
By the end of 1884 Froude had returned the papers in his keeping to the Carlyle family. However, before he did so he and his daughter Margaret made a number of corrections in the biography, both in the texts of the quoted documents and in the narrative itself. The Beinecke Library at Yale holds Froude's personal copies of the Scribner edition of the first two volumes (1882) and of the Longmans edition of the second two (the latter of these two volumes is a second edition, dated 1885 but otherwise unchanged from the first edition). Corrections in volumes 1 and 2 are not in Froude's hand but in Margaret's. She caught a number of errors in the texts of her father's transcriptions (though still only a fraction of the total, judged by standards of modern textual editing); the texts for all four volumes I have myself corrected fully, as explained subsequently. Margaret also corrects her father's prose on points of style; such changes I have usually accepted if they eliminate misprints or remove ambiguity. Corrections
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in volume 3 are largely in Froude's hand and are both of texts quoted and of his own narrative. These alterations he made for the New Edition of 1890; from the smudges on the pages it is clear that the compositor set type for the edition from this copy. The corrections, almost exclusively stylistic, I have incorporated into my text as representing Froude's final thoughts; only a few have called for comment in the notes. Corrections in volume 4 are in Margaret Froude's hand; there are only two, and they have not been accepted. As far as I can determine, the New Edition of 1890 incorporates only the changes Froude made himself in volume 3. Therefore, because the first London editions of 1882 and 1884 have far fewer printer's errors, I have based the text of this edition upon them.

THE ABRIDGMENT

I have pruned Froude's biography to about three-eighths of its original length. Four stout volumes, running to nearly nineteen-hundred pages, have become one corpulent tome. Writing in the tradition of the Victorian life and letters, Froude felt obliged to publish as many of Carlyle's letters as he could include, but he took few pains to integrate the letters within his narrative. The book thus lends itself easily to abridgment since Froude often printed long extracts from Carlyle's letters and from his Journal—one from the Journal runs to nearly thirty pages—with usually not more than a sentence or two of introduction. Therefore, omitting a number of these extracts—most since published in more accurate texts—has the result both of reducing the bulk of quoted material and of increasing narrative flow.

I have attempted to compress Froude into reasonable compass while preserving the essence of his narrative. Given Froude's belief in the value of supporting firsthand material, the four volumes inevitably lack unity. This abridgment, shorn of great chunks of heaped-up documentation, does have a coherence that the original volumes lack. I have retained, however, enough from the letters of both Carlyles (and from Carlyle's Journal) to convey a vivid sense of the personalities of the two as reflected in their characteristic literary styles. In abridging the text,
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I have kept in mind the need to retain the comprehensiveness of Froude's presentation of Carlyle. Few—perhaps ten or fifteen percent at most—of Froude's own words have been cut, and no passages, I believe, of first importance. Thus, if I have abridged or omitted many of the longer extracts from Carlyle's letters and his Journal, I have included almost everything by Froude that bears on Carlyle. Inevitably, this abridged and somewhat revised Froude has taken on certain of the characteristics of a collaboration.

EDITORIAL POLICIES

Preparing this abridged version has necessitated a number of changes in the text. Absolute textual fidelity would have been a logical course to follow if I had been contemplating a complete edition of Froude's life of Carlyle. This is not the case—indeed, given the present economics of publishing, it is not likely to be the case for a long time—and thus I have felt free to depart whenever necessary from such a policy. Editorial decisions are usually debatable, most involve compromise (especially given the present quagmire in which editors of nineteenth-century texts work), and some of mine may be open to cavil. A reasonable compromise between faithfully reproducing Froude's narrative and achieving readability was necessary. The reader may be assured that I have long pondered the policies outlined in the following paragraphs.

TEXT OF THE BIOGRAPHY

I have reduced Froude's seventy-five chapters to thirty-one, breaking the narrative at logical divisions. The chapters in Froude's first two volumes have no titles; in the second two they remain untitled, but short summaries preface them. These I have dropped and instead have given each of the thirty-one chapters of the abridgment a title of my own devising, preceded by the years the chapter covers. Throughout I have tried to be fair to Froude's presentation and emphases and hope that I have not unduly fragmented his basic point of view.

