

A STUDY OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

BY

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## Preface.

This subject was suggested to me by my interest in the fiction of the nineteenth century, in general, and in the novel of purpose, in particular. My initial interest was in Charles Kingsley as a novelist but, on consideration of this author as typical of his period, and as one of the pioneers in the field of the purpose novel, his fiction is so closely related to the life of the man himself, as well as to his other branches--educational, social, and religious---that I have found a complete study of Charles Kingsley to be inevitable.

The study is not to be regarded as a criticism in the strict sense of the word, but rather as an appreciation of the man, an attempt to show the extent and the value of his work.

It was surprising to me to find in the library only a limited amount of material with which to investigate such a well known author. Although Dr. C. G. Dunlap and Miss Carrie Watson have, by their interest and patient effort, secured many additional writings for my use, it has been impossible to obtain some of the author's publications as well as many of the criticisms which his

## Preface.

work evoked. Therefore the treatment of the subject is not as complete as desired.

I wish to thank Professors Josephine Burnham, E. M. Hopkins, and W. S. Johnson for their kindly criticisms and suggestions. I desire to express to Professor S. L. Whitcomb, under whose direction this thesis has been prepared, my sincere appreciation of the thought and time which he has given to my work, and his unfailing interest which had added much to the pleasure which I have had in the preparation of this study.

G. H. H.

## C H A P T E R I

### C H A R L E S K I N G S L E Y , T H E M A N

#### His Life

Charles Kingsley, son of Charles Kingsley of Batteramsley, in New Forest, was born at Holme Vicarage, Dartmoor, Devonshire, on January 12, 1819.

His father was a man of refinement, a good linguist, an artist, a keen sportsman, and a naturalist. At the age of thirty he began his work in the church and, at the time Charles was born, was curate of Holme. His mother, although brought up in England, was born in the West Indies. She was of a poetical and enthusiastic temperment, sensitive to the beauty of nature, and highly imaginative.

The family left Devonshire when Charles was but six weeks old, as the Rev. Mr. Kingsley had been given the curacy of Nottinghamshire.

The boy was a very precocious child, composing verses and sermons even at the age of four years. His early education was received at a preparatory school at Clifton where he made remarkable progress in Latin and English, although his favorite study was that of natural history. Later he was sent to Helston to school, as his parents would not consent to a public school education--which might have helped to dispel some of his shyness and to correct his stammering. Dr. Derwent Coleridge, at that time head-master of the school, said that he was an eager reader and inquirer, a genuine out-of-doors English boy as well as a very courteous and gentlemanly lad. He was strong and daring.

In 1836 the Kingsleys moved to London as the father had been given the living at Chelsea. It almost broke the boy's heart to leave the freedom and the beauty of the West Country for the narrow and conventional life of the city, which he never ceased to dislike.

When nineteen Kingsley went to Magdalene



College, Cambridge, where he gained a scholarship in classics and mathematics. Here he was very popular and his many friends found him a most entertaining as well as helpful fellow-student.

While visiting his parents in Ipsden, Oxfordshire, where his father had country duty for a few months in 1839, he met his future wife Fanny Grenfell. At that time he was troubled by religious doubts, and the unusual sympathy and understanding of this new friend helped him to decide definitely, in 1841, to enter the ministry instead of following the legal profession, as he had intended. In July 1842 he was ordained deacon by Bishop Sumner. That same year he was given the curacy of Eversley, which place was to be the scene of an unusually active and useful life.

In 1843 Kingsley was recommended for the curacy of Pimperne, where he would receive a small living. He left Eversley in December and in January married Fanny Grenfell. Soon after this, the rectorship at Eversley becoming vacant, he was given that appointment and returned to his first parish. From this time on his duties as rector and his labors

in other fields constantly increased.

His primary interest was always his church and, although connected with many other phases of life, his parish never felt his neglect nor noticed any change, or failure to be concerned with the most trivial details of his work there.

The first honor to come to him was the name of Canon of Middleham in 1845, which carried with it few obligations but gave the rector of Eversley much happiness.

During the summer of 1844 he had first made the acquaintance of Frederick Denison Maurice, whose work and ideals he greatly admired. In 1848, at the time of the Chartist uprising, Kingsley joined Maurice and others in the work of Christian Socialism which, although it made more enemies for him than any other phase of his work, gave his life its fullest activity, was the inspiration for his first writing of fiction, and, above all, has made his name lasting in the world of English letters. A man of extraordinary nervous energy and activity, he used both pen and tongue to help in more permanent and rational reform. Even when the Chartist Movement and Christian Socialism had

lost their force, the ideals embodied in the work of the time were carried out in the practical Christianity of his parish work, his educational and his religious teachings.

Wherever he went he found some new work, teaching, lecturing, or writing. He was never free from severe nervous strain and soon it began to tell upon him. Already he had spent many months in complete rest, and the year of 1857 was the first winter in Eversley for three years. In 1859 he broke down several times and had to stop work. He discontinued his trips to London, withdrew from politics, and stayed more closely at home. He did not at any time enjoy the strain and artificiality of public life and longed for rest. He continued his literary activity but his interest was more concerned with scientific and religious writing than with fiction.

Kingsley now devoted even more time to sanitary science than to political reform and, for this year, refused to lecture on anything but health.

He preached for the Queen and was made one of Her Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary. Later on he preached again for the royal family at Windsor Castle

and St. James and received an appointment as chaplain to the Civil Service Volunteers. The friendship of the royal family helped him in many ways.

In 1860 Kingsley was given the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. He accepted with diffidence, and in the spring went to take his M. A. degree. Three years later he was made a fellow in the Geological Society and gave up his Cambridge residence, going up but twice a year for lectures and examinations. His time was divided between his parish and the study of science.

His work became so heavy that, in 1868, he found it necessary to have a curate, and the Rev. William Harrison came to be his assistant. The next year Kingsley closed his professorial work at Cambridge and took up his duties as Canon of Chester. A year of heavy work was lightened by the prospect of a voyage to the West Indies, on the invitation of Sir Arthur Gordon, Governor of Trinidad.

On December 2, 1870, Kingsley and his oldest daughter embarked at Southampton to spend Christmas at Trinidad. The whole trip lasted but three months yet Kingsley came back with renewed strength and vitality.

The year after this he was asked to become president of the Devonshire Scientific Society and very gladly accepted the honor. On May the first he took possession of the residence in Abbey Square, Chester, for his three months of duty as Canon.

The year 1872 began with the usual work of his parish at Eversley. The deaths of his friends, Dr. Maurice and Dr. Norman McLeod, seemed to sadden him and to make him realize just what overwork was doing for him also. His duties seemed only to redouble however, and he found it necessary to have a secretary to care for his private correspondence. His over-taxed brain had brought on a constant lassitude and numbness of the left side, which made him apprehend paralysis, and forced him to limit himself to his preaching and correspondence. He dreamed of leisure but was wont to say, "Better to wear out than to rust out."

In place of the canonry of Chester, Kingsley was given a stall at Westminster Abbey in 1873. Now he felt that he was no longer obliged to write or engage in scientific work, but could devote his entire time to sermons. Chester mourned his loss and he was equally sorry to leave the place for which he had such

happy associations. He said of his new position:

"It was like coming suddenly into a large inheritance of unknown treasures." In April he preached at the Abbey for the Temperance Society. During September and November he preached here twice each Sunday to vast congregations, composed mostly of men from the middle and lower classes, whom he especially wished to reach.

Kingsley now decided upon a trip to America. He arranged to give lectures while there to help defray the expense of the trip. His eldest daughter again accompanied him and they left England December 29, 1873.

On the journey he kept no notes and wrote to no one but his wife. He made the acquaintance of both Whittier and Longfellow at Cambridge, Massachusetts, spending some time with the latter. Whittier has said of Kingsley: "His heart seemed overcharged with interest in the welfare--physical, moral, and spiritual--of his race." He also met William Cullen Bryant, whose works he greatly admired.

In Philadelphia a lecture on Westminster Abbey was given to a large audience. While there he was

asked to give the invocation at the opening session of the House of Representatives. So far on his trip his health seemed perfect. We do not know how far north he traveled, but in his letters to his wife he mentions seeing Canada and eating moose. The trip took him beyond the Mississippi River, as far as California. He arrived at Salt Lake City the day after the dedication of the First Episcopal Church there and preached to a crowd which the building would not accommodate. Brigham Young offered him the Mormon Tabernacle for the service but the offer was not considered. He preached several times on his way through the Yosemite Valley and upon his arrival at Berkley, addressed the students on Culture.

While in California, Kingsley contracted a severe cold which turned into pleurisy. He was forced to hasten back to Denver and then on to Colorado Springs. Here he was ill for some time. His chief enjoyment was the study of the new botanical specimens which his daughter brought him. Here he wrote his last poem, "Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree." He did not tell his wife of his illness but only of his homesickness. On July 17, 1874, he preached for the second service held in

the Episcopal Church at Colorado Springs, and on the twenty-fifth embarked on the Adriatic for England. His health seemed restored but his vitality was greatly weakened.

Returning to Eversley in warm weather, he found much sickness and promptly set to work again with no thought for himself. When he went up to London for his September sermons, he had a severe attack of congestion of the liver, and was too weak to do justice to his work. His wife became dangerously ill and this added worry and over-exertion. His sermon on All Saint's Day in November seemed to be his preparation for death, and on November twenty-ninth, Advent Sunday, he preached his last sermon in Westminster Abbey.

Kingsley returned home suffering from a severe cold. In caring for his wife, who was still in a critical condition, he gave no thought to himself. His cough became bronchitic and turned to pneumonia. For a time it was thought that husband and wife were both to leave this world at the same time but it was not to be so. The rector of Eversley died January 23, 1875, and was buried five days later. He was offered a place in the Abbey, but his friends, knowing his wishes, did not



hesitate to choose Eversley for his resting place.

### His Personality

John Martineau, who was for several years a pupil in the Kingsley home, has, perhaps, given us more personal recollections of his teacher than any other person could have done.<sup>1</sup> We know that in appearance Kingsley was rather tall, powerful and wiry looking.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Martineau says little on the subject except that "All his strength, physical, mental and moral, seemed to find expression in his keen grey eyes, which gazed with the look of an eagle from under massive brows divided from each other by two deep perpendicular furrows..... together with two equally deep lines from nostril to mouth, very marked features in his face." The picture of Kingsley in the first volume of Letters and Memoirs shows him as he lived, the picture of the bust in the second volume, represents him as an old man. Other portraits<sup>3</sup> are to be found, but the first mention-

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1. Vol. I. Life and Memoirs. p. 238.

2. Vol. I. Life and Memoirs. p. 184.

3. See Appendix B, Portrait under Magazine Articles.

ed is the most worthy representation of the man.

Kingsley's personal fascination was very great. Serious, dignified, and stately though he was, both rich and poor loved him. In his own life he spoke and lived his doctrines of sincerity, usefulness, and love. He was an example which could not be passed by.

<sup>1</sup> "There never was a man with whom life was less monotonous, with whom it was more full to overflowing with variety and freshness..... By day and by night.....he drank in nature. So many sided was he that he seemed to unite in himself more types and varieties of mind and character.....than could co-exist in any one man." With his love for nature came his love for animals and all living things and keen enjoyment of out-of-door sports. He also thoroughly appreciated all works of art, and his eloquence and insight were most inspiring to those about him.

He had a rare command of racy and correct English, as is shown by his correspondence. Dr. Maurice has said that "his conversation is full of interest

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1. Vol. 1. Life and Memoirs. p. 239.

even when he is ill and when he is well he is the freshest, freest-hearted man in England." A painful stammering was evident in his conversation but in preaching and in speaking with a set purpose, he was wholly free from it.

Great personal energy was, perhaps, his strongest characteristic. He was all that was brave, impulsive, just, and truthful.<sup>1</sup> His sense of humor was shown most strongly in his intercourse with his family and parishoners. Life for him was mainly practical and useful. His favorite motto was "Be strong."

### His Home<sup>2</sup>

Charles Kingsley's home was the fountain head of all his strength and greatness. His wife had come to him at a great crisis in his life to guide and strengthen him and she continued to be his main help throughout the years that followed. His one great fear was that he should be left in the world without her.

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1. Vol. II. Life and Memoirs. p. 298 1

2. Vol. I. Life and Memoirs. p. 43.

Regularity and system ruled in the home. Religion or truth was the keynote for the family associations. Servants were treated as children belonging to his estate.

He had the greatest thoughtfulness for his family, even when his work was heaviest. His rule was to keep sufferings and troubles to himself and to make life easier for others. When away from home, his letters were filled with news<sup>1</sup> and interesting details. His letters to Mrs. Kingsley show his love for his family and never does he fail to ask her to kiss the children for him. Very frequently he wrote to each child individually.<sup>2</sup>

With his four children--Rose, Maurice, Mary, and Grenville--Kingsley was like a light-hearted boy, and displayed marvelous humor. He was an intimate friend, not a stern parent, and his children were never afraid of him. No favoritism was ever shown, but tenderness and sympathy were given equally to all. He felt that his parents had been too strict and so laid down very few rules for his own family. He never spoke hastily to one

1.Vol. I. Life and Memoirs. p. 232.

2.Vol. II. Life and Memoirs. p. 31.

of his household and was the same fine gentleman in his home as he was outside of it. The children were always well cared for and given the best of everything. Corporal punishment was not allowed, for Kingsley believed in the use of reasoning power alone to correct the faults of children.

Sunday was a happy day at the rectory, with no gloom and no restrictions. Pictures, books, and long walks filled many pleasant hours. He kept the sense of wonder ever wide awake and called out the power of observation in each growing mind. The children were taught to love and handle gently every living thing but, above all, to reverence and respect older people.

### His Friends

Kingsley's ideal of friendship was broad and noble. He took his friends as he found them and loved them for what they were. His thought always was: "People are better than we think." He disciplined himself never to think of trouble or bother when helping others, and this was the secret of his great chivalry.

His friends were in every profession, every rank, and every school of thought. His parishoners did not realize what their rector meant to the world outside because he was always the same to them and they loved him. He was stern only towards vice and selfishness and was merciful in an unusual degree toward wrong-doing.

