak in public spirit, and its control was in the hands of a /

¹ Tawney; Religion and the Rise of Capitalism; 154. (Pelican edn.)
² Raven; op.cit. 370.
a class little conversant with the necessities of the new order. 1

After 1854 when the influence of the Christian Socialist group dispersed, that of Maurice went into all kinds of education and theological formulation for social thought; that of Neale and Ludlow into the Trades Union and Co-operative movements: that of Kingsley into the cause of education, suffrage, public health reform, and writing.

Significance of Kingsley as a Christian Socialist

As we have seen, there was much in his background that prepared Kingsley for his work in the movement. His force and fire fitted him ideally for the lead at the outset, and soon made him its popular hero. Though Maurice's remained the directing voice in the movement, Kingsley's qualities were the ones needed to present it to the public, while his abounding enthusiasm stimulated all its members. His was a prophet's voice, and he was a moral pioneer in every sense. His courage joined with his sincerity enabled him to look both capital and labour in the face in a day when the clergy were commonly afraid of both. Though he deprecated his youthful outspokenness later, it was what was needed for that generation.

His influence on others was great as inclining them to social reforming work, though it is difficult to dissociate his own influence in this sphere from that of the group. As we have seen, Octavia Hill was in the succession that followed Maurice and him. Stubbs speaks of the impulse to works of

1. Wagner; op.cit.; 61.
social service and civic reform which he and his contemporaries received at Cambridge, from Kingsley's chivalrous teaching and fine character.¹ The succession of Christian Social Reform which produced the Christian Social Union of 1890 with which Scott Holland is famous, merged later with the Industrial Christian Fellowship, was bridged by "The Guild of St. Matthew" formed by a little group of Anglican clergy in 1876 under the direct influence of Kingsley's teaching. His writings are valued even today as stating foundation social needs.

Like Maurice, Kingsley's aim had been to reconcile Christianity and Socialism, though he felt that his experiences had not given him much hope of its success. He felt that producers' associations had failed because by character the working men were not fit for them,² but nevertheless they had been attempts in the right direction. He felt that association for distribution would have succeeded better,³ from the economic viewpoint, and wrote to J. Nicholls in 1856 that this was what he was aiming at.⁴ For himself he did not mind the failure because he had received sufficient reward in the "priceless truths" about human and Divine nature that he had learned.⁵

¹. Stubbs; op. cit.; vii.
². Letters and Memories; ii; 35.
³. Ibid. i. 474.
⁴. Ibid.; op. cit.; iii. 474.
⁵. Letters and Memories; ii; 37-38.
CHAPTER FOUR

KINGSLEY'S RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

Influences on the shape of his theology

Kingsley could claim no outstanding original theology of his own, for as he himself admitted,¹ he owed most of it to Maurice. From the "Letters and Memories of his Life" we learn that Carlyle intellectually, and Coleridge theologically, had helped to form his views along a line that prepared him to find in Maurice's "Kingdom of Christ" the establishment of his faith.² It is evident that he had been proceeding towards the ground occupied by Maurice, though by a different route.

For Kingsley the route had been determined in part by reaction against evangelicalism and tractarianism, and in part by his own personality. His first acquaintance with evangelicalism was in the background of his own home, and that it was communicated to him as positive doctrine is reflected in the account of his "first sermon" - a juvenile performance which he produced at four years of age. The little sermon is full of the orthodox evangelical phraseology about the devil, hell, heaven, and God. "If we follow the devil", it declared, "we shall go into that everlasting fire, and if we follow God we shall go to heaven." and it ended with typical precepts: "religion is reading good books, doing good actions, and not telling lies and speaking evil."³ It was not Kingsley's home life /

¹. Letters and Memories; i; 84; 127; 375.
². Ibid. i; 84.
³. Ibid. i; 8f.
life that caused his later distaste for evangelicalism, for he felt in after life that though his father had been Low Church, he had become somehow the victim of a crippling tradition from which he could not disengage himself: and Kingsley himself saw enough of its negative side then to cause in him a "doctrinal and moral" revulsion. 1 Elsewhere he asserted that it presupposed a dualism in which he did not believe, and he also early became aware of its "utter impotence to meet our social evils". 2 Its social ineffectiveness was implicit within it, because the burden of evangelical preaching was that the devil and not Christ was the Lord of the world, that the purpose of individual living was simply to secure eternal salvation, that the soil belonged not to Christ, but to man, and that religion and politics had nothing to do with each other. 3

The reaction against tractarianism which helped to lead Kingsley to the ground which Maurice occupied was fundamentally similar to his reaction against evangelicalism, for he saw in it essentially the same pre-occupation with individual salvation from an evil world. In denouncing the ascetic ideas of the Tracts when they first appeared, he did so because he believed that anything that seemed to weaken the idea of marriage must inevitably weaken the Church by reacting unfavourably on family and national life. 4 To a man who could write of marriage as "the highest state, through and in which men can know most of God, and work most for God", 5 the

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1. Letters and Memories: ii; 108 f.
2. Ibid. i; 142.
3. Ibid. i; 254.
4. Ibid. i; 45.
5. Ibid. i; 190.
tractarian preference for clerical celibacy was intolerable. For Kingsley with his view that the whole creation was God's, the true Catholic asceticism consisted in renouncing for Christ's sake things that were in themselves good, such as the riding and hunting which he gave up in the interests of his parish after the manner enjoined in 1 Corinthians: 8; whereas the Tractarian position to him represented a standard of unnatural renunciation introduced as a consequence of an untrue dualism whereby many wholesome things were viewed as in themselves wrong and sinful. The tractarians also were too near to Rome for the liking of one of whom his friend wrote as being the most uncompromising opponent of Rome he had ever known.¹

It was obvious that the via media of Maurice was for Kingsley inevitable. His own temperament, active, poetic, sensitive, with its intense response to the world of nature and the world of humanity found both the evangelical and tractarian religion and piety altogether too limiting.²

Before this Carlyle's influence on his theology had established him in his standpoint of the ethical monotheism of the Hebrew prophets, and Coleridge had inclined him towards his Platonic theology - Kingsley would show his parish that "God is the great Idea."³ - giving him his emphasis on the search for Truth as the underlying reality beneath all the forms that could be grasped by the senses, as against any idea that truth was merely subjective.

Kingsley's /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 284.
2. Ibid. ii; 34.
3. Ibid. i; 110.
Kingsley's references to Paley, whose work he had studied for ordination, would lead to the expectation of finding him closer to Paley than he appears to be. Coleridge had already complained that Paley was "feeble, favouring mental indolence, and thus plausible and popular to the public," but Kingsley in 1856 wrote advising a friend to "stick stoutly by old Paley" because he was right at root. It is probable that Kingsley was too uncritical of a prescribed University textbook, the authority of which an undergraduate would naturally take for granted, and this is given weight by his later statement to Stanley: "Brought up like all Cambridge men of the last generation upon Paley's "Evidences", I had accepted as a matter of course, Paley's opinions as to the limits of Biblical criticism." It is evident, however, that in receiving the more satisfying metaphysic of Coleridge, Kingsley had outgrown Paley on many points: for both of them the religious life of man was always profounder than could be admitted by Paley's empiricism. It is evident that Paley's ideas on property did not influence him, for to "Pigeon"'s Paley the whole system of economic life under private property appeared unnatural, a situation depicted in his famous parable of the competitive pigeons attacking the weakest in the field.

Inconsistencies in Kingsley's theological statements are not hard to find, for he was not a profound enough thinker to avoid them, and was customarily given to inaccuracy about details. /
details.\(^1\) For example he spoke of "the Holy Spirit by which you were regenerate in holy baptism",\(^2\) when on another occasion he stated that he did not believe in baptismal regeneration. But despite such inconsistencies it is perfectly plain that Kingsley was neither High nor Low Church and that his system of belief was not confused by either.

**The Organism of Kingsley's Doctrine**

The fundamental principle in Kingsley's theology is his belief in the **nearness** of God. In many sermons he explicitly affirmed that God was near both in the world of nature and the world of humanity. He reminded the villagers at Eversley that the ploughman, even though illiterate, could "read of God as he follows the plough", for it was God's earth with His mark and seal set on it.\(^3\) The seasons revealed these marks, and the beauty which they showed was "God's handiwork, a wayside sacrament, a cup of blessing".\(^4\) The world was God's in the most intimate sense for Christ had died for the whole creation, "the sheep you eat, the million animalcules which the whale swallows at every gape",\(^5\) and God was perpetually at work in it. It was not a machine which God had wound up at the Creation and started off to go of itself.\(^6\) It was to redeem not only man, but the earth as well, that Christ had been made man and had used the earth; and God's creation included everything except sin. Christianity had been pure in the degree to which it acknowledged this truth, which for Kingsley called forth his interest /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 303.
2. Kingsley; National Sermons; 380.
4. Kingsley; True Words; 160.
5. Letters and Memories; i; 222.
6. Kingsley; True Words; 160.
interest in natural science, his endeavours on behalf of public health, and his concern for aesthetic surroundings.

Kingsley's views of the divine governance of the natural order are linked up with his views on prayer. He was curiously inconsistent when discussing prayer in relation to the weather, and his later pronouncements on it show that he had not considered the matter critically at first. "We may dare to pray for fair and seasonable weather, boldly and freely"¹ he had stated, because it was governed by God in His providence. But when faced with the matter in the wet summer of 1860, he refused to use the prayer against rain though pressed by the parish to do so.² In his sermon "Why should we pray for fair weather?", the publication of which created considerable attention among both scientists and the clergy, he said that such a prayer would have been presumptuous, whether we expected God to alter the weather for us or not, because "I know little or nothing about the weather, and God knows all. Which is more likely to be right - God or I?"³ The latter view was fully consistent with Kingsley's view of the Universe as established on moral and scientific laws. It was natural for men to pray against plagues which could not be conquered, but not against such plagues as could be abolished by the science of health. The power to control such situations was God's answer to these prayers: and the case of the prayer for fine weather had marked a time when human enlightenment about the governance of God was less

¹ Kingsley; True Words; 164.
² Letters and Memories; ii; 109.
³ Ibid. ii; 112.
less than at present. The answer to the prayer had since come in better agricultural knowledge and drainage technique, so that a wet season was now no hardship.  

In the three "cholera sermons" which he preached to his people in 1849, Kingsley applied his doctrines of the divine governance and nearness, condemning the popular fatalism which regarded the disease as divine displeasure, and contending that the fault lay on the human side through the neglect of elementary public health measures. The cholera visitation was a punishment, but one that could have been avoided had the lessons of the 1832-33 epidemic been learned. Only to the extent that a connection existed between the sin of neglect and its punishment could the wrath of God be recognised. The mistake of the attitude of fatalism had been to regard as divine visitations only such national catastrophies as the epidemic, when the truth was that God was present everywhere if only the people had eyes to see Him. In discussing such major catastrophes as disastrous earthquakes, Kingsley applied the same theology. Once warned that their community was in a place subject to earthquakes, the people ought to have moved it elsewhere. "For instance", he writes, "in the province of Quito in the year 1797, from thirty to fifty thousand people were killed by an earthquake. One would have thought that warning enough, but the warning was not taken." This was merely tempting God, and the result was not His fault, but theirs.

