Notes to the Life

FROUDE'S PREFACE

1. For the Journal passages, see p. 321 below.


3. All but three were published by Froude and in Norton's edition of the Reminiscences (1887); the reminiscences of John Wilson and Sir William Hamilton are available in the Everyman edition, ed. Ian Campbell (1972); that of Adam and Archibald Skirving, as well as Carlyle's notes to the biography of him by Friedrich Althaus, in Clubbe, Two Reminiscences.


5. Compare a similar statement in a letter to William Allingham (Clubbe, Carlyle and His Contemporaries, p. 321).

6. An unpublished manuscript by Froude, probably designed as part of this preface but not used, casts light on his course of action:

   In the discharge of the first part of my duty [publication of the Reminiscences] I have laid myself open to misconception. I ought perhaps to have realised more clearly how impossible it was for the world to comprehend, or make allowance for so singular a commission.

   The English people who owe so much to Carlyle will not fail to judge him generously. My claim for indulgence is nothing. They will be sorry for much which they have read—and "the first bringer of unwelcome news hath but a losing office." Yet I too feel sure that I shall not ask in vain for a fair construction of my execution of a service itself so sad—a service perhaps the most unwelcome which ever was required in the name of friendship.

   In this as in all things he desired to be true. He would never
flatter—and his most intimate friends least of all and those whom he made smart had generally to acknowledge if they were honest that his words had hit the mark. (MS: Beinecke Library, Yale)

The document is in Margaret Froude's hand, and she has entitled it "MS (preface probably) not used." The remainder, discussing the various changes in Carlyle's timetable for the publication of the *LMJWC*, duplicates material in chap. 30.

7. Froude changed his mind. The last two volumes are more substantial than the first two.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Mary Aitken Carlyle: "Not entailed & were left to Elizabeth Carlyle who married a Douglas." In a related passage later in the life (p. 406 below), Froude again discusses the possibility of the Carlyles' having noble blood. A. Carlyle, denying this, wrote opposite this passage "None! His Father was not the eldest son."

2. See *Reminiscences*, 1:27. Opposite "it is certain that James Carlyle's grandmother," Mary Aitken Carlyle has written, "It does not appear"; she queries, "Was she of the second generation?"; and crosses out "the early part of the last century," substituting "1759." In the sentence following, after "for some time" she inserts "perhaps."


5. See ibid., pp. 28–29.
6. Ibid., p. 29.
7. August 1758.
8. Mary Aitken Carlyle adds: "It might have been in."
10. Ibid., p. 39.
11. Ibid., p. 40.
12. Ibid., p. 42. They were married on 5 March 1795.
13. Ibid.
14. For both the tombstone in Ecclefechan Kirkyard records "Jannet." The daughter died 27 January 1801, aged seventeen months.
16. Ibid., p. 33: Mary Aitken Carlyle notes that John died in 1801, grandfather Thomas in 1806.
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18. Ibid., p. 44.
19. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 27.
22. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 32.
23. Ibid. Brasidas (d. 422 B.C.), the Spartan general mentioned in the previous sentence, spared the mouse that bit its finger for its show of fight. Plutarch recounts the story several times in the Moralia.
24. Ibid., pp. 29-30, 31-32.
25. Mary Aitken Carlyle: "New Year's day. No Xmas observed in Scotland."
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 1:15-16, 8.
29. Ibid., p. 5.
30. About seventy.
33. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 33.
34. Ibid., pp. 34, 36.
35. A. Carlyle: "Not true. He won the prize (College, I suppose) in the First Class in Mathematics. See his old teacher Mr. Morley's Letter of 4 July 1812 [NLS, 1764.2]."
37. See CL, 1:166-67.

CHAPTER TWO

1. £70. See CL, 1:26. TC to Robert Mitchell, 18 October 1814. The position was, as Mary Aitken Carlyle notes, a mastership, not a tutorship.
2. Mary Aitken Carlyle: "He was a tutor too,—to General Dirom's sons." See references in CL, vol. 1.
3. See also pp. 111, 123, 145, 159, 170-71, 203, 306, and 383 below for instances in which Froude insists upon the closeness of Carlyle's tie with his mother. I have discussed elsewhere his treatment of this relationship within the context of what we now call the Oedipus complex (Carlyle and His Contemporaries, pp. 344-46, upon which the following paragraphs draw). I bring up the subject at this time so that the reader may be aware of the implications that this relationship had for Carlyle, in particular for his marriage, as developed by Froude within the perspective of the above-cited passages.

