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# Responses to Charles Kingsley's Attack on Political Economy.

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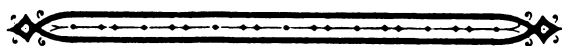
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TABLE I: SERIAL AND BOOK TEXTS OF KINGSLEY'S THE WATER-BABIES\*

AUTHOR: Charles Kingsley      TITLE: The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby  
 PERIODICAL: Macmillan's Magazine      INCLUSIVE DATES: August 1862-March 1863  
 LOCATION: Cornell, Bodleian, etc.      VOLUMES: VI-VII

1 No. of inst.	2 Vol. of inst.	3 Date of inst.	4 Page nos. in per.	5 Chapter nos. in per.	6 Ch. no. equiv. in book	8 Page numbers in the book for major additions
1	6	Aug. 1862	273-283	1	1	11-13, 15-17, 31, 36, 40, 44
2	6	Sept. 1862	353-363	2	2	49, 55, 57-59, 60
3	6	Oct. 1862	433-444	3	3	93-94, 112, 115
4	7	Nov. 1862	1-13	4	4	130, 137, 167-170, 176, 177-178
5	7	Dec. 1862	95-105	5	5	major deletion, p.199
6	7	Jan. 1863	209-218	6	6	--
7	7	Feb. 1863	316-327	7	7	285
8	8	Mar. 1863	383-392	8	8	301-304, 305-321, 323-324, 324, 336, 338, 343, 345, 349

\* This table follows the pattern established by RSVP's Committee on Serial Fiction, except that, since this book has no chapter titles, the table omits column 7, and it adds column 8, page references for book additions. The book-text page references are to the first edition (London: Macmillan, 1863).



## Responses to Charles Kingsley's Attack on Political Economy

John C. Hawley, S.J.

In 1850, Charles Kingsley lightheartedly told a friend that "The 'Christian Socialist' sells about 1500, and is spreading; but not having been yet cursed by any periodical, I fear it is doing no good." (1) Writing under the pseudonym "Parson Lot," this young enthusiast did not have much longer to wait for that token of "success." Just two years later, in his defensive **Who Are the Friends of Order?** Kingsley acknowledged that the Christian Socialists were now besieged on all sides, and had "to hear **Edinburgh Reviewers** complaining of them for wishing to return to feudalism and medieval bigotry while **Quarterly Reviewers** (were) reviling them for sedition and communism." (2)

Long before his death in 1875 Parson Lot

had become an eminent Victorian, and very much a member of the establishment: chaplain to the Queen, tutor to her son, and protegee of Prince Albert. It is, therefore, difficult today to understand how anyone could imagine Kingsley a radical. Yet even he and F.D. Maurice saw the mutual acceptance among social classes that they advocated as a kind of revolution. The periodicals of their day concurred, and it is through the eyes of their journalists that we may see most clearly the concern in England aroused by the Continental upheavals of 1848. Young Parson Lot clearly understood the polemics of the struggle: he knew that, if he were going to have any voice in reshaping his country, he would have to attract the attention of the major periodicals. In this, he quickly succeeded.

### Fear of Kingsley's "Seditious" Politics

In September 1851, when J.W. Croker of the **Quarterly** grouped Kingsley's "not-worth-a-penny novels" (**Alton Locke** and **Yeast** had been published) with various French writings under the title "Revolutionary Literature," he was applying a practically indelible and damning brand.<sup>(3)</sup> In the Christian Socialism they espoused, Croker saw communism and something more insidious than Jacobinism and Jacques: "The same doctrines in a form not the less dangerous for being less honest." He declared that the message of F.D. Maurice and Kingsley "emanates directly from the French Revolution of 1848," and is therefore egregiously "**un-English**."<sup>(4)</sup>

This last may strike us today as a remarkably misdirected criticism: Charles Kingsley's Victorian boosterism, after all, is still notorious. But French writers did, in fact, exercise some limited influence in the development of Christian Socialism. And even as late as 1863, in **The Water-Babies**, Kingsley is clearly charmed by the associationism Fourier had endorsed (**WB**, Ch. 5, 169-70). Nevertheless, today's reader may still be intrigued to hear that a significant segment of the periodical press shared Croker's perception of Kingsley as a young radical intent upon the importation of Continental instability.