Kingsley's

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 116.
2. Kingsley; Sermons on National Subjects, 1st Series; XIII, XIV, XV.
4. Ibid. 29.
Kingsley's general views on prayer are contained in the two sermons on the subject in the "Westminster Sermons", published after his death. 1 Prayer is an expression of faith in God, every act of which is a justification of Him, from which the general attitude should follow, "though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him." God's law and grace were both unchanging, so that the reasonable prayer was to ask for the gift of the Holy Spirit. The Lord's Prayer was the "pattern of all prayers", and it was inconsistent, if we used prayer, to ask both that God's will should be done and that the course of the universe should be altered to suit some circumstance. On petitions of the latter character emphasis should be laid on the word "run" rather than on the word "danger" in such a prayer as "Grant that this day we run into no kind of danger." Kingsley, then, distinguished strongly between prayers for such gifts as forgiveness, strength, and guidance, which concerned the spiritual world of moral agents, and prayers concerning the altering of the physical laws of the universe.

At the heart of Kingsley's creed was the emphasis on the Divine Fatherhood, which extended to men in a relationship of living communion. The bearing of this on the ethical life of the individual was that he should conduct himself in all respects with regard to God as he understood the human father-son relationship, doing the duty that lay nearest to him in the belief that God had put it there; thanking the Father for such gifts /

1. Kingsley; Westminster Sermons; IV, XII.
gifts of capacity and personality as he had received, and employing them to render better service to God.¹ From the conception of the Fatherhood of God, there naturally followed that of the brotherhood of man,² - a universal relationship transcending such qualifications as "elect", "episcopally baptised", or "converted".

Following from Kingsley's belief in the nearness of God was his emphasis on the trustworthiness of Spiritual experience.³ In conscience, in feelings of remorse, in the call of duty, and kindred experiences, was the voice of God seeking to redeem men from sin, which was selfishness.⁴

The truth of the nearness of God received its final sanction in the Incarnation which was, as has been noted, for Kingsley the supreme example of the union of God with man.⁵ In fact, the Incarnation was morally necessary in order that the goodness of God as supreme Being might be proved,⁶ and the character revealed by Christ in its humanity as well as in its divinity was the character of God.⁷ The social implications for humanity were thus that all goodness and life was centred in the Incarnation,⁸ and consequently self-sacrifice was "the law of our perfect being."⁹

Kingsley accepted the Christology of the creeds on the question of the Person of Christ, and was thus marked off from Strauss /

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¹ Letters and Memories; i; 321.
² Ibid. i; 255 f.
³ Ibid. i; 142; 459.
⁴ Kingsley; Gospel of the Pentateuch; 22 ff.
⁵ Letters and Memories; ii; 211.
⁶ Ibid. i; 392. Kingsley; Hypatia; 435.
⁷ Kingsley; Good News of God; 152.
⁸ Letters and Memories; i; 237.
⁹ Kingsley; Westminster Sermons; 14 ff.
Strauss or the Hegelians, whose influence he had specially dreaded,\(^1\) who would deify humanity as a whole and make the Incarnation a perpetual process in history. In 1872 he acted on a committee for the defence of the Athanasian Creed, which had become central to his faith after his undergraduate rebellion against it.

We see in Kingsley the liberal dissatisfaction with the traditional penal satisfaction view of the atonement,\(^2\) and this idea of the atonement tending to be supplanted by the Incarnation.\(^3\) The Word was in every man, even though unconverted, and men's condemnation was that they would not act as though this were true; but when they were converted the Son was revealed in them and had power in their lives.\(^4\) Men were not, like the Evangelicals, to wait for God's grace, for it was already in them.\(^5\) Their conversion consisted in their "rising and walking", and acting as though their salvation were assured, for in fact all men were eternally saved and redeemed and their duty was to recognise this and live in the power of it. To be required to believe in matters like "sensible conversion" or "forensic justification" was to establish a righteousness which was not what God required and was therefore one's own.\(^6\) Kingsley was thus a universalist.

From this followed his view of the Church and of the sacraments. The Church was no communion of individuals separated /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 237.
2. Ibid. i; 79.
3. Ibid. i; 392.
5. Letters and Memories; i; 79.
separated from the world by conversion, but was the world of men who had all their lives been children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven, recognising the fact and acting as though it were true: not to do which constituted a state of unrepentance.\(^1\)

Of the sacraments baptism was a declaration of the actual relation in which men stood to God - the rite itself a recognition of what they had been all along\(^2\) - and the Lord's Supper was a sign that as human beings they were risen with Christ to the new life which was their birthright as creatures made in the image of God.

The atonement was that Christ by sympathy identified Himself with men, shared in the miseries caused by sin, and delivered men from sin by teaching them to believe in the love of God. By the sacrifice which Christ made of His own choice, God made known His love, and so Christ became the source of self-sacrificing love in men. Christ had been "made sin" by entering into the sorrows and sufferings of men.

For Kingsley the theology which started from the fall of man was invalid: theology must start instead from the fact of grace, for the Incarnation revealed not a fallen but a redeemed world. The fall consisted in Adam's selfishness and pride in the face of God's goodness,\(^3\) and so it occurred again and again in men, as they had a natural tendency to sin. The fall was a spiritual disobedience whereby man refused to acknowledge his true nature.

Evil as such had no independent existence, as the Evangelicals /

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1. Letters and Memories; i; 79.
2. Kingsley; Sermons on National Subjects; 134 f.
Evangelicals held, "Beware how you talk of a seed of evil", said Kingsley, "as if evil had a positive existence, and were something, and not merely a state of disharmony with, and disobedience to a law." For man, sin was a "missing of the mark - ἐμπρητία - "the falling short of an ideal, and not the transgression of an arbitrary decree. Conversely salvation - ὁμορρήν - literally (qua Kingsley) health and wholeness of spirit, was the increasing awareness and use of one's powers for God's work in the world, and it would bring its own reward just as sin brought its own punishment. Of the wrath of God in its present non-eschatological sense, considered as retribution, Kingsley wrote that men resist God's will and break the law which is appointed for them, "and so punish themselves by getting into disharmony with their own constitution, and that of the universe, just as a wheel in a piece of machinerypunishes itself when it gets out of gear." This is Pauline - the wrath of God understood as the totality of the divine reaction to sin. In no way would Kingsley minimise the seriousness of the divine attitude to sin, but he would not allow that God as well as man needed to be reconciled because of it.

Kingsley was fond of using the term "Manichaeism" to express the dualism which he considered that Calvinism, Romanism, and Tractarianism upheld. The term occurs throughout his writings, and is meant by him to mean the dualism whereby the flesh and all its desires are entirely evil, and the asceticism of the converse attitude.

1. Letters and Memories; i; 317.
2. Ibid. i. 484.
3. Ibid. ii. 28.
4. Ibid. ii. 32.
attitude the right course. Though alleging Manichaeism against Calvinists, he reserved the accusation more for the Tractarians and their celibate ideals. In describing the celibacy of the patristic times, he allowed necessity for the many of either sex who were driven into the celibate monastic life by the unrest and discord of the times.¹

Regarding eschatology, Kingsley believed that the final Kingdom of Righteousness would one day be realised with Christ reigning as its Head; but he recognised a degree of realised eschatology in which this Kingdom of Righteousness could be established on earth to living individuals in so far as they waited on God,² and the degree of realisation, by causing men's conduct to be to that extent governed by love, would have profound ethical and social consequences of the quality of the final Kingdom itself. Here is the theological warrant for Kingsley's concern over social reform. Though he sometimes used terms that would suggest his belief in an apocalyptic realisation of the Kingdom, it is evident that Kingsley viewed its realisation differently. For him it was an ever increasing growth on earth of health and deliverance for body and soul, of which all increase in amenities for the poor was evidence, and as such it would conquer and spread until the nations became the Kingdom of God and of His Christ.³ The prayer "Thy Kingdom come" meant the same as if we said "Son of God, root out of this sinful earth all self-will and lawlessness, all injustice and cruelty, and /

¹ Kingsley; The Hermits; 3 ff.
² Kingsley; Good News of God; 40.
³ Kingsley; Sermons on National Subjects; 22 ff.
and root them out of my heart, for I have the seeds of them within me."\(^1\)

On immortality Kingsley believed in the existence of an intermediate state after death corresponding to, but different from, the Roman doctrine of purgatory, wherein men would remain on probation and receive another chance. He was totally against the Puritan idea of a man's state being fixed as either good or bad - eternally saved or eternally lost - at the moment of death.\(^2\) His views as to this received definite expression during the proceedings of the committee on the defence of the Athanasian Creed in 1872. He had already suggested modification of the damnatory clauses - "which except a man keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly" - and was deeply concerned to preserve the Creed as an element of public worship with the clause qualified.\(^3\) He qualified his universalism somewhat at this time by making it plain that he did not deny the possibility in particular cases only of the everlasting punishment of the wicked - such cases as of those who deliberately and consistently sinned against the Light; but he would not hold it for the vast number who sin or misbelieve through weakness or invincible ignorance.\(^4\) Kingsley had fully considered the matter of eternal punishment in connection with his support of Maurice over the controversy that cost him his chair at King's College.