Kingsley's personal correspondence shows how many close friends he had and what an interest he took in writing and keeping in touch with them.

Among English men of letters, Browning and Tennyson were his best friends. These men he visited and knew intimately. Among American writers he knew Mrs. Stowe, who had called upon him in his home, and Longfellow and Whittier whom, as has been noted in the earlier part of this chapter, he met while on his trip to America. The latter wrote of him<sup>1</sup>: "He is one of the manliest of men and since I have known him the man seems greater than the author."

The friends of whom we hear the most are Richard Cowley Powles, Charles B. Mansfield, Anthony

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1. Vol. II. Life and Memoirs. p. 314.

Froude, Tom Hughs, Max Müller, Arthur P. Stanley, and Frederick D. Maurice. Each of these men had some definite influence or formed some special tie in Charles Kingsley's life. Powles was a friend from school days at Helston; Mansfield was born the same year as Kingsley and the two were intimately associated in Politics for the People<sup>1</sup>; Froud, Kingsley's brother-in-law, made possible many of his publications and also was a favorite companion on many fishing trips; Hughes shared with Kingsley the ideals of muscular education and he also proved an entertaining and sympathetic companion for trips to the lakes or the mountains;<sup>2</sup> Müller was one of his most regular correspondents, a friendly critic and adviser; Stanley shared in his spiritual ideals and his work at Westminster Abbey; finally, but not least in importance, Maurice, his "master" in practical Christian ideals, understood and helped him more than all the rest.

To the last, Charles Kingsley loved and wanted to be loved with all the freshness of boyhood.

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1. Vol. I. Life and Memoirs. p. 119.

2. Vol. II. Life and Memoirs. p. 22.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PLACE OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

#### IN THE EDUCATIONAL WORK

#### OF HIS PERIOD

##### As a Scholar

Charles Kingsley's education had been very thorough and very systematic. At an early age he was deeply interested in studies which related most closely to nature and to history. Later on, when a pupil at Helston Grammar School, he had access to the fine library of Dr. Derwent Coleridge, and began to develop a broader taste for classics and science. When but sixteen he knew enough German to make a very creditable translation of Krumacher's John the Baptist for the Religious Tract Society.



His writings later on show that he was very conscientious as a worker. For instance, in the full notes to *The Saint's Tragedy* is found a long list of references, among them the *Eight Books Concerning Saint Elizabeth* by Dietrich the Thuringian. In preparation for one lecture at Cambridge in 1869, he read through nearly the whole of Comte's works. In his poetry are found many instances of his historical knowledge. *The Song of the Little Baltung*, in particular, has many references to old Gothic, Scandinavian, and Germanic history. He also had a commendable knowledge of language, its history and significance. He is known to have written little in any but his native language; yet in his drama we find a Latin song, in *Hereward* some French verse, and among his poems, the French "Qu'est-ce Qu'il Dit?"

Kingsley's friends often visited him in his large library where he was familiar with every book. "He could talk of classic myth, mediæval romance, magic, modern science, metaphysics, and poetry; West Indian scenery, parish schools, politics, and fairyland with all humor, sympathy, pathos, and profound knowledge. He always knew just where the book was to verify each state-

ment he had made."<sup>1</sup>

As a Teacher and Lecturer

In the year 1848 Kingsley's financial condition was such that he was desirous of finding pupils, but, notwithstanding the efforts of his friends, so strong a prejudice had been created against him by his writings, that he could not carry out this plan for a year at least. He did, however, for a period of some months, help a young Cambridge student read for Holy Orders.

The same year his work as a teacher really began with his acceptance of the Professorship of English Literature and Composition at Queen's College. There he gave a series of introductory lectures on literature and composition and a course on Early English Literature. He showed in the latter course his familiarity with early literature and its connection with history. On resigning this chair the following year, he gave instructions to his successor: "Give them a lecture on the rise of our Norse forefathers. Show them the peculiar wild, mournful, gigantic objective imagination of the men, and

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1. Life and Memoirs. Vol. II. p. 220

its marriage with Saxon subjectivity (as I fancy) to produce a ballad school. The Norse are the great creators all through and all the ballads come from the north of England and from the lowlands of Scotland, from half Norse blood."

Had it not been for the prejudices against him, Kingsley would have received a Professorship of Modern History from King's College. However, feeling was too strongly against the author of *The Saint's Tragedy* and *Yeast*.

Much regret has been expressed over the fact that he did not finish a series of lectures he began in 1849 as a plea for a free national gallery and museum. He himself intensely enjoyed all works of art, and whenever he went to a public gallery crowds gathered around him to watch his face and to listen to his comments. "Pictures raise blessed thoughts," he was wont to say. He lived to see some of his plans carried out in great exhibitions of 1851 and 1860.

Kingsley was a firm believer in national compulsory education, and it was with great happiness that he saw the opening of the first good national school in his parish in 1853. He thought, and did not hesitate to

say, that religion was hindering this movement. He expresses some of this feeling in the early part of Alton Locke.

He was in demand as a lecturer in many places. In February of 1854 he delivered a series of lectures in Edinburgh at the Philosophical Institute, his subject being the Schools of Alexandria. The series was so well received that there was a demand for publication. He had not intended them for the press and so there is in them a lack of coherence and unity. Kingsley's intention seems to have been to show the difference between the worship of human intellect, as shown in the Alexandrian schools, and the reverence for divine truth, which his age advocated.

In 1855, while at Bideford, he lectured on Fine Arts and also organized a drawing class for young men. Here he taught geometry, perspective, and free-hand drawing, displaying much accurate knowledge of these subjects. It was characteristic of Kingsley to illustrate his talks and lectures, while speaking, by the use of a small blackboard.

As the fame of his authorship and teaching ability grew, Kingsley's personal correspondence

increased. Men and women of all classes wrote him for advise and help on every conceivable question. He also had a serious correspondence with the Spectator, in regard to the state of the universities. He urged the necessity for an investigating commission and this made for him many new enemies and increased his correspondence still further.

In 1860 the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge was offered to Kingsley and accepted. Here his annual lectures were crowded. The series of which most is known is called The Roman and The Teuton. These are not well arranged and lack system and completeness, yet they aroused much interest. History was his text but his aim was to teach young men to interpret the purposes of history. In this he was very successful. There are passages full of shrewd remarks and real eloquence. These lectures were published in 1875 with an introduction by Max Müller. They cannot be consulted as a text book nor as authority on history but are of more value for the thoughts, eloquence, and imagination.

Another series of lectures given at Cambridge was entitled History of America and the Civil

War There. This shows a certain fearlessness and broad-mindedness in Kingsley. Newman, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold and others were, at that time, afraid and doubtful of America.

In 1868 his professorial lectures on The Sixteenth Century were crowded. Severe attacks of a personal nature had been made upon his teaching and, although he wished to resign his chair, he decided to keep it at least a year longer. His final lecture, on Comte, in 1869, has been noticed under Scholarship earlier in this chapter. This is one of his best lectures.

Following his work at Cambridge, Kingsley gave other lectures at different schools but in no others did he take such a scholarly interest as in those given during his ten years as Professor of Modern History. At the Royal Institution, in 1867, he gave three discourses on the Ancient Regime; in 1871 a course of lectures at King's College; and his final addresses were those given in America on his trip there in 1874.

It is interesting to note here several educational works by Charles Kingsley. In 1860 he began a short History of England, of which only the first three

chapters were finished. Health and Education, although referring to the latter subject, is a series advocating the interest and study of science in educational institutions. Last, and least in importance, is Phaethon. Here Kingsley attempts to become philosophical. Although we have few greater teachers, the author has no reasoning ability. He should never use logic or discuss philosophical questions. He did not intend to express the narrowness and fallacy which we find in Phaethon. His moral convictions and sympathies intrude too much. Phaethon shows the author's tendency to dash out of repulsions of partial experience into most extravagant antagonisms of judgement.

In connection with his historical teaching Kingsley has made interesting comment on the Franco-Prussian War. He said that it was too soon to judge as to the outcome but he urged the Germans, with whom he was in sympathy, not to be too greedy for French soil, but "to get that done which must be done so that it need never need doing again."

In all his teaching he preached without seeming to do so. "His lectures," says Max Müller, "were more largely attended than any others in Cambridge.

Men all over the world have thanked God for the lessons of manliness, charity, and godliness they learned from him."

### As a Critic

Charles Kingsley was not a literary critic. Saintsbury classes him with Ruskin and Froude in his disinclination to take the standpoint of pure literary criticism.

As early as 1849 he wrote reviews on modern poetry for Fraser's Magazine, and he also wrote other articles on literature. He corresponded with many novelists and writers, among them Mrs. Gaskell and Fredrika Bremer, the Swedish novelist. He read much modern literature and made some interesting comments. He especially admired Mrs. Gaskell's Charlotte Bronte and wrote to congratulate her upon the work. Of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Othello, and The Bride of Lammermoor, he has said: "They are too painfully good." Of Tom Brown he wrote to Hughes: "Isn't it a comfort to your old bones to have written such a book?"

In 1854 he promised Baron Bunsen to write a preface for Miss Susanna Winkworth's translation of



Taulor's *Theologia Germanica*. In this he tells something of the nature of the work but nothing of the author's ability. He says that he "honors the book for its noble aims and righteousness." In the Preface to Henry Brooke's *Fool of Quality*, Kingsley again puts the man himself before his work. He does not give any valuable literary criticism.

Kingsley might have been somewhat of a critic had he allowed himself to be. He affects both blame and praise but there is the inability to distinguish between morals and genius. For example, he called Heine a bad man with no consideration of his work. As a critic, therefore, he is almost wholly untrustworthy, though sometimes interesting and stimulating, as in the Preface to *The Fool of Quality*.

#### As a Scientist

Kingsley inherited from his mother his love of travel and science. From his earliest childhood it was the boy's delight to listen to stories of tropical scenes and to study natural history. He loved to be out of doors and to explore unknown places, find new views, and hear new sounds. In many of his early poems are found

minute observations and descriptions, showing his intense love of nature.

As he grew older his delight in nature increased but he began to interpret sights and sounds with a new meaning. In everything he found a meaning from God. His chief criticism of men of science was that they subordinate the satisfaction of emotion to that of intellect and try to analyse everything. His keen eye for nature and his love of bird, beast, and insect, made him sympathize with the observers, if not with the reasoners, and led him to recognize a poetic and religious side in rightly interpreted science. He believed that it helped to interpret the Bible and he found phenomena mentioned in the Bible which he hoped to trace out in science. His appreciation remained true and healthy to the end and even became more intense as he studied the various branches of scientific thought. He felt that it brought him closer and closer to God.

Kingsley's earliest scientific writing appeared in a perfectly natural way in his private correspondence. He gives many wonderful descriptions and displays geographical knowledge as well as botanical

interest.<sup>1</sup> He has said that he was happier in physical science than anywhere else and he shows this in his early poems,<sup>2</sup> as has been mentioned before.

Beginning with the year 1854 his scientific interests became broader and more practical. At Torquay he spent many happy days on the shore with his family but he was busy in using every new detail and phenomenon which he found there. He wrote an article for the North British Review called The Wonders of the Shore, which later developed into Glaucus. The latter contained not only natural history but some of his deepest thoughts on theology as connected with the theory of transmutation, and the lately published Vestiges of Creation. He also kept a daily journal of natural phenomena while at Torquay, and made collections and drawings for his descriptions. He was wide awake with an intense curiosity for everything. Shortly after this period at the shore, he wrote The Winter Garden, the most beautiful of all his Prose Idylls, and also Chalk Stream Studies.

In the summer of 1860 England was frightened by

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1. Life and Memoirs. Vol. I. pp. 174, 168.

2. 1851-Memorandum on Fishing.

unusually heavy rains. Kingsley felt sure that the rain was a blessing and would keep the country from plague. While others prayed for the rain to cease, he preached its scientific value in spite of much severe criticism.

That same year his inaugural address at Cambridge was entitled, *The Limits of Exact Science Applied to History*.<sup>1</sup> In 1861 came his lectures on *Science and Education*.<sup>2</sup>

In 1863 Kingsley was made a fellow in the Geological Society. This year his interest was given partly to Wellington College, which was only four miles from Eversley. Here he gave lectures and helped get collections for a museum. He spent much time in corresponding with well known scientific men, and in the study of various phases of the work. Darwin's book on *The Fertilization of Orchids* helped him greatly. Huxley, Darwin, Lyell, Rolleston, and Bates were his authorities, with whom he corresponded and to whom he preached a living, ever-working God. In a discussion as to Darwin's theory of man, Kingsley said that the difference between man

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1. Now published as introduction to  
Roman and Teuton.

2. Published in *Health and Education*.

and ape lay not so much in body as in soul. So we see clearly that the preacher was closely associated and inter-related with the scientist.

During the absence of Mr. Froude, in 1867, Kingsley took the editorship of Fraser's Magazine for a few months. He made use of this opportunity to publish articles on science, his own and those of his friends. A Charm of Birds and other articles in the Prose Idylls came out at this time. At this time he was also working out problems of the Bagshot sands in the district around Eversley.

In 1869 he lectured on natural science at Wellington and Clifton Colleges, and also at various industrial and mechanical institutions. He spoke to the ladies of Winchester on Health and Ventilation, and Thrift. This same year he was elected president of the Social Science Congress at Bristol.

The year 1871 marked an era in Kingsley's scientific interests. He succeeded Mr. Froude as president of the Devonshire Literary and Scientific Society at Bideford. At this time he refused to talk on the physical origin of man. "Fools (with Comte)," he said, "conceive there is no living God because they cannot condense his formulas into their small smelling bottles."

In the autumn he lectured on The Study of Natural History at the Woolwich Royal Artillery Institution, the object being to show of what great value the inductive habit of the mind is to military men. At Christmas he gave a lecture on Bio-Geology for the Winchester Scientific Society, his keynote being Science is the voice of God.

