

PREFACE

This is the ninth in a series of annual exhibitions at Chester Cathedral Library in which we have exploited significant anniversaries to stimulate reflection on issues of importance to the Church:

2011: for the 400th anniversary of the King James Bible, the theme was Bible translation.

2012: for the 350th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer, the theme was liturgy.

2013: for the 450th anniversary of the Thirty-Nine Articles, the theme was doctrine.

2014: for the 300th anniversary of the death of Matthew Henry, the theme was Bible commentary.

2015: for the 800th anniversary of Magna Carta, the theme was the Church and the State.

2016: for the centenary of the Battles of Jutland and the Somme, the theme was the Church and war.

2017: for the 70th anniversary of the first discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls, the theme was the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible.

2018: for the 150th anniversary of the first year of John Saul Howson, DD, as Dean of Chester (1867-1885), the theme was Dean Howson with particular celebration of his establishment of the Nave Choir and the commissioning and installation of mosaics in the Cathedral.

2019: for the 200th anniversary of the birth of Charles Kingsley and the 150th anniversary of his appointment as a Residentiary Canon at Chester Cathedral the theme is Kingsley as Christian Socialist and natural historian.

John Saul Howson was installed as Dean of Chester in 1867 and immediately set about a major refurbishment of the Cathedral and its worship. In 1869 a vacancy for a residentiary canon was filled through the appointment by the Queen, at the behest of her Prime Minister William Gladstone, of the Revd Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, who had recently resigned from being Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. Kingsley was installed as a residentiary canon during a brief visit to Chester in November 1869. He returned to Chester the following May for his first period of residence. A blue plaque on the wall of 11 Abbey Square commemorates his occupancy of the building for three months (May, June and July) each year for 1870, 1871 and 1872. He resigned his canonry at Chester in order to begin as a canon at Westminster Abbey in April 1873.

The Exhibition contains items from several sources. In 1991 Chester City Library presented a large collection of books by and about Charles Kingsley to the Cathedral Library and many of them feature in the Exhibition alongside other items from the Cathedral Library's own collections. The Darwin Letter project at the University of Cambridge has made available the known correspondence between Charles Kingsley and Charles Darwin (darwinproject.ac.uk); the website contains fully annotated versions of the correspondence which is on display. We are grateful to the Bible Hub site for access to Kingsley's sermons (biblehub.com/sermons/authors/kingsley). We are also very grateful to the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (Peter Boughton, Keeper of Art, and Elizabeth Montgomery, Collections and Interpretation Officer), for the loan of a printed portrait of Charles Kingsley and some other items.

We would like to thank the Dean and Chapter, and above all the Canon Missioner and Canon Librarian, Jane Brooke, for their continuing support for our efforts to integrate the Library into the mission of the Cathedral. Once again, we owe special thanks to the library helpers for the work they have done in suggesting and finding items, as well as helping to mount the display.

Finally, we would like to note that the exhibition supports the Cathedral's Wednesday Bible Talk Lecture Series, which in Lent 2019 are on "Charles Kingsley, Canon of Chester 1869-1873": 20th Feb.: "The Two Books: Kingsley on Genesis and Darwin" (George Brooke); 27th Feb.: "Christian Socialism and the Kingdom of God" (Philip Alexander); 6th March: "Sermons for the Times: Kingsley as Preacher (Michael Gilbertson); 20th March: "Morality and the Story of the Early Church: Kingsley as Historical Novelist and Professor of History" (William Horbury); 27th March: "Meeting Mrs Douasyouwouldbedoneby: Kingsley's Water Babies and the Gospel of Christ" (Loveday Alexander); and 3rd April: "Sex, Class and Disability: Why We Can't Read the Bible quite like Charles Kingsley" (Robert Evans).

George J. Brooke
Library Consultant

February 2019

Peter Bamford
Librarian

Charles Kingsley: A Summary Biography

- 1819 Born on 12 June at Holne, Devon and educated locally. Oldest of seven children of Charles Kingsley (senior) (1781-1860) and Mary Lucas (1788-1874). Kingsley's Devon is attractively portrayed by Susan Chitty, *Charles Kingsley's Landscape* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976).
- 1830 Kingsley's father became Rector of Clovelly in Devon (1830-1836)
- 1836 King's College London Junior Dept (to prepare for Cambridge entrance)
- 1838 Magdalene College, Cambridge: a first in Classics, upper second in Maths
- 1839 Met Frances (Fanny) Eliza Grenfell for the first time
- 1842 Ordained to serve as curate at Eversley, Hampshire
- 1844 Married Frances (Fanny) Eliza Grenfell at Trinity Church, Bath, January 10th
- 1844 Rose Georgiana born, November 7th. Rose accompanied her father to the West Indies in 1869 and to North America. She wrote several books on her other travels, on gardens, and on Westminster Abbey. Founded Leamington High School for Girls 1884. Died 1925.
- 1844 Appointed Rector of Eversley, where he stayed in post for the rest of his life
- 1847 Maurice born (named after F.D. Maurice, 'the Master'). Married Marie Hanna Yorke. Two sons: Ralph and Frank. Died 1910 in New Rochelle, New York.
- 1852 Mary born. Married 1876 Revd William Harrison; separated. Lived in France and wrote novels under the pseudonym Lucas Malet. Died 1931 in Wales.
- 1852 On an extended holiday in Torquay pursued his interests in natural history and wrote some scientific articles on the seashore for the *North British Review*
- 1858 Grenville born. Died 1898 at The Hollow, Queensland, Australia; buried in Tamrookan Churchyard, Queensland.
- 1859 Appointed Chaplain-in-Ordinary to Queen Victoria
- 1860-1869 Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge
- 1863 Published *The Water-Babies*
- 1869 Canon Residentiary at Chester Cathedral; in residence May-July 1870-1872
- 1873 Canon of Westminster Abbey
- 1875 Died on 23 January and buried at Eversley (Fanny died in 1891)

CHARLES KINGSLEY

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church describes Charles Kingsley as an “Anglican divine, social reformer and novelist.” He was much more. Trevor Beeston (*The Canons* [London: SCM, 2006], 40) lists his attributes as “priest, pastor, preacher, lecturer, novelist, poet, polemical journalist, social reformer, geologist and naturalist – a clerical polymath, if ever there was one.” Because of his wide-ranging interests, concerns and activity, and his prolific writing and publishing, he became almost as well known in the middle of the nineteenth century as any public figure in England; he was one of the public intellectuals of his generation. As a mark of such esteem, there is a bust commemorating him in Westminster Abbey where he was a canon at the time of his death.

Because he had opinions on a very wide range of subjects, he was sometimes involved in controversies. Most widely known was his debate with John Henry Newman which came to a head in a comment Kingsley made in a review article of January 1864: “Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be; that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage.” Through the subsequent debate and Newman’s publication of his *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (London: Longmans, 1864), most commentators have considered that Newman largely won the argument. An extensive description of Kingsley’s perspective was published by G. Egner (Patrick Fitzpatrick), *Apologia pro Charles Kingsley* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1969). Tim Stratford, current Dean of Chester, has drawn attention to A.N. Wilson’s criticism of Newman: “Never once does Newman’s quest for a perfect orthodoxy, a pure belief in the Incarnate God, appear to prompt him to consider that if God took flesh, then this has social implications, that the Church should be engaged with the lives and plight of the poor” (*The Victorians* [London: Arrow Books, 2003], 303-304), but has rightly pointed out, against Wilson, that many inspired by Newman did indeed engage with the poor (*Urban Liturgy in the Church of England* [PhD Thesis, University of Sheffield, 2008], 61).

One key factor in the debate, not always on the surface, was Kingsley’s abhorrence of any form of asceticism and celibacy. Especially since Susan Chitty’s biography marking the centenary of Kingsley’s death there has been much engagement with Kingsley as a Victorian age exemplar of complex sexual values and practices (see, e.g., David Alderson, *Mansex Fine: Religion, Manliness and Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century British*

Culture [Manchester: MUP, 1998]). Those range from his self-confessed pre-marital sexual dalliances, through his martyrological portrayal of women in some of his novels and other writings (see Charles Barker, "Erotic Martyrdom: Kingsley's Sexuality Beyond Sex," *Victorian Studies* 44/3 [2002], 465-88), to his intense relationship with his wife (as depicted in some of his own drawings, as published by Chitty). The antagonism to asceticism might be better described as a problematic fascination with it, particular as involving women. And Kingsley's attacks on clerical effeminacy and Popery are strangely interwoven with the kind of male (almost homoerotic) athleticism of Muscular Christianity which he is considered to have encouraged, though he disliked the label intensely. In some of his correspondence with Darwin he sees sex as an essential part of the religious problematic.

There are almost equally complex issues at stake in his attitude to poverty and the poor. He embraced the ideas in F.D. Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ* (1838) and held Maurice in highest esteem, joining him in promoting Christian Socialism (see, e.g., Charles W. Stubbs, *Charles Kingsley and The Christian Social Movement* [London: Kelly, 1902]). It was particularly after attending meetings at Maurice's house in the summer of 1849 that Kingsley was motivated by the man who was "inspired, gigantic." Shortly afterwards he wrote his tract "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" which was an attempt at arguing against competition and for cooperation amongst those involved in the tailoring trade. Kingsley's commitment to the service of the poor, especially those in his own parish, is well documented. His wider concerns are reflected in some of his writings, such as famously in respect of child chimney sweeps in *The Water-Babies*, but more generally in relation to the story of the tailor in *Alton Locke* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1850) in association with Chartism and the circumstances of 1848. Kingsley was no revolutionary, but argued loudly for the improvement of the circumstances of the poor, especially the need for sanitary reform and the provision of clean water (almost a fetish for him). He did not live to see Parliament pass the Public Health Act in 1875, but his many public pronouncements can be heard in the background. He always felt himself to be poor and several intriguing details of his financial circumstances are to be found in the *Life and Letters* (e.g., £30 p.a. for serving as Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen; £381 p.a. for his role as Cambridge Professor of Modern History; £500 p.a. for the canonry at Chester).

Part of the sense of his own poverty arose from the circumstances surrounding the abolition of slavery. With family connections in the West Indies, the wider family fortunes were devastated by Abolition, even though there was some Government compensation; Kingsley's maternal

grandfather received £3,000 for their 157 slaves. There was, however, little inheritance for the next generation: “emancipation ruined me,” Kingsley remarked. There is little surprise that Kingsley together with his brother Henry joined a committee set up by Sir Roderick Murchison to offer support and funding to John Eyre, the suspended Governor of Jamaica. Eyre was the subject of an investigation in a Royal Commission for his suppression of the Morant Bay riots of October 1865 and his oversight of the highly questionable execution of George Gordon who had been an advocate for the rights of the impoverished black population of Jamaica. The Commission concluded that Eyre should be tried for murder, though no case was ever brought against him. Thomas Carlyle, who became committee chair, met with Eyre in London and found him “brave, gentle, chivalrous and clean”; the committee in support of Eyre also included Alfred Tennyson, John Ruskin, and Charles Dickens. Rather than siding with the poor, Kingsley joined other worthy men in supporting what he considered to be law and order, social stability, and the social hierarchy that had come into existence after the abolition of slavery.

Dean Howson commented on Kingsley, after his death, that he had found him to be “a mixture of the Radical and the Tory.” He was certainly a Tory in his views of social hierarchy and Howson seems to have been somewhat surprised that Kingsley unhesitatingly deferred to him as the Dean. In fact, Howson’s insight was fully justified. Kingsley was a supporter of the aristocracy and its feudal ways. He appreciated the company of the noble classes, not least as a shot, a huntsman and a fisherman. He enjoyed, though apparently with some nervousness, his interactions from 1859 onwards with the royal family, seeing in the Prince Consort the very pedigree of Anglo-Saxon pre-eminence. These attitudes on hierarchy he transferred to his biological considerations on the various sorts and conditions of human beings; some of his remarks on evolutionary hierarchy would today be labelled racist. Before taking up his Cambridge chair in 1860, he had a fishing holiday in Ireland with his brother-in-law, J. Anthony Froude. Kingsley’s remarks about the unwashed Irish ‘natives’ have become infamous: “to see white chimpanzees is dreadful. If they were black one would not feel it so much, but their skins are as white as ours.”