In 1853 Maurice published his "Theological Essays", aware,

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1. Kingsley; Sermons for the Times; 122 ff.
2. Letters and Memories; ii; 395.
3. Ibid.
   ii; 394.
4. Ibid.
   ii; 396.
as he wrote to Kingsley, that when he gave his views about eternal death in the final essay on "Eternal Life and Eternal Death" he was "writing his own sentence at King's College".¹

By "eternity" Maurice meant "timelessness" - a qualitative conception rather than the quantitative one of the popular evangelicalism, which was being defended as necessary for the reprobate who could be frightened into repentance by it.²

Maurice found his basis in John xvii: 3, "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou didst send". As against this there was Matthew xxv; 46, "And these shall go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life." If Christ was the author of both these sayings, the same meaning of "eternal" must belong to both, hence "eternity" belonged to God alone. Kingsley associated himself completely with these views and wrote that Maurice's "Essays" would constitute an epoch, and that if the Church of England rejected them, her doom was fixed.³

Jelf, the Principal of King's College, fixed his complaint on the necessity for the establishment of a sound theology on the idea of reward and punishment, which to Kingsley and Maurice, was a particularly offensive basis. "If a man does good works to be saved from hell by them, what is he but selfish?" wrote Kingsley.⁴ From such a basis it would follow that morality would lose its disinterestedness for, in the words of Kingsley, "We ought to do good works from gratitude to Christ, and from admiration /

¹ Life of Maurice; 1; 168.
² Masterman; F.D. Maurice; 125 f.
³ Letters and Memories; 1; 371.
⁴ Ibid.; 1; 81; Kingsley; Health and Education; 218.
admiration of His character."¹

Concerning the Trinity, Kingsley averred that he held to the Athanasian Creed: "the mystery of the ever-blessed Trinity. In the eternal generation of the Son, in the eternal loving of the Father and the Son, in the eternal procession of the Spirit from both."² He emphasised the Spirit's necessary procession from both Father and Son and not from the Father through the Son, or from the Father only, for in this latter case the whole theorem of the doctrine would fall to the ground and lead to a split in the Godhead³ which would reduce the power and equality of Christ and so limit His reclaiming of the individual and society.⁴ "Believe, and the doctrine will work if you act on it."⁵

Ecclesiastically, as has been mentioned, Kingsley was passionately attached to the Church of England. "I cannot abide the notion of Branch Churches or Free (Sect) Churches"⁶ he wrote, but indicated his tolerance when he admonished a friend: "if you believe that God takes care of Episcopal Churches, and the devil has the rest of the world to himself, then I cannot say that you believe in the creeds or the sacraments."⁷ For Kingsley churches, other than the Church of England, had only a portion of the truth, which they emphasised to the detriment of healthy religious life. As would be expected, he was very hard on Calvinism, the effects of which on the Continent he described as /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 81.
2. Ibid. i; 316.
3. Ibid. ii; 215.
4. Kingsley; Yeast; 264.
5. Ibid. 265.
6. Letters and Memories; i; 241.
7. Ibid. i; 251.
as uniformly ruinous, destructive equally of political and moral life, a blot and a scandal on the Reformation, and he feared for its influence in England.¹ The Lutheran church on the Continent seemed to him to be the one that was true to the intention of the Reformation.²

The Evangelicals, he said, preached to the sinners as though they were heathen, and to them "the regular history of a man's mind" was that he should live as a heathen until his late adolescence or early manhood and then suddenly commence a strong profession.³ Disliking, also, the Tractarian emphases, he could nevertheless write in 1859 that even though Tractarianism had failed by then (as he thought it had) it had "been dazzled by the splendour of an impossible ideal,"⁴ and had shown courage of a high order in trying to achieve it.

Criticism by Rigg:

Kingsley's theology was criticised by Dr. J.H. Rigg, an able Wesleyan theologian, in a series of articles contributed to Fraser's Magazine afterwards published in the volume "Modern Anglican Theology". Rigg's standpoint was narrowly evangelical, and it is not surprising that he found Kingsley heretical at many points. Reflecting the evangelical orthodoxy which commenced with the Fall as the fundamental fact of history, and holding the penal satisfaction view of the Atonement, Rigg questioned Kingsley's doctrine of the reconciliation of man and God.⁵

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¹ Letters and Memories; i; 471.
² Ibid. i; 118.
³ Ibid. i; 79.
⁴ Kingsley; Yeast; x.
⁵ Rigg; Modern Anglican Theology; 268 ff.
God, and pointed out that because of Kingsley's doctrine that the Eternal Word or Son, one with the Father, was the root and archetype of humanity, so making man always one with the Son, an atonement was not needed. Because all men were sons of God, not by grace or adoption, but by nature, repentance and conversion were likewise irrelevant. Nor did Kingsley's universalism admit of any real distinction between the Church and the world: one was only the other under a different aspect, and hence the Kingdom was altogether secular. Rigg quickly noticed that Kingsley did not believe in everlasting punishment and pointed to the "unqualified universalism" of "Brave Words for Brave Soldiers and Sailors" - a tract written by Kingsley for the men in the Crimea - where it was implied that whoever died like a man would receive a reward in the life to come.¹

Most, if not all, of Rigg's criticisms rested on a sheer misunderstanding of Kingsley's position. The criticisms were true enough from the orthodox evangelical standpoint, but Kingsley was always true to the Creeds in intention, and always tried to show that the revelation of God in Christ was deeper and richer than any theological interpretation of it. Rigg failed to understand Kingsley because he neither shared nor had any sympathy with his point of view: and so the attacks missed their mark. One feels that Kingsley understood Rigg very well where the converse was not the case, and the correspondence that passed between them over the publication of Rigg's reviews of Kingsley's /

¹. Kingsley: True Words; 208 f.
Kingsley's work in the "London Quarterly Review" reflect the charity on Kingsley's part that afterwards led to a warm friendship between them - a charity expressed in Kingsley's observation that "everyone is better than his creed". It was of little use for Rigg to look for points of agreement or disagreement between himself and Kingsley as though there were inconsistencies in Kingsley's thought, for Kingsley was largely untroubled by such exact statement, and felt rather than expressed what he knew to be the truth on many points. As Martineau wrote: "it must not be forgotten that he was a poet. His was not a logical, or, in details, an accurate mind". This must partly explain why he fared so badly with Newman.

Controversy with Newman

Kingsley's long-established antipathy to Tractarianism, behind which was his horror of Roman Catholicism, led him in 1864 into a controversy with Newman which was all in the latter's favour. Behind Kingsley's attitude there was "twenty years of feeling". As we have seen, he had taken up his attitude in his university days, and in 1848 had published his anti-Roman views in the article "Why should we fear the Romish Priests?" where, referring to the recent Tractarian secessions to Rome he asked, "have we ever lost a single second-rate man even? One indeed we have lost, first rate in talent at least; but has he not by his later writings given the very strongest proof, that to become a Romish priest is to lose, ipso facto, whatever moral or intellectual /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 325.
2. Ibid. i; 305.
3. Fraser's Magazine, April 1848; 467 ff.
"intellectual life he might previously have had?" The reference is doubtless to Newman who had seceded in 1845.

In December 1863 there appeared in MacMillan's Magazine a review by Kingsley of Froude's "History of England" which contained the statement, "truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be." Newman wrote to the publishers to "draw attention to a grave and gratuitous slander", and Kingsley at once wrote acknowledging his authorship, stating that the document to which he expressly referred was Newman's sermon on "Wisdom and Innocence", No.XX, in "Subjects of the Day" (1844), and that he would be only too glad to retract his statement if Newman could show him cause. Newman had not left the Church of England by 1844, and his reply to Kingsley pointed out that there were no words in the sermon expressing any such opinion as Kingsley had ascribed to him. Kingsley did not reply to this factual statement, but later offered to publish the following apology: "Dr. Newman has, by letter, expressed in the strongest terms his denial of the meaning which I have put upon his words. No man knows the use of words better than Dr. Newman: no man, therefore, has a better right to define what he does, or does not, mean by them. It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him, and my hearty pleasure at finding him on the side of truth, in this, or any other matter." Newman objected /

objected to the words "no man knows the use of words better than Dr. Newman", and that Kingsley was glad to find him "on the side of truth in this, or any other matter", and they were withdrawn by Kingsley who would not, however, change the gist of the letter which, as it seemed to Newman, implied that he had explained away his own words. Kingsley's apology was published in its amended form in MacMillans Magazine in February 1864, and read: "Dr. Newman has expressed, in the strongest terms, his denial of the meaning I have put on his words. It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him." Newman held that this apology was merely conventional and lacked candour, and pressed his point, but Kingsley declined to go further by way of apology, saying that he had done as much as one English gentleman might expect from another. Newman published their correspondence with a witty but severe retort attacking Kingsley's whole attitude.  

The tide of public opinion was now affected by the fact that R.H. Hutton, editor of the "Spectator", an admirer of Kingsley, and a sympathiser with Maurice in theology took up the matter, and published an estimate of it in which he allowed that Newman's retort was rather severe, but pointed out the looseness of thought and even prejudice which was at the root of Kingsley's apology, and summed up in Newman's favour. Kingsley now wrote the pamphlet "What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?" and wrote to a correspondent that he meant it to make Newman and his admirers sorry that they did not leave him alone.

1. Newman; Apologia Pro Vita Sua; Oxford edn. 1913, which includes the correspondence, Newman's and Kingsley's pamphlets, and the 1864 and 1865 editions of the Apologia.
2. Ibid. 20 f. 3. qua Ward. on cit.
Kingsley's general line of argument in the pamphlet was that if Newman's words were not what Kingsley had alleged, and in view of the fact that he had accepted Newman's assurance on the point, what did they really mean? He commenced with a resume of the correspondence including his apology, then analysed the sermon "Wisdom and Innocence". He called on the preceding sermon in the volume for a definition of what Newman meant by "Christian" and showed that he meant the monastic and ascetic ideal. He called on the sermon "Wisdom and Innocence" for a definition of the "Church", and found it sufficiently defined by Newman in two "notes" of her character, - the desirability of sacramental confession and celibacy of the clergy, and the holding of the laity to be in the same relation to the clergy as subjects to rulers. Kingsley concluded by taking up his original standpoint as to the want of truth in Newman. The retort to Kingsley which Newman had published with the correspondence had been shrewdly prepared by one who knew his opponent, and who had foreseen the probable effect it would have on him. Newman could not have wished for a more complete deliverance into his own hands than the aroused Kingsley made in the pamphlet, and Newman now seized his opportunity.

When the controversy began, Newman's reputation and prospects were at their lowest ebb. Since joining the Roman Catholic Church in 1845 he had been hidden from the public eye and almost forgotten, and little esteemed by Catholics themselves. The attack gave him the opportunity of returning to the public eye, of /
of gaining the increased confidence of his church by defending its priesthood, and of crushing Kingsley. With these objects deliberately in mind, he wrote the first edition of the "Apologia Pro Vita Sua" in 1864 in which, inter alia, he struck away Kingsley's charges with crushing contempt. Having demolished Kingsley and having won public opinion, Newman wrote a second edition in 1865 in which Kingsley's name was omitted and the controversy subordinated. So completely had Kingsley been crushed by his rough handling that even some of Newman's best friends felt sorry for him. In a letter to Sir William Cope on the occasion of Kingsley's death, Newman said that he had never at any time had any anger against Kingsley, but had used the language of anger in order to win attention for his point of view.¹

A reading of the documents suggests that Kingsley appreciated the standpoint of Newman almost as little as did Riggs Kingsley's, for behind Kingsley's conduct of the affair was his conviction that the Roman Catholics and Tractarians with their dualistic views, were enemies of his belief in the supreme importance of the married state for faith and life.² Kingsley was up against a clever casuist, and though he felt the error of the Catholic position, he was not capable of making a sufficient doctrinal formulation in answer. As MacMillan said to Froude of the power of the use of words to "conceal" thought, "in this art Newman is a master, and, thank God, Charles Kingsley /

2. Letters and Memories; i; 255 f.
Kingsley is not even a learner". Kingsley would have been wise to have acted on the caution of Macmillan who considered that he would have been well advised not to answer Newman. Even Maurice "would have given much that Kingsley had not got into this dispute with Newman", and thought that Newman, in spite of all apparent evidence, loved "truth in his heart of hearts, and more now than when he was an Anglican."