Omissions within Froude's narrative have not been indi-
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cated. Absence of ellipsis points may be justified for the sake of the appearance of the page, which otherwise would have been studded with them. The reader may assume that any remaining ellipsis points are Froude's. Correcting Froude's quotations from Carlyle has required other minor changes. To achieve transitional smoothness I have occasionally (without altering basic meaning) omitted or changed a word in Froude—"had gone" to "went," "he" to "Jeffrey," etc. I have not called attention to these alterations with brackets. Changes of substance in Froude's text, however—those clearly necessitated by corrections made in the passages quoted from Carlyle—have been bracketed. For instance, I have dropped "for a month longer" and substituted "[until mid-August]." A few dates and figures I have silently corrected; here and there for clarity's sake I have inserted a date in brackets. Overworking "sic" has been avoided. I have enclosed in brackets the few necessary transition passages of my own.

Froude admitted to being a poor proofreader, and I have corrected a number of typographical errors in his narrative, tried to make his spelling and capitalization more consistent, and changed to roman type a few of the words that he, for one reason or another, italicized when current practice would not. Book and journal titles I have printed in italics instead of in the quotation marks Froude used; quotations of several lines or more I have set off. Occasionally, because of other changes, I have shortened Froude's sentences without indication. This, in turn, led to my shortening paragraphs. Some of these abridged paragraphs I have combined. I have also filled out proper names that Froude abbreviated, for instance, "Lord Ashburton" instead of his frequent "Lord A."; his "&c." has become "etc.," "MS" has become "manuscript." I have adopted standard spellings, such as "Descartes" for "Des Cartes," and have tried to reduce the number of inconsistencies, for example, the spelling of "judgement," which (as in Carlyle) is sometimes with the "e" and sometimes without; it is now Froude's more usual "judgement." Translations of words in foreign languages (except French) have been placed in brackets following the foreign words. I have corrected a few lapses in grammar in Froude's
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narrative (some pointed out by A. Carlyle); as with the typographical errors, perpetuating them would serve no useful purpose. Otherwise, I have not modernized the text and have left Froude’s English spelling as it is. All told, I have probably made several thousand emendations, for the most part silently, in the hope of producing a book that neither scholars nor laymen will resent reading.

TEXT OF THE MATERIAL QUOTED BY FROUDE

I have included accurate texts of Carlyle’s letters and journals, Jane Carlyle’s letters, and the letters to the Carlyles quoted in Froude whenever I have been able to examine original manuscripts or Xerox copies of them at Duke University. If the document has been published, I give a reference to the best published text. Often the reader will find, however, that the text of a quotation differs—sometimes considerably—from the published source cited. In these cases he may assume that I am quoting directly from the manuscript. I have adopted this policy of giving whenever possible references to published texts for passages quoted from manuscript so that interested readers can check to see whether Froude is quoting in context. A few words in Carlyle I have made consistent after his more usual practice—“Craigenputtoch” always with an “h,” “Comely” (not “Comley”) Bank. I have also usually expanded Carlyle’s abbreviations in his letters and in the Journal—“which” instead of “wh/h,” “humour” instead of “humr,” for example. The text for all passages from correspondence through 1834 reproduces that in the Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle, the first four volumes of which (covering the years 1812–28) appeared in 1970, the three subsequent (covering 1829–34) in 1977.

Froude is reputed to be a notoriously inaccurate transcriber of documents. After identifying and correcting most of the manuscripts he quotes in his biography, I have found that reputation largely justified. With accurate texts of these documents now before him, the interested scholar can judge for himself the evidence upon which Froude based his opinions. He will find that Froude, though careless in transcribing, generally adhered to the facts of Car-
lyle's life as he found them in these documents. He will also find that Froude usually distorted the material he quoted less than several other contemporary editors of Carlyle who attacked him for his carelessness.