In 1859 Charles Darwin had sent Kingsley an advance copy of *On the Origin of Species*. The two men engaged in an intermittent correspondence for the next decade. What is known is set out in the Exhibition and in this catalogue. Reading the letters reveals Kingsley as a man with a daring imagination yet sometimes overstepping his competence, with open-mindedness yet also some prejudice, with esteem for the ideas of others yet being self-opinionated; whereas Darwin comes across as a reticent man of

detail, a specialist whose thoughts on a very wide range of evidence reflect cautious maturity. Kingsley's interests in natural science can be traced through his childhood, especially the period when his father was Rector of Clovelly (1830-1836); his passions were clearly infectious and he could hold an audience, despite having to control a stammer. Perhaps more significant than any of his masterful descriptions of flora and fauna, of rocks and ravines, was his concern for applied science, improving the lives of the poor working-classes through the provision of clean water and sanitation, and through education, not least of girls—the primary school in Eversley which he established is named after him. Such practical concerns, scientifically underpinned and morally driven with persistent theological echoes of Christian Socialism, endeared him to the Prince Albert, the Prince Consort (1819-1861), who saw him in 1861 as a fitting tutor for the Prince of Wales while he was at Cambridge. He made himself an advocate for mediating between scientific and Christian views.

As a student at Cambridge Kingsley had enjoyed life to the full and did not seem to give any indication that he would have a wide intellectual contribution to make, let alone as a member of the clergy. For several biographers it seems as if his meeting with Frances (Fanny) Grenfell in the summer of 1839, when he was just twenty, changed things for the better: she expressed it in terms of an immediate and “complete mutual understanding.” Seven years his senior she was a pious High Churchwoman intending to enrol in the Anglican sisterhood being planned by E.B. Pusey. As Una Pope-Hennessy describes it: “This, as Charles Kingsley thought, mistaken resolution roused in him all his fighting and rescuing instincts. Somehow or another he must save so clever and beautiful a girl from becoming the victim of a most perverted decision” (*Canon Charles Kingsley: A Biography* [London: Chatto & Windus, 1948], 22). After their first meetings in 1839, Fanny set about re-converting Charles to Christianity and Charles began a mission to convince Fanny that marriage was a higher calling than virginity. It was Fanny who sent Charles F.D. Maurice's *The Kingdom of Christ* to read; and it seems that it was Fanny who encouraged him in the light of Maurice's book away from a legal career towards the church. Although there was a time of separation, enforced by Fanny's family, the end of the romance is well known: the house Pusey intended for the sisterhood did not open until 1845, by which time Charles was ordained, and he and Fanny were happily married.

With Kingsley's installation as Rector of Eversley in 1844 came a busy period of parish ministry during which he also began to write, partly to supplement his income so that alterations made to the rectory could be paid for. He rewrote into a play his manuscript on Elizabeth of Hungary (which

had been his daringly and explicitly illustrated wedding present for Fanny), and corresponded with F.D. Maurice about it. He had articles accepted for *Fraser's Magazine*. Based on his own experiences in parish visiting, his resentment at the way landlords treated their agricultural tenants provoked him to write the instalments of *Yeast*, also published in *Fraser's Magazine*, and eventually as a book in 1851. *Alton Locke* and other works followed, including many poems. His writings had very clear moral points and were designed to prick the consciences of his readers. He had become a controversial figure with a wide audience.

Kingsley was a man with strong opinions and great compassion. He was convinced that reason trumped tradition, and that conscience outweighed spiritual niceties. His temperament was uneven; he suffered from highs and lows. His highs would come particularly when with Fanny or at ease in the countryside. His lows were brought on by anxieties of various sorts, often associated with overwork, the sense of his own poverty, or frustration with societal inequalities. His several expressions of what he thought heaven might be like took away any fear of death and made him long for that time when he might be with Fanny for ever, an altogether unorthodox view of life after death: "united ... by some marriage bond, infinitely more perfect than any we can dream of on earth."

He died in January 1875 from the after-effects of a chill caught while on a visit to North America with his daughter Rose in 1874. After his death Rose propagated the seeds from a sequoia cone which they had brought back from America. One of the trees still stands in Eversley churchyard at more than 150 ft (see: stmaryseversley.org.uk, under About Us/History).

In Chapter 36 of *Alton Locke*, the prophetess proclaims what might be a suitable epitaph for Kingsley from his own hand:

"True freedom stands in meekness—
True strength in utter weakness—
Justice in forgiveness lies—
Riches in self-sacrifice—
Own no rank but God's own spirit—
Wisdom rule! – and worth inherit!
Work for all and all employ—
Share with all, and all enjoy—
God alike to all has given,
Heaven as Earth, and Earth as Heaven,
When the land shall find her king again,
And the reign of God is come."

Case One Kingsley Portrayed

Several artists painted pictures or drew cartoons of Charles Kingsley. He was photographed on several occasions and the National Portrait Gallery has a collection of 47 images of him, many made for visiting cards.

1.1 Susan Chitty, *Charles Kingsley's Landscape* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1976)

Illustrated are scenes of Clovelly and its Rectory where Charles Kingsley was living when he collected the rock specimens on display below.

1.2 Rock (on loan from the Grosvenor Museum)

Kingsley went to Helston Grammar School in Cornwall. His main interests were botany and geology. He collected many rocks and minerals and wrote to his mother in 1835: "Tell Papa I have a very good specimen of Hornblende rock from the Lizard ... Tell him the graduations of mica and slate ... are very beautiful and perfect here." He kept these actual specimens and presented them to the Grosvenor Museum.

1.3 "Charles Kingsley" (on loan from the Grosvenor Museum)

This photograph was taken by Robert White Thrupp (1821-1907), the Birmingham-based photographer to the Queen. Its original is an albumen cabinet card. The photo was taken sometime 1870-1875 and so shows Kingsley as he would have looked when in Chester.

1.4 Kingsley Medal (on loan from the Grosvenor Museum)

The Kingsley Medal, named after Charles Kingsley, founding President of the Chester Society of Natural Science, was awarded as a Memorial Prize to members for original research. The medal displayed here was awarded in 1880 to the Welsh geologist Professor T. McKenny Hughes (1832-1917) MA, FSA, FGS, Woodwardian Professor of Geology at Cambridge (1873-1917). It was acquired by the Grosvenor Museum in 1984.

1.5 Una Pope-Hennessy, *Canon Charles Kingsley: A Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948)

Pope-Hennessy's biography is open at the title page with the frontispiece opposite of the fine 1862 portrait, "Charles Kingsley in his Study at

Eversley”, by the portrait painter Lowes Cato Dickinson (1819-1908). Dickinson was himself an enthusiastic Christian Socialist and also painted portraits of F.D. Maurice and Thomas Hughes. The portrait of Kingsley was commissioned by Kingsley’s publisher, Alexander Macmillan and donated to the National Portrait Gallery by George Macmillan in 1932.

1.6 Robert B. Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959)

Martin’s biography of Kingsley is open at a page with two portraits of Kingsley and two of Fanny, his wife; one of each is younger, the other older.

1.7 “The Reverend Charles Kingsley”

Engraving by Daniel John Pound (c.1820-1877) from a photograph by John Jabez Edwin Mayall (1813-1901) which was produced as a *carte-de-visite* in 1861. Myall, who according to census returns described himself as an artist rather than as a photographer, took the first *carte-de-visite* photographs of Queen Victoria in 1860.

1.8 “Charles Kingsley out Walking”

This photograph (albumen on card; c. 1870) by Frank Mason Good (1839-1928) depicts Kingsley walking at Eversley Rectory. Good is best known for his many photographs of the Middle East.

1.9 “Modern History”

Cartoon from *Cartoon Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the Men of the Day* (London, 1873) by Frederick Waddy (1848-1901), a book illustrator and cartoonist, as featured in Robert B. Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959).

1.10 “Authors”

This is a composite picture, an albumen print, published by Hughes and Edmonds in 1876, with from left to right: John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), Charles Lamb (1775-1834), Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), John Ruskin (1819-1900), and Charles Darwin (1809-1882). The composition indicates who were considered Kingsley’s intellectual peers.

Case Two

Charles Kingsley: Life and Works

(a) South Side Upper Shelf: Select Biographies

2.1 James H. Rigg, DD, *Modern Anglican Theology: with Memoir of Canon Kingsley* (Third Edition, 1880)

The first edition of Rigg's book was published in 1857; it focussed on the theologies of F.D. Maurice, Charles Kingsley and Benjamin Jowett, providing a critique from Rigg's Methodist point of view of their Christian Socialism and broad churchmanship, and in Jowett's case of his controversial views on atonement. Kingsley was much taken by some of Rigg's comments and invited him to stay at Eversley. Rigg was captivated by Kingsley's concerns and in this third edition, five years after Kingsley's death, added material which gives a much more favourable perspective on Kingsley as the title of Chapter X suggests with its concern for the writings and genius of Kingsley.

2.2 *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of His life, edited by his Wife* (London: Henry S. King & Co, 1877, 8th Edition in 2 Vols)

Upon his death in 1875 Kingsley's widow, Fanny, set to work on his correspondence to produce a two-volume work which allowed readers to think they were hearing the voice of Kingsley himself. Although fulsome, we now know that Fanny was quite selective in what she included. The volume is open at the title page of Volume 1 with a frontispiece of Kingsley engraved by J.C. Armitage (1820-1897) together with Kingsley's signature. Fanny Kingsley inscribed the book as follows:

A righteous man
Who loved God and Truth above all things,
A man of untarnished honour—
Loyal and chivalrous—gentle and strong—
Modest and humble—tender and true—
Pitiful to the weak—yearning after the erring—
Stern to all forms of wrong and oppression,
Yet most stern towards himself—
Who being angry yet sinned not.
Whose highest virtues were known only
To his wife, his children, his servants, and the poor.
Who lived in the presence of God here,
And passing through the grave and gate of death
Now liveth unto God for evermore.”

2.3 M. Kaufmann, *Charles Kingsley* (London: Methuen, 1892)

Kaufman's biography particularly emphasised Kingsley's persistent interest in social reform and it covers several topics that emerge from his Christian Socialism as that was enhanced through his own experiences in

the parish and in other ways. The book is open at Chapter 8, “Kingsley as Sanitary Reformer and Pioneer of Social Science”. The chapter begins with a quotation from a letter Kingsley wrote to J. Bullar in 1857: “I see one work to be done ere I die, in which (men are beginning to discover) Nature must be counteracted, lest she prove a curse and a destroyer, not a blessing and a mother; and that is Sanitary Reform. Politics and political economy may go their way for me. If I can help to save the lives of a few thousand working-people and their children, I may earn the blessing of God.”

2.4 Una Pope-Hennessy, *Canon Charles Kingsley: A Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1948)

Pope-Hennessy’s biography is based around Kingsley’s correspondence, published and unpublished. It is particularly concerned with trying to present a fair portrayal of Kingsley’s enigmatic personality. It pays attention to his daily life, his interests, pursuits and hobbies. Kingsley was an avid fisherman. He once wrote to the author of Tom Brown’s Schooldays inviting him to fish with him, “The rector boasted of having killed ‘40 pounds weight of pike’ on the Duke of Wellington’s water at Strathfieldsaye, and of an almost equally good catch on Lord Eversley’s lakes” (p. 160).

2.5 Susan Chitty, *The Beast and the Monk: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974). Open at the page of 4 photographs of Kingsley’s children, the youngest with his wife Fanny.

Controversy about Kingsley’s views was again in the spotlight on the centenary of his death in this detailed study by Susan Chitty. Chitty had undertaken some comprehensive research at the British Museum and had uncovered many items that Kingsley’s widow, Fanny, had excluded from her edition of his life and letters. Part of Chitty’s portrayal makes clear that Kingsley’s religious passions were inextricably intertwined with his sexuality. Such had naturally been avoided in the two-volume biography by his widow. It can be surmised that she assembled those volumes to honour his legacy with some alacrity in order to protect his reputation from comprehensive investigation by outsiders. Inserted on the page adjacent to the family photos is a copy of one of Kingsley’s own drawings, published by Chitty, which through collateral members of the family has eventually now ended up in the British Library. The image is of Charles and Fanny making love with Fanny tied to a cross, the pair adrift on the sea. The waves seem to represent the clouds of heaven and the ocean is the setting for an afterlife of delight.