Religion and Art

Kingsley felt so strongly that the beautiful was part of God that he gave it precedence over the true: "we will love the true," he said, "because it shows us how to find the beautiful". It followed for Kingsley that the art of a people was a symbol of its faith, and hence had moral implications. He could not, for instance, believe in the sincerity of people who were content as in Italy and Germany to "represent" noble thoughts and feelings without putting them into practice. He could not agree that art could be merely contemplative in the sense of being excellent while suspending moral and religious bias: for him it had to have a moral and religious purpose to be sincere. In Chapter six of the book Kingsley shows how a visit to Dulwich art gallery enlightens the spiritual understanding of Alton Locke, and for the same reason in his articles in "Politics for the People" he urged the workmen to make the most of the National Gallery. Beauty was "God's handiwork /

2. Ibid. 219.
3. Life of Maurice; ii; 476.
4. Letters and Memories; i; 100.
5. Kingsley; Literary and General Essays; 81.
6. "Do.; Plays and Puritans; 68."
handiwork - a wayside sacrament", and would reveal Him.

Kingsley in deploring the low standard of English art in 1873, laid the blame on the pseudo-Puritan attitude to it of the middle class. The error was that the Puritans had never objected to art as such, but only to the evil associations which it had in their day, particularly dramatic art. This had prevented the cultivation of Christian drama, an unfortunate circumstance, because the highest aim of dramatic art was to exhibit the development of the human soul.¹

As against the prevalent idea that the Roman Catholics had made more of art than the Protestants, Kingsley was emphatic that art was "the rightful child, not of Popery, but of Protestantism alone." It was only a Protestant who could appreciate such works as those of Fra Angelico, because unless one remained a Protestant one would lose sight of the very facts and ideas from which the pictures derived their healthy powers over the beholder.²

Religion and Science

Mention has been made of Kingsley's consistent interest in natural science, and it was natural that he should find no difficulty in adjusting the new scientific knowledge of the century to theology. Evolution presented no difficulty: "I am more and more unable to perceive anything which an orthodox Christian may not hold in those physical theories of evolution which are gaining the ascent of our best zoologists and botanists."

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¹ Kingsley; Plays and Puritans; 48.
² Kingsley; Literary and General Essays; 193.
he wrote.\(^1\)

The older theories of geology of Cuvier and others who held that the earth had received its configuration from a series of cataclysms or catastrophes were given their death blow by the publication of Lyell's "Principles of Geology" in 1830, wherein from the evidence of Smith\(^2\) which laid the foundations of a true science of palaeontology, Lyell enunciated his "principle of Uniformitarianism," by which he made it clear that the forces which had acted on the earth in the past were in no way different to those which were acting on it at present. Nor could there be any doubt that the time required for the earth's present configuration was immensely longer than was supposed in Archbishop Usher's chronology on the evidence of the Bible.

The work of the geologists gave the evolutionary biologists the scope they needed. Linnaeus had held that the species as at present observable had issued in that form in pairs from the "hands of the Creator"\(^3\), but Lamarck in 1815 suggested that new forms resulted from new needs produced by change of environment. Darwin saw in Malthus' postulates regarding the increase in life and the disproportionate increase in the means of subsistence, the meaning of evolution, and in the "Origin of Species", in 1859, he presented the theory of natural selection worked out in detail.

Kingsley was completely identified with this succession of thought, and had accepted the theory of natural selection even before /

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1. Kingsley; Glaucus; 95.
2. Lyell; Principles of Geology; i; 101.
3. Somervell; op.cit.; 126.
before the "Origin of Species" was published,\(^1\) taking it up into his theology as signifying the "means or law by which God works."\(^2\) All of his many utterances on the theological significance of natural science may be summed up in the attitude he expressed in 1846: "On the religious effect of the study of natural history I can trust God's world to be a better witness than I can, of the loving Father who made it."\(^3\)

**Attitude to Biblical Criticism**

Kingsley's attitude to Biblical criticism after Coleridge and Arnold was always tempered with caution, despite the fact that he was continually abreast of the developments of natural science and their theological implications. Coleridge in "The Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit" had indicated the rise of a true spirit of criticism in English theology, pointing out that the idea of verbal inspiration must go, in face of the new methods of historical enquiry. The Bible must be studied after the manner of any other book, and the revelation embodied in it must be brought into conformity with the revelation which each man carries within himself in the movement of his whole moral and spiritual nature; and Kingsley was in full agreement.\(^4\) Coleridge had said "whatever finds me bears witness from itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit"\(^5\), which is reflected by Kingsley in discussing his own search for authority: "I am tired of books, I will listen to the voice of God's spirit alone, which is to be found in the Bible."\(^6\) For the next twenty years after Coleridge and Arnold made their pronouncements, criticism was /

1. Glaucus was published in 1855.  
2. Kingsley; Glaucus; 101  
3. Kingsley; Scientific Lectures and Essays; 364.  
4. Letters and Memories; i.13.  
5. Coleridge; Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit; 10.
was mainly concerned with questions of detail in following their path. Both Coleridge and Arnold had been moved by concern that the revolution in traditional theology which they saw that the new criticism would bring about, and Kingsley's similar anxiety accounts for his concern over Strauss' "Life of Jesus" (English translation, 1846) and Colenso's "Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua critically examined." (1862).

Strauss had had three objects in view: to reconcile Christian theology with Hegelianism, to destroy all belief in the supernatural and miraculous, to write a life of Jesus that would conform to the canons of a scientific historical criticism. Kingsley, fearing the effect of this, particularly on the undergraduate mind, entered into a correspondence in the "Spectator" urging the University authorities to take some measures to meet the evil, but his suppositions were vigorously denied, and he had to admit that he had over-estimated the importance of Strauss' viewpoint at the Universities.¹

Colenso's book demonstrated the fact that by modern standards of accurate statement, the first six books of the Old Testament were lamentably deficient; and although most of his arguments are now accepted, the book provoked fierce ecclesiastical resentment. Much of the book seemed negative and destructive to Kingsley, who feared for its effect on the faithful.² He therefore decided to take up its challenge by preaching a series of sermons on the Pentateuch to his own people³ in order that he might emphasise its positive religious value /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 265.
2. Ibid. ii; 182.
value without putting into their minds critical ideas that were not there already. Accordingly he advised them - and this appears to be his own limit - to accept its Mosaic authorship in the absence of strong evidence to the contrary: "Moses is by far the most likely man to have written it: the first Chapter of Genesis and the first three verses of the second, may be the writing of a prophet older than Moses, because they call God Elohim, which was His name before Moses' time." But on the whole "scholarship is Martha's part, but simple heart religion is the better part which Mary chose. This fairly represents Kingsley's own position. Concerned to keep alive a positive faith in his people before all else, he expressed surprisingly little concern over the historicity of Old Testament characters and writers, even for his own mental satisfaction. Kingsley did not wish to be fancied a verbal inspirationist, and gave the view of inspiration which he held: "for the Scripture asserts that those who wrote it were moved by the Spirit of God: that it is a record of God's dealings with men, which certain men were inspired to perceive and to write down."  

Natural Theology

As would be expected, Kingsley was concerned with the fundamental question of natural theology - as to whether the Being known in religious communion corresponds with any reality that can be reached by scientific investigation. For him the question was of great importance in his concern to teach that the universe /

1. Kingsley; Gospel of the Pentateuch; 7.
2. Ibid. 6.
3. Letters and Memories; ii; 181.
universe was God's, and in trying to make it natural for men to recognize God in it. He considered that the problem was important in making Christianity relevant to life and thought, and depicts Alton Locke as stating that many thoughtful working men complain that they "cannot identify the God of the Bible with the God of the world around them; and one of their great complaints against Christianity is that it demands assent to mysteries which are independent of, and even contradictory to, the laws of nature."¹

Kingsley drew first a distinction between natural religion and natural theology; the former was what could be learned from the physical universe of man's duty to God and his neighbour, the latter was what could be learned from the physical universe concerning God Himself. ² Kingsley did not hope for anything from natural religion, but he affirmed that it was most important that natural theology in every age should keep pace with doctrinal or ecclesiastical theology. He follows Butler in believing that the God of nature and the God of grace are one: that the God who satisfies our conscience should substantially satisfy our reason also. Hence if the God revealed by nature seemed different to the God revealed by the popular religion, then that God and that religion would gradually cease to be believed in.

As an indication of its relevance to the 19th century theology, the first duty of the clergy was to examine their own beliefs if a popular war arose between reason and religion. The

¹. Kingsley; Alton Locke; 191.
². Kingsley; Scientific Lectures and Essays; 314 ff.
nineteenth century divorce between science and Christianity, which Kingsley had so eminently avoided in his own case, could have been generally avoided if the line set by Berkeley, Butler and Paley had been followed. But instead the Wesleyan impulse had turned the earnest minded in the country to personal religion, which was good enough as far as it went.

As evidence of his own attitude as against that of the religious tone of the country, Kingsley evidenced hymnology. He held strong views on this, which he expressed in another connection; but in connection with natural theology he deplored the emphasis of the current hymnology which was all on "death and decay in all around I see" instead of "O all ye works of the Lord, praise Him."

Natural theology had been despised on the ground that the earth was cursed and fallen, but nothing was further from the Bible which contained nothing that would prevent natural theology from being both scientific and scriptural. To be scientific it must set forth a God whose character was consistent with the facts of nature, that is with death as well as with beauty, thus revealing a God not only of love but of sternness also: "Infinite pity, yet infinite rigour of law" were the divine characteristics that would thus be revealed. Much of this is seen in his theology of natural catastrophe, e.g. earthquakes and the cholera.

Natural theology must take account of the law in nature which produced competition in the animal creation. But man was not doomed to the law, for grace came in, and man could transcend this law of nature in so far as he accepted the rule of grace, the /
the bearing of which upon his theory of co-operative production in the work of the Christian Socialist school is evident.

Kingsley could see God everywhere in nature, in the evidence particularly of design. This pointed back to a designer, with whom final causes existed. These were really moral causes, and were eminently the concern of the natural theologian with his enquiry after reasons, as against the concern of the scientist with his enquiry after method. Evolution was in full accord with natural theology, and furthermore was entirely scriptural. The unknown 'X' below all natural phenomena, and behind all natural differentiation and development was none other than the Spirit who is the Lord and Giver of Life.

**Muscular Christianity**

The term "muscular Christianity" was applied to Kingsley in his lifetime to describe the combination of Christianity with physical activity and polemic Christianity which he advocated and expressed in his own life and in such of his literary characters as Amyas Leigh in "Westward Ho!"; and though he never liked this "painful if not offensive"¹ term, it was not applied without justification. Intensely fond himself of sheer animal activity, we find him writing in 1842 of physical exercise and the Christian faith that there had always seemed to him something impious in the neglect of personal health and strength which some clergy as well as religious people affected: and he was /

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¹ Letters and Memories; 213 (One-volume edition, 1883).
was doubtless correct when he asserted that many clergymen would half kill themselves if they did as much as he himself by way of physical activity. He reflected the emphasis when in 1849 he advised a young man not to become a Roman Catholic because "Rome is the place to get, not God's ideal of a man, but an effeminate shaveling's ideal. God made man in His own image, not in an imaginary Virgin Mary's image." In 1865 he gave his own idea of the subject in his Cambridge University sermons on "David" where, tracing the rise of the spirit which it represented from the growing reaction to monasticism preceding the Reformation, he defined it as the consecration of the whole manhood to God and not of a few faculties only. This was the only use of the term he would condone.