Kingsley's greatest work for science, which came in this year, was the founding of the Scientific Society of Chester. While Canon at the cathedral there, he started a botanical class for middle class young men. He had sixty in the class at the beginning. He took time after his daily services, for walks and lectures and, in searching for illustrative material. The society also studied geology and took trips by railroad, each man being allowed to bring a friend with him. By 1891 this society had increased in membership to five or six hundred with officers, regular lectures, trips, and such men as Edgerton, Lyell, Hooker, Huxley, Tyndall, and Hughes for honorary members.

In 1873 Kingsley, as president of the society, gave a number of lectures. Among other topics was that of Wordsworth and nature. He told of his feelings when

at the poet's grave and of Wordsworth's value to scientists. He advised all naturalists to take with them on a trip such a volume of poems as the Excursion. Other lectures given to the society have been published as Town Geology and include (1) Physical Science, (2) Soil of the Field, (3) Pebbles in the Street, (4) The Stones in the Wall, (5) The Coal in the Fire, (6) The Lime in the Mortar, and (7) The Slates in the Roof. All of these he illustrated by drawings as he talked. His final lecture on Deep Sea Dredging, came at the end of the year when he was given a stall in Westminster Abbey. He remained president of the society until his death.

Another great service to popular science came through his address as President of Midland Institute. His subject was The Science of Health. A wealthy manufacturer, who heard the address, decided to use twenty-five hundred pounds to found classes on Human Physiology and the Science of Health. He saw, as Kingsley did, that mental and moral improvement would follow such a course of study. Kingsley advised him to make the lectures simple and practical and proposed to found a trust to teach the laws of health to common school teachers. Perhaps this was the most practical and the most definite result of his

teaching that Kingsley realized.

Another evidence of Kingsley's interest in physiology is shown by his close study of Comte, whose theory he opposed as getting too far away from God. Comte said that "I" is a function of the brain, Kingsley tried to show that "I" is the man and controls the brain, the difference between the physiology in Comte and the psychology in Maurice,<sup>1</sup> Carlyle,<sup>2</sup> and Bunsen.<sup>3</sup>

The list of publications of scientific subjects by Charles Kingsley includes Prose Idylls, Glaucus, Health and Education, The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to History, Town Geology, At Last, Madam How and Lady Why, and The Water-babies. The last three need some explanation as they have not been mentioned previously.

At Last is the story of his trip to the West Indies. It is full of poetical description, geological knowledge, botanical observations, and, most important of all, his ideals of God in nature.

Madam How and Lady Why is a scientific explanation of certain phenomena written in simple form for

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1. Kingdom of Christ.
  2. French Revolution.
  3. God in History.



children, dealing with nature and animal life. This was written for his own children and is dedicated to them.

The *Water-babies*, in reality a fairy tale, contains much discussion of science. It is by no means an analysis but rather an endeavor to show his theory that science should enjoy more and analyse less. It gives the beautiful side: God in nature.

The clergy of the Church of England have done more for science since the seventeenth century than any other denomination. Charles Kingsley may be counted as one of the foremost men in this group of assistants. His theory was that every one can learn more of God from nature than anywhere else. He recommends to younger clergy Hudson's *Outlines of the Philosophy of the History of Man*, and says that Darwin's *Fertilization of Orchids* is a most valuable addition to natural theology. Finally Kingsley says that every candidate for the clergy should pass in at least one branch of physical science to teach him the method of sound scientific thought and that the mystery in all science is God.

## CHAPTER III

### CHARLES KINGSLEY IN FICTION

Charles Kingsley began to write at the time of a great period in English fiction. Dickens and Bulwer Lytton were then at their height, the Brontes, Thackeray, Disraeli, and Trollope were his contemporaries, while George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, Wilkie Collins, and Charles Reade were as yet hardly known.

Kingsley used his novels to interpret problems in life, and so took material from recent facts of politics and speculations of the times. His greatest influence then was as a personality and a prophet. He was the product of circumstances and the interpreter of tendencies as well as the voice of a movement. The entire social system was in alarm and doubt and an uneasy

feeling was prevalent. Kingsley gave the meaning of this uneasiness. His novels are impassioned declarations of faith and principle, with the power of Christianity for his theme in every instance.

His subjects, therefore, are varied and his material taken from many sources. *Yeast* and *Alton Locke* show the political and social tendencies of the period, *Hypatia* has an aggressive purpose of arresting the movement toward Rome. *Westward Ho!* is less didactic and an historical romance. *Two Years Ago* is used to show the good of the Crimean War, and finally, *Hereward the Wake* seems to have been written more for pleasure than for any other purpose, unless it is to show the heroism of the Lowlands.

### Plot

Kingsley displayed little skill in plot construction. His two political fictions, which came first, are perhaps, his most characteristic and effective work, showing his chief influence, but they were no works of art. *Yeast* was just the beginning, material for thought. It is not exactly a novel, yet it is more than a dialogue; too romantic for a sermon, too imaginative for a pamphlet, and with too much action for a treatise. It may be said to contain a slight love story but no dramatic int-

erest. The story is very disjointed and defiant of all rules: typically a Kingsley production. It contains some eloquent thoughts, solid ideas, and his most youthful passions. Yeast is more of a work of art than Alton Locke because it is shorter, less akin to journalism, and more full of poetry. It deals with the country which Kingsley knew and loved.

In Alton Locke the plot is clearer and the interest is greater. The author has more of a story and the piece is more coherent with more opportunity for dramatic climax, as in the rescue of Billy Porter from the sweater's den.<sup>1</sup> This book was more popular than its predecessor, probably because it was more definite and intelligible. In detail the plot is absurd and exaggerated and it would require far greater reserve power, with more attention to unity of effect, to make this a really great book. Alton Locke served its purpose but, like Yeast, cannot be considered as artistic in any respect.

Hypatia is the most correct in form as well as the most ambitious of his novels. It is excellent in plot although perhaps too carefully worked out in places and too minute in detail. There is much more sense of

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1. Alton Locke. p 192.

dramatic climax and it is so well connected that, in tracing the various themes, no incident is forgotten and interest in the story never flags.

Westward Ho! is often called the "one real novel" which Kingsley wrote. It is more mature and more carefully written than Hypatia and is more real and lasting if not so brilliant. It is true that the plot is highly improbable, and that the love stories are childish and extravagant, yet it is a book of absorbing interest. This sea tale in historical setting shows no radical change in the author's style of thought or expression, but the author is dealing with the familiar and there is a sympathy with all that is strong, fearless, honorable, and beautiful which makes it realistic. There is a hopefulness, buoyancy, breadth of sunny light and general cheerfulness which make a striking contrast to his previous works.

As Kingsley grew in years he did not develop in a literary way and, although Two Years Ago and Hereward the Wake are both coherent and complete in plot, the artistic construction of Hypatia and Westward Ho! is lacking. His combatative instinct had lost its place in his life and he seems more content with the world in general. It seems inconsistent that this for-

mer denouncer of social wrongs and violent opponent of the Church of Rome should begin to sing of squires, patrons and guardsmen as his ideals. We miss the fire and enthusiasm of his early work.

### Characters and Local Color

Kingsley is, in general, not very original in his character-drawing. His people seem to be mere vehicles for expression of certain views or to be extremely overdrawn. Contrasting his work with Scott's, it may be said that Kingsley's characters are best suited for the time in which they lived, whereas Scott's men and women may be found in any age.

His first hero, Launcelot, is too much of a prig and is so ideal that he is weak and tiresome. Who, but Launcelot, could have ridden after a fox in a state of philosophical dreaming? Argemone is also weak and abandons her religious views for him much too easily. Harry Verney on the contrary, is a vital figure and compels admiration because of his loyalty to the squire, a loyalty which is the cause of his death. Tregarva interests us at first but we soon begin to notice that he talks too much. Bracebridge tries to show that fast lives always come to bad and untimely ends, and this moral lesson, coming as it

does toward the end of the book, spoils the story for us.

Looking at Alton Locke, the characterization is slightly improved but still the people are mere vehicles of expression for different views. The author's own opinions come in too often and are out of place. Carlyle considers Saunders Mackaye a wonderful character, almost perfect. He is undoubtedly the strongest and best in the book. Sandy is shrewd, speculative, warm-hearted, and an intense admirer of Carlyle. He loves people but appears to be very crabbed and cross on first acquaintance. He is a stern realist and claims that moral influence is the only hope for the poor man. Here again, the author's ideals creep in too often. The decorative scheme in Mackaye's room fails to fit his character and we cannot understand why Kingsley has been so inconsistent in this one respect. It is Sandy who shows Alton the poetry of reality.<sup>1</sup> Alton Locke is merely a puppet with little will of his own and constantly tossed here and there by the wishes of others. He is tailor, skeptic, chartist, author, and Christian Socialist

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1. Alton Locke. p. 83.

all in one. His moral nature is superhumanly faultless, yet he has intellectual weakness.

The only two women characters worth mentioning are Alton's mother and Lady Eleanor Staunton. The former is Calvinistic to exaggeration, as Alton says of her, "She dared not even pray for our conversion." Lady Eleanor is ahead of her whole age in Christian philosophy and philanthropy. Her character is spoiled by continuous preaching.

In *Hypatia* and *Westward Ho!* is found much excellent and careful character-drawing as well as admirable local color. In some instances the characterization in *Hypatia* is a work of art, in other instances it goes to extremes. Kingsley has here realized the Hebrew character in a way that Disraeli himself might have approved. Raphael reveals the daring and cunning of his race, mingled with contempt for the Gentile. He is dull stupid, and pedantic in his conceited reflections, but he is a live man and his character is very vivid and convincing as well as commanding. Miriam is the truest portrait ever drawn by Kingsley. Vile with her lust for power and her greed, she makes us shudder at every meeting. However, her dying outburst is poetry itself.



Turning to the church we get a forceful picture which can be criticised, perhaps, for not being shown even worse. Synesius, Augustine, Abbot Pambo, and Arsenius are the best men. Alexandria, the scene of vice, is contrasted vividly with the peaceful monastery whence came the Muscular Christian Philammon, who represents Kingsley's favorite type. This character may be overdrawn but is very typical and impressive. Cyril and his followers all typify the hollow Christianity, and Cyril displays much local color in his preaching. For the conversation of the monks in Hypatia, Kingsley studied the lives of many monks in order to be accurate in details. Hypatia, the proud virgin, an advocate of the gods, is wonderful in her serenity and strength even if she does appeal to us as silly and weak in her ideals. She is a living, speaking woman. Pelagia is very fascinating as such an opposite type and contrast to Hypatia. The Goths, with all their vices, are men and heroes. Wulf is as real a prince as he is courageous, honest, and gentle. Although in some respects the book is stagey and melodramatic and artificial, the characterization is very brilliant and original.

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Consciousness of nationality is very strong in *Westward Ho!* The principal characters are fictitious and idealistic but the imaginary characters are made to seem real by intimate association with real historical and well known people. Salvation Yeo is the best creation of the story. One of the best scenes is his interview with Sir Richard Grenville. The search of the mariner for his little maid, and his delight at finding her are well told. Amyas Leigh is one of the bold buccaneer type. Rough, resolute, and shrewd he is one of a class who helped influence the destinies of England. He has superhuman strength and is really the Muscular Christian in another guise. He is also talkative and in this respect we find Kingsley has made little improvement since the time of *Yeast*. Then there is Francis Leigh, the lion-hearted dandy typifying the Renaissance, Eustace Leigh, the villain converted to Catholicism, and Don Guzman, the Spaniard, haughty and melodramatic. Mrs. Leigh and Salvation Yeo's little maid are, with the exception, of the Jewess of Hypatia the only living women Kingsley ever drew. The latter illustrates the transition from heathen savagery to Christian civilization. Rose Saltern is a shadow and her charms have to be imagined, although she seems to

have no engaging quality beyond beauty and fondness for romantic narrative. As a rule Kingsley's women are insipid and no one cares for them.

In *Two Years Ago*, Grace Harvey is too much of a Sunday School heroine to ring true. Mary Armsworth does not even attract attention, and Marie, with negro blood, serves as a text upon slavery. There is no real heroine unless we should consider Grace. Four men and four women seem of equal importance. Tom Thurnall has no real characterization. He is of a lower type than any of the men so far. He is bragging, excitable and sentimental. All his swagger fails to convince us of his manliness. Mark Armsworth is agreeable, Dr. Thurnall remains in our memory, and Easley Vavasour has been taken from life. Always there is that intolerable love of preaching.

In *Hereward the Wake* it is difficult to judge of the characters because the author is writing of a period in past history, of a knightly age when all was artificiality and these characters are, without question, very artificial. *Hereward* is in reality more Norse than English. The characterization is not so good as that in *Two Years Ago*. Kingsley never improved upon the character-

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ization of Hypatia and Westward Ho:

Description and Emotion

Charles Kingsley shows his poetical quality in word painting. He is noted for his bold descriptions of scenery, and the great command of language thus shown, makes his work all the more admirable. In few English authors can be found finer pictures. He describes scenes never visited with no less ardour and realism than the ones with which he is familiar. He is so distinguished by this that, with the exception of Disraeli, he is above all contemporary writers since Scott. He has done for Devon and Cornwall, for heaths, chalk streams, and fens what Scott did for the Highlands. Even Bulwer Lytton and Disraeli seem conventional compared with him. Dickens was interested only in local scenes or places, he knew; and Thackeray and Trollope are not interested in landscape at all. It is true that Kingsley cannot describe the human figure at all, but only makes it appear ludicrous in many respects. However no writer had a greater power of dramatic presentation, no one ever brought a character or a scene more vividly before the reader.

Hypatia seems too brilliant and too artificial in all respects, but it must be remembered that if it is overdrawn, it was possibly due to his own eagerness and enthusiasm concerning the work, and his desire to make it so detailed that every one else should see it as he saw it.

In his other books he deals with familiar scenery, in most instances, and in these scenes is found more of the emotion of the author. The hunting scenes, river vignettes, and the village revel are exquisite pieces of painting.<sup>1</sup> They are terse, direct, and first hand descriptions. The writing is alive and dramatic.<sup>2</sup> "We are in active strenuous enjoyment; beguiling trout streams, sailing under the storm-beaten cliffs of Lundy, drinking in the rich sea breeze that sweeps over Dartmoor, or galloping with clenched teeth through the fir woods of Eversley. One characteristic picture-- to take one at random from a hundred--is the homeward ride of Zeal-for-Truth Thoresby of Thoresby Rise in Deeping Fen, as he goes slowly homeward after Naseby fight along one of the fen-droves. One could swear that

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1. Yeast.