2.6 Trevor Beeston, *The Canons* (London: SCM, 2006)

Trevor Beeston includes a chapter on Kingsley in his very readable

description of several Canons. His emphasis is on Kingsley as churchman and parish minister, but he does not avoid comment on his complex mix of views. The book is open at his use of the quotation from *Hypatia* which seems to have been the main cause of Kingsley deciding to decline the offer of an honorary doctorate from Oxford; he had been nominated by the Prince of Wales. The passage had upset E.B. Pusey in particular and set him on the warpath against Kingsley.

“Hypatia, a woman pagan philosopher, is torn in pieces by a fanatical Christian mob. At one point the unfortunate woman:

Shook herself free from her tormentors and springing back, rose for one moment to her full height, naked, snow-white against the dusky mass around – shame and indignation in those wide, clear eyes, but not a stain of fear.

It was this image of a naked woman that cost Kingsley his honorary doctorate for, on hearing of Pusey’s opposition, he declined the offer to avoid royal disappointment. He took his deep disappointment well, but never again did he set foot in Oxford, declining all invitations to preach or to lecture.”

(b) North Side, Upper and Lower Shelves

Kingsley as Natural Historian: Correspondence with Charles Darwin

These letters are displayed on two shelves in chronological order. Kingsley’s letters are printed on white paper and Darwin’s on green. The texts are available on the website of the darwinproject.ac.uk at the University of Cambridge. On that website the letters are fully annotated and those wishing to understand better any detail should consult the information provided on the website. The correspondence reveals many of Kingsley’s concerns: the identification of species, mutations, change, sex, the hierarchy of species (with its implied racism in some instances), the absence of special creation, and divine wonder.

2.7 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 18 November 1859

This letter was sent to Charles Darwin upon receipt of an advance copy from the publishers of Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of Species*.

Eversley Rectory, Winchfield.

Dear Sir

I have to thank you for the unexpected honour of your book. That the Naturalist whom, of all naturalists living, I most wish to know & to learn from, should have sent a sciolist like me his book, encourages me at least to observe more carefully, & think more slowly. I am so poorly (in brain) that I fear I cannot read your book just now as I ought. All I have seen of it *awes* me; both with the heap of facts, & the prestige of your name, & also with the clear intuition, that if you be right, I must give up much

that I have believed & written. In that I care little. ‘Let God be true, & every man a liar’ [Romans 3:4]. Let us know what *is*, & as old Socrates has it *επεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ* [Plato, *The Republic*, II. 365c.]—‘follow up’ the villainous shifty fox of ‘an argument’, into whatsoever unexpected bogs & brakes he may lead us, if we do but run into him at last.

From two common superstitions, at least, I shall be free, while judging of your book.

1). I have long since, from watching the crossing of domesticated animals & plants, learnt to disbelieve the dogma of the permanence of species. 2). I have gradually learnt to see that it is just as noble a conception of Deity, to believe that he created primal forms capable of self development into all forms needful pro tempore & pro loco, as to believe that He required a fresh act of intervention to supply the lacunas w^h. he himself had made [this sentence was quoted by Darwin in the Second Edition of *The Origin of Species*]. I question whether the former be not the loftier thought. Be it as it may, I shall prize your book, both for itself, & as a proof that you are aware of the existence of such a person as

Your faithful servant

C Kingsley Eversley

Nov^r. 18/59

Between 2.7 and 2.8 the Wordsworth Classics of World Literature paperback edition of the first edition of *On the Origin of Species* with cover illustration by Henri Rousseau (1875-1933), *The Monkeys*, Philadelphia Museum of Art (Ware: Wordsworth Editions, 1998).

2.8 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 30 November 1859

In this letter Darwin thanks Kingsley for permitting him to cite a sentence of commendation in the Second Edition of *The Origin of Species*.

Ilkley Wells House | Otley Yorkshire

Nov. 30

Dear Sir

I thank you sincerely for allowing me to insert your admirable sentence. I am much gratified by your kindness.— At any future time I shall be delighted to answer any objections as far as lies in my power, or to receive any suggestions. — I shall stay here at furthest only seven or eight days, & it is not improbable that I may be called home sooner, so that, though I should have had much pleasure in making M^r Foster’s acquaintance, it would not be at all worth his while coming here. Indeed during great part of day I am wandering on the hills, & trying to inhale health. – Pray give my thanks to M^r Parker & say that I will remember his obliging offer should circumstances require me to make any remarks, which I hope may not be the case.— With my renewed thanks | pray believe me | Dear Sir | Yours sincerely & obliged | Charles Darwin

2.9 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 1 December 1859

Darwin expresses his appreciation of an 1858 article “My Winter Garden” written by Kingsley and commends two books for Kingsley to refer to.

Ilkley Wells House | Otley Yorkshire
Dec 1

Dear Sir

Thank you for your second note. I am very glad you wrote the Winter Garden, I did so extremely like it. I felt myself amongst the tall fir-trees.— With respect to Cirripeds, the Ray Soc. published two awfully big volumes of my work with many Plates. They cost together 1.1.0; but would not be in the least worth your buying, as I describe all species of world & go into great detail of anatomy, homologies & metamorphosis. Owen in his second Edition of Comp. Anat gives good abstract. In the new Edit. of Penny Cyclop. I wrote a brief abstract for D^r. Lankester of my work.— If you sh^d care much for subject, you might borrow the vols. from any of the Scientific societies. The facts given on the *Complemental* (ie accessory males married to a hermaphrodite) males are, I think, really very curious, & these males, almost the most degraded creatures in the world. It took me months before I could believe my own eyes & I have given evidence in great detail.— I would venture to advise you to read one of the abstracts, & then if you care for subject borrow my volumes.—

I can in truth hardly say how glad I am you have permitted me to quote the sentence in your note.

Pray believe me | Yours very sincerely | C. Darwin

2.10 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 31 January 1862

Eversley Rectory, | Winchfield.

My dear M^r. Darwin *Private*

I have just returned from Lord Ashburton's, where the Duke of Argyle, the Bp of Oxford, & I, have naturally talked much about you & your book. As for the Bp. you know what he thinks—& more important, *you know what he knows*. The Duke is a very diff^t. mood; calm, liberal, & ready to hear all reason; though puzzled as every one must be, by a hundred new questions w^h. you have opened. What struck us on you & your theory, was, the shooting in the park of a pair of “blue Rocks”, w^h. I was called to decide on. There were several Men there who knew blue Rocks. The Duke said that the specimen was diff^t from the Blue Rock of the Hebrides— Young Baring that it was diff^t from the B. R. of Gibraltar, & of his Norfolk Rabbit warrens (w^h. I don't believe from the specimens I have seen, to be a B. R. at all, but a stunted Stock dove, w^h. breeds in rabbit holes.), & I could hardly swear that this was a B. R. (as the keeper held) till I saw, but very weakly developed, the black bars on the wing coverts.

Do you care engh about the matter to have a specimen of the bird? He comes in 2 & 3^s. (from the Isle of Wight, I suppose) to the heart of S. Hants, & feeds on dry berries— My own view is—& I coolly stated it, fearless of consequences—that the specimen before me was only to be explained on your theory, & that Cushat, Stock doves & Blue Rock, had been once all one species—& I found—to shew how your views are steadily spreading—that of 5 or 6 men, only one regarded such a notion as absurd. If you want a specimen, I can get you one at once.

I want now to bore you on another matter. This great gulf between the quadrumana & man; & the absence of any record of species intermediate between man & the ape. It has come home to me with much force, that while *we* deny the existence of any such,

the legends of most nations are full of them. Fauns, Satyrs, Inui, Elves, Dwarfs—we call them one minute mythological personages, the next conquered inferior races—and ignore the broad fact, that they are always represented as more bestial than man, & of violent sexual passion.

The mythology of every white race, as far as I know, contains these creatures, & I (who believe that every myth has an original nucleus of truth) think the fact very important. The Inuus of the old Latins is obscure: but his name is from *inire*—sexual violence. The Faun of the Latins (or Romans, I dont know w^h.) has a monkey face, & hairy hind legs & body—the hind feet are traditionally those of a goat, the goat being the type of lust. The Satyr of the Greeks is completely human, save an ape-face & a short tail— The Elves Fairies & Dwarfs puzzle me, the 2 first being represented, originally, as of great beauty, the Elves *dark*, & the Fairies *fair*; & the Dwarfs as cunning magicians, & workers in metal— They may be really conquered aborigines.

The Hounuman, monkey God of India, & his monkey armies, who take part with the Brahminæ invaders, are now supposed to be a slave negro race, who joined the new Conquerors against their old masters. To me they point to some similar semi-human race. That such creatures sh^d. have become divine, when they became rare, & a fetish worship paid to them—as happened in *all* the cases I have mentioned, is consonant with history—and is perhaps the only explanation of fetish-worship. The fear of a terrible, brutal, & mysterious creature, still lingering in the forests.

That they should have died out, by simple natural selection, before the superior white race, you & I can easily understand. That no skulls, &^c. of them have been found, is a question w^h. may bother us when the recent deposits of Italy & Greece have been as well searched as those of England. Till then, it concerns no man. I hope that you will not think me dreaming— To me, it seems strange that we are to deny that any Creatures intermediate between man & the ape ever existed, while our forefathers of every race, assure us that they did— As for having no historic evidence of them— How can you have historic evidence in pre-historic times? Our race was strong enough to kill them out while it was yet savage— We are not niggers, who can coexist till the 19th. century with gorillas a few miles off. I do not say that this notion is true, as a fact: but I do say that it has to be looked to, & weighed patiently quantum valeat.

At least, believe me | Ever, differing now, & now agreeing— | Yours most faithfully |
C Kingsley

In front of 2.10 and 2.11 Rob Hume, *RSPB Birds of Britain and Europe* (London: Dorleen Kindersley, 2002).

Open at pages on the rock dove and the stock dove, the birds discussed in the correspondence.

2.11 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 6 February 1862

Down. / Bromley. / Kent. S.E.
Feb. 6th

My dear M^r Kingsley

I thank you sincerely for your letter.— I have been glad to hear about the Duke of Argyle, for ever since the Glasgow Brit. Assoc. when he was President, I have been

his ardent admirer. What a fine thing it is to be a Duke: nobody but a Duke, the first time he geologised would have found a new formation; & the first time he botanised a new lichen to Britain.—

With respect to the pigeons, your remarks show me clearly (without seeing specimens, though I thank you for the kind offer) that the birds shot were the Stock Dove or *C. Oenas*, long confounded with the Cushat & Rock-pigeon. It is in some respects intermediate in appearance & habits; as it breeds in *holes* in trees & in rabbit-warrens. It is so far intermediate that it quite justifies what you say on all the forms being descendants of one.—

That is a grand & almost awful question on the genealogy of man to which you allude. It is not so awful & difficult to me, as it seems to be most, partly from familiarity & partly, I think, from having seen a good many Barbarians. I declare the thought, when I first saw in T. del Fuego a naked painted, shivering hideous savage, that my ancestors must have been somewhat similar beings, was at that time as revolting to me, nay more revolting than my present belief that an incomparably more remote ancestor was a hairy beast. Monkeys have downright good hearts, at least sometimes, as I could show, if I had space. I have long attended to this subject, & have materials for a curious essay on Human expression, & a little on the relation in mind of man to the lower animals. How I sh^d. be abused if I were to publish such an essay! I hope & rather expect that Sir C. Lyell will enter in his new Book on the relations of men & other animals; but I do not know what his recent intentions are.