There were several reasons for their fears. In the first place, as Thomas Hughes reminds Kingsley's readers in a later edition of **Alton Locke**, Kingsley began writing at the time that Chartism appeared to be rallying and when Henry Mayhew was frightening his readers with the garish details of slum life. Furthermore, many of the earlier British advocates of social change, like Robert Owen, were notably anti-clerical. His 1817 "Denunciation of All Religions" had, naturally, called forth a defensive reaction from many churchmen.<sup>(5)</sup> In Croker's emotional charge that Parson Lot was a "less honest" Owenite, therefore, he warned that Kingsley's social theories were gaining an audience they might not have done had he not been an Anglican priest. And what this cleric was writing was "in every view deplorable--dangerous for the rich, still more dangerous for the poor, and a perversion of Christianity."

The equally conservative Dr. Jelf, the Principal of King's College, wrote to F.D. Maurice, complaining that his disciple was

in a high degree inflammatory. . . occasionally almost insurrectionary." Then, when the editors of the radical **Leader** expressed some satisfaction with Kingsley's writing, Jelf demanded that the novelist disassociate himself from socialism and communism.<sup>(6)</sup> Maurice responded immediately: "If I were to (give). . . the impression that I admitted any of the charges which have been made against him in the 'Quarterly Review' or elsewhere, I should be guilty of a dastardly falsehood." He told Jelf that the **Leader** had used Kingsley's name for its own purposes; Kingsley himself had always denounced people like Holyoake (editor of the anti-Christian **Reasoner**) and all they stood for--including insurrection (**ML**, 2: 81). The next year, however, even **Fraser's** expressed fears that the Christian Socialists shared skeptical views like those of the **Inquirer**, and Maurice encouraged Kingsley to respond. Perhaps with Robert Owen in mind, he recommended that Kingsley emphasize that Christian Socialists were, first and foremost, men of **faith** (**ML**, 2: 108-09).

In 1849 Maurice had admitted to John Ludlow that "Kingsley's denunciation (right or wrong) of pauper proprietors forced the question of Communism upon us."<sup>(7)</sup> Typically, however, Maurice avoided economic theory and waxed theological:

The State, I think, cannot be Communist; never will be; never ought to be. . . . But the Church, I hold, is Communist in principle. . . . (Therefore,) the union of Church and State, of bodies existing for opposite ends, each necessary to the other, is, it seems to me, precisely that which should accomplish the fusion of the principles of Communism and of property (**ML**, 2: 6-9).

In Christian Socialism Maurice sought to build a bridge between Church and state without obliterating either, and he welcomed the ongoing conflict between "the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists" (**ML**, 2: 35).

Thus, despite the shrill alarmist of the **Quarterly's** charge that Christian Socialism was communist, the movement did invite a restructuring by Church and State of the current social order. In **Cheap Clothes and Nasty** (1850) Parson Lot proposed that workers ask themselves this question: "Why should we not work and live together in our own workshops, or our own homes, for our own profit. . . . And then,

all that the master slopsellers had better do, will be simply to vanish and become extinct" (AL, 1: 95-96). The **Christian Observer** answered Kingsley's rhetorical question by noting that this "associative" principle was "opposed to every hitherto recognized principle of political economy" and was an unfair attack on the rich.(8) Julian Sturtevant in the **New Englander** feared that Kingsley's proposal might have the effect of giving workers more power than they knew how to use responsibly.(9) Both journals were echoing Croker's fears.

Neither Kingsley nor Maurice seemed likely candidates to destabilize England, though. Even the use of the term "socialism" was casual with these Christian Socialists, who were principally interested in demonstrating that men and women could work for, rather than against, each other. This was Maurice's "science of partnership." (10) Both men became rather vague, though, when the discussion turned to the details of the proposed "fusion" of communism and property. Maurice, in fact, remained convinced that right-thinking individuals, whether Radical or Whig or Tory, would come up with well-conceived plans of their own, and he praised Parson Lot's **Cheap Clothes and Nasty** specifically because the author had **not** committed himself to any specific plan (ML, 2: 31-33). Croker condemned this as "a crazy straining after paradox." Since they "did not venture to push their doctrines to their full consequences," he wrote, "they alarmed and disgusted those who think."