Religion and Morality

Kingsley expresses his ethical monotheism directly and indirectly all through his writings, where he demonstrates the inseparable and necessary connection of religion and morality. The Alexandrian Jews, losing their belief in the present reality of God, become "pests to a rational and moral society"; the Ancien Régime of France, atheistic at root, exhibits the vices of profligacy, pride, and idleness; finally perishing through them: Thomas Thurnall, having merely nominal religious beliefs, has almost naturalistic ideas of morality. Kingsley demonstrated that social morality must suffer in his own day if Christianity

1. Letters and Memories; i; 63.
2. Ibid. i; 204.
3. Ibid. ii; 213.
4. Kingsley; Historical Lectures and Essays; 64.
5. do. Literary and General Essays; 168.
6. do. Two Years Ago; i; 48.
Christianity should enter an individualising phase for any length of time, instancing Spurgeon and Cumming as the types of individualisers he meant; thus morality being necessarily connected with religion, was also conditioned by it. In Kingsley's own case it followed that his Christian sociological activities took their essential shape from the nature of his religious beliefs, and this is demonstrated as far as possible in the following chapter.

Kingsley did not believe in any morality that was merely utilitarian or which sprang even from necessity. For him, because morality was always rooted in God, it was therefore necessarily disinterested. He believed that a disinterested morality was present in animals, and pointed to the ants and bees which, as examples of social animals, had risen higher even than man by including the virtues of self-sacrifice and patriotism as universal principles of life. The presence of this disinterested morality among animals might well be a manifestation of the Logos, giving mankind an insight into the eternal mind, and pointing him to his own better path for its even better achievement in his own society - the path of Grace.

1. Kingsley; Scientific Lectures and Essays; 326 f.
CHAPTER FIVE

KINGSLEY’S ETHICAL AND SOCIAL THOUGHT

AND ACTIVITY

Relation of Theory and Practice

Writing to Maurice in 1865, Kingsley stated that he grounded all his morality on a fully Trinitarian theology. He traced the mainsprings of morality back to the thought which inspired action, the ultimate moral repercussions from which in individual lives would affect the quality of civilisation. A consideration of his social activities and ethical principles reveals that they took their direction to a great extent from the particular nature of his theology.

The core of Kingsley’s theological ideas which produced the most direct social application, were first of all the nature of the Idea of God itself, and of the idea of God the nature of God’s Fatherhood. From the idea of the Fatherhood there came the idea of the Sonship of Christ - One with the Father - the conception of the universe as created in and for the Son, and the Incarnation and redemption as the root and ground of the community of mankind as constituted in Christ. Hence Kingsley gloriéd in the created world no less than in the brotherhood of men, and exerted all his powers for the removal of every hindrance to the environment as a fit place for human life, and for the removal of all moral and spiritual hindrances to the achievement /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 215.
2. Kingsley; Gospel of the Pentateuch; 117 ff.
achievement of true brotherhood. The essential values of all individuals in the human family were to be realised by redemptive and reconstructive effort of this kind, embracing all the concerns of human nature in relative proportion, and substituting co-operation for competition as far as possible, as a universal principle. Christ was the head of a community destined to embrace mankind and to be eternal in the Heavens, and His spirit by its operation would bring this order into the world.\(^1\) Thus Kingsley's social thought and activity are applied in the general spheres of human relationships and improvement of the environment.

**Ethic for the Individual**

If society since Kingsley's day recognises that it is more important from the point of view of economics to treat people as persons instead of merely as so many atoms or industrial units, and productive of greater all round social efficiency to encourage individuality than to suppress it, then Kingsley was ahead of his time, for his writings reveal his awareness of and concern for the value of personality - a value which had become submerged in face of the contemporary background of insufficient wage, standards and inadequate physical amenities in the case of the labouring population. He saw that Christian individualism would have to prevail over economic individualism if democracy, as he understood it, was to prevail and society be stabilised.\(^2\) He was already seeing the tendency to de-personalisation in the rapid /

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1. Kingsley; *Sermons on National Subjects*, 1st Series; No.10.
2. cf. *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* which are in effect long diatribes against individualism in economics.
rapid progress of science, and expressed his warning when he said that it was wrong "to look at human beings as things rather than as persons".\(^1\) Kingsley's greatest attempt to offset this has been traversed in consideration of his Christian Socialist activities.

The mainspring of Kingsley's ethic for the individual was, as has been noted, the individual's status as a child of God and member of the Christian family of men. In the refusing of the evil and the choosing of the good lay the secret of achieving human greatness.\(^2\) The secret of the power to do this was in faith alone; - the pattern to be found in Hebrews II, - whereby spiritual conflict would be resolved, great men produced, and great deeds accomplished. In line with this a man must continually strive after the heroic by being a "gentleman" at all times, no matter what his circumstances, and if he "only behaves like a gentleman all must go right at the last" - this by"minding simply his own business and doing the duty that lies nearest him".\(^3\) There was, in fact, no limit to the capacity of any human being to form for himself a high ideal of human character, and to carry it out in the most menial occupations and commonplace circumstances,\(^4\) a direction which by itself seems naive and unwarrantably optimistic in face of the contemporary social depression. But Kingsley recognised that these injunctions would not be easy to carry out amidst dull and stagnating surroundings, where men looked for a sense of fulfillment.

\(^1\) Kingsley; The Roman and the Teuton; 310.
\(^2\) do. Plays and Puritans; 84 f, 190.
\(^3\) do. Health and Education; 225.
\(^4\) Ibid. 228.
fulfilment in such escapist means as sensational literature, conscious of capacities within themselves "for which their frivolous humdrum daily life gives them no room, no vent."¹ Because the vices caused in men by such conditions would prove to be their conquerors, whether excusably or inexcusably, Kingsley believed that the environment must be altered so as to give them as much help as possible in the moral struggle. Thus sanitary reform - or the science of health - with its advocacy of parks, public ablution houses, and town planning, and such other amenities as he envisaged was for him an instrument of moral and spiritual purpose, as were also other means of improving the environment with which he concerned himself, such as the Eversley "penny readings" intended to counteract the drabness of the lot of the rural labourer.²

His injunctions on "doing the duty that lies nearest" - such as educating one's family, raising one's class, and performing one's daily work as to God and country rather than as to employer and workman³ - was associated with others similarly directed towards the formation of character. There were the moral obligations of purity of speech,⁴ of freedom from vices like drunkenness, of thrift - by which he meant not only economic thrift but "thrift of speech" and "thrift of truth", or accuracy and modesty in statement, thrift of the use of the faculties that bear on the spiritual life, that is to say, discipline of character as opposed to sentimentalism - and purity of

². Letters and Memories; ii; 231.
³. Kingsley; Alton Locke; cx.
⁴. do. Plays and Puritans; 45.
of life. His example of Salvian in the dying Roman Empire is
typical of his oft repeated injunctions in favour of purity of
life; where he said that Salvian's purity had given him a
calm and steady brain, and a free and loyal heart, the energy
which sprang from health, the self-respect which came from
self-restraint, and the spirit which shrank from neither God
nor man, and "feels it light to die for wife and child, for
people, and for Queen." ¹ Conversely, unbridled indulgence of
the passions produced frivolity, effeminacy, slavery to the
appetite of the moment, and a brutalised temper. ²

The connection between private virtue and public virtue was
simple: the one would produce the other, and the responsibility
rested on the individual. The connecting link between the
individual and national life was the family, upon the wholesomeness
of which that of national life depended, ³ and because the
woman was at the centre of the home, therefore her influence
was the paramount one in society. ⁴ Hence also the importance
of a right attitude to sex, ⁵ a theme emphasised in "Hypatia" in
the contrasting attitudes of the Christian Philammon and the
pagan spectacles of the Alexandrian amphitheatre. ⁶ The
emphasis on the importance of the family arises from Kingsley's
ideas on marriage, of which he thought primarily as a unitive
state rather than as an arrangement for procreation, a view
which made him averse to second marriages. ⁷ The significance

¹. Kingsley; Roman and Teuton; 46.
². Ibid. 38.
³. Ibid. 38.
⁴. do. Yeast; xii; 30.
⁵. Ibid. 3, 17.
⁶. do. Hypatia; 342 ff.
⁷. Letters and Memories; i. 188
of individual character in national life was so important that
even bad laws would work quite well under good men.¹

**Ethic for Society**

Kingsley's social ethic is an extension of his ethic for
the individual. Society had a moral responsibility -
neglected on all sides - to look after the weak. It must go
further even than the Church of the Middle Ages, which had seen
to it that the weak were protected, and exhibit the practice of
positive and preventive social reform by making the weak strong
by such means as education, public health reform, and the like.²
Right up to the eve of his death he continued to insist on the
abolition of preventible misery. It was all very well to boast
of scientific progress, but the vast amount of preventible
misery should rather cause regret at the slow departure of
modern barbarism.³ In fact society owed a moral debt to
sufferers under preventible misery which it was bound to pay by
concern for public health.⁴ The cholera epidemic of 1866 was a
judgment of God on society for its neglect of the warnings of
previous epidemics, and for no other reason.

In colonial policy the responsibility for the weak was to
be met in governing with tolerable justice those who could not
govern themselves, and by making them better and more prosperous
by compelling them to submit to law: this was the only real
trusteeship,⁵ and on its basis he praised the work of Brooke in
Sarawak /

¹ Kingsley; Roman and Teuton; 37.
² Ibid. 212 f.
³ Letters and Memories; ii; 298.
⁴ Westminster Sermons; 58.
⁵ Kingsley; Historical Lectures and Essays; 8.
Sarawak, who had received public criticism for what was considered to be unnecessary severity in punishing the Dyak pirate communities.¹

Kingsley by upbringing and inclination was a Tory in politics, but a radical where working class oppression was concerned: hence his "socialism" is that of a Tory reformer. The clue to his social politics is seen in his treatment of Plotinus' attempt to form an ideal state on the Greek model, which he described in his Edinburgh lectures on "Alexandria and her schools", when he pointed out that Plotinus' essential mistake was that of trying to found a new society instead of attempting to regenerate society as it already existed. Only by the Christian method of individual reform would a good society result.² Discipline would always be necessary, expressed through the medium of protective laws, to curb individual self-will in the interests of corporate strength, and the problem of a perfect society would always issue in a compromise between an alternately increasing and relaxing legal discipline according as individual freedom required to be checked in the corporate interest or otherwise.³

Kingsley's only reply to the natural aspirations of ambitious members of the working class was that men should keep their stations in life. The cry "Get on!" was fallacious and would merely unsettle the working man who heeded it. It was better for him to cultivate character and industry and remain content /

1. Letters and Memories; i; 122.
2. Kingsley; Historical Lectures and Essays; 106.
3. do. Plays and Puritans; 262 f.
content with his economic and social station. For Kingsley, the pattern of society as it existed was the right one, and he aimed by way of social reform only at improving the lot of the individual within it. Kingsley must have proved disappointing to such working class hopes as were aroused by the placard addressed to the "Workmen of England", for his connotation of popular terms was not always that of the popular voice, and it is small wonder that the people to whom it was addressed saw nothing in the Christian Socialist manifesto to encourage them in their hopes of political reform. To them social reform would follow legal reform; for Kingsley social reform must be joined with moral reform. The "freedom" of which he spoke was the spiritual freedom of the Christian fellowship, a state attainable at any time, but impossible to those who saw freedom only in increased political liberty. Suffrage extension would no doubt make many contented and loyal and put property owners on their mettle, but the attainment of real freedom depended on being discontented with one's self, "to say not Oh that I had this and that, but Oh that I were this and that!" a moral concept which would bring its own reward.