It is a very curious subject, that of the old myths; but you naturally with your classical & old-world knowledge lay more stress on such beliefs, than I do with all my profound ignorance. Very odd those accounts in India of the little hairy men! It is very true what you say about the higher races of men, when high enough, replacing & clearing off the lower races. In 500 years how the Anglo-saxon race will have spread & exterminated whole nations; & in consequence how much the Human race, viewed as a unit, will have risen in rank. Man is clearly an old-world, not an American, species; & if ever intermediate forms between him & unknown *Quadrumanas* are found, I should expect they would be found in Tropical countries, probably islands. But what a chance if ever they are discovered: look at the French beds with the celts, & no fragment of a human bone.— It is indeed, as you say absurd to expect a history of the early stages of man in prehistoric times.—

I hope that I have not wearied you with my scribbling & with many thanks for your letter, I remain with much respect— | Yours sincerely | Charles Darwin
As you seem to care for all departments of n. History, I send a pamphlet with a rather curious physiological case.—

2.12 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 30 May 1865

Eversley Rectory, / Winchfield. May 30/65

My dear Sir

We desire much your photograph. I say honestly, there is no living man whom I have *not* seen, whom I wish to see as much as I do you: & failing that, to have some Eidolon of you for myself & mine. If you have any photograph of yourself—or if you can tell me where I can procure one, you will do me a real favour. The more I think, & see, the more I find to make me thankful for your great book.

Yours faithfully | C Kingsley

2.13 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 10 June 1865

On display is a photograph of Kingsley in his academic dress as a Cambridge Professor, taken at about the time this letter was written.

Eversley Rectory, | Winchfield.
June 10/65

My dear Sir

M^{rs}. Kingsley & I send you many thanks for your photograph; & my one in return.

Yours ever faithfully | C Kingsley

2.14 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 14 June 1865

Eversley Rectory, | Winchfield.
June 14/65

My dear Sir

I have been reading with delight & instruction your paper on Climbing plants. Your explanation of an old puzzle of mine—Lath. Nissolia—is a masterpiece. Nothing can be more conclusive. That of the filament at the petiole-end of the Bean is equally satisfactory. Ah that I could begin to study Nature anew, now that you have made it to me a *live* thing; not a dead collection of names. But my work lies elsewhere now. Such work nevertheless helps mine at every turn. It is better that the division of labour sh^d. be complete, & that each man should *do* only one thing, while he looks on, as he finds time, at what others are doing, & so gets laws from other sciences w^h. he can apply—as I do—to my own.

Yours ever faithfully | C Kingsley

2.15 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 17 June 1865

Down Bromley Kent
Sat.

My dear Sir

I must thank you cordially for your note which has pleased me much. I did not think that any one w^d have noticed the case of the Lathyrus, which interested me because I remember looking at it many years ago in a Lord Dundreary state of mind. It appears to me that we have looked at many things from the same point of view; at least I remember well when reading your capital paper on the great fir woods of Hampshire being surprised at your remarks on the presence of this or that weed shewing how exactly the same train of thoughts had often passed thro' both our minds.

I ought to have thanked you for sending me your photograph which I am extremely glad to possess.

Pray believe me my dear Sir | Yours very faithfully | Ch. Darwin

2.16 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 12 July 1866

Eversley Rectory, Winchfield. July 12/66

My dear M^r. Darwin

I flee to you, as usual in ignorance & wonder. Have you investigated the migration of the eye in Flatfish? I have been reading a paper on it by Pro^f. Thompson in Nat. Hist. Mag. for May 1865. – I look to your methods for explaining *how* the miracle takes place; whether the eye passes through the scull, or round the soft parts, is a minor question. Will you kindly do me the honour to look at 2 lectures of mine on Science & Superstition gⁿ at the Royal Institution, & reprinted in Frazer's Mag. for June & July? I think you will find that I am not unmindful of your teaching. I heard with extreme pleasure that your health is much improved.

Yours ever with deep respect & attachment | C Kingsley

2.17 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 30 April 1867

Down. / Bromley. / Kent. S.E.
Ap. 30

My dear Mr Kingsley

I fully agree with you on the importance of giving to a certain extent a scientific character to Fraser's Mag.; & I do assure you that it would have given me sincere pleasure to have assisted you in any way. But at present I really cannot: I am daily knocked up by correcting proof sheets & the printers are a dozen sheets a head of me, so that I greatly doubt whether I can finish the book by November when Murray wants it. Hence it would be ruin to me to stop work for a week or fortnight, & I could not write an article in less time than this. I have so much unpublished matter half completed that I have often vowed I w^d never write miscellaneous articles, but I sh^d have been much tempted under other circumstances to have broken my vow at your request.

So I hope that you will forgive me & believe me | my dear Mr Kingsley, yours very sincerely, Ch. Darwin

2.18 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 6 June 1867

Eversley Rectory, / Winchfield. June 6/67

My dear M^r. Darwin

I am very anxious to obtain a copy of a pamphlet, w^h. I unfortunately lost. It came out shortly after your 'origin of species', & was entitled "Reasons for believing in M^r. Darwins theory"—or some such words. It contained a list of phænomenal puzzles 40 or more w^h. were explicable by you & not otherwise. If you can recollect it, & tell me where I can get a copy, I shall be very glad—as I very specially want it, in your defence. I advise you to look at a wonderful article in the North British about you. It is a pity the man who wrote it had not studied a little zoology & botany, before writing about them.

The Duke of Argyll's book is very fair & manly. He cannot agree with you, but he writhes about under you as one who feels himself likely to be beat. What he says about the humming birds is his weakest part. He utterly overlooks *sexual* selection by the females, as one great branch of Natural selection. Why on earth are the *males* only (to use his teleological view) ornamented, save for the amusement of the females *first*? In his earnestness to press the point—(w^h. I think you have really overlooked too much) that beauty in animals & plants is intended for the æsthetic education & pleasure of man, And (as I believe in my old fashioned way), for the pleasure of a God who rejoices in his works as a painter in his picture— In his hurry, I

say, to urge this truth, he has overlooked that beauty in any animal must surely first please the animals of that species, & that beauty in *males* alone, is a broad hint that the females are meant to be charmed thereby—& once allow that any striking new colour w^d. attract any single female, you have an opening for endless variation. His argument that the females of each species are as distinct as the males, is naught—for a change in the embryo w^h. w^d reproduce the peculiar markings of the father, in a male w^d be surely likely to produce *some* change of markings in a female. Altogether — even the North British pleases me—for the man is forced to allow *some* Natural Selection, & forced to allow *some* great duration of the earth; & so every one who fights you, is forced to allow some of your arguments, as a tub to the whale, if only he may be allowed to shun others— While very few have the honesty to confess, that they know nothing about the matter, save what you have put into their heads. Remark that the argument of the N. British, that geological changes were more violent, & the physical energies of the earth more intense in old times, cuts both ways. For if that be true—then changes of circumstance in plants & animals must have been more rapid, & the inclination to vary from *outward circumstance* greater, & also—if the physical energies of the earth were greater—so must the *physical* energies of the Animals & plants; & therefore their tendency to *sport* may have been greater; & not without a gleam of scientific insight have the legends of so many races talked of giants & monsters on the earth of old.
Yours ever faithfully | C Kingsley

2.19 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 10 June 1867

Down. / Bromley. / Kent. S.E. June 10

My dear M^r Kingsley

I have been deeply interested by your letter. I have looked through my whole large collection of pamphlets on the “Origin” & the only thing which I can find at all answering to y^r description is that which I send by this post by Cap. Hutton. I dare say you know his name; he is a very acute observer. Please sometime return it to me. I have just finished reading the Duke’s book & N. Brit. Rev.; & I sh^d very much like for my own sake to make some remarks on them, & as my amanuensis writes so clearly, I hope it will not plague you. The Duke’s book strikes me as very well written, very interesting, honest & clever & very arrogant. How coolly he says that even J. S. Mill does not know what he means. Clever as the book is, I think some parts are weak, as about rudimentary organs, & about the diversified structure of humming birds. How strange it is that he sh^d freely admit that every detail of structure is of service in the flowers of orchids, & not in the beak of birds. His argument with respect to diversity of structure is much the same as if he were to say that a mechanic w^d succeed better in England if he c^d do a little work in many trades, than by being a first-rate workman in one trade. I sh^d like you to read what I have said upon diversity of structure at 226 in the new Ed. of Origin, which I have ordered to be sent to you. Please also read what I have said (p. 238) on Beauty. Other explanations with respect to beauty will no doubt be found out: I think the enclosed ingenious letter by Wallace is worth y^r notice. Is it not absurd to speak of beauty as existing independently of any sentient being to appreciate it? And yet the Duke seems to me thus to speak. With respect to the Deity having created objects beautiful for his own pleasure, I have not a word to say against it but such a view c^d hardly come into a scientific book. In regard to the difference between female birds I believe what you say is very true; & I can shew with fowls that the 2 sexes often vary in correlation. I am glad that you are inclined to admit sexual selection. I have lately been attending much to this subject, &

am more than ever convinced of the truth of the view. You will see in the discussion on beauty that I allude to the cause of female birds not being beautiful; but Mr Wallace is going to generalize the same view to a grand extent, for he finds there is almost always a relation between the nature of the nest & the beauty of the female. No doubt sexual selection seems very improbable when one looks at a peacock's tail, but it is an error to suppose that the female selects each detail of colour. She merely selects beauty, & laws of growth determine the varied zones of colour: thus a circular spot w^d almost certainly become developed into circular zones, in the same manner as I have seen the black wing-bar in pigeons become converted into 3 bars of colour elegantly shaded into each other. The Duke is not quite fair in his attack on me with respect to "correlation of growth"; for I have defined what I mean by it, tho' the term may be a bad one, whilst he uses another definition: "correlation of variation" w^d perhaps have been a better term for me. He depreciates the importance of natural selection, but I presume he w^d not deny that Bakewell, Collins, &c had in one sense made our improved breeds of cattle, yet of course the initial variations have naturally arisen; but until selected, they remained unimportant, & in this same sense natural selection seems to me all-important.

The N. Brit. Rev. seems to me one of the most telling Reviews of the hostile kind, & shews much ability, but not, as you say, much knowledge. The R. lays great stress on our domestic races having been rapidly formed, but I can shew that this is a complete error; it is the work of centuries, probably in some cases of 1000s of years. With respect to the antiquity of the world & the uniformity of its changes, I cannot implicitly believe the mathematicians, seeing what widely different results Haughton Hopkins & Thompson have arrived at. By the way I had a note from Lyell this m^e. who does not seem to value this article enough. Is there not great doubt on the bearing of the attraction of gravity with respect to the conservation of energy? The glacial period may make one doubt whether the temperature of the universe is so simple a question. No one can long study the Geolog. work done during the glacial period, & not end profoundly impressed with the necessary lapse of time; & the crust of the earth was at this recent period as thick as now & the force of Nature not more energetic. But what extremely concerns me, is R. statement that I require million of years to make new species; but I have not said so, on contrary, I have lately stated that the change is probably rapid both in formation of single species & of whole groups of species, in comparison with the duration of each species when once formed or in comparison with the time required for the development of a group of species—with respect to Classification, it is the idea of a *natural* classification, which the genealogical explains. The best bit of Review, which c^d make me modify wording of few passages in origin is I think about sudden sports, & these I have always thought, but now more clearly see, w^d generally be lost by crossing. The R does not however notice, that any variation w^d. be more likely to recur in crossed offspring still exposed to same conditions, as those which first caused the parent to vary.— I have moreover expressly stated that I do not believe in the sudden deviation of structure under nature, such as occurs under dom: but I weakened the sentence in deference to Harvey.— When speaking of the formation for instance of a new sp. of Bird with long beak Instead of saying, as I have sometimes incautiously done a bird suddenly appeared with a beak [particularly] longer than that of his fellows, I would now say that of all the birds annually born, some will have a beak a shade longer, & some a shade shorter, & that under conditions or habits of life favouring longer beak, all the individuals, with beaks a little longer would be more apt to survive than those with beaks shorter than average. The preservation of the longer-beaked birds, would in

addition add to the augmented tendency to vary in this same direction. — I have given this idea, but I have not done so in a sufficiently exclusive manner.— The Reviewer w^d have left his article stronger if he had not attempted to exclusively grapple with the [illeg] problem of [variation]

<missing text> of facts. Pray excuse this unreasonable letter, which you may not think worth the labour of reading; but it has done me good to express my opinion on the 2 works in question, so I hope & think that you will forgive me—

With very sincere thanks for letter believe me my dear M^r Kingsley, Yours sincerely,
Charles Darwin

Do you know who wrote the article in N. B. Review?