### Disgust with Kingsley's "Mediaeval" Economic Theories

Croker's charge that Kingsley was an insurrectionist was the first of two major attacks on Parson Lot. W.R. Greg's articles in the **Edinburgh Review** and **National Review** typify the second line of criticism, which condemned him as an ignorant preacher of backward economic principles.(11) What Kingsley needed, Greg wrote, was "some faint mistrust of his own mastery of a science which he loathes and despises too much to have studied." There were two classes of philanthropists, "the feelers and the thinkers--the impulsive and the systematic," and the nation must carefully distinguish between them. Among the impulsive were economists like Kingsley, who would surround man with "artificial environments which shall make subsistence certain, enterprise superfluous, and virtue easy, low-pitched, and monotonous." Political economists, on the other hand, were not only more rigorous in

their thinking, but more courageous, as well; they were "the real poets... and wonder-workers" of the age, who envisioned a new world free of "mediaeval errors." (12)

Thus, those whom Kingsley did not frighten, he merely angered or amused. In 1851 the **Eclectic Review** remarked that "the author of (**Alton Locke**), with all his talents and all his accurate outline of Chartism has not enough of freedom and comprehensiveness of mind to grasp this great subject," and even the High Church **Christian Remembrancer** complained of Kingsley's "lofty superiority" and fastidious "fine-gentleman sympathy." Henry James later observed that "there is something patronizing and dilettantish in Mr. Kingsley's relations with his obscure proteges; it is always the tone of the country parson who lives in an ivied rectory with a pretty lawn." (13)

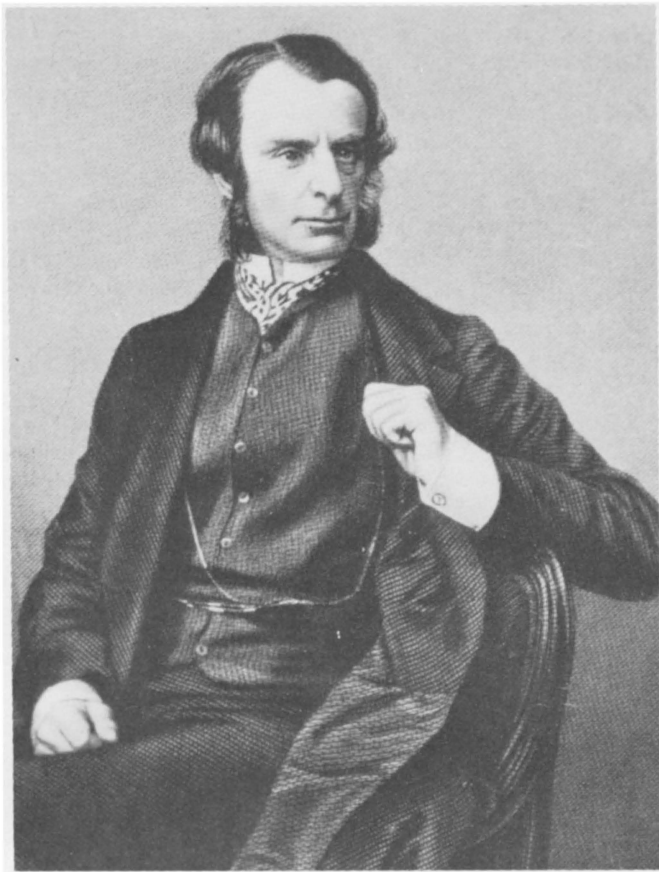
This became the increasingly dominant view, as seen in Justin McCarthy's scathing ad hominem attack in **Galaxy** in 1872. McCarthy had been editor of the **Morning Star** in London and was chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party. He notes that more than 20 years earlier when **Alton Locke** had appeared Charles Kingsley had seemed to be "a sort of living embodiment of chivalry, liberty, and a revolt against the established order of baseness and class-oppression in so many spheres of our society." But if asked to describe him now, McCarthy concedes that he would do so in far less flattering terms:

"How should I speak of him? First, as about the most perverse and wrong-headed supporter of every wrong cause in domestic and foreign politics, that even a State Church has for many years produced. I hardly remember, in my practical observation of politics, a great public question but Charles Kingsley was on the wrong side of it." (14)

How far this is from the fear Kingsley engendered in Croker in 1851! Rather than a threat of insurrection, McCarthy warns against a bull-headed obstinacy before economic problems, an obstinacy that he finds all the more intractable and infuriating because of Kingsley's mantle of energy, righteousness, and infectious good-will.