When faced with the choice between giving Froude's often inaccurate quotations from Carlyle (perhaps recalled from memory) and citing the passage directly, I have unhesitatingly quoted the passage whenever I could find it. Thus quotation marks have been inserted or omitted as necessary and in accordance with modern practice. Now and again Froude deliberately left out words or phrases within a passage—names of people, occasionally a revealing aside, more often incidental or supplementary information. Many of these comments are of no particular importance, but in all but a few instances I have restored them. If a passage quoted by Froude has been subsequently published, I give a reference to the most reliable text, the name of the correspondent (if the document is a letter), and the date of the manuscript. If the passage has not appeared other than in Froude, I give the name of the correspondent (if the document is a letter), the date of the manuscript (if known or ascertainable), and its location. Dates in brackets are editorial inferences, either mine or those of others. In addition, I have given National Library of Scotland manuscript numbers for passages quoted by Froude from letters held by that institution and still unpublished elsewhere. Since Froude's life remains one of the important primary sources for the study of Carlyle, the interested scholar can thus, with the information supplied, investigate the evidence on which Froude based his statements. He will see that Froude's narrative often closely follows Carlyle's own words. He can now, if he wishes, check those words against the complete document to see whether Froude is quoting in context. I think that in all but a very few instances he is. Often where Froude has been most controversial, it has turned out that he is quoting or paraphrasing Carlyle or Jane Carlyle. The documentation provided in this edition should do a great deal toward restoring the credibility of Froude's interpretation of many crucial events in the lives of the Carlyles. Students of Carlyle will of course continue to consult the original four volumes, but
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...even they should find useful the newly accurate texts, now identified and dated, of material quoted by Froude.

If I have failed to locate the source of a quotation, the reader should not assume that Froude made the passage up. For a number of quotations he obviously relied upon his memory, which was fallible. Some letters Froude did not date—or date accurately—or did not otherwise give sufficient indication of a passage’s location within the huge mass of the Carlyle’s papers for me to find it. Others I may have overlooked. A number we can reasonably attribute to conversations with Carlyle. The reader may assume that for these unfootnoted quotations (a small percentage of the total number) I have made a reasonably thorough search, as full as time and resources have permitted. For these quotations—with the exception of those from the Journal—he may also assume that he is reading unadulterated Froude. For a number of the quotations in the biography I offer what amounts to a radically new text: these include not only passages published in Two Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle, but quotations from Carlyle’s annotations of his wife’s letters, from his Journal, and (most frequently) from his correspondence.

FROUDE AS EDITOR

I can offer no altogether convincing explanation why Froude transcribed texts so inaccurately: why he made no attempt, for example, to correlate the texts published in the final two volumes of his biography with those he had already published in his editions of the Reminiscences and of the Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle. I agree with Herbert Paul, who writes, "Two-thirds of Froude’s mistakes would have been avoided... if [he] had had a keener eye for slips in his proofsheets, or had engaged competent assistance." In reading a number of Froude’s letters of this time, I have found that it takes practice to decode his hand, that words blend together, and that punctuation is uncertain. The original manuscript of the life of Carlyle, which has not survived, would undoubtedly have caused a typesetter problems. Froude does indeed seem to have read proof without assistance, though his
publisher must assume the blame for deficiencies in the indexes to both sets of volumes.\(^4\)

Froude attributed a large number of his errors in transcription to difficulty in reading Carlyle’s later hand; but even if we grant that this hand is difficult, it is not impossible to read. It should not have posed an excessive hurdle for a man who had tested his strength against the manuscripts at Simancas. But although Froude’s texts of Carlyle manuscripts reveal a number of minor differences when compared to the originals, they rarely mislead in matters of substance. Nor does this carelessness distort his portraits of the Carlyles. Froude may misread words often enough, but, unlike several subsequent editors, he rarely leaves words out—or sentences or paragraphs, for that matter. In his essay on Froude, Strachey wrote perceptively: “The Victorian public, unable to understand a form of hero worship which laid bare the faults of the hero, was appalled, and refused to believe what was the simple fact—that Froude’s adoration was of so complete a kind that it shrank with horror from the notion of omitting a single wart from the portrait.”\(^5\) Strachey overstates the case: Froude did omit a few of the warts. But if he often quoted inaccurately, he almost always quoted fairly and in context. In this respect he is the most fearless of Victorians.

Froude’s suffering from “constitutional inaccuracy,” as Leslie Stephen put it,\(^6\) remains part of the mystery of man. Something in his temperament did not permit him to revise thoroughly or correct his work extensively. It has been argued that Froude’s weak vision after 1858 may have been at least partially responsible for his carelessness and errors, but this strikes me as more an apparent than a real cause.\(^7\) A surer clue to Froude’s frequent slips may be found in the 1858 letter to Clough, cited earlier, in which he laments that “the best part of such years as may remain will have to pass not in pleasant imaginations but in the treadmill of mere work.— What is the good of it when it is done.”\(^8\) The “treadmill of mere work” apparently did not always provide Froude with the satisfaction that his mentor Carlyle claimed for it. One who preferred “pleasant imaginations” may have been unwilling to discipline himself to precision in small matters.\(^9\) Still, the corrections in the Beinecke
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copies of the biography, as well as the 1890 correspondence with Mary Aitken Carlyle mentioned in note 1, indicate that Froude made some effort to revise his text in the light of criticism. It seems fair to say that he tried to make the biography as good as he could and gave it more care than any of his other works.