Froude believed that Carlyle would have been happier living with his
mother, with whom he had a lifelong rapport, than with the woman he eventually married. Carlyle's regard for his mother was not only abnormally strong, in Froude's view, but a major reason why he should never have married Jane Welsh. Carlyle admired his father greatly, yet his relationship with him contains elements of ambiguity (as his dreams indicate, e.g., Reminiscences, 1:196); that with his mother, as many letters testify, was extremely close. Obviously Carlyle, unlike Oedipus, did not murder his father and marry his mother. But perhaps subconsciously he would have liked to do so—or so, at least, the dreams he records suggest.

Froude, in his understanding of human relationships, reveals himself to be uncannily prophetic of insights Freud had twenty years later. Although he does not anticipate Freud in full and conscious understanding of the nature of the Oedipus complex, he views Carlyle in a perspective similar to that which led Freud to formulate his famous theory. Freud, of course, achieved a fundamental insight into human nature; Froude anticipates Freud in divining it in a basic way, yet does not express it theoretically, probably because he does not fully understand it, but perhaps also because he may have found the insight so overwhelming that he could express it only partially and by allusion. He thus reaches the brink of Freudian discovery—only to stop. Inevitably, the strength or reality of the Oedipal drive, wrapped for Carlyle himself in a cloud of unknowing, emerges only with difficulty for those who look at it from the outside. In the biography Froude wavers between forthrightness and recoil. It may have been a failure of nerve, for although he pushes his intuitive understanding of Carlyle's relationship with his mother as far as he dares, he stops short of a comprehensive statement. In part, his ambiguous vocabulary—e.g., "lovers" (see p. 383 below)—causes difficulty, for words that in his day may have had similar denotations have now different emotional resonance. So pervasive is irony of language in the biography that we cannot always decide what Froude wishes to imply.

In my view Froude inferred too much, perhaps more than he realized, in depicting Carlyle's relationship with his mother. Nothing I have found in Carlyle's letters will warrant a future biographer's inferring more than he did. Still, one should not delude oneself into thinking one can foreclose upon the insights of future investigators. As with other matters in this intricate and teasing book, the last word on Carlyle's "Oedipus complex" remains to be written and may never be.


5. Mary Aitken Carlyle correctly notes that Carlyle tutored the children of the Reverend Henry Duncan at Ruthwell Manse.

6. Robert Mitchell to TC, 2 November 1814 (NLS, 1764.31).


9. Reminiscences, 2:20. The Latin title was "Num detur religio naturalis." Carlyle gave his "discourse" in December 1815.
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12. Ibid., pp. 57-59.

13. Disputed by later scholars, e.g., Harrold, Sartor, p. 137 n, who find traces of Catherine Aurora ("Kitty") Kirkpatrick and Jane Welsh Carlyle as well as literary sources.

14. On Margaret Gordon, see R. C. Archibald, Carlyle's First Love: Margaret Gordon Lady Bannerman (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1910); and, for a résumé, A. Carlyle, LL, 2:387-400, where the two letters were first published. A more recent study is Murdoch MacKinnon, "Carlyle's Imperious Queen of Hearts," Queens Quarterly 38 (1961): 52-62.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 35.

2. Ibid., p. 50; also Reminiscences, 2:232.

3. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, pp. 51-52; and Harrold, Sartor, p. 129.

4. During 1818-19, his first year in Edinburgh on his own, Carlyle attended Professor Robert Jameson's lectures on mineralogy. The next year he attended lectures on Scots law given by David Hume, nephew of the philosopher and historian, but gradually lost interest and abandoned the subject by spring 1820.

5. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 48; and cf. ibid., p. 51.

6. CL, 1:213. TC to MAC, 15 December 1819.

7. "'Thou's gey' (pretty, pronounced gyei) 'ill to deal wi'—mother's allocution to me once, in some unreasonable moment of mine" (TC's note, in Froude, LMJWC, 1:49). Froude cited the phrase often and, as his detractors never tired of pointing out, incorrectly as "gey ill to live wi'.” See Norton, L26-36, p. 33 n; Moncure Daniel Conway, Autobiography, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1904), 2:215-16; and Dunn, F and C, pp. 184-91. In LMJWC Froude printed the phrase correctly, and he also changed it in the biography's 1890 edition, which is followed here.


10. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

11. For Carlyle's interest in German, which he began to study seriously in 1819 (not 1820, as Froude implies), see Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, pp. 12-14, 42-47.