### The Specter of Thomas Carlyle

The majority of late reviews concluded



CHARLES KINGSLEY

that the author moved in the late 1850s toward religious and political views that were more conservative and less eager and confident than those he had held in his early life.(15) Looking back on the heated reaction to Parson Lot, the **Edinburgh Review**, where Greg had first denounced Kingsley's "mediaeval bigotry," explained in 1877 that the country had seen Kingsley as a "new source of fresh danger," since he was a country clergyman and a member of the establishment.(16) Now, in calmer times, critics like Leslie Stephen could explain away these earlier fears by indicting a conservative clergyman's "jesuitical" strategy: "Missionaries of a new faith see the advantage of sapping the old creed instead of attacking it in front. Adopting its language and such of its tenets as are congenial to their own, they can gradually introduce a friendly garri-son into the hostile fort."(17)

In 1877, a quarter of a century after Parson Lot had retired from the scene, J.K. Laughton still mistakenly concluded that Kingsley was an overrated social theorist rather than a religious writer.(18) Ultimately, writers for major

journals understood the nature of Christian Socialism, but it took a surprisingly long time for many of them to do so. A large stumbling-block to that recognition appears to have been the persistent linkage in the public mind not only between Kingsley and the political disturbances of 1848, but between Kingsley and Carlyle, as well. **Hogg's Instructor (Titan)** called Kingsley the best representative of "the influence of Mr. Carlyle upon believers in Christianity in the 19th century."(19) Needless to say, they considered the influence negative, as did the **New Quarterly Review**, which caricatured him as a "Carlyle made easy, and even partially orthodox."(20) Even late in Kingsley's life, the **Lakeside Reviewer** modified the comparison only slightly, summing up his writings as "the hero worship of Carlyle, bounded by the rules of British Christianity, poetized by the magic of brute strength--the Carlylean hero in the cassock of the priest."(21) Kingsley was unfortunate in having his name associated so closely with Carlyle's just when the Sage of Chelsea had fallen out of favor with Clough, Matthew Arnold, and an increasing number of Kingsley's generation.(22)

The linkage was quite misleading. Recognizing the young Kingsley's talents, Carlyle had urged Chapman and Hall to publish **Alton Locke**, and thus helped launch Kingsley's writing career. In his typically colorful language, Carlyle called the novel "a new explosion, or salvo of red-hot shot against the Devil's Dung-heap" (**LK**, 1: 234). He asked that Kingsley visit him in Chelsea and, meanwhile, that he "pay no attention at all to the foolish clamor of reviewers." Although he admitted that it was "a fervid creation still left half chaotic," he praised the book's "head-long impetuosity of determination towards the manifold side of all manner of questions" (**LK**, 1: 244-45). Their personal relationship became so close that Carlyle gave Kingsley the copy of St. Augustine that he had been given by his good friend, John Sterling.(23) In 1866 when Carlyle became Rector of Edinburgh University, Kingsley expressed his indebtedness to the older man for helping to order Kingsley's affections and removing

phantoms and superstitions, which have made me bless the day when my dear and noble wife first made me aware of your existence. What I owe to that woman God alone knows; but among my deepest debts to her is

this--that she first taught me to reverence you. Amid many failings and follies, I have been at heart ever true to your teaching.(24)

Kingsley did, of course, become one of the writers in the late 1840s most effective in echoing Carlyle's warnings, but, despite his effusive praise for the older man, by 1856 he had become completely disillusioned with Carlyle's skepticism. And, in spite of Kingsley's undeniable debt to Carlyle, it is crucial to recall that he was Maurice's disciple rather than Carlyle's, and he followed Maurice's lead in his rather careful response to "the old Pharisee."(25) In *Sartor Resartus* Carlyle had described Teufelsdröckh as "one of those who consider society, properly so called, to be as good as extinct" (TC, 1: 184). But Maurice and his associates held out the hope that society could avert collapse by elevating its conflicts to a spiritual plane.(26)

Nonetheless, the damning comparison persisted. As late as 1860, several years after Kingsley's almost reactionary Prefaces to later editions of his first two novels, W.R. Greg finds these "two most combative writers of their age. . . terribly in earnest"--but Carlyle's was the "profound cynicism of a bitter and gloomy spirit," and Kingsley's the earnestness of "youthful vigour":

The one has stirred thousands to bitterest discontent with life and with the world, but scarcely erected a finger-post or supplied a motive; the other has roused numbers to buckle on their armour in a holy cause, but has often directed them astray, and has not always been careful either as to banner or to watchword. . . . Mr. Carlyle slangs like a blaspheming pagan; Mr. Kingsley like a denouncing prophet. . . . the one is full of reverence, but has no fixed or definite belief; the other is orthodox enough in doctrine, but does not know what reverence means. . . . the one idolises chiefly strength of purpose, the other chiefly strength of muscle and of nerve.