His discussion of "class" revealed that he was at least aware of the tensions existing between classes. In Britain, he once wrote, there were not three classes but two, namely rich and poor - those who lived by capital, and the hand-labourer. The humanitarian legislation after the Reform Act had done much to /

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1. Kingsley; Historical Lectures and Essays; 145.
to abolish the moral division between them, but monopolistic industry and agriculture had increased the social division. He saw part of the remedy to lie in the growth of the co-operative movement, which, by encouraging men to hold together and help each other, would safeguard working class loyalty.\(^1\) Believing in the amelioration of the working class by such agencies as humanitarian legislation, and the paternal care of landlords and manufacturers for their tenants and operatives - the latter an emphasis set out by Carlyle in "Past and Present" which Kingsley had read at Cambridge - and recognising the fact of human solidarity, which he demonstrated in "Alton Locke" by the fatal effect on its upper class recipient of the typhus-infected coat, the product of a sweat shop - it is nevertheless doubtful whether he saw deeply enough into the roots of working class discontent, and his view of the constitution of society suggests that he did not. Though the labourer might be better fed, better housed, and better paid than even a few years earlier,\(^2\) his essential discontent in the 19th century was arising from the fact that he knew that he was not receiving a proportionate share in the distribution of the new wealth flowing into and being created in the country.

Discussing class relationships from another angle, he made it evident that he saw that individuality and personality were cardinal social forces. He agreed with de Tocqueville regarding the likeness of upper and middle class men who were at /

1. Kingsley: Historical Lectures and Essays; 143.
2. Do. Yeast; vi.
at all conspicuous, and pointed out that this was still more true of the lowest classes, who being most animal were always most moulded or crushed by their own circumstances, by public opinion, and by the universal wants of the five senses. But whereas de Tocqueville had attributed this production of similarity to a harsh government which had the effect of rendering all men alike and mutually indifferent to their fate, Kingsley believed that this was only superficial, and that at root there was a real and essential variety of individuals. It was this which had torn France to pieces during the Revolution.¹

Kingsley, though holding that a working man should not try to get on and thus desert his class, nevertheless admitted that in England there was a virtual interlocking of classes whereby there was a gradual riding up from lower to higher of the best elements, the effect of which was to produce a homogeneity and deep interdependence and identity of interest over the whole nation.² He held that there was a deep respect in Englishmen for rank and blood based on a recognition in time past of actual superiority in the governing classes,³ and so he distinguished in contemporary life between an aristocracy of truly disinterested leadership, and a "caste", into which an effete aristocracy always sank.⁴ The working man did not lack reverence for authority: he gave it unstintedly to those whom he saw to be his real lords and leaders as against the sham of the "caste".⁵ The national interdependence and identity of interest /

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1. Kingsley; Historical Lectures and Essays; 204 f.
2. Ibid. 138 f.
3. Kingsley; Roman and Teuton; 48.
4. Kingsley; Alton Locke; Historical Lectures; 153.
5. Kingsley; Alton Locke; 186.
interest - of which Kingsley was here thinking in an ideological sense - meant that if virtues were imputed to a higher class, they were imputed automatically to the labouring class,\(^1\) so that a man could be "a true gentleman" no matter how poor he was, "and look the proudest duchess in the land in the face and claim her as equal."\(^2\) Hence in the proper functioning of classes lay the secret of political stability.

An echo of "muscular Christianity" affected his observations on the middle class, which he described in 1868 as being effeminate. It had a dread of pain, which it regarded as the worst of all evils. Even in the prime of youth it shrank from fatigue, danger, and a degree of pain which the average schoolboy would have thought of as sport.\(^3\) Furthermore, because of the sheltered nature of their occupations which kept them out of wars and hence saved them the decimation of their best members, they were increasing in domination.\(^4\) This poor opinion of them was reflected in his recognition of "only two classes", as already noted, and no doubt springs also from the fact that Dissent was strong amongst them.

The world was governed by God despite its seeming anomalies, and the purpose of God was to educate men into self-government.\(^5\) Because of its moral nature there was a connection in the world between national righteousness and national retribution. The fact that the Danish and Norman conquests had occurred within the space of sixty years was evidence of the sin of our forefathers.\(^6\)

1. Kingsley; Historical Lectures; 138.
2. Do. Yeast; 218.
3. Letters and Memories; ii; 275.
4. Kingsley's Health and Education; 5.
5. Do. Historical Lectures and Essays; 193.
6. Ibid. 250.
forefathers. The bad state of contemporary society as instanced by the conditions of the mines, factories, and slums, would bring a like retribution, probably in the form of a revolution, to escape which the only answer was in spiritual reformation.

Kingsley was no pacifist, and this went hand in hand with his fervent imperialism. He thought of the Empire as occupying the strongest position among the nations because of the moral righteousness which followed from her Protestant Christianity. There was something given in the Church of England which was not in Protestant countries abroad, unless perhaps Sweden, for every one of them except Sweden and Britain had suffered invasion.\(^1\) There is a jingoism to modern ears when he writes: "it is a noble thing to be an Englishman - especially an English soldier or an English sailor - a noble and honourable privilege to be allowed to do your duty in the noblest nation and the noblest church which the world ever saw."\(^2\) The imperialism in "Westward Ho!" points forward to Kipling: and the polemical Protestantism of the book bears down heavily on the Roman Catholic Church and morality.

The combination of Tory, imperialist, and aristocrat in Kingsley led him to condone the action of Governor Eyre of Jamaica, who in 1865 had condoned the suppression of a small negro disturbance by such ferocious means that a Commission of Inquiry was sent to report on the situation. Public opinion had /

\(^1\) Kingsley; Sermons for the Times; 186.
\(^2\) Do. True Words for Brave Men; 45.
had been shocked by the carnival of cruelty on the part of the soldiers and volunteers, which had looked like "a sort of hunting expedition among the negro inhabitants for the purpose of hanging and flogging." Piano wires had been used as flogging instruments. The Commission found that while Eyre had had to stop the disturbances in the beginning, his condoning of the barbarous means used in its repression called for censure, and he was recalled. Kingsley's sympathies were all with Eyre, and he personally attended a dinner at Southampton with Carlyle and other sympathisers. Many could not understand why Kingsley, who had been so active at home in advocating humanitarian treatment of the under-privileged, should apparently condone the very reverse in Jamaica. In the judgment of Trevelyan, Kingsley's attitude was that of a sentimentalist worship of brute force, while his wife's West Indian connection was alleged by others to be the reason; but the fact was that Kingsley was always true to his belief in the constitution and the necessity of upholding it by law.

Kingsley praised the growing science of political economy for its good work in analysing existing social conditions, but not for its "laws", such as that competition was the law of the Universe. He was inclined to deny it the name of a science, holding that its "laws" were not unalterable, but could be changed according as human nature was changed. As a study it was /

1. McCarthy; Short History of Our Own Times; 281 ff.
2. Letters and Memories; ii; 235.
3. Wylie; Thos. Carlyle, the Man and His Books; 345.
4. Trevelyan; Life of John Bright; 346.
5. Wylie; op. cit.
6. v. P. 76 of this study.
was still in its analytic stage, doing no more than explain the
causes of already existing phenomena. To be a true science it
had to pass on to the synthetic stage and learn, by the use of
already discovered social tendencies and their counteraction
where necessary by others, to produce new forms of society. As
yet it had produced nothing beyond saying "laissez-faire!". 1

By new forms of society Kingsley did not mean changes in social
structure, but the resultant from an increasing substitution of
competition by co-operation. The organisation of trade was
for him a thing apart from the organisation of class. His
socialism found expression in his urging of its duty on each
class, and in advocating an effective, conscientious ministry
for the Church, 2 the need for reform in which he was aware.

Kingsley saw French socialism as an attempt to ward off
social dangers by "theory after theory, which deserve high
praise for their ingenuity, less for their morality, and, I fear,
still less for their common sense." 3 He may be fairly said to
have been here thinking of Fourier 4 to whom the description
might justifiably apply, - and in general of the anti-clerical
and anarchic character of Proudhon 5 and similar theorists.

Alton Locke, the Chartist, comforts himself with the writings
of Proudhon and Blanc in prison. 6

Emigration was to Kingsley a ready way of lightening the
distress at home, and giving a man the chances denied him here, 7

1. Letters and Memories; 1 vol. edn. 209.
2. Kingsley; Two Years Ago; i; 65.
3. In Health and Education; 9.
4. Do. Yeast; 51.
5. Grays; Socialism; 235.
6. Kingsley; Alton Locke; 331.
and thus enabling him to win an independence of character for himself.\textsuperscript{1} It was the answer to Malthus, and it was also the answer to the evils of unrestricted competition, and sweating. Kingsley did not envisage the possible reproduction of these circumstances in the new lands, where in New Zealand, for example, they had become almost as bad by 1889 as in the England of the Christian Socialists.\textsuperscript{2}

Of economic justice his conception was limited to the amelioration of the under-privileged. "Not quite so hard as that thousands every day, who would enjoy a meat dinner, should have nothing but dry bread, and not enough of that", said one of his characters in answer to another who sympathised with him for the hardship which had made it impossible for him to enjoy the mountain scenery of the continent.\textsuperscript{3} Kingsley reproduced the Chartist arguments for social justice in "Alton Locke" where Alton's criticisms strongly indict the existence of one law for the rich and another for the poor;\textsuperscript{4} the prejudice against the wealth and inertia of the Church;\textsuperscript{5} and the poor rates whose existence was a confession on the part of society that the labourer was not fully remunerated, besides having no political voice.\textsuperscript{6} He recognised the measure of justice in these claims, which would be satisfied, not by the Chartist programme, but by the growth of religion and morality. For the reformation of the working class thousands of good men were already working, and /

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\item 1. Letters and Memories; ii; 268.
\item 2. Collie; Rutherford Waddell; Ch.V.
\item 3. Kingsley; Yeast; 121.
\item 4. Do. Alton Locke; 248, 304 f, 323.
\item 5. Ibid. 195; 219.
\item 6. Ibid. 305.
\end{itemize}
and hundreds of benevolent plans were being set on foot:
"... honour to them all; whether they succeed or fail each of
them does some good; each of them rescues at least a few fellow
men out of the nether pit." As to the more urgent and proximate
causes of the distress, Kingsley thought that they could only be
touched by improving the "simple physical conditions of the
class" - in a word, by sanitary reform. "You may breed a pig
in a sty and make a learned pig of him; but you cannot breed a
man in a sty, and make a learned man of him." This method of
Kingsley's could perfect and purify, but could not create the
basic justice, which in any society, qua Niebuhr, depends on the
right organisation of men's common labour, the equalisation of
their social power, regulation of their common interests, and
adequate restraint on the conflicts of their competing interests.
Such conceptions as these were beyond Kingsley's purview.