2. Stephen. pp. 402-3

one had been with him, as Kingsley, no doubt, was merely embodying the vivid recollection of some old Cambridge expedition into the Bedford level, a scenery which has a singular and mysterious charm, though few besides Kingsley have succeeded in putting it on paper." As for pathos in his scenes, compared with Uncle Tom's Cabin the scene in the garret in Alton Locke is a masterpiece.<sup>1</sup>

The strongest and most striking description in Kingsley's fiction is found in *Westward Ho!* Here he pictures what he has read as well as what he has seen. Some wonder has been wasted on Kingsley's descriptions of tropical scenery which he had never visited; but these descriptions may easily be traced to Humboldt and other sources, such as visits to Kew Gardens. What is really true is that Kingsley is describing with enthusiasm what he has read in his favorite books of travel. Portraying after Humboldt the mid-day calm of the forest, he says: "The birds' notes died out one by one; the very butterflies ceased their flitting over the tree tops, and slept with outspread wings upon the glassy leaves, undistinguishable from the flowers around them. Now and then

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1. Alton Locke. p. 86.

a colibri whirred downward toward the water, hummed for a moment round some pendent flower, and then the living gem was lost in the deep darkness of the inner wood, etc." There is nothing which would not suggest itself to a visitor at the British Museum or the Zoölogical Garden. It sounds more like a catalogue than actual observation. At the end of the volume we have a sketch from nature itself. Amyas and his friends approach the cliffs of Lundy: "As they approached, a raven, who sat upon the topmost stone, black against the bright blue sky, flapped lazily away, and sank down the abysses of the cliff, as if he had scented the corpses beneath the surge. . . . Below them, from the gull-rock rose a thousand birds and filled the air with sound: the choughs cackled the hacklets wailed, the great black-backs laughed querulous defiance at the intruders, and a single falcon, with an angry bark, darted out from beneath their feet, and hung poised high aloft, watching the sea-fowl which swung slowly round and round below." This gives atmospheric effect and dramatic character. Every phrase suggests a picture. It has real effect of unity instead of being an enumeration of detail. Here he describes inward enjoyment as well as outward fact.

One of his best scenes is a highly graphic and vivid description of a sea fight between the good ship Rose and a Spanish cruiser. Perhaps he boasts a little too much of the supremacy of the English but this does not spoil his description. So successful is the illusion of his scenes, that the unliklihood of a handful of men always conquering against overwhelming odds, never occurs to us. Can there be any greater test of dramatic power?

#### History

Few men since Scott have succeeded as Kingsley did in making historical novels readable. Hypatia and Westward Ho? are brilliant and almost solitary exceptions to the general dreary historical novels. One criticism has been made, namely, that he turned to distant events and times to find something to fit in with his prejudices. However that may be, if Kingsley was not a true historical teacher, he had the mind of an historian. He never claims to write history but to be true to life. He proves that he can discover the truly human, deep and permanent in the historic past. In his historical romances his idea has been the mingling of history with realism,--imagry, given an historical



quality by intimate association with well known real characters.

Kingsley has made the statement that Hypatia was written with his heart's blood. There is life, realism, and pictorial brilliancy in scenes in this book which give it rare power for an historical novel. It has not the great and full knowledge of Romola nor the style and setting of Esmond but it has vividness and definiteness which is a rare thing. If we look at history, however, the novel Hypatia cannot be called historical, although it may long be appreciated and read. It is unjust and misleading. Kingsley shows brilliant workmanship, abundant research, and admiration and sympathy, yet too many cannot distinguish between the truth and his imagination. He is depicting society in a wild and perturbed state, and possibly this may account for some of his exaggeration. Hypatia still lives, moves, and speaks, but she is not true to history. Kingsley shows a graceful and gifted character but falls short of the real woman. In the first place the real Hypatia was between fifty and sixty years of age instead of twenty-five. She was far more commanding a personage with many eminent scholars around her instead of society

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fops. Students came to her school from all parts of the world and she lectured to all who wished to hear her. She was a prominent figure in the life of the city and magistrates were wont to consult her. There is no historical ground for Orestes and his attitude toward her school. Perhaps, also, she did not approve of the way in which Christianity was carried on in Alexandria, but she could not have been so hostile, and have kept the life-long devotion of her pupil Bishop Synesius, one of the few historical truths in the book. Kingsley is inconsistent in making Synesius the old man and Hypatia, his teacher, a beautiful young girl. Hypatia was a noble and distinguished, rather than a romantic character, as Kingsley shows her. She could not have had the oriental aesthetic elements as shown and taught in the streets and taken such an interest in civil life as history points out. Mind and character should be attractive rather than beautiful.

Cyril is the only correctly described historical personage in the novel. Hypatia could have had little in sympathy with him but she did not necessarily have to be wholly opposed to all Christians. A motive for her murder has not been found, although Cyril was morally responsible. She has not been despised by the church or

a part of her glory could not have crept into the church to be honored each year in St. Cecelia.

In spite of its inaccuracies, *Hypatia* is one of the few successes of historical romance in all Victorian literature, both as to vitality and interest. This book has been translated into German, Dutch, and Modern Greek. Kingsley's novel will long be read and appreciated, but it must not be called history.

There is much that is genuine history in *Hereward the Wake*, as material was derived from original sources. However, it may be said that there is too much history and a failure to fit events together which confuses the reader. *Two Years Ago* also has some history but it cannot be considered an historical novel as the main interest is in the story, not in the few incidents of the background. It is more of a sermon.

Charles Kingsley is an Elizabethan by nature and *Westward Ho!* is the brilliant historical novel, the novel where he is truly at home. Here he reproduces the buccaneer spirit of the Elizabethan age with more of the spirit of adventure and interest than is found in *Kennilworth*. The book was written in Bedford in Devonshire. It has more of romance than realism. In the

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spirit of Spenser's Faerie Queen, he invented the brotherhood of the Rose. In his hero Kingsley shows his estimate of English seamen of that day; bold, frank, generous, accustomed to hardship, willing to endure privation, deeply attached to sovereign and religion, and hating the Spaniard with all his soul and strength. Private life is interwoven with history and successive historical episodes, which the characters represent, give an atmosphere for the plot. The old recklessness of assertion, excitement and feverish haste, boisterousness, and extravagance of tone are still there, but his object is to honor England's heroes of 1588, and with such an aim, the novel deserves high commendation. In its very name the spirit of Westward Ho! lives in the descendants of today. The west is always the promise of hope, enterprise and adventure. The historical statements are generally correct and he is known to have made a careful and thorough study of the times.<sup>1</sup> There is no absolute authority for the historical events, yet Drake, Hawkins, Raleigh, and Grenville look as they really were, perhaps a little highly colored but showing an attempt to be truthful. The

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1. Life and times of Raleigh in his Miscellanies.

book concludes with an attempted invasion of England by Spaniards, and the defeat of the Spanish Armada. It is a stirring account of Elizabethan heroes and consciousness of nationality is very strong. This is undoubtedly Kingsley's best historical novel, both because of its truthfulness and its aim.

#### Characteristics as a Writer

Burton calls Kingsley an athlete of intellect and emotion, yet there is too much apparent effort for real art. His writing is accomplished by great effort and he often seems like an orator who is straining his voice. He has a pure and nervous English style and the effect upon his reader is quickening and exciting. When he talks of common people, or the places and things he knows, he is at his best. This is the reason that *Westward Ho!* best represents his characteristics as a writer. His great quality is the joy of living. Humanitarianism is the keynote to all his work, and in this he exerted a greater influence than either Reade or Blackmore. This ardent love for humanity is felt most strongly in *Yeast*, *Alton Locke*, and *Two Years Ago*. He may have been inspired by other men but he was not imitative and, especially in his fierce imagination and in-

tense human sympathy, he was original.

Max Müller has said of him: "All he wrote was meant for the time he wrote it." He was not a professional novelist but a product of circumstances and an interpreter of the time. Therefore, as a novelist, his greatest influence is due to his personality as a prophet. The novel of purpose had much influence on English political, philosophical, and legal life from 1830 to 1850. Dickens, Disraeli, and Mrs. Gaskell were other authors of this type of novel who are of importance in that period. Dickens portrayed sentimental socialism, Disraeli the social Tory reaction, and Kingsley Christian socialism.

His influence was that of a preacher more than that of a man of letters. The intrusion of controversies--theological, racial, social, and political--in all his books prevents them from being great, although they are full of vigor, ardour, and beauty of conception. The author displays the effect of ecclesiastical environment just as Newman and Trollope do. We might expect to find the sermonistic quality in such men, accustomed, as they were, to address large congregations.

Two of Kingsley's fictions have been dramatized:

Hypatia in 1895, and *The Water-babies* in 1903. Of the first production little is known, although it was played for several weeks in London. *The Water-babies* book is not at all adapted to dramatic form. There is little dialogue in the story and, in putting it into drama form, Kingsley's pure and musical English diction is lost. Then too, there is no plot to speak of, and the whole story had to be reconstructed. However, looking at it from a child's viewpoint, the production was wonderful and long to be remembered.

Kingsley's earliest books are his most powerful as well as his most typical. During the time that he wrote he did not develop in artistic ability. He improved for a time in literary form but his excitable nervous system and impulsive imagination drove him into tasks for which he had no gift. During the last fifteen years of his life he produced nothing worthy of himself in fiction, but merely the outpouring of the professional preacher and story teller. There was never any repose. He was an eloquent writer rather than a great novelist.

The author is very modern in style and diction and accordingly may be classed with Thackeray. He is

melodramatic in places and over-minute, but very fascinating with his great command of language, his pure nervous, masculine style, and his graphic and beautiful descriptions. Every sentence is compact, intense, and emphatic, displaying lack of reflection and calmness. His dialogue lacks inspiration, and he could not, much as he loved children, record child life and language. One sentence illustrating his oddities in the use of diction will always be remembered against Kingsley: "and then began a murder grim and great."<sup>1</sup>

In rank, Kingsley has been classed with Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, Trollope and Reade. *Westward Ho!* is his greatest production in fiction because it best represents his power as a novelist. Power of poetical description, dramatic conception, and art of expressing character, earnest purpose, and high ideals will make Kingsley's fiction live.

#### Shorter Works of Fiction

Charles Kingsley also wrote two books of stories for his children which, although they have a story interest, are not novels.

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1. *Hypatia*.



Heroes is the best of its class. Tanglewood Tales becomes dull in comparison. There is real simplicity of Greek art and noble and pure English in this book of stories from the Greek Mythology. He wrote this because he believed that all children should learn to know and love these old myths.

The Water-babies is an immortal bit of fun with nonsensical whims about science, and conventional pulpit moralizing. The moral is much too plain but this does not trouble the child as "do's" and "don'ts" are familiar language to him. The deeper sarcasms against the arrogance of science and the defects of the examination system are not its main theme, although they are thoroughly appreciated by the older people who read this little volume. It is one of the classics of child literature.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHARLES KINGSLEY, THE POET

Charles Kingsley had the instinct of a poet to a high degree. He came nearer to first rank in his poetry than in any other branch of activity but he did not choose to follow this as a profession because he felt that he must write and preach to reach the greater number of people. In his fiction we find his poetical traits constantly in evidence, and often he resorts to verse in his books as the only way in which he can express his meaning. In his prose pictures we find the author of *Andromeda* and *The Three Fishers*. In his great command of language, as well as in his love for the artistic and the beautiful he had the

chief requisites of a true verse writer. The Saint's Tragedy and Andromeda are his most thoughtful and polished works; other poems generally came to him at some great crisis in his life or when he was in perfect harmony with his surroundings. He never aspired to be a poet of any note.

Of Kingsley's knowledge and love of poetry, we know much. While a day student at King's College in 1836 he read old ballads for recreation. He knew Southey, Shelley, and Coleridge by heart and learned to admire Wordsworth later on. He called Wordsworth "a preacher and prophet of God's new and divine philosophy of simple faith in God and man." Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* and Spenser's *Fairie Queen* were among his favorites, the latter being to him more dear than Shakespeare. Kingsley was a good French scholar and knew a good deal of German. He read much poetry in these languages. Byron, Moore, Keats, and finally, Tennyson found a place in his library. The last was his "master of poetry," and Kingsley has said that "Tennyson wrote the most beautiful poetry of his age." Of himself, Kingsley has said: "I never wrote five hundred lines in my life before *The Saint's Tragedy*,

but from my childhood I have worked at poetry from Southey's Thalaba, Ariosto, Spenser, and the Old Ballads, and through almost every school, classic and modern, and I have not read half enough. I have been studying physical sciences which deal with phenomena. I have been watching nature in every mood. I have been poring over sculpture ever since I was a little boy, and all I can say is, I do not know half enough to be a poet in the nineteenth century."

Charles Kingsley's most important, as well as longest, poetical writing is the drama of *The Saint's Tragedy*. Upon this he spent his most serious poetical efforts. He had begun to write the life of Elizabeth of Hungary in prose but, feeling that he could find a better form of expression, he changed to the poetical drama. His form, while not flawless, is smooth and musical. He wrote this while reading for his curacy and this may account for the very specific moral ideas which he has expressed. The moral purpose in the *Saint's Tragedy* is too evident for it to be good material for the drama, the plea for religious liberty would be better suited to a tract. The subject matter would even have made a better and more interesting historical

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novel than lyrical drama. It is much too long and there is lack of unity in plot and thought. The drama seems to be a series of vigorous sketches rather than an effective whole. It shows mental agitation very clearly. On the other hand, its good qualities are: knowledge of human emotions, dramatic interest, and truthful delineation of character. Kingsley also makes use of fantastic quotations, a characteristic of Elizabeth's age, and inserts many homely passages which give good background for the characters. Most of the drama is in blank verse, but there are some prose passages and songs interspersed. The prose is used when common ordinary matters of life are discussed, not the ideal or the visionary. In almost all of Kingsley's verse there is a vein of sadness, and that is felt very strongly in *The Saint's Tragedy*. Many critics of the time admired the workmanship of the drama although they severely censured the subject matter. Baron Bunsen urged the author to go on with historical drama and said that he felt sure Kingsley was worthy to follow in Shakespeare's steps and continue the work he had begun.