Characterizing the two as emotional hotheads lurching from one cause to the next ("declaimers, not reasoners"), and belittling Kingsley as a Muscular Christian, Greg defends as orderly and reasonable the political economy the

Christian Socialists had presumed to question.(27)

### A Christian Socialist "Via Media"

In 1857 Kingsley told his publisher, Daniel Macmillan: "I am the prophet of the coming convulsion. . . I see all things in Christendom drifting towards the hurricane-circle of God's wrath and purifying storms." But he was a man of many contradictions, and as early as 1850 he had also written that the moral of **Alton Locke** was that "the working man who tries to get on, to desert his class and rise above it, enters into a lie, and leaves God's path for his own--with consequences" (AL, 1: 26-27). This strong advocate of fellow-feeling never embraced full democracy, and he remained a preacher to, but not of, the masses. Given Kingsley's class biases, it is not surprising that Greg's charge of "mediaeval bigotry" had some merit.(28)

Yet he was a citizen with generous goals, and it was the rare reviewer who put aside his own agenda long enough to admire the tightrope that Kingsley was attempting to traverse. W.H. Hurlbut was one such reviewer, and he accurately positioned Kingsley between reactionaries and radicals who ultimately found in the novelist a philosophy quite alien to their own:

The burning criticisms of **Alton Locke** bear not more severely upon the surly egotisms of the pluralist and the capitalist than upon the frantic wilfulness of the unbeliever and the chartist; and while well-fed Tories have berated the Rector of Eversley over their port-wine and walnuts as a disorganizing radical, impassioned enthusiasts of the subversive school have denounced him as a clerical dreamer, who would turn the mighty stream of revolution into the narrow channel of the Jordan.(29)

So much for Croker; so much for Greg. While their political and economic objections are not answered, this reviewer, like the Christian Socialists themselves, saw a "social nexus" beyond political economy and beyond Carlylean cynicism.

Looking back over Kingsley's life in 1893, Charles S. Devas wrote in, of all things, the Roman Catholic **Dublin Review** that it had taken "heroic courage in those days to attack that political economy which was

then a demigod, though now a broken idol." Not only had Kingsley risked his good name in this attack, like Carlyle and Ruskin, but he had also successfully steered a Christian course between "the Scylla of *laissez faire*," and "the Charybdis of State Socialism."<sup>30</sup> He had urged the workers to find their freedom in the Bible, where classes were encouraged to join hands rather than angrily confront each other. A writer for *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* recognized that this, ultimately, was the heart of Kingsley's role in the social questions of his day:

We recollect that we have hinted at his indebtedness to Thomas Carlyle; but he has claims to the attention of a professedly Christian community which Mr. Carlyle has not. He is not to be called, by any class of readers, a "dealer in mere negations." He sees, and he denounces, the want of individual faith and energy which Mr. Carlyle sees and denounces; he discerns existing social mischiefs and echoes Alfred Tennyson's awful

curses. . . . But he goes farther. He says that there is in the Christianity which, adulterated and debased as it is, yet is actually here in our midst, a fount of true manliness and womanliness, and of social blessing.<sup>31</sup>

Kingsley preached this "true manliness and true womanliness" to the working classes, but finally found his true audience among the middle and upper classes. Preaching to them much more as a priest than as an economist or social theorist, he confounded them with a familiar but uncomfortable set of demands: "fellow-feeling" for the other classes, a change of heart, and a recognition of the pressing Christian responsibilities of their own station. W.R. Greg accurately perceived that Charles Kingsley and F.D. Maurice were unreliable economists, at best. But J.W. Croker was correct, as well, in describing their proposed new world order as revolutionary.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Charles Kingsley: *His Letters and Memories of His Life*, 2 vols., ed. Frances Kingsley (London: Henry S. King, 1877), I, 246; cited hereafter as *LK* and incorporated into the text.