EDITOR'S NOTES

My notes are not intended to provide a thorough annotation of Froude's text, which must await the first modern editing of the entire work. I have not attempted, even if it were possible to do so, to correct all his errors of fact or to arbitrate all his disputed interpretations. Rather, I have tried to correct the more blatant errors, point out some of his more controversial biases by suggesting alternate readings of the evidence, indicate (where significant) discoveries of later scholarship, and answer obvious questions that the reader is likely to have. I have also cited passages from Froude's letters whenever I felt they elucidated what he was doing in the biography. The life needs, of course, to be modified and supplemented in many places, for a vast amount of information about Carlyle and the Victorians has accumulated since Froude's day. Tempting as it might have been to add this material, in the end I would have submerged Froude's text beneath a sea of commentary, thus defeating my purpose of presenting the work basically on its own terms. The notes have been reduced from the original number and rigorously honed so that the main lines of Froude's exposition stand clear. That modern scholarship on Carlyle usually begins with Froude is sufficient testimony to the durability of his achievement. With the bibliographical aids presently available to students of the Victorian era, it did not make sense to overload Froude's text with supplementary information or to append extensive lists of later work. Bibliographers have served Carlyle well, and for further guidance the reader may consult the bibliographies dealing with secondary literature on Carlyle by Isaac W. Dyer, Carlisle Moore, Charles Richard Sanders, G. B. Tennyson, R. W. Dillon, and Rodger L. Tarr.10
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In keeping with this policy of minimal interference, I have given few references to D. A. Wilson's massive six-volume biography of Carlyle, which supplements Froude with much detail. Several notes I have taken over from my edition of Two Reminiscences of Thomas Carlyle, others from the Duke-Edinburgh edition of The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle. The few notes by Froude that I have retained are so designated.

ANNOTATED COPY OF FROUDE'S LIFE
IN THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

The National Library in Edinburgh holds the copy of the biography, catalogued under MS 751-754, that was owned by Carlyle's nephew Alexander Carlyle (1843-1931)—not to be confused with Carlyle's brother Alexander (1797-1876)—and his niece Mary Aitken Carlyle (ca. 1848-95). Alexander and Mary, first cousins, married in 1879. Alexander Carlyle (designated hereafter as A. Carlyle) annotated Froude's biography extensively, Mary Aitken Carlyle to a much lesser degree; in addition, they corrected the texts and supplied the dates (when not given by Froude) to many passages from Carlyle's letters and Journal. Their work has therefore been a great boon to me. Although Froude returned the final lot of the Carlyle papers in his possession to A. Carlyle and Mary late in 1884, only after the latter's death in 1895 did A. Carlyle begin "to make a careful study of the Carlyle papers which had now become mine alone and were a great responsibility to me." Part of this responsibility involved preparing several editions of Carlyle's correspondence, but he also read and reread Froude's life, making abundant marginal comments as he went along and dating some of them. He seems to have written many observations in the years preceding 1904; the latest dated comment is 18 October 1928.

ANNOTATIONS BY A. CARLYLE AND MARY AITKEN CARLYLE

I have included a selection of A. Carlyle's and Mary Aitken Carlyle's comments in this edition chiefly because
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several of them point out deficiencies in Froude's narrative of which the reader might not otherwise be aware. Others reveal A. Carlyle's humorous, crusty personality and indicate something of the dogmatic spirit with which he pursued his long controversy with Froude (and Froude's ghost). His comments are also worth having because he was, in his way, an able if not altogether scrupulous man and because he had at his fingertips a great deal of family lore. He does not have anything to say regarding Froude's interpretation of Carlyle's beliefs and writings but limits himself to matters of fact, family history, textual corrections, and a few major points at issue regarding Carlyle's biography, e.g., his marriage. The more important of these comments I have retained. They set Froude's narrative in a different perspective, one that is hostile but not always unfairly so. If some enterprising soul again undertakes an investigation of the Froude-Carlyle controversy, he should find A. Carlyle's statements—all hitherto unpublished—useful in clarifying matters in Carlyle's biography that still remain obscure. At the end of each volume of the biography, A. Carlyle lists Froude's chief "errors" of fact and interpretation, perhaps intending to refute them in detail at some later time (he never did). I have not included A. Carlyle's comments when, as is frequently the case, he has been proved wrong and Froude right or when both are clearly wrong. Nor have I usually included the many corrections of small points in Carlyle's biography, though I give a sampling to illustrate their nature.