Homer's hexameter has been imitated often and with varied degrees of success and very few of these at-

tempts are worth the study. Kingsley's *Andromeda* is one of the best of these imitations. This is due in a great part to the scholarship of the author, although some credit must be assigned to the classical subject matter. Kingsley has made a serious attempt to picture the ideals of the Homeric age, the age of the gods of Olympus. The hexameter is usually an alien in our language but, in *Andromeda*, Kingsley almost succeeds in winning favor for it. The form is English loses its majesty, ease, and beauty because of too many consonants, absence of spondees, and want of inflected forms. Yet the author has produced five-hundred lines which, in rhythm, ease and rapidity, and metrical correctness, are among the best in our language. In rhythm, and stress, he is often perfectly accurate. He has true hexameters in the following passage.

"Violet, asphodel, ivy and vine leaves,  
roses and lilies."

and

"Nereid, siren, and triton, and dolphin  
and arrowy fishes."

This is because the words used are Greek and Latin, shorter words with fewer consonants than we ordinarily find in English. There is a sense of beauty and enjoy-

ment in the Greek. It is not a classic but, nevertheless, a delightful poem with clearness of outline, simplicity, grandeur, and natural touches. The author has accomplished most ingenious and instructive work in this poem, showing that he can hardly be called a minor poet, which he has introduced so much of the imaginative element, so much creative fire, and such vivid life into his work.

Kingsley's ballads have no superior in the Victorian period in massiveness of stroke and strange unexpected turns. He was very familiar with all early ballads and especially with the German ones, which he considers very fine. In the completed volume of poems there are thirteen very good ballads. Among these, *The Last Buccaneer*, with the intensity of dramatic monologue, is the most spirited. There is tragic compression, swiftness, and a sense of inexorable reality in all of Kingsley's best ballads. In *The Bad Squire* the chief fault is that too many verses, with too much moralizing, are added to the ballad proper. His delight in anapestic rhythm is displayed in the ballads more often than in his other poems, although it is very marked in some of his shorter lyrics, as for example:

"And reach me my harness and saddle my horse,  
And lead him me round to the door:  
He must take such a leap tonight perforce,  
As horse never took before."<sup>1</sup>

Foreign influence in Kingsley's poetry has quite a place. In the volume of published poems is a French poem, "Qu'est-ce Qu'il dit?" and more in the same language is found in *Hereward*. A Latin song finds a place in *The Saint's Tragedy*. Germanic influence is found in several of his ballads, such as *The Knight's Leap* and *The Little Baltung*.

Closely connected with poems of foreign influence are those in dialect. Although the latter are not numerous, nor varied, still they are worthy of mention. There are three in Scotch dialect. *The Outlaw*, *Scotch Song*, and *The Oubit*, and one with negro dialect, *The Legend of La Brea*. References to the Old English come in frequently and we find some short verses in the old form in *Hereward*.

He has some occasional verse, including *On the Death of Leopold, King of the Belgians*, *Easter Week*, *Installation Ode*, and *Drifting Away*. These poems are not of great importance and are not well known, with the exception of the *Ode*. *Drifting Away* is a poem on the

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1. *Knights Leap*. p. 337.



Crimean War. It is written in the romantic spirit but with no bitterness.

The author is very fond of the tetrameter and pentameter verse forms. He also uses the four-line stanza and Scott's Couplet as shown by The Poetry of Root Crop, The Red King, and others. Seven poems in blank verse show him to be a moderately good hand at this. The couplet does not creep in as often as we might expect from one of his moderate experience in writing blank verse. He uses pentameter with no regular scansion. He does make use of the couplet in a humorous poem, Old Saws New Set.

It was impossible for Kingsley to write very much poetry without the out-door atmosphere which he loved. Go Hark! portrays his favorite sport of hunting with the English atheletic atmosphere. Here we find no thought of the cruelty in hunting but rather the fear of sentimentality as opposed to brutality. The Invitation as well as The Fishing Song and Pen-y-Gwrydd bring in beautiful and characteristic descriptions of the mountains and fishing, and are of a very informal nature, so that the poet even feels free to use such slang as "gallivanting." The scientific ideas of the poet, which

are so closely connected with his love of nature, also enter into his verse. In *The Legend of La Brea* are many botanical names and we find the poet mentioning Comte and Peter Bell to show his familiarity with the views on nature of both a great philosopher, and a great poet.<sup>1</sup>

Kingsley expressed his Christian Socialist ideals in such poems as *The Bad Squire*, *The Child Hallad*, and *A Hope*. Together with his critical attitude toward social and political conditions went his antipathy to the Catholic Church. He brings out in *The Priest's Heart*, one of his strongest criticisms against the unnaturalness of celibacy.

There is a pure lyrical note in all of Kingsley's poetry. Because of this great power of his, Chevalier Bunsen, at one time, urged Kingsley to become a poet for the people. Every short lyric is the record of some mood of intense excitement. He writes with a straightforward nervous style, with genuine fervor, and originality.

His *Longbeard's Saga* is one of his most force-

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1. Wordsworth.

ful dramatic lyrics. It is a very old story of things that really happened but in times so superstitious that miracles and wonders and magic were common elements. It is composed of short lines with two accents which give it a crude, rough, barbaric atmosphere.

In the spring of 1872 Dr. Monsell asked Kingsley to help in suggestions for a new hymnary. He objected to such hymns as told of future life or individual confessions and wanted Hark! Hark! My Soul, and Jerusalem the Golden omitted. He wrote several beautiful hymns, among them, The Day of the Lord, and Accept this building, gracious Lord.

Kingsley's songs are his best compositions, and are true songs, not merely lyric poems. He loved music and was happy in the perfect harmony of the best composers. The songs which have been set to music are still so popular as to call forth new arrangements, some of which are very recent. These songs always will be in favor with singers because of the ease and smoothness of the rhythm and the pure lyrical qualities in them. The Sands of Dee is a haunting piece of song with very easy vowel sounds. The Three Fishers and Oh! that we two were Maying. are among the best known of his

pieces.

Following is a list of the songs set to music with their composers:-

- Clear and Cool.....Dolores.
- Installation Ode.....Sir William Bennett.
- Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree.....Chas. Gilbert Spross.
- My Little Doll.....Emhelbert Nevin.
- Oh! that we two were Maying.  
(sop.)...Chas G. Gounod.  
A. M. Smith.
- Soft, Soft, Wind.....William A. Potter.  
A. Barton.  
E. Szemileyi.
- The Old, Old Song.  
(When all the World is  
young, Lad.) (Mez:Bar.)...C. A. Lidgley.  
Adolph Mann.  
Alice Barton.  
Ruben Goldmark.
- The Sands O'Dee (sop. ten.).....Fred. Clay.
- " " " (quartet.).....Garrett.
- The Three Fishers (sop. ten.)...John Hullah.  
A. R. Parsons.
- " " " (quartet.)...Garrett.

As has been mentioned, Tennyson was Kingsley's ideal. We find some traces of his influence, especially in The Tide River, which bears a similarity to Tennyson's Brook.

One of the chief characteristics of lyric writers is the use of the refrain and of repetition. In Kingsley's songs this repetition is very pronounced, as in Airly Beacon, Sing Heigh-ho!, Go Hark!, and The Tide River. In these lyrics and songs, more pronounced than in the ballads, is found the anapestic rhythm, for instance--

"Three Fishers went sailing out into the west."

or

"They're running, they're running, go hark!"

Kingsley may not be a great poet but he is a true one, not a mere writer of verse. He has the real spark of fire, the true note. He is not a poet of great pretensions, yet his ballads and The Saint's Tragedy have hardly been surpassed because they are simple, familiar, and musically suggestive of a single touching idea. There is a vigor and freshness, and a charm in his verse, a gladdening, uplifting poet in every line. He never lost sight of the blue sky.

## CHAPTER V

### CHARLES KINGSLEY

#### AND THE MOVEMENT TOWARD PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY

##### His Sermons and His Beliefs

Charles Kingsley was proud to belong to the Church of England, and had little sympathy with Puritanism and ritualism. He was a man with a broad church policy and showed unexpected points of sympathy with all the different sections of the church, yet he had an ideal all his own in regard to personal holiness and church regimen. His creed had two ideas: the world is God's and not the devil's, and manliness is entirely compatible with godliness. When he felt himself in the right he was the most uncompromising opponent and was fearless in

stating his opinions. Throughout his career as a clergyman his convictions remained almost the same as at first, although his belief in revealed truth increased. Kingsley did not like his father's evangelical beliefs and rejected the thought of eternal punishment and damnation, saying that the conquest of Canaan proved God's love too thoroughly for such a cruel end to life. He also said that he would be ashamed to be happy in heaven if such tortures were going on below. In spite of his seeming calm faith and assurance in his belief, however, he was troubled at times with over conscientiousness and wanted rules to follow. "Never at any time did the great and terrible battle of faith and doubt wholly cease within him."<sup>1</sup> He was somewhat like his own Launcelot<sup>2</sup> at times in this respect. Carlyle's French Revolution helped him in his most doubtful period in 1841, and made him definitely decide to take Orders. He has said that our present life is but a chrysalis state and that sin, which is its own punishment, is the falling short of our ideal. He urged skeptics to keep alive in themselves the sense of

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1. Life and Memoirs. Vol. 2. p. 183

2. Yeast. -

Eternal Goodness even if they did not call it God, and had faith that they would grow into the belief.<sup>1</sup>

Love for animals was deepened by his belief in their future state, which belief was shared by John Wesley, Agassiz, Bishop Butler, and others of that time. He treated the Bible in a free but reverent manner, believing that ultimately the Bible and science would agree. "Everywhere in science," said Kingsley, "we are brought up short by mystery unpalpable, and moral and spiritual life is really the only enduring one." He believed that madness and fits of despondency or insanity were indications of the devil within, and that to cure the man you must first cure his soul. He said also that the body is the expression of the soul and is moulded by it.

Newman's sermon on Christ and Nicodemus says that Christ deters and repels. Kingsley says if this be true we should be happier as Jews or heathen. We should not do good merely to be saved from hell, but because we love Christ and appreciate what he has done for us. All true morality would die out if good deeds were done to save us from hell. When *Two Years Ago* came out, he was

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1. *Life and Memoirs*. Vol. II. pp. 90-91



bitterly attacked by the religious press, and accused of pantheism and ritualism. However, the book fulfilled its purpose and many wrote to him thanking him for showing the God of love rather than the God who would destroy by fire.

In brief, Kingsley believed that "to live with Christ in the next world you must live like Christ in this; the body is the temple of the living God and all matter is harmonious with God; we know the truth and God only through the earth and through the Bible, the only true book which tells of God in his relation to earth and its history and the law of humanity; our safe plan will be, as young and foolish children, first to learn the duties of daily life, the perfect ideal of humanity from the Bible, and from prayer, and God's earth, and thus to learn and practice love." He looked on the bright side of life at all times and said, "To be deep see in relation to God, yourself and the universe. The more simple it seems, the nearer God. We acquire tone of mind by habit. Study God in History, in great men and their works, and in nature. Study the human form, natural language, drawing, music, medicine, books, and everything to learn to see God."

Charles Kingsley was almost as successful in ruling his parish as in ruling his heart and home. He was truly a hard working country parson, devoted to moral and spiritual aspects of life. He could not endure what he called the "dapper young-lady preachers" of the city. He wanted to make his public worship bright and attractive to his people and so used simplicity and directness in all his sermons.

The rector of Eversley visited all the poor with an earnest belief in the help he gave them. He was very sympathetic with the troubles of each one of his parishioners, hunter or poacher, whichever the case might be, and was very unselfish and thorough in his work. He gained much power by this sympathy and understanding. He always gave help where he possibly could. He was known, at one time, to have stopped in the middle of a sermon to assist in putting out a heath fire which threatened the homes of his parishioners.

As a small child he had practiced preaching, and as he grew older his desire to preach grew stronger year by year. His sermons were most powerful. As he had no curate his duties kept him at home most of the time, although he wrote his sermons carefully early in the week. His Village-Sermons are very plain and

simple with practical ideas predominant. He discussed matters with his people freely and fearlessly. When his Sermons on National Subjects came out in 1853, his preaching was becoming a great power. Crowds came from far and near to hear him, and the only objection he had to this was that there was too much chattering and conversation after the service. He was never affected, but reverent, and individual in his preaching. He was the same on Sunday as on other days. He talked as a living man to living men and was very composed when he preached to men on their own ground, in language they understood, and <sup>on</sup> whatever subject he knew interested them.

#### His Opposition to Catholicism

Kingsley speaks of Newman and Popery as early as 1841. He disliked arguments and his controversy with Newman, then Cardinal, in 1864, was the only personal attack he ever made. This was a great mistake, as was generally felt, and, although Kingsley spoke well, and was in the right for the most part, Newman was more skillful in handling the case and his position was strengthened by the argument. Kingsley was fighting for the truth and the main point at issue was not the personal integrity of Newman but rather the question whether or not the Roman

Catholic priesthood are encouraged to "pursue Truth for its own sake."

Kingsley is like a boy in his opposition to the Catholic Church. He loved England with all the enthusiasm of youth and looked upon Spain and the pope as her enemies. It is characteristic of him that his first publication<sup>1</sup> should deal with one of the doctrines of the Church of Rome and that his first article for Fraser's Magazine was Why should we fear the Romish Priests.

"Going over to Rome" was, in his estimation, caused chiefly by adherence to form, rather than interest in problems of practical Christianity. He wrote many letters to young men to try to convince them of his views.<sup>2</sup> He said that God is everywhere. First exhaust the meaning of the Church of England before having the right to prefer another type of religion, was Kingsley's suggestion. "Protestant faith," said Kingsley, "teaches every man to look God in the face for himself, Rome treats men like children and slaves. If you are dissatisfied with the church, stay in it and try to reform it." His three arguments against Catholicism were: celibacy is opposed to God's wishes; the clergy alone should not be the teachers; and the

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1. The Saint's Tragedy.