Reform in Education

Kingsley, following his social interests, naturally took a
great interest in educational matters, and had ideas on them
which were advanced for his time. His first work at Eversley
had been to improve the teaching at the village school, and
later to send a prospective teacher to Winchester Training
College with a view to his future work at Eversley. In 1853
the first "good" national school was opened there. As the
question of secular education came up for discussion preparatory
to the Act of 1870, he found himself on the side of secularism,

1. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 204 f.
2. Niebuhr; Interpretation of Christian Ethics; 181 f.
and expressed his views in the lecture to the Educational Section of the Social Science Congress at Bristol when he advocated removing education altogether from the hands of the clergy.\(^1\) If education was left in their hands, he foresaw an increase in denominationalism with a consequent divisive effect on national life. Being against the exclusion of anyone from any of the privileges of education on denominational grounds, he was therefore in favour of universal, free, compulsory education, because those who needed it most cared for it least. The present unsatisfactory state of affairs in English education was due largely to the denominational rivalry borne out by the history of the National Society and the government grants.\(^2\) He would give the same education to the child of the collier as to the child of the peer, with no special advantages to be allowed to the latter.\(^3\) The disparities would in any case show up all too soon. In 1878 he withdrew his support from the Education League established to get a scheme of national compulsory education when he felt that it had accomplished its purpose by rousing the government to consider Forster's Education Bill whereby School Boards were set up all over the country to provide education for the two-thirds of the children of the country who were absolutely without instruction.\(^4\)

Of his advanced ideas on education, he advocated that of bringing the education of girls into line with that of boys, by giving them the same opportunities for games and exercise, and

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1. Letter and Memories; ii; 298 f.
2. v. Ch.1; Letters and Memories; 300.
3. Kingsley; Scientific Lectures and Essays; 16.
4. McCarthy; op.cit. 361.
discouraging tight stays and high heels and the like. Another idea was that much more attention should be paid to such practical education as would, for instance, give an insight into the cause and effect of public health, to the exclusion of the education which put a premium on Latin and Greek verses. He was keen that women should be allowed to practice medicine and had supported the idea for years before women's suffrage was even mooted.

For him the substance of what was taught was always secondary to how it was taught: "Manner is everything - matter a secondary consideration: for in matter, brain only speaks to brain; in manner, soul speaks to soul."

Sanitary reform

Aware of the vast amount of preventible misery round him, Kingsley deplored that improvement had been so slow in view of the rapid triumphs of science which gave so much less excuse for its existence, and of all the methods he advocated for its extinction, such as the creation of benefit societies, improvement in education, the raising of living standards, and the controlled application of charity and relief, the question of sanitary reform engaged the greatest share of his attention from his early ministry onwards. His works even on natural science contain references to it.

In the early days of Christian Socialism, Mansfield, fresh from the horrors of the cholera, drew up with Walsh and Ludlow the /

1. Kingsley; Health and Education; 85 ff.
2. Ibid. 98 f.
3. Letters and Memories; ii; 327.
4. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 10.
5. Do. Westminster Sermons; 58.
6. Kingsley; Glæicus; 174 ff.
the scheme of a Health League whose objects were to be the uniting of all classes of society in the promotion of public health, and the removal of all causes of disease which unnecessarily abridge man's right to live, to be accomplished by collecting and diffusing information, pressing for legal amendments, and generally stimulating action with regard to public health. \(^1\) The scheme, on Maurice's judgment, was dropped, but revived later in the Ladies' National Sanitary Association, in whose activities Kingsley displayed keen interest. It appears thus to have been Mansfield who gave Kingsley his early enthusiasm for the question, \(^2\) an enthusiasm which, according to the evidence of his writings, \(^3\) he developed and fed by acquaintance with the relevant Reports of the various Parliamentary Commissions of Enquiry.

The cholera epidemic of 1849 drew from him the three cholera sermons, published in 1854 under the title "Who Causes Pestilence?" \(^4\) which, according to Stubbs, brought forth sneers about the "Gospel of Drains" as distinct from the "Gospel of Salvation". In strong terms Kingsley laid the blame, inter alia, at the door of greedy landlords who forced the poor to live in dwellings unfit for human occupation, of profiteers who sold them half putrid food, \(^5\) and of local authorities who allowed slaughter houses, undrained sewers and overcrowded graveyards \(^6\) to remain in closely populated centres, because of vested interests /

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1. Raven; op.cit. 147.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 216; Stubbs op.cit. 168.
3. Kingsley; Miscellanies; ii; 206.
4. Letters and Memories; i; 215.
5. Engels; op.cit.; 65; cf.
interests and the cost which improvement would mean in "money, the Englishman's God."¹

Sickened by the revelations on the state of London's water supply, he wrote his article on the subject for the "North British Review" and in it referred to the privately owned monopolistic system through which the supply of water was controlled, pointing out that it left concern for the moral and sanitary welfare of the population out of the question. Under this commercial administration of the water companies, the pumping machinery was often defective, hours of supply were limited, the charges would increase for any inconvenience to the company, and if these were not met the supply would be cut off. The water itself would often be foul and foetid.²

Advocating a change to public control, he traced the connection between the bad water supply and the epidemics. So strongly did he feel the urgency of the situation that he suggested the acquisition of a private water cart which the members of the Christian Socialist group would operate with their own hands: "twenty pounds sent to us, just to start a water cart, and send it round at once - at once -," he wrote to his wife, "for the people are still in these horrors."³ He wrote to Ludlow on the same theme suggesting representations to the authorities, but from the letter it seems that London local authority was so inchoate that the right local body could not be discovered.

"What was the Bermondsey Improvement Commission?" he asked. If

¹ Kingsley; Sermons on National Subjects; 1st Series; 176.
² Do. Miscellany; ii; 209.
³ Letters and Memories; i; 217.
it was one of the new local commissions under the 1848 Public Health Act it must be made to use its authority for the serving of nuisance notices.\(^1\)

Though the ten years since 1838 had seen some progress in public health, London had remained much the same. In 1838 the question had come up as a result of the Poor Law Report which drew attention to the vast burdens thrown on the rates, mainly in London, by sickness and epidemics, the result of sanitary conditions. Chadwick asked for a report on the whole country which was published as the 1842 Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population.\(^2\)

Next, the Health of Towns Committee, appointed in 1840, recommended regulation of building, sewage, and control of burial grounds, water supply, lodging houses, and slums by local Boards of Health. Then two revolutionary bills on the regulation of building and drainage were introduced to Parliament and refused, but not before their presentation had stimulated local legislation. In 1843 the Health of Towns Commission was set up and its reports gave further impetus to the local legislation which the previous bills had started, resulting in an education of public opinion which ensured the passage of the Act of 1848, but not before such vested interests as burial, gas, and the water companies which Kingsley had condemned, offered strong opposition.\(^3\) The administration of the Act was to be carried out by a Central Board of Health and local boards, to

\(^1\) Letters and Memories; ii; 209.
\(^2\) Hammond; Age of the Chartists; 292.
\(^3\) Ibid. 301.
to be elected either by ratepayers or, in municipal boroughs, the town council. The Central Board could act where the Act was not adopted locally, and Kingsley's confusion over the appropriate local body was doubtless caused by a situation of this kind. Steady improvements which followed in public health reform by the 1851 Housing Acts compelling inspection and licensing of common lodging houses, and by such others as the 1866 Act making sanitary inspection compulsory, must have owed something to Kingsley's unremitting concern in his writing and lectures for the education of public opinion.

Kingsley's introduction to "Yeast" (1848) urged the limitation of private charity to rural labourers in the interest instead, of better dwellings, and complained of the "fearfully slow rate" at which sanitary reform was proceeding throughout the country districts, for which he indicted the indifference of the educated classes. In "Two Years Ago" (1857) he described vividly a cholera outbreak at Aberalva under the chapter heading "Baalzebub's Banquet" when he indicted the ineptitude of local public health measures, and showed up the fatalistic attitudes which he had condemned in his cholera sermons.¹ His familiarity with the Parliamentary reports is evident, for instance, in his reference to the ship lying in the Thames off a sewer mouth, and the cholera fatalities that followed.²

The Ladies' Sanitary Association was founded in 1856, and

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1. Kingsley; Two Years Ago; ii; XVII.
2. Ibid. ii; 71; cf. Report of Metropolitan Sanitary Commissioners, 1847.
in 1859 Kingsley addressed it on "The Massacre of the Innocents"\(^1\) wherein he exhorted concern in matters of child welfare and health.

The volumes "Health and Education" and "Sanitary and Social Essays" contain nearly all of his writing on the subject. In the lecture on "The Two Breaths" he advocated good ventilation in dwellings which he wanted to see introduced "not in the spirit of the law, but of the Gospel."\(^2\) There was a connection between good health and the moral life, hence "ill-filled lungs" would produce "folly, temper, laziness, intemperance, madness, and crime." In "Nausicaa in London", a lecture on the physical health and education of women, he demonstrated the same connection: and depicting in the poetic language of "The Air Mothers", the rain laden winds visiting England with their gifts of pure and abundant water, he again indicted the water companies and advocated public control.

In 1857 Kingsley delivered his lecture on "Great Cities, their influence for Good and Evil" at Bristol. Here, after tracing the effects of bad public health, he looked to a future of planned towns containing model lodging houses for workmen, each fitted with a common eating place, bar, baths, washhouses, reading room, and other conveniences, the whole set at a distance from the neighbourhood of their occupation.\(^3\)

In 1872 he was made president of the Midland Institute and went to Birmingham to give the inaugural address. Taking as his subject "The Science of Health", he traversed all his usual arguments.