2.20 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 1 November 1867

Eversley Rectory, / Winchfield.

Nov. 1/67.

My dear M^r. Darwin

I have just found a letter written to you 5 years ago, & never sent. Do me the honour to read it— & even if you do not answer it, think over it

Yours ever attached | C Kingsley

[Enclosure]

Eversley March 23/62 My dear M^r. Darwin,

Will you kindly give me your views of an old puzzle of mine? I am told that man is the highest mammal—w^h. I dont deny. But that is supposed to include the theory of his being the highest *possible* mammal—w^h. I do deny.

I see two imperfections in man as he is

1. The existence of the mammæ in the male, shewing that the sexes are not yet perfectly separated.
2. The ditrematous condition, w^h. he has in common with the other mammals. That the specialty of organs increases as you rise in the scale, is, I suppose an acknowledged law— And therefore, while I see, both in male & female, two diff^t. secretions passing through the one orifice of the urethra, I cannot but suspect imperfection, & look forward to some higher tri-trematous race. It is noteworthy, that the fact of the 2 secretions (urinary & sexual) passing through the same orifice) has been in all ages, Brahmin, Buddhist, Monastic, & What not, the physical ground of the contempt of sex, & of all that belongs to sex. No physical fact has played a more important part in the history of religion—W^h. is, & always will be, the main history of the human mind.

Tell me what you think of this. You I can speak to as I can to no other man—Yours ever faithfully | C. Kingsley

2.21 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 6 November 1867

Down. / Bromley. / Kent. S.E.

Nov. 6th.

My dear M^r. Kingsley

The subject to which you refer is quite new to me & very curious. I had no idea that the double function of an excretory passage had ever played a part in the history of religion. I agree with what you say on speciality of organs being the best proof of highness in the scale of beings; nevertheless, when man as a standard of comparison is excluded, as with plants, it seems to be nearly impossible to give a good definition

of Highness. I do not feel sure that a passage performing a double function, if performed well, ought to be considered as a sign of lowness. I suppose that the presence of rudiments must be looked at as an imperfection, but it seems very doubtful whether these records of a former, & in most cases lower, state should be viewed as indices of relative lowness in the scale. Some authors, indeed, have used them as proofs of an opposite position.— It is an extraordinary fact that even Man should still bear about his body the plain evidence, as it seems to me, of the former hermaphrodite condition of the parent-form of all the Vertebrata.— From what you formerly wrote, I had hoped to have seen a review by you on the Reign of Law, but I have not been able to hear of its appearance.

Pray believe me | Yours very sincerely | Charles Darwin

2.22 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 8th November 1867

Eversley Rectory, | Winchfield. Nov. 8/67.

My dear M^r. Darwin

My thanks for your most interesting letter. Sex—you will find—plays *the* part in the real ground of all creeds. It is the primæval fact w^h. has to be explained, or mis-explained, somehow. I c^d write volumes on this. I may write one little one some day— As you say—the plain fact that man bears the evidence of a former hermaphrodite type are as indisputable—as they are carefully ignored— The whole question will have to be reconsidered by us—or by some other wiser race—in the next few Centuries.— & *you will be esteemed then as a prophet.*

Yours ever sincerely | C Kingsley

I have found actually a Darwinian Marchioness!!!! So even the Swells of the World are beginning to believe in you. The extreme Radical press is staying off from you, because you may be made a Tory & an Aristocrat of. So goes the foolish ignorant world— It will go, believing & disbelieving not according to facts, but to *convenience*. But do you keep yourself—(as you are) “unspotted from the world” as the good book bids all good men do—& then 500 years hence, men will know what you have done for them.

2.23 Letter from Kingsley to Darwin, 11 Dec 1867

Trinity Lodge, | Cambridge. Dec^r 11/67

My dear M^r. Darwin

I have been here 3 or 4 days; & have been accidentally drawn, again & again, into what the world calls Darwinism, & you & I & some others fact & science— I have been drawn thereinto, simply because I find everyone talking about it to anyone who is supposed to know (or mis-know) anything about it: all shewing how men’s minds are stired. I find the best & strongest men coming over. I find one or 2 of them like Adams (& Cayley) fighting desperately.

1. Because, being really great men, they know so much already w^h. they cannot coordinate with your theories (at least as yet) & say (as they have a right) “I will stand by what I do know from mathematics, before I give in to what I *dont* know from ——— That last dash is the key of the position. They dont know. The dear good fellows have been asking me questions.—e.g. “You dont say that there are links between a cat & a

dog? If so, what are they?— To w^h. I have been forced to answer—my dear fellow, you must read & find out for yourself— I am not bound to answer such a question as that. I am not bound to teach you the *alphabet*, while you are solemnly disputing about my translation of the *language*.

That is what it comes to, my dear & honoured *master*, for so I call you openly where I can, among “great swells”, as well as here in Cambridge— Why men dont agree with you, is because they dont know facts: & what I do is—simply to say to every one, as I have been doing for 3 days past “Will you kindly ascertain a few facts—or at least ascertain what facts there are, to be known or disproved, before you talk on this matter at all?”—& I find, in Cambridge, that the younger M.A.’s. are not only willing, but greedy, to hear what you have to say; & that the elder, (who have of course more old notions to overcome) are facing the whole question in a quite different tone from what they did 3 years ago. I wont mention names for fear of “compromising” men who are in an honest, but “funky” stage of conversion: but I have been surprised, coming back for 3 or 4 days, at the change since last winter.

I trust you will find the good old university (w^h. has always held to physical science & free thought—& allows—as she always has done—anybody to believe anything reasonable, *provided he dont quarrel with his neighbours*) to be your finest standing ground in these isles.

I say this—especially now—because you will get, I suppose, an attack on you by an anonymous “Graduate of Cambridge”—w^h. I found in the hands of at least one very wise & liberal man—who admired it very much—but knew nothing of *The Facts*: he shewed it me, & in the first 3 pages I opened at hazard, I pointed him out 2 or 3 capital cases of ignorance or omission, on w^h. I declined to read any more of the book, as coming from a man who knew—or did not choose to know—anything about *The Facts*. He was astonished, when I told him that the man was an ignoramus, or worse, & could be proved such. & I think I have done him good. & so it will be with many more—

Excuse the bad writing— I have a pen w^h. if natural selection influenced pens, w^d have been cast into the fire long ago: but the disturbing moral element makes me too lazy to cast it thereinto—& to find a new one. I have—as usual—a thousand questions to ask you—& no time, nor brain, to ask them now.

But ever I am— | Your affte pupil | C Kingsley

Dont trouble yourself to answer me. But if you write to me, I return to Eversley tomorrow.—& *give my love to Lubbock*.

2.24 Letter from Darwin to Kingsley, 13 December 1867

Down. | Bromley. | Kent. S.E.

Dec 13th.

My dear M^r. Kingsley,

Although you are so kind as to tell me not to write, I must send a few lines to thank you for your letter. It is very interesting & surprising to me that you find at Cambridge after so short an interval a greater willingness to accept the views which we both admit. I do not doubt that this is largely owing to a man so eminent as yourself venturing to speak out. The mass of educated men will always sooner or later follow those, whose knowledge they recognize on any especial study; & this being the case I feel no doubt that views closely akin to those which I have advocated will ultimately be universally admitted. The younger working naturalists are almost all coming round: recently one of the paleontologists in Jermyn St told me that he did not know a single rising man who did not largely adopt my views and I hear that this is

the case likewise in Germany. I literally did not find, nor did Sir C. Lyell, one single new idea in the Graduates' of Cambridge book. My work on Variation Under Domestication is delayed by the index but will appear about the close of the year; and I have told Murray to send a copy to Eversley. You will find the greater part quite unreadable—a mere encyclopedia of facts—but certain portions may, & I heartily hope will, interest you.

With hearty thanks for all your kindness | My dear M^r. Kingsley, yours very sincerely,
Charles Darwin

Lower shelf south side

(c) Kingsley's Literary Creativity

2.25 Charles Kingsley, *Plays and Puritans and Other Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan and co, 1890; first edition 1873)

The book contains three sections: an essay that gives the book its title, a study of Sir Walter Raleigh, and a review essay of Froude's History of England. The opening essay has near its start the statement: "Thus, in fact, the temper of the British man toward 'Art' is simply that of the old Puritans, softened, no doubt, and widened, but only enough so as to permit Art, not to encourage it."

2.26 Charles Kingsley, *Prose Idylls: New and Old* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1900; first edition 1873)

This book has six reprinted essays: 'A Charm of Birds' (an appreciation of the seasons); Chalk-Stream Studies (reflecting his fishing interests); The Fens (from his walks when a professor in Cambridge); My Winter-Garden; From Ocean to Sea; North Devon (from his ongoing love of the area from his childhood). Kingsley's works were reprinted frequently in collections, sometimes for subscribers, in the years after his death, and still remain in print today.

2.27 Charles Kingsley, *Discipline and Other Sermons* (First Rate Publishers)

Most of Kingsley's published work is still available in print-on-demand form, such as this collection of sermons. Most of Kingsley's known sermons are also available on the website of Bible Hub. A sermon on Matthew 4:3, on Temptation, which he preached both at Eversley and in Chester Cathedral, is available on the website stmaryseversley.org.uk.

2.28 Charles Kingsley, *The Water Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1888; first edition 1863) with illustrations by Sir Noel Paton RSA and Percival Skelton

This is perhaps Kingsley's most famous work, originally published in serial form in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1862-1863 and then as a book. It is a moral tale against child labour and a satire in support of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Alongside its worthier aims it contains prejudicial statements about the Irish, Jews, Catholics, and Americans. Some of the most overt racism is edited out of some more recent editions of the work. The illustration on display is one by the Scottish artist Sir Noel Paton who was well known for his paintings of mythological scenes.

2.29 Charles Kingsley, *The Water-Babies* (London: Tiger Books International, 1994)

There have been dozens of different editions of *The Water-Babies* often with new sets of illustrations. This edition is open at the illustration entitled "They put him in the middle and danced around him."

Another edition had a cartoon of Thomas Huxley and Richard Owen looking at a water-baby in a bottle. Huxley's grandson wrote to him asking about what he had really seen. Huxley replied: "My friend who wrote the story of the Water Baby was a very kind man and very clever. Perhaps he thought I could see as much in the water as he did – There are some people who see a great deal and some who see very little in the same things. When you grow up I dare say you will be one of the great-deal seers, and see things more wonderful than the Water Babies where other folks can see nothing."



Case Three

Kingsley in Chester

Queen Victoria had a long-standing concern for “her well-liked chaplain” (Una Pope-Hennessy, *Canon Charles Kingsley: A Biography* [London: Chatto & Windus, 1948], 246). She had wondered in 1868 about his appointment to a vacant canonry at Worcester Cathedral, only to be told by her advisers that such an appointment “would be seriously prejudicial to Mr Disraeli.” Disraeli had only recently become Prime Minister and his premiership was threatened by Gladstone. At the General Election of 1868 Gladstone and the Liberals were returned to government. This gave room for Kingsley’s ecclesiastical preferment. In April, having received the Queen’s consent, he resigned his chair at Cambridge and informed Gladstone.

On 13 August 1869 Gladstone wrote to Kingsley:

I have much pleasure in proposing to you that you should accept the Canonry of Chester, vacated by the appointment of Dr Moberley to the see of Salisbury, and if you agree, I need not impose on you any obligation of even temporary secrecy, as I know that the act will be very agreeable to her Majesty. The cathedral of Chester is under an energetic Dean, and nave services are now carried on in it with excellent effect.

In a letter to Miss Bulteel, Fanny Kingsley wrote:

The Queen has most kindly given him [Charles] the vacant canonry at Chester which lapsed to the Crown on the elevation of Dr Moberley to the see of Salisbury. It is not a rich canonry, being £500 a year, but it enables us to remain at Eversley and to have a nice change once a year for three months ... a good furnished house which the four canons inhabit by turns. It will be a rest from the heavy work of the professorship.