2. Life and Memoirs. Vol. I. p. 164.

clergy should not be the keepers of conscience but keepers of creed. These points he discussed in various ways in his books and magazine articles, as well as in his correspondence and sermons.

Some have said that Kingsley feared bachelorhood for himself, and that this accounted for his criticism of celibacy, but this is unjust and not worthy of the man's ideals. In the first place he opposed the idea upon the grounds that marriage was instituted before the fall of man. "The highest state I define as that state in which and through which man can know most of God and work most for God, and this I assert to be the married state," said Kingsley. The Catholic ideal is to ignore the animal part of man, which is not himself, and to strive for a non-human or angelic state, a single state with relation only to God. This is based on the passage in the Bible which says, "By their fruits shall ye know them."<sup>1</sup> According to Kingsley, if the clergy abandon family ties they will cease to feel the fatherhood of God. To regard Christ as the ideal human being widens the distance between man and God. Human marriages, as Kingsley saw them, are given to us so that we

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1. Mark 12:25

may understand the heavenly ones better. Man is a spirit embodied and expressed by an animal, rather than a spirit accidentally connected with and burdened by such a form.

"So celibacy is the highest state! and why? Because it is the safest and easiest road to heaven! A pretty reason, vicar! I should have thought that that was a sign of a lower state and not a higher.....and even if marriage was but a weedfield of temptation.....it would be a greater deed to conquer its temptations than to flee from them in cowardly longings after ease and safety."<sup>1</sup>

The life depicted in Hypatia did not reflect any great credit upon humanity. In that age the Catholic Church was in a corrupt state. The title, *New faces with Old Faces*, shows that the writer did not think her condition much improved in his age. The low estimation of womanhood which the Catholic Church had, according to Kingsley, is brought out in this book<sup>2</sup>. In getting material for the monastery life in Hypatia, Kingsley read much and at the same time gathered material for his little book of *The Hermits*. His main idea in this was to show that the church thought the world corrupt and so men fled from it

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1. *Yeast*. p. 153.

2. *Hypatia*. pp. 5, 76.

that they might follow God in a better way by being alone with Him. But <sup>by</sup> fleeing into solitude a man cuts himself off from all that makes a Christian man; law, obedience, fellow-help, self-sacrifice,--even from the communion of the saints.<sup>1</sup> Kingsley also criticised monastic discipline as too cruel and severe.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the book represents the church corruption; the corruption of the priesthood, the pillaging of the Jews, the murder of Hypatia, all stand glaringly.<sup>3</sup> We feel sure that Hypatia was caused by the the controversy regarding Rome.

In *Westward Ho!* the author's sympathy with the Anglican church against Catholicism is again conspicuous. Anything Catholic was unquestionably wrong. "There is no longer a doubt in our minds that he intended to oppose the Catholic revival through his fiction. He indulged in many references to the past history of the church. The author portrays the pope exercising his temporal power, trying to interfere with politics and absolving British subjects from allegiance to their king after England had

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1. Hypatia. pp. 116-117.

2. Hypatia. pp. 6, 7, 53, 69, 338.

3. Hypatia. pp. 5-7, 53, 62, 65, 72, 74-80  
116-118, 322, 323.

become a Protestant nation.<sup>1</sup> There is a Jesuit plot in the novel and Kingsley thrusts at this group as the worst of Romanists.<sup>2</sup> Eustace Leigh is in Jesuit training and he is a confirmed liar who tries to be good by rule. The author calls him "a thing, a tool, a Jesuit." To be a Jesuit, according to Kingsley was moral suicide and meant a lost soul.<sup>3</sup>

Tractarian characters are not the right type of people for a novel and Kingsley must have used them purposely to express his prejudices. He saw in the movement all the allurements for the gratification of selfish and low motives, and assistance in the attaining of base ideals, both temporal and spiritual. George Locke<sup>4</sup> had the intellectual acceptance of the church doctrines, Luke Smith<sup>5</sup> the spiritual. George was worldly, Luke romantic and spiritual, imaginative, emotional, and fond of the mystical in the church<sup>5</sup>. Morally, Luke was better as a man, but he was weak and dependent while George was

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1. Westward Ho! p. 67.

2. Westward Ho! p. 54.

3. Westward Ho! pp. 52, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 288, 270,  
75, 395, 6.

4. Alton Locke.

5. Yeast pp. 37, 73.



strong and self-reliant. The one was troubled about faith and religious beliefs, the other was not. However, it would be hard to tell which one Kingsley favored most, in his heart. The Catholic Revival was a factor in both lives and, although traveling in opposite ways, both were wrong. Luke also brings out the church's belief in the corruption of human nature.

Kingsley's contempt for the Catholic emphasis on saving the soul is brought out in *Yeast* and in *Westward Ho!*<sup>1</sup> Instead of the unselfish spirit advocated by other churches, this selfish interest was held out as bait by the Church of Rome. In connection with this, he criticises the cruel punishments of the Inquisition, saying that the church acts contrary to her doctrine by sending souls into the future life without preparation.<sup>2</sup> The author gives his main idea in the lack of truthfulness in the Catholic Church. Luke Smith<sup>3</sup> says that Newman saw no harm in his, Luke's, concealment of his Catholic ideals from his father. "What is the use of informing a man of a true fact, but to induce a true opinion

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1. *Westward Ho!* p. 123.

2. *Westward Ho!* pp. 350-393, 96, 478-482

3. *Yeast*.

in him?"<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this accounts, in part, for the fact that we do not find the Catholics preaching their religion or trying to convert others to their beliefs.

The hollowness of confession is greatly emphasized. Kingsley says that the Church of Rome believes that God cannot understand our sins as a priest can. He gives a striking illustration of the futility of paying for forgiveness.<sup>2</sup> Launcelot Smith<sup>3</sup> says, "Do you think that he who will not confess his faults either to God or to himself, will confess.....to man,"

Luke Smith<sup>4</sup> said that, in turning to the Catholic church, he wanted rest and found it by giving all responsibility to the church. Newman, himself, admitted that he found rest when he became a convert, ceased to think for himself, and surrendered all to the church.

Such men as these are an excuse for the rabidness of Kingsley when <sup>he</sup> exclaimed over the Tractarian vicar in Yeast: "Certainly, vicar, if peace of mind be the summum bonum and religion is merely the science of self-

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1. Yeast. pp. 80, 146-148

2. Hypatia. pp.78. Westward Ho! p. 277.

3. Yeast.

4. Yeast.

satisfaction, they (those who succeeded) are right, and your wisest plan will be to follow them at once, or failing that, to apply to the next best substitute that can be discovered, alcohol and opium." Or again, when Launcelot turned away from a convert, who was undoubtedly intended for Newman, with the words, "What a man! or rather the wreck of what a man!" We must not censor the author too severely. The Christian was a man and the Catholic a child, according to Kingsley.

The only argument which Kingsley found in favor of Catholicism was the justice of Purgatory. He had Tregarve<sup>1</sup> explain this by saying, "Man should mind his own business for the judge of all the earth will do right." This was one of Kingsley's strongest beliefs and was the chief reason for his antagonism to the evangelical movement which, to his mind, made God a monster and drove men from their faith.

Our author lived at the beginning of the liberal reaction against mediaevalism. In the preface to *Yeast* he acknowledges the times as dangerous. The younger people were full of doubts and he felt that an attempt must be made to save them for the church. He felt that people were losing the spirit of Christianity

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1. *Yeast*.

by clinging to the letter of it. In novels we should expect to find both sides given impartially, but Kingsley makes the Protestant good and the Catholic bad. He shows himself too much of an enthusiast and too hot headed for the spirit of a true novelist, although he succeeds in getting his views very forcibly before the public. The real problem was then, as now, not the growth of Popery, but a lack of faith in anything. Many think Kingsley would have succeeded better in his own age had he devoted his time to winning friends rather than making enemies, but he brought many of the real evils of the Catholic Church before people as they had never seen them before.

### His Christian Socialism

Charles Kingsley learned most of his social philosophy, in general, and his Christian Socialism, in particular, from two great men, Thomas Carlyle and Frederick Denison Maurice. The latter was the real founder of Christian Socialism but to Kingsley is due the popularization of his views. Dr. Maurice's Kingdom of Christ had more influence upon his life than any other book. In Alton Locke we can see plainly the teachings of

both Carlyle and Maurice and especially do we find the sentiments of Carlyle's French Revolution. The author tried to show here, as in all his writing, that the socialist movement is not antagonistic to Christianity. Kingsley became a novelist mainly to expound this principle, and his first two books, *Yeast* and *Alton Locke*, although somewhat crude and unformed, were among the first to arouse interest in conditions and to advance notably the cause of freedom. These books are most agitated expressions of the social unrest of the time, and it is impossible to read the second book without excitement. In Carlyle, in *Alton Locke*, and even in Kingsley's own private correspondence we find the appalled surprise with which England first heard the cry of the dispossessed.

#### His Criticisms and Solutions

"How deeply Kingsley felt for the agricultural poor, how faithfully he reflected the passionate and restless sadness of the time, may be read in *Yeast*.<sup>1</sup> In this book he brings out the wrongs of the agricultural laborer. This made a deep impression. One of his chief criticisms in this book was against the ignorance and

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1. Thomas Hughes in Preface to *Alton Locke*.

indifference of the clergy. The vicar, who talked with Launcelot, condemned scientists, critics, philosophers, and scholars.<sup>1</sup> The author says that clergymen adhered too closely to form and the liturgy, which the poor and ignorant could not understand.<sup>2</sup> This work contains one of the most sympathetic and accurate sketches of the English agricultural poor ever known. Society is pictured as corrupt and confused with dull and sodden amusements, miserable and filthy homes, and living in hopelessness and savagry. Severe criticism is cast upon the landlord and the squire, and an attack is made upon the preservation of game. His suggestions are plainly made to the lower nobility, directly in control of the poor. He liked the feudal system as being the highest in ideals, but he wished to add to it education and sanitation. He gave no practical solution for bettering the conditions, although he leads us to think that Christianity is the solution.

The first criticism in Alton Locke is one found in Yeast, the lack of education and ignorance of the poor. He blames the religious dissenters for this

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1. Yeast pp. 55, 56. Alton Locke. p. 269

2. Yeast pp. 45, 46, 156.

as he says they do not believe in higher education. He gives no definite solution for this problem, but we infer that he advocates reuniting the dissenters with the church of England and trying to gain a clearer understanding. Of course the majority of the radical classes of dissenters have now disappeared and we find people with more broad and liberal views. This makes it rather difficult for us to understand the author's severe attitude toward these people, although much of what he says may have been true in his age.

As to the environment of the lower classes in the city, a comparison is first made with that of the government soldiers. Alton Locke's friend tells him that it is the worst form of oppression for working men to be ordered out of the parks and off the streets by men whom the government cares for while that same government makes no provision for its poor laborers. He points out the fact also that this working man is often not earning enough to insure himself a place in which to sleep. He offers no remedy, yet he makes us see very clearly the injustice of the situation.

Cheap labor makes conditions such that a man has almost as certain a chance to starve working as if

he remains idle. The author advocates a boycott on cheap labor, this to be carried out, not by the purchasing class, as we should suggest today, but by the poor laborer himself. Since that time much has been done to eliminate cheap labor, but almost all reform had come from the enlightenment gained during Kingsley's age. Even if exaggerated in the telling, many evils were brought to light which had never been noticed before.

Closely connected with poor environment and cheap labor was the problem of immorality caused no doubt by these first two conditions.<sup>1</sup>

The author shows us what little sympathy the clergy of his day had for the poor, but he does not place the blame wholly upon the church. He says that poor people will not try to understand nor to cooperate with the clergy but are spending all their time finding fault with the clergy, and complaining. He admits that many of the clergy should not be in office and that the majority choose to take orders because of the high salary and social position which they gain.<sup>2</sup> He says that the poor and the clergy can meet in sympathy only by attain-

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1. Alton Locke. p. 86.

2. Alton Locke. p.-208.



ing a reform and acquiring a different type of Christianity from that which has been in practice. However, he does not tell us just how this may be accomplished. The situation seems somewhat bettered in our present age but there is yet much to be done to draw the two classes together.

In another chapter we find the argument of danger to the public health used to combat cheap labor and unsanitary conditions. The example cited by the author---of death caused by germs carried in a cloak made in one of the plaguee invested houses--- is very extreme but it serves to arouse the upper classes to a realization that they are endangering their own health by allowing such conditions to exist.

The press also receives criticism. The lower classes are shown as publishing exaggerated reports of the nobility, and the nobility modifying these same reports so that their minds may not be irritated nor disturbed by such trifling incidents. The common people could not get sponsors for publications which contained the least criticism of those above them. This is very different from the freedom of the press in our day.

But the most important fact about Alton Locke

is that it came as an exponent of the wrongs of the people at the time of the Chartist uprising. The author was wholly in sympathy with the people and their wrongs, but not with the movement itself, and the way in which it was carried out. It was this book which brought upon him so much censure and made for him so much misunderstanding and so many enemies. He was attacked by his opponents as an "apostle of socialism," and was forbidden to speak in London. He was tireless as a worker, in an unpopular cause. The most important result of this book was the Working Men's College.

In Hypatia we find mostly criticism of the religious creeds and practices of that age, but one other important observation is the severe rule of the upper classes through their financial power over the government. Of course, Kingsley is writing of an age much further back in history, but there seems to be the same note of censure which is found in his criticism of later times. He finds the same principles carried out by modern government. This book made many more enemies for him because of its aggressive tone toward the Catholic Church. He says, "It was received, as I expected, with curses from many of the very churchmen whom I was trying to warn and save."

Westward Ho!, as has been discussed in the earlier part of the chapter, had much of the aggressive spirit toward Catholicism, but had no other definite criticism toward society in general.

In *Two Years Ago*, the author is trying to show that England had come out of the Crimean War better and stronger. He is warning men of God's wrath against all social shams, blunders, and vanities.