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1. Letters and Memories; ii; 72.
2. Kingsley; Health and Education; 37.
3. Do. Sanitary and Social Essays; 216.
arguments for better health and its individual and national benefits, suggesting a public school of health in every town. If the Greeks had these things, he pointed out, a Christian nation should do better. He was greatly pleased when this lecture produced an offer from one of his hearers of a sum of £2,500 for the foundation of classes and lectures on the science of health, as a means of educating public opinion.¹

Kingsley even pointed to the possibility of resolving class agitation by means of sanitary reform: "I believe that when you put workmen into human dwellings and give them a Christian education, so far from wishing to rise out of their class, or to level others to it, exactly the opposite takes place."² This is in line with Kingsley's belief which conditioned his sanitary reforming work, that it was useless preaching the Gospel to the needy unless an attempt was also made to improve their lot.

Kingsley inevitably had to consider the influence of excessive drinking which was one of the major evils associated with bad living conditions. He was no teetotaller, but was nevertheless thoroughly alive to the evils of drunkenness, the specific causes of which he saw to be overwork - "we all live too fast and work too hard"³ - increasing material prosperity which gave a little more spending power to the thousands who knew no recreation beyond low animal pleasures,⁴ and the desire to drive away dullness. The craving for drink was thus not so much a disease as a symptom of one, induced by bad surroundings.

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1. Letters and Memories; ii; 387.
2. Ibid. i; 248.
3. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 173.
4. Ibid. 130.
The lines of reform he indicated were personal cleanliness - "the morning cold bath has done as much to abolish drunkenness as any other cause"¹, the establishment of small associate home breweries among groups of workmen for the supply of healthy ales at low prices, ² and the value of the spread of education, the enlightenment resulting from the importation of foreign art and science, the printing press - because of its value to education - and the growth of the railways, which had made the great posting houses, formerly notoriously corrupt, of no consequence. ³

In view of all this, Kingsley might have been excused for advocating strict teetotalism, but this would have left him untrue to his theology. Teetotalism seemed to him to be of the same nature as the "Manichaeist" ascetism of the Tractarians and Evangelicals, and, as such, to introduce a human requirement of righteousness which had no place in the requirements of God, ⁴ and which could lead only to spiritual pride and Pharisaism. The Bible was not a teetotaller's Book. In line with his view of the world as God's wherein nothing was evil but sin, he held that wine and similar drinks were "creatures" of God, and therefore good.

Among other methods for improving the human environment, Kingsley advocated benefit societies, ⁵ which would do universal good by furthering the principle of association, a principle that

1. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 203.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 276.
3. Kingsley; Prose Idylls; 42.
4. Letters and Memories; i; 270 ff.
5. Kingsley; Village, Town and Country Sermons; 149 ff.
that would be of untold benefit in families, parishes, nations, and the Church: "Unless men hold together, and help each other, there is no safety for them." He had developed this principle before his activities as a Christian Socialist, and it expressed as we have seen, his alternative to the evils of competition.

As to the place of charity and relief in the alleviation of distress, he himself never refused to help any genuine case that came to him, but he looked on it as a method of palliation only, believing that the better remedy was mutual self-help by the principle of association. Even clubs like clothing and shoe clubs were only palliatives, clumsy ways of eking out insufficient wages. The economic evils were there, and a degraded and reckless peasantry resulted from them. He therefore enjoined the well-to-do to accept responsibility for the better wellbeing of those less fortunate: "Let us who have property and station and education never forget who has given it us, and for whom we must use it." They must look on their servants and labourers as weaker brethren whom God had commanded them to help teach and guide in body, mind, and spirit, in order that they might be assisted to become free, manful, and self-helping. This was a universal command, for even the poor themselves could be at fault, with one poor man grudging and supplanting another, trying to get into his place, and beating him down in his wages.

Social

1. Kingsley; Village, Town and Country Sermons; 150.
2. Letters and Memories; i; 300
3. Kingsley; Sanitary and Social Essays; 8 f.
4. do. Sermons on National Subjects, 1st series, 283.
5. Ibid.
Social Mission of Art and Science

Kingsley believed that both art and science had a value for social brotherhood and understanding which he expressed as an equalizing force arising from the transcendent quality of existence to which they pointed.

Referring to the "true democracy" which considered the beautiful as the heritage of the poor as well as of the rich in the British Museum and in the National Gallery alone, where art was at its best, could the Englishman say: "whatever my coat or my purse, I am an Englishman and therefore I have a right here. I can glory in these noble halls as if they were my own house." The British Museum was a truly equalising place, the equalising quality subsisting in the fact of the works of God's Spirit, who was no respecter of persons, making the beholders feel that the Lord was the maker of them all. In other ways art had a social mission, and Kingsley referred to the value of classical sculpture in teaching the ideal of health and strength - an ideal which would be realised when "sanitary reform and social science" got their proper chance.

A freedom, equality, and brotherhood, he held, would follow from the study of natural science. The freedom would be a freedom from prejudice, combined with gifts of accuracy and patience; the equality would be seen in the equal effort needed for the study whereby the poor had as good a chance to excel as the rich; and the brotherhood would be realised in the association /

1. Letters and Memories; ii; 219.
2. Ibid. i. 175.
3. Kingsley; Prose Idylls; 286.
association of the like-minded for the common end of Knowledge. One and all would also in cultivating the spirit of enquiry by a study of nature, be enabled to understand better the divine construction of the world, and so by coming to an increasing knowledge of God, an increase in reverence would result.

The greatest equalising agent of all was the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which by its very nature demanded community. Its equalising significance was in that it made no distinction between rich and poor, who must all alike draw their spiritual life from it, "in common, all together, because they are brothers, members of one family."^1

**Theory of Progress**

Kingsley's theory of progress was dependent on his philosophy of history which he held gave evidence of a qualified law of progress in human life. The study of history revealed the existence, in the physical and moral worlds respectively, of two complementary principles: in the first it was the principle of rule, or law, or order; in the second it was the principle of continual advance, or action, or progress. The emphasis was on order in the physical world and on progress in the moral. Both worlds revealed a principle of development which in the physical world expressed itself as a law of irresistible growth, but in the moral world as a law of qualified progress. Hence no analogy from the physical world could properly explain the principle of progress in the moral world.4

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1. Kingsley; *Scientific Lectures and Essays*; 138.
2. Do. *Sermons on National Subjects*; 1st series; 95, 121.
4. Ibid. 318.
The law of progress in the moral world was determined by the Spirit of God, and hence its form took a shape in pagan society different from that in Christian society. In pagan society progress was cyclical - an ever-repeated recurrence of power and inevitable decay.\(^1\) In Christian society progress continued perpetually upward by a series of ascents and declines with each succeeding ascent higher than each succeeding decline.\(^2\) The progress of the ascent was qualified by man's faith in God, for to Kingsley all progress was moral progress in the last resort: this was primary and material progress was dependent upon it.\(^3\) Through losing their faith in God the Alexandrian Jews gradually ceased to progress,\(^4\) and the same was true of Islam which had become untrue to its original character.\(^5\) By contrast the generations of Christendom by the training of the Church and the Light of the Gospel, had been growing in wisdom and knowledge, morality and humanity.\(^6\)

The principle of progress in the human world was not irresistible, as it was in the physical world, because man had the power of breaking the moral laws upon which human progress depended.\(^7\) This was expressed by his moral disobedience, so that wars would set his progress back. Human laws of progress were qualified on the positive side by the emergence of great geniuses in the history of the race, and by the discovery of new inventions. The "dark places" in human history - the declines

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1. Kingsley; Water of Life; 137.
2. Do. Historical Lectures and Essays; 33.
3. Do. 230.
4. Ibid. 62
5. Ibid. 118
7. Do. Roman and Teuton; 317.
in the upward ascent of progress - were the surgeon's knife, and had a moral significance.¹

Kingsley made the transition from moral to material progress in human life and history by demonstrating that material progress followed from moral in the relation of cause and effect. If it should be maintained, for instance, that England's leading position among the nations was due simply to the fortuitous discovery of mineral wealth within her borders, Kingsley would point out that though God had given the raw material, the gift was ineffective until he had also given the British genius and energy for its exploitation, and these were morally conditioned. Even the discovery of the resources was accompanied by that of steam power, and this combination of circumstances had been brought about by God only at a moment in history that He had decided upon² - namely when the requisite moral qualities were sufficiently present in man. Kingsley did not believe that purely secular material progress could maintain itself.

Necessitarian views of nature like those of laissez-faire and the French socialists were not true to the laws of progress, for nature must first be obeyed and then conquered,³ not simply yielded to passively.

**Kingsley's Significance for Christian Sociology**

Kingsley's ethic was primarily for the individual and in so far as it could be described as a social ethic, it was an ethic for /

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1. Kingsley; Roman and Teuton; 340.
2. Do. Gospel of the Pentateuch; 233 ff.
3. Do. Roman and Teuton; 326.
for the individual in society, and social reform would be achieved by the principle of the leaven. Even in his consciousness of class - wherein in the conception of the existing social structure as the right one he was a child of his time\(^1\) - it is upon the individual as a member of his class that he enjoins his "duty". If anything was wrong it was the fault not of the class but of the individual, hence his ethic of duty strives with his ethic of grace\(^2\).

As we have seen, Kingsley was greatly concerned to provide for the conditions of a full and satisfying life for all classes, particularly for the depressed, for which they would receive means suited to their stations, but he does not indicate a belief in economic equality, particularly as between classes, and this leads him into a rationalising of class status at root which reflects the mediaeval.

Kingsley's view of the evils of competition is as valid for this day as for his own: but whereas he proposed to substitute co-operation, later days have preferred the method of protective legislation. "Every century or oftener mankind has torn itself to pieces because it thought prosperity was to be achieved by the destruction of an economic rival."\(^3\) Kingsley saw that the question was a religious one: that society was not an economic mechanism, but a community of persons whom he believed capable of being inspired by devotion to a common end.

Kingsley did not see that the problem of Christian social justice /

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2. cf. Jessop: Law and Love; Ch.3.
justice is one that transcends class, for "the special loyalty which is given to a limited community", while being natural enough, is productive, in extension, "of international anarchy", while his idealism of class governance has been described as "the basis of tyranny and hypocrisy". But though Kingsley held to class identity, he saw that the inevitable tension could be relaxed by the resources of Christianity.

As it was not the Church but revolting peasants in England and Germany who appealed to the fact that Christ has made all men free, so the growth of the social conscience owes more to Chartism and Marxism than to the Church. "Mankind does not reflect upon questions of economic and social organisation until compelled to do so by the sharp pressure of some practical emergency." Nevertheless to the pronounced development of the Christian social conscience resultant upon the depression of the late '70's and '80's, Kingsley's work, as we have seen, contributed.

Kingsley's witness to the necessity for making Christianity relevant to contemporary life places him in the succession of all earnest search for a true Christian sociology, and his emphasis on the value and sacredness of personality as against scientific individualism, which is probably his one emphasis which in all its aspects has stood the unqualified test of time, shows him to have been possessed with the Divine concern which was at the heart of the Gospel itself.

1. Niebuhr; op.cit.; 115.
2. Tawney; Religion and the Rise of Capitalism; 57.
3. Ibid. Ch.2.
4. Hudson and Reckitt; The Church and the World; iii; 120.
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Chapter 5 /
Chapter 5

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