<sup>2</sup>Who Are the Friends of Order? A Reply to Certain Observations in a Late Number of *Fraser's Magazine* on the So-Called "Christian Socialists" (London, 1852) 4.

<sup>3</sup>On Kingsley's politics, see Larry K. Uffelman, *Charles Kingsley* (Boston: Twayne, 1979).

<sup>4</sup>89: 491-543.

<sup>5</sup>Alec I Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, rev. ed. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1962) 93.

<sup>6</sup>Jelf to Maurice, Nov. 7, 1851; *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice, Chiefly Told in His Own Letters*, ed. Frederick Maurice, 2 vols. (New York: Scribner's, 1884); 2: 79-80; hereafter cited as *ML* and incorporated into the text.

<sup>7</sup>John Ludlow was a layman who had been educated in France and had witnessed the recent disturbances there. Having made friends among some of the "social Catholics" sympathetic to the democratic spirit of the revolution, he made several trips to the Continent to keep Maurice and Kingsley abreast of the changes. He had always been more eager than the other two to advance the political cause of the workers, and in 1851 Maurice had to remind him that Christian Socialism was not Chartism (*ML*, 2: 60).

<sup>8</sup>Rev. of *Phaethon*, 53 (1853): 91, 101.

<sup>9</sup>Rev. of *AL*, 13 (1855): 176.

<sup>10</sup>Vidler, 97.

<sup>11</sup>On Kingsley's economics, see Allan John Hartley, *The Novels of Charles Kingsley: A Christian Social Interpretation* (Folkestone, England: Hourglass, 1977) and Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985).

<sup>12</sup>Greg, "England Socialism, and Communistic Associations," *Edinburgh Review* 93 (1851): 1-4, 33.

<sup>13</sup>*Eclectic Review*, (1851): 92-93; *Christian Remembrancer* 34 (1857): 412; rev. of *LK*, the *Nation*, 24 (1877): 61. See also W.E.A. Aytoun, "The Rev. Charles Kingsley," *Blackwood's Edinburgh*

*Magazine* 77 (1855): 643; rev. of *AL*, *Eclectic Review* (1851): 96; L.S.M., "Negro and White Slavery: Wherein Do They Differ?", *Southern Quarterly Review* 20 (1851): 119; "Mr. Kingsley's Novels," *Christian Remembrancer* 34 (1857): 409; "A Triad of Novels," *Fraser's* 42 (1850): 576.

<sup>14</sup>"The Rev. Charles Kingsley," the *Galaxy*, 14 (1872): 181-82, 186.

<sup>15</sup>G.A. Simcox, "Charles Kingsley," *Fortnightly Review*, 21 (1877): 10-31.

<sup>16</sup>J.K. Laughton, rev. of *LK*, *Edinburgh Review*, 145 (1877): 424. The change in perception is obvious in such remarks as E.L. Burlingame's in 1877: "Does not one involuntarily smile at a comparison between [Kingsley and Carlyle]? . . . Is it unjust to say that [Kingsley] only touches the surface where Carlyle stirs the depths?" "Charles Kingsley and His School," *Appleton's Journal*, 18 (1877): 271.

<sup>17</sup>"Charles Kingsley," the *Cornhill Magazine* 35 (1877): 433. Some few writers, like Alexander Jay Happ, reviewed this "strategy" with admiration. Writing for *Good Words* in 1876 (the year after the novelist's death), Japp concluded that Kingsley's novels and pamphlets between 1848 and 1856 had been "a manly effort for order at a time when so many influences threatened instability." "Reform Speeches and Letters," 17: 414.

<sup>18</sup>Rev. of *LK*, *Edinburgh Review* 145 (1877): 420, 446.

<sup>19</sup>"Charles Kingsley," 2 3rd s. (1855): 271.

<sup>20</sup>Rev. of *Two Years Ago* (1857): 229.

<sup>21</sup>Rev. of *At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies*, 7 (1872): 256.

<sup>22</sup>David DeLaura, "Arnold and Carlyle," *PMLA* 79 (1964): 128-29. See also DeLaura's "Carlyle and Arnold: The Religious Issue," in *Carlyle, Past and Present: A Collection of New Essays*, ed. K.J. Fielding and Rodger Tarr (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1976), 127-54.