In *The Water-babies*, he objects to the occupation of the chimney sweep, a trade which has been largely eliminated since that time. The work in itself was bad enough without the cruel and inhuman treatment which the sweeps received from their masters. He suggests as a remedy for this cruelty that the master-sweep be subjected to a trial of his own methods, which suggestion is both ridiculous and impractical.

Kingsley expressed many of his views in his poetry, also, such as that against celibacy, in *The Saint's Tragedy* and that on game preserves in *The Bad Squire*. There are points in his novels when only poetry can express his feeling.

The author did not have as deep an insight into causes and results as we might be led to think from his works. He aroused others, by his keen sympathy with

conditions, to consideration of solutions which he himself did not have the time nor the interest to work out. His great note is that of humanitarianism, sympathetic but not investigative. It is said of him that he had too many aims to do justice to any one of them, so perhaps this is why he did not have time to solve the problems. His novels were written under great excitement and strain and, for this reason, we find in them all the more stimulus. His writing has caught all his feeling of irritation and disgust at existing conditions. It is because he lived among common people and understood them best that he is most fitted to expose their wrongs. For this reason *Alton Locke* is his most representative work, because he writes almost entirely from the viewpoint of the lower classes.

#### His Work in the Chartist Movement

On news of the Chartist uprising, in the spring of 1848, Kingsley went up to London. There he joined Ludlow and Maurice in getting out placards for the working men, assuring them of sympathy and understanding for the working people. Soon after this *Politics for the People* was started as a paper for the

Chartists. Writers for this new periodical came to consult Kingsley. These men were nearly all university men, clergymen of the Church of England, London barristers and men of science. A few letters from working men were admitted also. The publication was remarkable though short-lived. It had a loyal, serious and conservative tone, and attacked with gravity, if not with severity, physical force Chartism, monster meetings, and the demand for universal suffrage by those who had neither education nor moral self-government to qualify them to vote.

No writer was ever more misunderstood or more bitterly abused than Kingsley. Even the notices which appeared at the time of his death, apologized for this period in his life. Mr. Hughes says, "His vigor and incisiveness impressed me." His letters in Politics for the People were those of Parson Lot. At this time he also wrote for the Christian Socialist<sup>1</sup> and for the Journal of Association. He was censured for saying that the Charter did not go far enough, but the critics misrepresented his statements; what he did say was, "It is a mistake to fancy that legislative reform is social

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1. Publication ceased in 1852.

reform. Men's hearts cannot be changed by an act of parliament. If any one will tell me of a country where a charter made rogues honest, or the idle industrious, I shall alter my opinion of the Charter, but not till then. What is the use for this when it keeps bad company with ferocity, railing, and ~~and~~ excitement. There is the devil's spirit in blood-thirsty threats of revenge. They are defiling the name of liberty with blasphemy, beastliness, and blood. Be fit to be free and God himself will set you free. Do God's wish and you will share God's wages. The Bible demands for the poor as much and more than they demand for themselves."

In the summer of 1848, Kingsley, with others, talked with Chartist leaders. The Chartists denounced the clergy and the church and Kingsley retaliated by saying that the clergy sympathized with their purposes, but denounced their methods. In writing to Thomas Cooper, the Chartist leader of the time, Kingsley said: "I would shed my life blood for the social and political expansion and emancipation of the people of England."

The Chartists, at this time, brought out a paper of their own, of which Kingsley says, in a letter to Cooper, "I had hailed with cordial pleasure the appearance of The Commonwealth and sympathized thoroughly

with it, and here is the very paper attacking me on some of the very points on which I most agreed with it."

Kingsley was an aristocrat in that he believed in the rule of the upper classes and thought that emancipation of the lower classes must come from the aristocracy. Society may pity those born fools and knaves but, according to Kingsley, she cannot, for her own sake, allow them power. He believed in a landed aristocracy, as a blessing to the country, and thought that no country would gain the highest liberty without such a class, holding its own position firmly, in sympathy with the people, but not swayed by popular opinion. In answering questions on these social problems, some of his beliefs were: the working man who tries to rise and to desert his class is acting a lie and deserting God's path for his own; a man can be a saint, scholar, and gentlemen in any class, environment should be changed to aid development; with Christianity come<sup>s</sup> contentment and a man does not wish to rise out of his class; workmen are tired trying for equality and now want Christianity; some of the most intelligent men are among the lower classes; true socialism, true liberty, true brotherhood, and true equality are to be found only in loyalty and obedience to Christ.

In addressing the working men who came to London to see the Great Exhibition of 1851, his subject was The Message of the Church to the Laboring Man. In this he defined his idea of freedom, equality, and brotherhood as follows: freedom means free to do what one should do; equality means each man with the opportunity to develop to his fullest capacity; brotherhood means all are brothers under God; the Bible proclaims freedom, baptism proclaims equality, the Lord's Supper proclaims brotherhood. He did not believe in interference between labor and capital, but was in sympathy with the people. He wanted to teach better methods by cooperation between the two classes.

At this time and for some years afterward, all the clergy stood aloof from him as a man under suspicion and all the church doors were closed to him as a minister. "All men are brothers," said Kingsley. "Fraternity and equality are not mere doctrines. The one spirit of God was given without respect to persons. Men will never be joined in true brotherhood by mere plan to give them a self-interest in common, as the socialists have tried to do. To feel for each other, they must feel with each other. To have their sympathies in common, they must have, not one object to gain but an object



of admiration in common. To know that they are brothers they must feel that they have one father."

He was urged by many to give up these sympathies, but he writes his wife: "I will not take counsel with flesh and blood, and flatter myself into the dream that while every man on earth, from Maurice back to Abel, who ever tried to testify against the world, has been laughed at, misunderstood, slandered, and that, bitterest of all, by people he loved best and understood best, I alone am to escape, My path is clear and I will follow it. He who died for me and who gave me you, shall I not trust him through whatsoever new and strange paths he may lead me?" He felt very keenly the responsibility of the church toward the practical conditions of the world and said: "What is the use of talking to hungry paupers about heaven, they know they can be no more worse off than they are. I will never believe that a man has a real love for the good and beautiful except he attacks the evil and disgusting, the moment he sees it. Therefore, I will be a hunter-out of abuses until they cease."

#### His Later Practical Problems

The so-called Christian Socialist movement was followed up by much practical work in many different lines.

Kingsley continued to preach and work against starvation wages, stifling work shops, reeking alleys, careless landlords, roofless and crowded cottages, and hard and canting religion. A cooperative association of tailors was started as one of the results of Alton Locke.

Charles Kingsley was trying to teach the working men that sanitary reform would be better than so many doubtful theories of political and economical reform. He tried to get them to give up political aspirations to work for such necessary reform. He constantly urged the clergy to take up this matter. In the year 1854 he preached three sermons on the cholera which have been republished under the title Who Causes Pestilence? The answer he gives is selfishness, laziness, and ignorance. In providing for this reform, he thought that drunkenness, ferocity, and many of the coarser vices would be eliminated. In the same year he instituted an anti-cholera fund at Eversley and, in the spring, he was elected one of a deputation to go up to London to give evidence on these matters, and also as to the poor pay<sup>of</sup>/the parish doctors. He worked in both city and country for cleanliness and better drainage. He lectured to the women of London on visiting the poor women and helping them. In July 1859, he spoke at the first meeting of the Ladies

Sanitary Association, telling them that private correspondence, conversation, and example may do what no legislation can do. Out-raged nature, according to Kingsley is ten thousand times more terrible than war. "It is in the power of the mothers and wives of the higher class to stop this suffering and dying among the poor." He thought it a terrible wrong to speak of the blessing of a little child's death. His favorite saying was, "We can work no deliverance until we can teach the people more common physical knowledge." During the winter of 1859 he refused to lecture on anything but sanitary reform.

In 1869 Kingsley visited J. Stuart Mill and attended the first Woman Suffrage meeting in London. The following year he wrote several letters<sup>1</sup> on woman's suffrage and rights, and this seems to have been the end of his interest in the matter. He thought there was too much activity and too many petitioners, instead of quiet, modest, silent, private influence. "It should have modesty and dignity," he said. "It will do no harm for women to talk if they are the right kind of women. Women should be educated in medicine and science, before they try to gain control of moral problems. Strength lies not in the

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1. Life and Memoirs. Vol. II. p. 245.

abnormal and the base type, but in the normal type of womanhood. Any sound reformation of relations between man and woman must be made by those who have fulfilled well the relations as they now exist. The happiest homes are those where women are treated as equals."

Another interest was that of the army. As a boy, Kingsley had inherited much of the soldier's spirit and blood. He loved <sup>to</sup> plan fortifications and play soldier. While he was at Eversley there was a camp of soldiers near by at Aldershot. Here he preached to the men quite often and they learned to love him because he was such good company and so interested in every little detail of their lives. He often said, "it is easy enough to find a creed for a soldier to die by, but I will show them one to live by." It is here that his teaching of Muscular Christianity came in most forcibly. The Crimean War weighed so heavily on his mind that he wrote a tract---Brave words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors---which is now reprinted in True Words.<sup>1</sup> He had this tract published anonymously and sent out by the thousands. In some advice given to the army he says, "The chaplain, if he is to have any moral influence, should be always a young man, a scholar,

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<sup>1</sup> Soldiers and Sailors Libraries. Vol. II.

a gentleman, and an athletic, genial man, such a man as can be found by the dozens at the universities. There should never be a permanent chaplain." This advice embodies the requirements for our present day chaplain.

Teetotalism was taken up as a subject by The Christian Socialist, and Kingsley wrote an article on the aesthetic side, which was not published. He gave two remedies for drunkenness but was not in favor of total abstinence. These remedies were-- (1) to make environment pleasant so that there would be little need for stimulants and (2) to have associate ale houses where several families could brew their own good ale at low prices. While he fought in this way he urged against granting license and wanted only a few good alehouses with police supervision. He also advocated games on Sunday to do away with Sunday drunkenness, and wanted to help in the movement to keep the British Museum and the National Gallery open on Sunday.

Kingsley noted painfully the monotonous, colorless life of the laboring class and began for them, in his parish, a series of penny readings. He had the wives and the overburdened women admitted free of charge. These readings were given every two weeks and music, poetry, and

and stories made up the entertainment. Also, there were lectures on health, accounts of his travels, and letters written by his son, who was in America, read to the parishioners. In his parish he also opened a reading room for the men. He made it a self-governed club and sanctioned beer in hopes that it would keep these men away from the public houses. This plan succeeded for a while but seven public houses for eight hundred people, proved very inviting and the reading room was soon forced to close. The rectory was open to all and he denied himself all pleasures to meet the parishioners on a common ground. He even opened a night school with lectures and illustrations on natural history. He sought to raise the whole parish to a higher level.

Misinterpretation of his work and motives was always a keen grief to the rector of Eversley but he never faltered in what he saw was his duty. He was very calm and generous in all attacks. It is true that he went at reform somewhat too violently but, although he has no calm, no method, and cannot see things in their true proportion yet he is a man of rich and versatile genius. He challenges antagonism in all that he says or does but he has done some good in setting others on fire and, whatever the

value, his theories were substantially healthy, vigorous and elevating. There is no lack of depth and sincerity in his sympathy for the poor and he writes from his heart, not for political or charitable purposes. He had exuberant faith in his own messages and showed the spirit of youth rather than profound insight into the conditions of the great problems which he brought to light and solved so readily by the one solution, Christianity.

#### His Later Preaching

Kingsley's desire always was to reach the men of the middle and lower classes, and these came to him at Westminster Abbey in his last years of service. Dean Stanley said of him, "He left a glow behind on every heart and face as the glow on the hills after the sun has just set." He was accused of growing conservative in later life, and doubtless he did, as was quite natural. He had witnessed great improvement and perhaps felt that the forces called into play needed guiding and directing rather than further stimulation. As he grew older, he, like all dreamers, had to say farewell to many of his dreams. There was intense sadness for him in this thought, and during his later life he was very serious. He was ever striving to be cheery and helpful, yet he had the look of one who

had scarcely hope enough left to carry him through to the end. There was remarkable pathos in many of his sermons, ineffable sadness in many of his letters.

Doubtless much of this was due to overwork and he had to pay the penalty in flagging spirits and a growing weariness of life. There was a forced interest in life around him, when once the feeling would have been real and keen. On his trip to America we find him writing: "As I ride I jog myself and say, 'You stupid fellow, wake up!' and my other self answers, 'don't bother, I have seen so much I can't take in any more; and I don't care about it all.'" Again, we find this: "It is the highest pleasure that a man can have who has turned down the hill at last, to believe that younger spirits will rise up after him and catch the lamp of truth.....out of his hand before it expires, and carry it on to the goal with swifter and more even feet."



## CHAPTER VI

### A BRIEF SUMMARY

For some twenty years Charles Kingsley was the most popular clergyman in England. He appealed to more classes and greater numbers than any of his contemporaries. He not only ruled his parish well and wisely, but he made his reputation as a militant man of letters, fighting for certain social and religious beliefs. His success can best be measured by the ideals which he inspired. He lived in a stormy period, as his work shows. Where he failed to impress, to teach, to inspire, almost even when he stirred men to anger or laughter at his arguments, for a generation he continued to interest and to make men think by giving them ideas and problems. He woke them up in all sorts of ways about all sorts of things.

He wrote lyrics, romances, sermons, newspaper articles, children's fairy tales, scientific manuals, philosophical essays, lectures, a drama, and so on. Hardly any of these came up to first rank unless we consider his lyrics, which are the best of his literary work. Some of his work is thin, flashy, and almost silly but he made the people think even when very much in the wrong himself. Without pretending that he is a great novelist, there are scenes in *Hypatia* and *Westward Ho!* which belong to the highest order of literary painting and have hardly any superior in this era of romances.

He is a striking example of the strong, practical, social, ethical, or theological bent in recent English literature. He was not a professed man of letters. He was a novelist, poet, essayist, and historian almost by accident, with ulterior aims. He was really a moralist, preacher, socialist, reformer, and theologian.