There was some anxiety in Chester about the appointment. Having read *Alton Locke*, Dean Howson was aware that Kingsley had peculiar views about cathedrals. However, when Kingsley arrived in Chester in November 1869 for his installation, the Chapter were surprisingly reassured by his orthodoxy and overall attitude. Howson was a broad churchman (though he disliked the term) with evangelical sympathies; his overall approach to practical and spiritual matters was not unlike that of Kingsley and they were to cooperate on many things in the next few years.

Apart from the Dean, who lived in what is now the Bishop's House, and the Vice-Dean whose appointment was full-time, the four residentiary canons came into residence for three months each year. They lived in rotation in 11 Abbey Square, a large Georgian house, which now displays a blue plaque on its wall celebrating the residencies of Charles Kingsley. The months set each year for Kingsley's residence were May, June and July. For the three months of residence each canon was paid £500.

Residence at that time of year resulted in at least two things for Kingsley. It meant that he was in Chester for the renowned May meetings at the Chester racecourse. Howson recruited him to write on the problems of the races. He was also resident at a time of year which enabled him to lead outdoor excursions into the local countryside with a large following for his talks on natural history.

Kingsley's first period of three-month residence was set for the late spring and early summer of 1870. He took his leave of Chester very shortly after his installation in 1869 and before Christmas set sail for the West Indies where he had a long-standing invitation from the Governor, Arthur Gordon, the son-in-law of one of his Eversley neighbours. Kingsley had longed since his childhood to visit the West Indies where his mother was born and raised. His mother had often told stories of her childhood and on Sundays had brought out of her cabinet coloured shells, coral, and scarlet seeds from the Caribbean. His lengthy descriptive letters home from the West Indies were edited by Fanny for publication in *Good Works* and then formed the basis of his book *At Last*.

Kingsley came to Chester with a reputation as a social reformer and novelist. He would often take time to read and write in the Chapter House which served as the Cathedral Library at the time. Vergers would bring enquiring visitors to the Chapter House to look at him at work. After some initial apprehension, Dean Howson seems to have found him a most welcome colleague. Kingsley is said to have relished the regular prayer life and music of the Cathedral which Howson had reformed in various ways. Kingsley also worked with Howson as his major supporter in setting up weekly talks and eventually the Society of Natural Science.

Although only in Chester for short periods of residence and for just three years Kingsley made a great impression on Chester and left a lasting legacy. Payments for the refurbishment of two of the canons' stalls were raised from donations from those he influenced while at Chester.

Upper Shelf

3.1 Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding, *A View of Snowdon from the Sands of Traeth Mawr, taken at the Ford Between Pont Aberglaslyn and Tremadoc* (1834)

Twenty years before coming to Chester Kingsley had published *Alton Locke* (1849), a novel reflecting his interest in the Chartist movement. In one chapter the narrator reflects on seeing a painting by Copley Fielding (1787-1855) and, inspired by the music he has just heard offers “The Sands of Dee” as a meditation on the painting to fit the tune. The painting seems to have been painted in 1834 and depicts a scene near Snowdon, which Kingsley transposes to the Dee estuary.



Anthony Vandyke Copley Fielding, *A View of Snowdon from the Sands of Traeth Mawr, taken at the Ford Between Pont Aberglaslyn and Tremadoc* (1834) [Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection; public domain]

From *Alton Locke*, Chapter 26:

“Perhaps,” I said humbly “that is the only way to write songs—to let some air get possession of one’s whole soul, and gradually inspire

the words for itself; as the old Hebrew prophets had music played before them, to wake up the prophetic spirit within them.”

As it happened, my attention was caught by hearing two gentlemen close to me discuss a beautiful sketch by Copley Fielding, if I recollect rightly, which hung on the wall—a wild waste of tidal sands, with here and there a line of stake-nets fluttering in the wind—a grey shroud of rain sweeping up from the westward, through which low red cliffs glowed dimly in the rays of the setting sun—a train of horses and cattle splashing slowly through shallow desolate pools and creeks, their wet, red, and black hides glittering in one long level light.

They seemed thoroughly conversant with art; and as I listened to their criticisms, I learnt more in five minutes about the characteristics of a really true and good picture, and about the perfection to which our unrivalled English landscape-painters have attained, than I ever did from all the books and criticisms which I had read. One of them had seen the spot represented, at the mouth of the Dee, and began telling wild stories of salmon-fishing, and wildfowl shooting—and then a tale of a girl, who, in bringing her father’s cattle home across the sands, had been caught by a sudden flow of the tide, and found next day a corpse hanging around the stake-nets far below. The tragedy, the art of the picture, the simple, dreary grandeur of the scenery, took possession of me; and I stood gazing a long time, and fancying myself pacing the sands, and wondering whether there were shells upon it—I had often longed for once only in my life to pick up shells—when Lady Ellerton, whom I had not before noticed, woke me from my reverie.

[The text continues, but eventually Kingsley includes the poem]

3.2. The Sands of Dee (from Alton Locke)

“O Mary, go and call the cattle home,
And call the cattle home,
And call the cattle home
Across the sands of Dee”;
The western wind was wild and dank with foam,
And all alone went she.

The western tide crept up along the sand,
And o'er and o'er the sand,

And round and round the sand,
As far as eye could see.
The rolling mist came down and hid the land:
And never home came she.

“Oh! is it weed, or fish, or floating hair--
A tress of golden hair,
A drownèd maiden's hair
Above the nets at sea?
Was never salmon yet that shone so fair
Among the stakes on Dee.”

They rowed her in across the rolling foam,
The cruel crawling foam,
The cruel hungry foam,
To her grave beside the sea:
But still the boatmen hear her call the cattle home
Across the sands of Dee.

3.3 Print of Chester Cathedral as in the 1860s



Work had already begun on the East end of the Cathedral when Kingsley first came into residence. In this print from the 1860s, the Cathedral as Kingsley might have first seen it, it is possible to see how much the south-east end of the Cathedral needed underpinning and how much Gilbert Scott did to adjust the Lady Chapel into its present shape and design. He also cut off the ambulatory, by creating St Erasmus chapel, so that it was no longer possible to walk round behind the high altar. On the outside, he also restored the stonework, in effect by shaving it down so that it was an even and more weather-resistant smooth surface and he added buttresses. He also added crenellations all round and turrets to the main tower. He had hoped that a spire could be added on top of the tower, but restoration never got to that stage, Howson preferring to prioritize the decoration of the inside of the Cathedral.

3.4 Dean John Saul Howson

This photographic portrait is © The National Portrait Gallery. It is by Lock & Whitfield, published by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington; in woodburytype, published 1882; 4 1/2 in. x 3 1/2 in. (114 mm x 90 mm) image size; acquired from an unknown source, 1883.

3.5 Howson's initial reaction to Kingsley's Appointment

Fanny Kingsley records in her official biography of her husband how the Dean had reacted to the appointment of Charles Kingsley as Residentiary Canon in 1869.

“I had,” said the Dean, “read ‘Alton Locke’ on its first appearance, and I must confess that when a letter came to me from him to tell me that he had been appointed a Canon of Chester, I was full of fear. There seemed to me an incongruity in the appointment. I fancied that there was no natural affinity between the author of ‘Alton Locke’ and cathedral life. Here I soon found that I had made a mistake ... To describe Canon Kingsley’s work and usefulness in Chester, I must note the extraordinary enthusiasm with which he entered upon his connection with the place ... With this enthusiasm I must note his old-fashioned courtesy, loyalty, and respect for official position. I suppose his political and social views would have been termed ‘liberal;’ but his liberalism was not at all of the conventional type. I should have described him as a mixture of the Radical and the Tory,

the aspect of character which is denoted by the latter word being, to my apprehension, quite as conspicuous as that which is denoted by the former. Certainly he was very different from the traditional Whig. I have spoken of his respect for official position. I believe that to have caused inconvenience to me, to have done what I did not like, to have impeded me in my efforts to be useful, would have given him the utmost pain. That he was far my superior in ability and knowledge made no difference. I happened to be Dean, and he happened to be Canon; and this was quite enough ... I record this, that I may express my gratitude; but I note it is also a mark of character ...”

3.6 John S. Howson, *Notes on the Restoration of Chester Cathedral* (Chester: W. F. Healey, 1873)

In this booklet Dean Howson describes in a set of ten republished reports how the Cathedral restoration had proceeded, beginning with the launch of the funding campaign on the eve of the Feast of the Conversion of St Paul (January 25th), 1868.

In Paper II he notes that the special sermons inaugurated by the Archbishop of York to illuminate the progress of the restoration had begun on 25 January 1872 and that during the fifth year of the project windows depicting the life of St Paul had been installed in the south side of the Lady Chapel. He completes the Introduction to this set of ten papers on the same date in 1873. The restoration work on the Cathedral thus spans very much the same period as the appointment of Kingsley as Residentiary Canon (1869-1873).

3.7 John S. Howson, *Hymns for Special Services* (Chester: Phillipson & Golder, 1867)

Within a few weeks of becoming Dean, Howson had compiled and printed this collection of *Hymns for Special Services*. It was intended principally for use at the evening services being led by the new Nave Choir. The following year he published a second collection: *A Selection of Hymns Compiled for Use in Chester Cathedral* (Chester: Phillipson & Golder, 1868). Howson completely reinvigorated the worship in the Cathedral and by the time Kingsley arrived, there were very large congregations in the nave each Sunday for which Kingsley took his turn as preacher. Fanny’s memoirs are presented by Una Pope-Hennessy (p. 260) as follows: “At

once the Canon began to prepare his May sermons for Chester, sermons that were so great a success that ‘whole cathedral congregations went wild about them’. Fanny records that Charles found the 8 a.m. and 5 p.m. services a great help as ‘they seemed to anchor his soul’.”

3.8 Print of Chester Cathedral (late 19th Century)

This print, whose perspective is precisely the same as that of **3.3**, shows the work of George Gilbert Scott complete, with the major renovation of the Lady Chapel, the creation of St Erasmus Chapel, the buttresses, crenellations and the turrets. The graveyard is still in place.

3.9 Charles Kingsley, “*Subordination and its Reward*”, A sermon preached in Chester Cathedral on Sunday May 21st 1871, before the Earl of Chester’s Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry (Chester: Phillipson and Golder, 1871).

Kingsley had much acquaintance with the army. As Rector of Eversley he lived between Crowthorne and Sandhurst. Near Crowthorne was Wellington College, the new school established in 1859 in memory of the Duke of Wellington with preferential entry for the children of those killed in action. Prince Albert took great interest in the emerging curriculum at Wellington. Kingsley’s own son Maurice was a pupil there. At Sandhurst, a few miles in the other direction, was the Royal Military Academy.

3.10 Kingsley’s Eastertide Sermon 1870

One of Kingsley’s first acts in Chester was to preach an Eastertide Sermon. It is interesting to see something of the preparation process in the manuscript of the sermon which is on display. The full text of the sermon with the changes indicated forms an appendix to this catalogue. The sermon was preached on a Sunday after Easter in 1870, shortly after Kingsley came into residence at Chester for the first time on 1st May 1870. The text that Kingsley takes is not from the lectionary as set in the *Book of Common Prayer*. His choice of John 12 might possibly reflect his preference for images from the natural world, though he does not spend much time in the sermon reflecting on the seed that must die in order to spring to new life, but uses the image as an *inclusio*.

Kingsley commonly prepared his initial thoughts for his sermons on walks in the countryside. He then wrote them up in his forward-leaning extrovert longhand. In final preparation he checked through and made minor alterations and corrections to his text. On the sermon here displayed most of the final adjustments are to improve the rhetorical effect of the sermon. It is intriguing to see, however, that he has made the theological decision to juxtapose resurrection and ascension, not resurrection alone, as the counterpart to crucifixion.