<sup>23</sup>Ellis Varnall, "Charles Kingsley: A Reminiscence," *Lippincott's Magazine (Galaxy)* 17 (1876): 379.

<sup>24</sup>Cited by Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), 200-1.

<sup>25</sup>Carlyle, in turn, viewed the Christian Socialists as clerical cowards, and he described Maurice as "one of the most entirely uninteresting men of genius that I can meet with in society." *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, ed. Alexander Carlyle, 2 vols. (London and New York: J. Lane, 1904) 1: 108-9.

<sup>26</sup>At the same time, Kingsley was by no means naive in his expectations for the "fellow feeling" he urged upon his readers. See, for example, *At Last*, 1: 96-97.

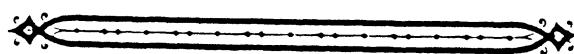
<sup>27</sup>Kingsley had written in 1846 that his whole heart was set on progress, but of a specialized type: "The new element is democracy, in Church and State. Waiving the question of its evil or its good, we cannot stop it. Let us Christianize it instead" (*LK*, 1: 141). John Martineau, whom Kingsley tutored, recalled that his master advocated democratic measures "more as a means to an end than because he altogether liked the means." He respected the dignity of the humblest, yet "*noblesse oblige*, the true principle of feudalism, is a precept which shines out

conspicuously in all his books, in all his teaching" (*LK*, 1: 307). In a revealing letter of 1866, Kingsley describes the House of Lords as the shrine for "all heritable products of moral civilization." He also condemns the American Civil War for destroying its aristocracy, decries the House of Commons as a den of money-lenders, and gloats that he has been "cured" of the "revolutionary doctrine of 1793-1848" that all men are born into the world equals, and that their inequality, in intellect or morals, is chargeable entirely to circumstance" (*LK*, 2: 242).

<sup>28</sup>Rev. of *WH*, *Christian Examiner*, 58 (1855): 284. See also Julian Sturtevant, rev. of *AL*, *New Englander*, 13 (1855): 170, 177, 182.

<sup>29</sup>"Charles Kingsley as an Economist," *Dublin Review*, 4 4th s. (1893): 662-63.

<sup>30</sup>"Charles Kingsley," *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 22 (1855): 611-12.



## Charles Kingsley in *Vanity Fair* and *Once A Week* Jerold Savory

One of the certain marks of fame in Victorian England was to have gained sufficient popularity to merit being the "victim" of caricaturists in one of a growing number of magazines featuring cartoon commentary on persons and events of the day. Two of the more prestigious weeklies including such cartoon portraits were the society journal *Vanity Fair* (1868-1913) and the literary miscellany *Once a Week* (1859-1880). It is probably a sign of Charles Kingsley's popularity that he was featured in both of these periodicals in 1872, the year before his appointment as a canon of Westminster. Also interesting are the divergent styles of the artists who enshrined him and the generally complimentary evaluations of his work in the written commentaries accompanying the drawings.

"The Apostle of the Flesh" was *Vanity Fair*'s caption for Kingsley's chromolithograph caricature in the issue of 30 March 1872. One of 26 cartoons contributed in 1872 by the Italian caricaturist and sculptor, Andriano Cecioni (1838-1886), the less-than-flattering portrait depicts a gaunt and apparently apprehensive cleric peering

over his shoulder as if caught in the act of contemplating another attack upon his theology or writing. Cecioni, like his Italian countryman Carlo Pellegrini who, as "Ape," drew hundreds of *Vanity Fair*'s best cartoons, innovated the art of caricature by going beyond the conventional style of putting an enlarged head on a diminutive body. Rather, his style was to exaggerate an observed feature of his subject's personality. Some of *Vanity Fair*'s "victims," such as Anthony Trollope and John Stuart Mill, objected to their images in the magazine but were nonetheless flattered to have been included in the gallery; I do not know Kingsley's response.

Apparently, *Vanity Fair*'s founding editor, Thomas Gibson Bowles, found it necessary to defend his contributing artists' sometimes unflattering drawings of their subjects. In response to a *Daily News* charge that the cartoons were too grotesque to be amusing, Bowles wrote:

There are grim faces made more grim, grotesque figures made more grotesque, and dull people made duller by