Dean Stanley has said: "He was an example that a genial companion may be a Christian gentleman, a Christian clergyman need not be a member of a separate caste and a stranger to the common interests of his countrymen. He was sent to find fresh pastures and new thoughts and ideals."

In conclusion let us quote from his warm friend and friendly critic Max Müller: "Never shall I forget the moment when, for the last time, I gazed upon the manly features of Charles Kingsley, features which death had rendered calm, grand, sublime. The constant struggle that in life seemed to allow no rest to his expression, the spirit, like a caged lion, shaking the bars of his prison, the mind striving for utterance, the soul wearing for the loving response--all that over. There remained only the satisfied expression of triumph and peace, as of a soldier who had fought a good fight, and who, while sinking into the stillness of the slumber of death, listens to the distant sounds of music and to the shouts of victory. One ~~say~~ the ideal man, as Nature had meant him to be, and one felt that there is no greater sculptor than Death.

"As one looked on that marble statue which only some weeks ago warmly pressed one's hand, his whole life flashed through one's thoughts. One remembered the young Curate and the Saint's Tragedy; the Chartist parson and Alton Locke; the happy poet and the Sands of Dee; the brilliant novel-writer and Hypatia and Westward Ho!; the Rector of Eversley and his Village Sermons; the be-

loved professor at Cambridge, the busy Canon at Chester, the powerful preacher at Westminster Abbey. One thought of him by the Berkshire chalk streams, and on the Devonshire coast, watching the beauty and wisdom of Nature, reading her solemn lessons, chuckling too over her inimitable fun. One saw him in town-alleys, preaching the Gospel of godliness and cleanliness, while smoking his pipe with soldiers and navies. One heard him in drawing-rooms, listened to with patient silence, till one of his vigorous or quaint speeches bounded forth, never to be forgotten. How children delighted in him! How young wild men believed in him, and obeyed him, too! How women were captivated by his chivalry, older men by his genuine humility and sympathy! All this was now passing away--was gone. But as one looked at him for the last time on earth, one felt that greater than the curate, the poet, the professor, the canon, had been the man himself, with his warm heart, his honest purposes, his trust in his friends, his readiness to spend himself, his chivalry and humility, worthy of a better age. Of all this the world knew little; yet few men excited wider and stronger sympathies.

THE END

APPENDIX A

## Appendix A.

## 1. Chronological List of Kingsley's Works.

Note--Not all data concerning publishers  
and editions are available.

- 1848.....The Saint's Tragedy. J. Parker. London.
- 1849.....Twenty-five Village Sermons.
- 1850.....Alton Locke.  
Later ed. by Harper and Brothers.  
New York.
- 1851.....Yeast. Harper and Brothers, New York.  
Reprinted from Fraser's Magazine.
- 1852.....Phaethon. Macmillan and Company. London  
and New York.  
Second ed. 1854.
- Sermons on National Subjects.  
Second ed. 1854.
- 1853.....Hypatia, in Fraser's Magazine.  
First book ed., Macmillan and Company.  
London. 1863.  
Second ed. 1869. Reprinted 1872, 1873,  
1874, 1875; 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879,  
1880, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1887, 1888.  
Third ed. 1888. Reprinted 1889, 1890,  
1891, 1893, 1894, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1906.  
Sixpenny ed. 1889.  
Eversley ed. 1881.
- 1854.....Alexandra and Her Schools. London.  
Later ed. by Macmillan and Company, 1894.

Who Causes Pestilence?

1855.....Sermons for the Times.

First ed.(book) by Macmillan and  
Company, London, 1863.

Second ed. 1874,

Third ed. 1878. Reprinted 1881, 1884,  
1888, 1890, 1898.

Westward Ho! Macmillan and Company, London.

Feb. Reprinted April 1855.

Second ed. 1857. Reprinted 1861, 1865,  
1869, 1878, 1879, 1880.

Third ed. 1881. Reprinted 1882, 1883,  
1884, 1885, 1887.

Fourth. ed. 1888. Reprinted 1888, 1889,  
1890, 1905.

Eversley ed. 1881. Reprinted 1888, 1893.

Sixpenny ed. 1889. Reprinted 1889, 1890.

Glaucus, Wonders of the Shore.

1856.....The Heroes, Greek Fairy Tales.

A Later ed. by A. and C. Black, London.  
1915.

Preface to Miss Winkworth's Translation of  
Taulor's Theologia Germanica, Draper, Andover.

1857.....Two Years Ago. Macmillan and Company.  
London.

First ed. Feb. 1857.

Second ed. Apr. 1857.

Third ed. 1859.

Fourth ed. 1860, Reprinted 1871, 1872,  
1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1879,  
1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1887,  
1887, 1888.

Fifth ed. 1889, Reprinted. 1889, 1890,  
1891, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1898, 1900,  
1902, 1906, 1911.

Eversley ed. 1881. Reprinted 1893.

Sixpenny ed. 1890. Reprinted 1891.

1858.....Andromeda and Other Poems.

- 1859.....The Good News of God.  
 Miscellanies.  
 Preface to Henry Brook's Fool of Quality.
- 1860.....The Limits of Exact Science as Applied to  
 History.
- 1861.....Town and Country Sermons.
- 1862.....The Water-babies. Macmillan and Company.  
 London.  
 New ed. 1897.
- 1863.....Sermons on the Pentateuch.  
 Reprinted 1895, 1897.
- 1864.....The Roman and The Teuton. Macmillan and  
 Company. London.  
 New ed. 1875. Reprinted 1877, 1879, 1881  
 1884, 1887.  
 Third ed. 1889. Reprinted 1891, 1901,  
 1906, 1913.
- 1865.....David (Four sermons.)
- 1866.....Hereward the Wake. Macmillan and Company.  
 London.  
 Second ed. 1873. Reprinted 1874, 1875,  
 1877, 1878, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1886,  
 1887.  
 Third ed. 1889. Reprinted 1890, 1892,  
 1893, 1895, 1897, 1900, 1902, 1903,  
 1905, 1907, 1910.  
 Eversley ed. 1881. Reprinted 1890.  
 Sixpenny ed. 1890. Reprinted 1891, 1898.  
 Shilling ed. 1908.
- 1867.....The Ancient Regime. (Three lectures at the  
 Royal Institution.)  
 The Water of Life and Other Sermons.



- 1868.....The Hermits.  
 Later ed. by J. B. Alden, New York.  
 1885.
- Discipline and Other Sermons.
- 1869.....Madam How and Lady Why.
- 1871.....At Last, A Christmas in the West Indies.
- 1872.....Town Geology (Lectures at Chester.)
- 1873.....Prose Idylls.
- Plays and Puritans.
- 1874.....Health and Education.
- Later ed. by Appleton and Company,  
 New York. 1893.
- Westminster Sermons.
- 1875.....Poems and The Saint's Tragedy.  
 Later ed. by J. F. Taylor and Company.  
 New York. 1899.
- Lectures Delivered in America. Longmans,  
 Green and Company. 1875.
- 1878.....All Saint's Day and Other Sermons.  
 W. Harrison. London.

## Appendix A.

## 2. Chronological List of Poems.

Note--The dates given are those  
of composition.

- 1835.....Hypothesis Hypochondriacae.  
Trehill Well.
- 1839.....In an Illuminated Missal.  
The Weird Lady.
- 1841.....Palinodia.
- 1842.....A Hope
- 1845.....The Poetry of a Root Crop.  
Child Ballad.
- 1847.....The Saint's Tragedy.  
Airly Beacon.  
Sappho.  
The Young Knight.  
A new Forrest Ballad.  
The Red King.  
The Outlaw.  
Sing Heigh-Ho!

1848.....The Bad Squire.

Scotch Song.

A March.

The Night Bird.

The Dead Church.

A Parable from Liebig.

Old and New.

The Watchman.

The World's Age.

My Hunting Song.

Alton Locke's Song.

The Day of the Lord.

A Christmas Carol.

Old Saws New Set.

1849.....A Lament.

The Starlings.

The Sands of Dee.

The Tide Rock.

Elegiacs.

Dartside.

Sonnet.

Poems.on Nature (not published.)

- 1851.....The Three Fishers.  
 Margaret to Dolcino.  
 Dolcino to Margaret.  
 The Ugly Princess.  
 Sonnet.  
 The Swan-Neck.
- 1852.....A Thought from the Rhine.  
 Andromeda.  
 The Longbeard's Saga.  
 Saint Maura.  
 On the Death of a Certain  
 Journal.  
 Hexameters.
- 1853.....The Oubit.  
 To Miss Mitford.
- 1854.....Ballad of Earl Halden's  
 Daughter.  
 Frank Leigh's Song.  
 Ode to the North-East Wind.
- 1856.....A Farewell.  
 To G. A. G.  
 The South Wind.  
 The Invitation.  
 Go Hark!

- 1856.....Fishing Song.
- 1857.....The Last Buccaneer.  
                   The Knight's Return.  
                   Pen-y-Gwrydd.
- 1861.....Poem at the Death of the  
                   Prince Consort (not published.)
- 1862.....Ode.  
                   Songs from The Water-babies.  
                   The Tide River.  
                   Young and Old.  
                   The Summer Sea.  
                   My Little Doll.  
                   The Knight's Leap.  
                   The Song of the Little  
                                   Baltung.
- 1865.....On the Death of Leopold,  
                   King of the Belgians.
- 1866.....Martin Lightfoot's Song.
- 1867.....Easter Week.  
                   Drifting Away.
- 1868.....Christmas Day.
- 1870.....Sept. 21, 1870.  
                   The Mango Tree.  
                   The Priests Heart.  
                   "Qu'est-ce qu'il dit?"

1870.....The Legend of La Brea.

1871.....Hymn.

1872.....The Delectable Day.

Juventus Mundi.

1873.....Valentine's Day.

1874.....Ballad.

## Appendix A.

## 3. Classification of Poems.

Ballads.

The Bad Squire.

Ballad of Earl Halden's  
Daughter.

The Knight's Leap.

The Last Buccaneer.

Lorraine, Lorraine, Lorree.

Martin Lightfoot's Song.

New Forest Ballad.

The Outlaw.

The Priest's Heart.

Scotch Song.

The Song of the Little Baltung.

Trehill Well.

The Weird Lady.

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The Saint's Tragedy.

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Alton Locke's Song.

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A Farewell.

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Sonnet (p. 278.)

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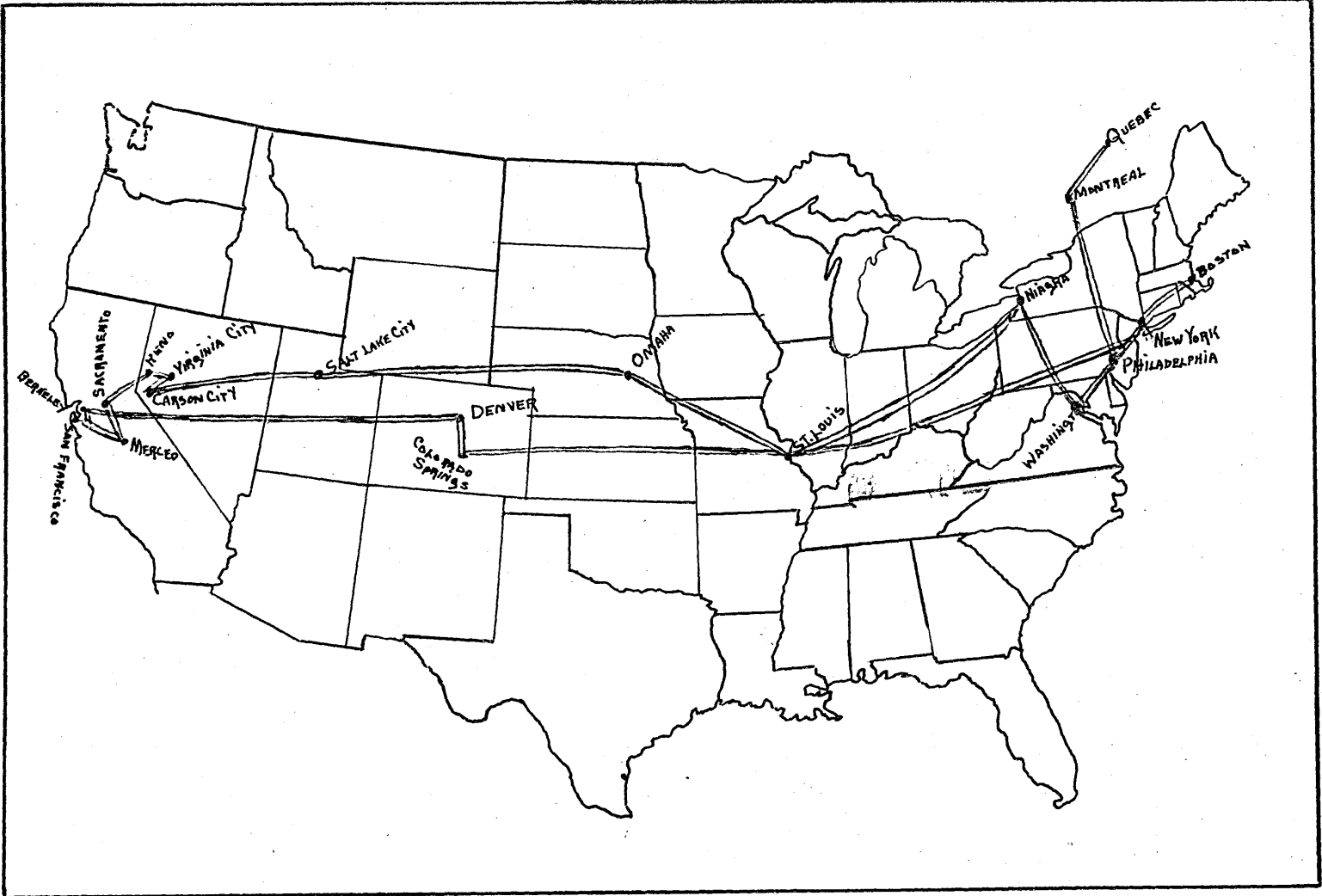
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"Qu'est-ce qu'il dit?"

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