In this sermon, several of Kingsley's ideas are evident. First, he insists on an appropriate place for suffering in the life of the Christian. He was interested in his own mortification and wrote many times on the significance of martyrdom, not just as a sign from the martyrs of the past, but as part of the contemporary spiritual journey. Second, he has a view of things which is permeated with the language of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. Often one scriptural idea is re-described through the use of another, rather than translated into non-scriptural terms. Third, there is an evident concern to express things as if they were evident to human rationality and conscience, making life lived in light of the resurrection of Jesus a thoroughly moral affair. Fourth, his comparison with "the gods of the Hindoos" almost certainly reflects his very recent experience (Dec 1869-Feb 1870) in the West Indies where he encountered many "coolies".

Many of Kingsley's sermons were printed and published in collections during his lifetime. Many of them are available now in an edited form on the Bible Hub website. One of the editorial decisions made on the website is to capitalize He, His and Him, when the pronouns refer to either God the Father or Jesus, but Kingsley does not follow such a practice.

3.11 Extract from Sermon marked to illustrate Kingsley's corrections and adjustments

Notice in this extract how Kingsley is concerned with setting the notions of human reason and conscience.

3.12 Letter on Betting addressed to the men of Chester as found in volume two of *Charles Kingsley: His Life and Letters* edited by his wife

Kingsley was recruited by Howson to write on betting. He decided to publish his thoughts as an open letter to the men of Chester in 1871. He had two particular points against betting, one moral and one rational: (1)

“Betting is wrong because it is wrong to take your neighbours money without giving him anything in return.” (2) It is also simply foolish and irrational because the odds are against the one betting.

3.13 Screenshot of webpage giving details on Charles Kingsley

Ironically, Charles Kingsley is now the name of a horse owned by Sheikh Hamdan Bin Mohammed Al Maktoum, the Crown Prince of Dubai, UAE. The horse was born on 8 March 2015; on 25 September 2018 it won at Beverley and had a fourth place on 30 December 2018.

Lower Shelf

3.14 Charles Kingsley, *At Last* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1890)

The first edition of *At Last* was published in 1871 after appearing as instalments in a magazine during 1870. “At Last” are the opening two words of text. Kingsley had long wanted to visit the West Indies about which he had a somewhat romantic notion. His mother was born in Barbados (which he did not manage to see) and had a treasure cabinet with shells and other items in it which had played a part in stimulating his interest in natural history. In the book, together with splendid descriptions of the landscapes and vegetation of the West Indies, Kingsley outlined his ideas about the hierarchy of races and his belief that new white settlers were needed, along with “coolies”, to educate the African workers.

3.15 Charles Kingsley: *His Life and Letters* (London: Macmillan & Co, abridged edition 1904)

This is the abbreviated form of the two-volume *Life and Letters*. Here (p. 302) Fanny records how: “Besides the daily service and the preparation of sermons, which were an occupation in themselves, he was anxious to start some week-day work that would bring the cathedral and the town in close contact. As usual his heart turned to the young men of the city, whose time on long spring and summer evenings might be turned to account, and he offered to start a little class on physical science, expecting to have at most sixteen to twenty young shopmen and clerks. Botany was the chosen subject, and in a small room belonging to the City Library, he began—the black board and a bit of chalk being the usual accompaniments to the lectures, which he illustrated throughout. The class soon increased so much

in number that they had to migrate to a larger room, and a walk and a field lecture were added once a week. This was the beginning of the Chester Natural History Society, which now numbers between five and six hundred members, with president, secretary, monthly meeting report, regular summer excursions, winter courses of lectures, and a Museum.”

3.16 Cuckoo (on loan from the Grosvenor Museum)

Following the example of Kingsley’s first local field trips in 1870, the Chester Society for Natural Science held 8 field trips each year. They were very popular, with some attracting up to 500 people. Their visits included Helsby Hill for sandstone and Nannerch, Flintshire, for limestone and breeding cuckoos.

3.17 E.G. Williams, *The Chester Society of Natural Science founded by Charles Kingsley in 1871 later becoming The Chester Society of Natural Science, Literature and Art. Its Origin and Development over One Hundred Years. A study for Reference*

“Had it not been for Charles Kingsley’s coming to Chester it seems doubtful if the organisation of a Society of Natural Science – as distinct from a Natural History Society – would have come into being as soon or as effectively as it did. The interest in, and search for, education and instruction found no point of focus until a character such as Kingsley’s could come on the scene to set alight the combustible and already smouldering material and to kindle it into intellectual fire. ... Kingsley’s love of Nature, and of God, allied with his very great clarity of thought and coupled with humanitarian emotions, enabled him to integrate this factually-obtained knowledge into the accepted thinking of his times in a way which prevented him from becoming a narrowly-based scientist and to make him take wider visions. His literary talents enabled him to express his ‘learning’ not only simply and clearly but with scientific insight and truth. For example take his “Madam How and Lady Why” which can be read today by one such as the writer, with his acquaintance with the developments of science since the early 1900s, not only with pleasure but with instruction. We can see this breadth of vision in his approach to the great geologist of those times, Sir Charles Lyell, to ask him to be the first Honorary Member of the newly formed Chester Society of Natural Science. Kingsley wrote to him, ‘I want a few great scientific names as Honorary Members. That will give my “plebs” who are men of all ranks and creeds, of course, the feeling that they are initiated into the great

freemasonry of science, and such men as you acknowledge them as pupils. Your most loyal and faithful pupil, C. Kingsley’.”

3.18 Charles Kingsley, *Town Geology* (Print on demand edition 978-1-44321392-9)

Open at the end of the lecture on “The Coal in the Fire” where Kingsley closes the talk with a rhetorical flourish about the transformations involved in thinking about coal:

“And is a further transformation possible? Yes; and more than one. If we conceive the anthracite cleared of all but its last atoms of oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, till it has become all but pure carbon, it would become—as it has become in certain rocks of immense antiquity, graphite—what we miscall black-lead. And, after that, it might go through one transformation more, and that the most startling of all. It would need only perfect purification and crystallisation to become—a diamond; nothing less. We may consider the coal upon the fire as the middle term of a series, of which the first is live wood, and the last diamond; and indulge safely in the fancy that every diamond in the world has probably, at some remote epoch, formed part of a growing plant.”

He continues by musing on what his desk is made of: “gas and sunbeams”.

3.19 Charles Kingsley, FLS, FGS, *Town Geology* (London: Strahan and Co, 1873)

The publication of his first series of Chester lectures of 1871 as *Town Geology* is dedicated

“To the members of the Chester Natural History Society.

My Dear Friends,

Many of you will, I hope, recollect these Lectures. Allow me to dedicate them to you in their present form, as a memorial—to me at least—of some of the most pleasant passages of my life.

C. Kingsley

June, 12, 1872.”

3.20 Charles Kingsley, “Apostle of the Flesh”, Cartoon, *Vanity Fair*, 1872

This cartoon, one of a series, was drawn by Adriano Cerioni (1836-1886). Cerioni had been active in Florence and Naples, but had fallen on hard

times. His work for *Vanity Fair* set his finances right and after six months in London he returned to Italy. The title of the cartoon shows how widespread was Kingsley's reputation for taking the human body seriously. Also in the series was a cartoon of J. Anthony Froude, the historian and Kingsley's brother-in-law (Froude had married Fanny's elder sister Charlotte, who had converted to Roman Catholicism); the cartoon of Froude was entitled "He created Henry VIII, exploded Mary Stuart, and demolished Elizabeth."

3.21 John S. Howson, *The Character of St. Paul, Being the Cambridge Hulsean Lectures for 1862* (London: Strahan and Co, third edition, 1873)

In his Hulsean Lectures of 1862 Howson had outlined the character of St Paul: tact and presence of mind, tenderness and sympathy, conscientiousness and integrity, thanksgiving and prayer, and courage and perseverance. Of interest is that in the first edition of his Cambridge Hulsean lectures Howson had included an appendix expressing reservations about Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. In this third edition published in 1873, the appendix is removed. It is tempting to speculate that Howson's friendly Chester interactions with Kingsley, for whom Darwin was a great man, led to Howson withdrawing his reservations about *On the Origin of Species* by the time of the 1873 edition.

In the third edition Howson writes: "There is another subject which perhaps demands a word before I conclude. The first of these lectures was delivered during the week when the British Association met at Cambridge [October 1862]; and it was hardly possible to avoid some allusion to scientific speculations which then occupied, and which will continue to occupy, very grave attention. I have, however, in this edition omitted some remarks on these topics which the earlier editions contained, and which have no necessary connection with the subject of these Lectures. What I would earnestly urge as the main point in such matters is that we should be content to wait for the solution of what at present is perplexing."

3.22 Guy Kendall, *Charles Kingsley and His Ideas* (London: Hutchison & Co, 1946)

In writing about Kingsley's time at Chester, Kendall draws attention to his 1870 sermon at the Kirkdale Ragged School (est. 1856 by Revd Thomas Lester): "... So it is in our social system. It [waste] pays better. Capital is

accumulated more rapidly by wasting a certain amount of human life, human health, human intellect, human morals, by producing and throwing away a regular percentage of human soot. But as in the case of the manufactures, the Nemesis comes swift and sure.” Here Kingsley is forthright about how developments in factory manufacturing were not only dehumanising but also destructive. This is a stark statement about throw-away attitudes in the prioritisation of capital growth. In this respect he is speaking not only as a Christian Socialist but also in ways akin to those of the arts and crafts movement led by John Ruskin (1819-1900), a fellow-member of the Eyre Defence Committee.

3.23 C.V.G. “Worthies of Chester: Charles Kingsley,” *The Chester Diocesan Gazette*, Vol 1, No. 6, August 16th 1886

The article comments in depth on the combination of Kingsley’s thought, his view of the world, his theology, and his pastoral commitments. The article concludes with the telling paragraph: “He stood once, himself, looking at a fallen tree, a tree he had known in his parish for thirty years, firm trunk and brave branch. There was a blank in his horizon, he could not refrain himself, he sat down and burst into tears. So squire and peasant, huntsman and gipsy, whose memories ever included their Rector, when they stood at his open grave could not restrain their grief, for they felt that though heath, and down, and woodland might remain, the noblest, notablest feature in their landscape was gone.”

3.24 Alexander Nairne, *Poems by Charles Kingsley: A Lecture* (Chester: G.R. Griffith, 1915)

Alexander Nairne (1875-1936) was Professor of Old Testament at King’s College London (1900-1917), then Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge (1917-22); he was a residentiary canon of Chester 1914-1922, in residence in the university vacation. Nairne presents an assessment of Kingsley’s poetry, paying particular attention to its metre, and noting suitably that only some will stand the test of time. However, in commenting on Kingsley’s legacy in Chester, Canon Nairne says, “When we consider how short a time he was at Chester, it is remarkable that he should have made the very deep impression he did, an impression which seems to grow only deeper as the years run by. Of course he was one who would make an impression wherever he went, and at once. He was so affectionate as well as forceful. But that is not the whole explanation. He had an especial affection for Chester, and his three years here were his happy evening hour.”

Concluding Reflections

The purpose of this exhibition, as with those before, is to stimulate reflection, in this case on the thought and life of one of the most well-known figures of the nineteenth century who was also a canon of Chester. Here are a few concluding thoughts and reflections.

The first and most remarkable feature of Charles Kingsley's work was his prodigious output in print and in letters, most of which is still readily available. On his honeymoon he suggested to Fanny that they should sort their love letters carefully in order. It seems that in today's terms he would have been an avid user of all kinds of electronic media, leaving a trail of personal and other items in the public domain. Do we know too much about him? How much do we think we should share of ourselves with others?

Second, he came to Chester renowned as a Christian Socialist. This initially gave Dean Howson some cause for anxiety. But in effect Kingsley's primary approach was pragmatic: a concern for the poor, for progress without de-humanisation, for the alleviation of suffering, for sanitation, for cleanliness, for fresh water, for rigorous education. He challenges Christians who engage with him to consider how they should work out the practical implications of conscience and morality.