TEXT OF PASSAGES FROM CARLYLE'S JOURNAL QUOTED BY FROUDE

For my purposes, A. Carlyle's greatest service has been his correction and dating of the many passages from Carlyle's Journal that Froude published. He fills in blanks of names in Froude's text, restores Carlyle's distinctive punctuation and underscoring, and incorporates sentences and passages omitted by Froude. Although Charles Eliot Norton published in 1898 Carlyle's Journal through 1832 (under the title Two Note Books of Thomas Carlyle), scholars have had to rely on Froude's text for the years after 1832.
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Froude remains the only one of Carlyle's biographers to have read Carlyle's Journal, and it seems fairly certain that if he had not published large segments from it in his biography, A. Carlyle would have preferred to destroy it. That Froude had the courage to print so much of the Journal—and thus ensure its preservation—is not the least of our debts to him. Using A. Carlyle's copy of the biography as well as other sources made available to me, I have been able not only to identify many passages from Carlyle as being from the Journal but also to give them in substantially accurate texts.

THE FROUDE-CARLYLE CONTROVERSY

With the eruption of the controversy even before the publication of the first two volumes, Froude's life of Carlyle was prejudged by many. Only in recent years have we begun to acquire the historical perspective necessary to allow it to stand clear of all the often acrimonious debate that has pursued it for so long. Waldo H. Dunn's 1930 *Froude and Carlyle*, for all its deficiencies, has survived better than most works of scholarship that approach the half century. Granted that Dunn began his investigation with a bias in Froude's favor and was often rigid in his views, his knowledge of the material and the thoroughness with which he balanced the various claims and counterclaims far surpasses that of his predecessors—or successors. Most subsequent writers, as noted earlier, tend to confirm his conclusions. It can therefore be said that, in spite of the sometimes violent criticisms made by A. Carlyle and others, Froude's presentation of Carlyle's character is intelligent, informed, and responsible, weighted no doubt by his sympathy for Jane Carlyle, yet neither malicious nor essentially unjust to Carlyle, and animated by fair and ample recognition of his virtues.

1. With one other exception. In the "New Edition" Froude altered "gey ill to live wi'" to "gey ill to deal wi'," a slip pointed out to him by Moncure D. Conway (see chap. 3, n. 7). In 1890 there also occurred an exchange of correspondence (through lawyers) between Froude and
Mary Aitken Carlyle in which Froude requested permission to reexamine the Carlyle manuscripts in Mary's possession in order to prepare a second edition of the biography. Mary interposed difficulties that Froude found objectionable. After several exchanges (published in Dunn, F and C, pp. 332-36), the matter rested. See also ibid., pp. 85-86, 234.

2. As Froude's biography has an importance for Carlyle's life nearly equal to Boswell's for Johnson's, it is perhaps surprising that no annotated edition or abridgment of it has appeared before now. The pastiche of passages with occasional bridging commentary that Professor Frederick W. Hilles of Yale put together in 1939 for his classes in biography can reasonably be excepted, since the availability of this work was generally limited to Yale students. Froude published, in the Nineteenth Century 53 (July 1881): 1-42, a reduced version of the first 107 pages of his biography (pp. 85-125 of this edition).

3. Paul, p. 188.

4. "I revised the proofs with the originals [of the letters] at hand," Froude wrote to Mrs. Ireland on 8 February [1890] (MS: Beinecke Library, Yale). A postcard from Longmans' to Scribner's, dated 10 September 1884, indicates that the publisher was responsible for at least the index to the last two volumes of the biography (MS: Princeton [Scribner archive]).


7. Sharples (cited above, n. 8), pp. 148, 224; based on Dunn, Froude, 2:271-72.

8. See pp. 33-34 and n. 99. J. Churton Collins records a similar comment by Froude: "You should remember that it must all perish and what is the good of taking so much pains: that is how I comfort myself" (L. C. Collins, p. 85).

9. In smoothing over Carlyle's prose by lessening the contrast between it and his own more flowing style, Froude may also have thought he was presenting a more readable narrative.

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