Third, Kingsley had an infectious engagement with all the changes and chances of the natural world in which he encountered the glory of God. He was a reader of the Book of Nature more than the so-called Book of God; in his attempt to reconcile science and Christianity, he gave priority to reason as confirmation of revelation in understanding the world. In the light of their reading of Darwin's theories, others, even nowadays, might prioritize things differently. And Kingsley's understanding of hierarchies should be seen as highly problematic, though racist attitudes persist today.

Fourth, Kingsley showed both how the Church could attract people in and how the Church could engage with the local community. In offering botany classes in the spring of 1870, he started things in Chester which led swiftly to the Chester Society for Natural Science, and shortly thereafter also included Literature and Art—and that resulted in the establishment of the Grosvenor Museum, also including the Chester Archaeological Society.

Fifth, Kingsley makes a fascinating case study for anybody interested in the sexuality of a Victorian clergyman and public intellectual. There is more than enough material for masculinist studies, feminist studies, gender studies. How do we reflect suitably on his views of the human body?

Appendix

The manuscript of this sermon is part of the collection of the Chester Cathedral Library. It is presented here with Kingsley's changes and corrections variously marked, mostly either as insertions above the line or as deletions. Some of the biblical passages are also identified. Kingsley quotes the Psalms from the *Book of Common Prayer* (Coverdale) and other texts from the King James Version.

Sermon preached by Charles Kingsley in Chester Cathedral on one of the Sundays after Easter, 1870

St John xii.24, 25. "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his life shall lose it. And he that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it to life eternal."

This is our Lord's own parable. In it he tells us that his death, & his resurrection, {inserted above the line: his ascension}, is a mystery which we may believe, not only because the Bible tells us of it, but because it is reasonable, and according to the laws of his universe; a fulfilment, rather say the highest fulfilment, of one of those laws which runs through the world of nature, and through the spiritual and heavenly world likewise.

"Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone" [John 12:24]. See Barren, useless, and truly dead to the rest of the world around it, because it is shut up in itself, and its hidden life, with all its wondrous powers of growth and fertility, remains undeveloped, and will remain so, till it decays away, a worthless thing, into worthless dust.

But if it be buried in the earth a while, then the rich life which lay hid in it is called out by that seeming death; and it sprouts, and tillers, and flowers, and ripens {inserted above line: its grain} forty-fold, sixty-fold, an hundred-fold. And so it shows God's mind and will concerning it. ~~Even so, says our Lord, would his death, his resurrection, his ascension be.~~

Even so, says our Lord, would his death, his Resurrection, his ascension be. He speaks of his {insert above the line: own} resurrection and ascension; yes, but he speaks first of his own death. Before the corn can bring forth fruit, and shew what is in it, fulfilling the law of its being, it must fall into the ground and die. Before our Lord could fulfil the prophecy, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither suffer thy Holy one to see corruption" [Psalm 16:10], he must fulfil ~~another~~ ^{another} far the darker prophecy of that awful 88th Psalm, the only one of all the psalms which ends in sorrow, in all but despair — "My soul is full of trouble, and my life draweth nigh unto hell. I am counted as one of them that have no strength. Free among the dead, like unto them that are wounded and lie in the grave, who are out of remembrance, and are cut away from thy hand" [Psalm 88:2-4].

So it was to be. So, we may believe, it needed to be. Christ must suffer before he entered into his glory. He must die, before He could rise. He must descend into hell, before he ascended into heaven. For this is the Law of God's kingdom. Without a Good Friday, there can be no Easter Day. ~~Without death, there can be no li.~~ Without self-sacrifice, there can be no blessedness, neither in earth nor in heaven. He that loveth his life will lose it. He that hateth his life in this paltry, selfish, luxurious, hypocritical world, shall keep it to life eternal. Our Lord Jesus Christ fulfilled that Law, because it is the Law, the Law not of Moses, but of the kingdom of heaven; and must be fulfilled by him who would fulfil all righteousness, and be perfect, even as his Father in heaven is perfect.

Bear this in mind, I pray you, and whenever you think of our Lord's resurrection and ascension. Remember always, that the background to his triumph is — a tomb. Remember ~~(not to sadden yourselves, God forbid!, but to comfort yourselves,~~ that it is the triumph over suffering; a triumph of One who still bears the prints of the nails in his hands and in his feet, and the wound of the spear in his side — like many a poor soul who {inserted above the line: has} followed him — triumphant at last, and yet scarred, and only not maimed in the hard battle of life.

Remember forever the adorable wounds of Christ. Remember forever that St. John saw in the midst of the throne of God the likeness of a lamb, as it had been slain. For so {inserted above line: alone} you will learn what our Lord's resurrection {insert above line: and ascension} are ~~to you and~~ to all who have to suffer and to toil on earth.

For if our Lord's triumph had had no suffering before it, if he had conquered as the Hindoos represent their gods as conquering their enemies, without effort, without pain, destroying them with careless ease, by lightnings, hurled by a hundred hands and ~~supported~~ aided by innumerable armies of spirits, what would such a triumph have been to us? ~~Some~~ What comfort, what example to us here struggling, often sinning, in this piecemeal world? We want — and blessed be God, we have — a captain of our salvation, who has been made perfect by sufferings. We want — and blessed be God, we have — a high priest who can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, because He has been tempted in all things like as we are, yet without sin. We want — and blessed be God, we have — a King who was glorified by suffering, that, if we are ever called on to sacrifice ourselves, we may hope, by suffering, to share his glory.

And when we have remembered this, and fixed it in our minds, we may go on safely, to think of his glory, and see that (as I said at first) his resurrection and ascension satisfy our consciences, — satisfy that highest reason and moral sense within us, which is none other than the voice of the Holy Spirit of God.

For see. Our Lord proved himself to be {insert: the} perfectly righteous ~~to be the~~ being, by his very passion. He proved it by being righteous utterly against his own interest; by enduring shame, torment, death, for righteousness' sake. ~~But our conscience, our moral sense, tells us~~ But we feel that our Lord's history could not, must not, end there. Our conscience, which is our highest reason, shrinks from that thought. ~~Else~~ If our Lord had died and never risen, then would his history be full of nothing but despair to all who long to copy him, and do right at all costs. ~~We~~ {insert: Our consciences} demand that God should be just. We say with Abraham, "Shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" [Genesis 18:25] Shall not he, who suffered without hope of reward, have is reward nevertheless? ~~And all the more~~ Shall not he who cried, "My God! my God! why

hast thou forsaken me?” [Mark 15:34] be justified by ~~bee~~ having it proved to all the world that God had not forsaken him?

~~And~~ But we surely cannot be more just than God. If we expect God to do right, we shall surely find that he has done right, and more right than we could expect or dream. Therefore we may believe — I say that we must believe, if we be truly reasonable beings — what the Bible tells us; that Christ, who suffered more than all, was rewarded more than all; that Christ, who humbled himself more than all, was exalted more than all; and that his resurrection and ascension (as St Paul tells us again and again) was meant to shew men this, — to show them that God the Father has been infinitely ~~and~~ ~~utterly~~ just to the infinite merits of God the Son, Jesus Christ our Lord. To justify our Lord to all mankind by his triumph over death and hell, and in justifying him, to justify his father and our father, his God and our God.

~~Therefore, my dear friends,~~ And what is true of Christ must be true of us, the members of Christ. ~~If we are to suffer with him, we shall also be glorified with him. If we~~ He is entered into His rest, and you desire to enter into it likewise. You have a right to desire it, for it is written, “There remaineth a rest for the people of God” [Hebrews 4:9]. Remember, then, that true rest can only be attained as he attained it, through labour.

You desire to — {inserted above line: be glorified} with Christ. Remember that true glory can only be attained in earth or heaven, through self-sacrifice. Whosoever will save his life shall lose it; whosoever will lose his life shall save it . If that eternal moral law held good enough for the sinless Christ, who, though he were a son, yet learned obedience by the things which he suffered, how much more must it hold good of you and me and all moral and rational beings. Yea, for the very angels in heaven?

They have not sinned. That we know. And ~~as far as we know~~ we do not know; and I presume cannot know, ~~whether~~ that they have ever suffered. But this at least we know, that they have submitted. They have obeyed and have given up their own wills to be the ministers of God’s will. In them is neither self-will nor selfishness; and therefore by faith, that is, by trust and loyalty, they stand. And so, by consenting to lose their individual life of selfishness, they have saved their eternal life in God, the life of blessedness and holiness, just as all evil spirits have lost their eternal life by trying to save their selfish life, and be something in themselves and of themselves without respect to God.

This is a great mystery — indeed, it is the mystery of the eternal, divine, and blessed life, to which God of His mercy bring us all. And therefore Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, are set as great lights in the firmament of the spiritual year, to remind us that we are not animals, born to do what we like, and fulfil the {insert above the line: sinful} lusts of the flesh, the ways whereof are death. But that we are moral and rational beings, members of Christ, children of God, inheritors of the kingdom of heaven.

And that, therefore {insert above the line: I say it again} like Christ our Lord, ~~we must~~ {insert above the line: We must die in order to live}, stoop {insert below the line: in order} to conquer. ~~We must die to live~~ That honour must grow out of humility; {insert above the line: freedom must grow out of discipline;} the power to rule out of the determination to obey; that sure conquest must be born of heavy struggles; ~~joy, pure~~ {insert above the line: righteous} joy out of ~~pure~~ {insert above the line: righteous}

sorrow; pure laughter out of pure tears; true strength out of the true knowledge of our own weakness; sound peace of mind out of sound contrition; and that the heart which ~~does cry~~ has a right to cry, “The Lord is on my side, I will not fear what man can do unto me” [Psalm 118:6], must be born out of the heart which has cried, — “God be merciful to me a sinner” [Luke 18:13], that in all things, as says our Lord, there cannot be joy, because a man is born into the world, unless there first be sorrow, because the hour of birth is come; and that ~~in all things~~ he who would be planted into the likeness of Christ’s resurrection, must, like the corn of wheat, be first planted into the likeness of his death, and die to sin and self, that he may live to righteousness and to God; and, like the corn of wheat, become truly ~~new~~ living, truly strong, truly rich, truly useful, and develop the hidden capabilities of his being, fulfilling the mind and will of God concerning him.

Again, I say, this is a great mystery. But again, I say, this is the Law, not Moses’ Law, but the Gospel law: the law of liberty, by which a man becomes truly free, because he has trampled under foot the passions of his own selfish flesh, till his immortal spirit can ascend ~~into~~ free into the light of God, and into the love of God, and into the ~~use~~ beneficence of God.

My dear friends, remember these words, for they are true. Remember that St Paul always couples with the resurrection and ascension of our bodies in the next life the resurrection and ascension of our souls in this life; for without that, the resurrection of our bodies would be but a resurrection to fresh sin, and therefore to fresh misery and ruin.

Remember his great words about that {insert above the line: moral} resurrection and ascension of our wills, our hearts, our characters, our actions. “God,” he says, “who is rich in mercy, for his great love, wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace are ye saved;) and hath raised us together ~~with Christ~~, and made us sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus” [Ephesians 2:4].

And what are those heavenly places? And what is our duty in them? Let St Paul himself answer. “If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God” [Colossians 3:1].

And what are they? Let St Paul answer once more; who should know better than he, save Christ alone? “Whatsoever things are true — honest — just — pure — lovely — of good report. If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things” [Philippians 4:8].

Yes, think of these things, and, thinking of them, ask the Holy Spirit of God to inspire you, and make a Whitsuntide in your hearts, ~~H~~ even as he has made, I trust, a Good Friday and an Eastertide and an Ascension Day; that so, knowing these things, you may be blessed in doing them. ~~That~~ So — and so only, may be fulfilled in you and me or any rational being, those blessed promises {insert above the line: which were fulfilled in Christ our Lord}. “He that soweth in tears shall reap in joy” [Psalm 126:5].

“He that goeth on his way weeping, and beareth forth good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, bringing his sheaves with him” [Psalm 126:6].

“For blessed is the man whose strength is in God, in whose heart are his ways; who going through the vale of misery, use it for a well, and the pools are filled with water” [Psalm 84:5-6].

“They will go from strength to strength: and unto the God of gods appeareth every one of them in Zion” [Psalm 84:7]. To which may God in His great mercy bring us all. Amen.



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