12. Seventeen of Carlyle's twenty articles for David Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopaedia were reprinted in Montaigne and Other Essays, ed. S. R. Crockett (London: James Gowans, 1897); A. Carlyle noted an eighteenth in LL, 1:268; and G. B. Tennyson published the
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final two in "Unnoted Encyclopaedia Articles by Carlyle," English Lan-
guage Notes 1 (December 1963): 108-12. The articles were written be-
tween 1820 and 1823.

13. The proposal came from Matthew Allen, for whom see CL, 1:250.

14. Carlyle's complete translation of Schiller was projected in 1824-
25, a little later than implied by Froude, but Froude may have had in-
mind Carlyle's hope to translate Schiller's History of the Thirty Years
War (see CL 1:299). The "specimen" Carlyle translated, never published,
is now in the Beinecke Library, Yale.

15. Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, pp. 51, 49. A. Carlyle convincingly
places Carlyle's conversion, set by Froude in June 1821, in July or early
August 1821 or, more likely, in 1822 (see LL, 2:380-82). This latter date,
which Carlyle's commentary in Two Reminiscences confirms, is ac-
cepted today. The improvement in Carlyle's mental state came about
through a number of causes. These include his first meeting with Jane
Baillie Welsh late in May 1821 and the generally favorable progress of
his largely epistolary courtship of her; his first thorough reading some-
time in 1821 of Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre, which proved a revelation;
his engagement as tutor for Charles and Arthur Buller in January
1822, which provided a measure of financial stability; his growing reali-
zation that literature was to be his life's work; and, of course, his gradu-
ally improving health. Froude, by placing the conversion in 1821, im-
plies, though never specifically states, that Jane Welsh had more to do
with it than she actually did. That it was not as abrupt as in Sartor and
that his recovery extended over many years is the argument of two im-
portant articles by Carlisle Moore, "Sartor Resartus and the Problem of
Carlyle's 'Conversion,' " PMLA 70 (September 1955): 662-81, and
"The Persistence of Carlyle's 'Everlasting Yea,' " Modern Philology 54
(February 1957): 187-96.


CHAPTER FOUR

1. "'Craigenputtock,' or the stone-mountain, 'Craig' of the 'Put-
tock,'—puttock being a sort of Hawk, both in Galloway Speech, and in
Shakespeare's Old English" (Reminiscences, 1:87). Cf. Clubbe, Two
Reminiscences, p. 67.

2. Probably legend. See A. Carlyle, LL, 2:196 n and CL, 3:420; and


4. Ibid., p. 78.

5. Ibid., p. 55.

6. Mary Aitken Carlyle: "not so[:] all taught together in the Scotch
parish schools."

7. A. Carlyle: "Heaven help us! She confesses that she never could
say the multiplication table,—for a whole day together."

8. The Rival Brothers, first published in CL, 7:361-68.
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10. A. Carlyle comments that the engagement was “fully-formed.” See *CL*, 2:413-14.
11. Ibid., 3:357. JBW to TC, [24 July 1825].
13. Actually late May.
14. *CL*, 3:376-77. TC’s note, JBW to TC, [2 September 1825]. On Carlyle’s first meeting with Jane, see also *CL*, 1:363; and *Reminiscences*, 2:85-87, 1:146-48. All did not go smoothly at first. Writing to Jane almost immediately (4 June 1821), Carlyle rhapsodized over “those few Elysian hours we spent together lately” and closed with “Addio, Donna mia cara” (*CL*, 1:360, 361). Jane’s angry rebuke for such over-familiarity has not survived, but something of its sting is suggested in the contrite beginning of TC to JBW, 16 July 1821 (ibid., p. 368). See p. 140.
15. Carlyle’s knowledge of Italian was slight at this time; Spanish he only took up with Jane in the autumn of 1828.
16. “Apostles of freedom” from Goethe, *Venezianische Epigramme* (1790), no. 20. Goethe found the apostles distasteful because they were self-serving. Carlyle quoted his quatrain as motto to volume 3 of *The French Revolution*.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Edward Irving to TC, 30 December 1821 (NLS, 1764.211).
2. Carlyle assumed the position of tutor to Charles (1806-48) and Arthur Buller (1808-69) in January 1822 and resigned it in July 1824. For the Bullers see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*) and *CL*, 2:4-5.
4. Edward Irving to TC, 29 April 1822 (NLS, 1764.227).
5. Although Froude’s detractors have attacked his interpretation of both Carlyle’s courtship of Miss Welsh and her relationship with Edward Irving, publication of the complete correspondence in the *CL* generally supports his interpretation of the events and his understanding of the psychology of those involved. Whether or not one agrees with Froude’s belief that the Carlyles would have been better off not married to each other, it is hard to deny the acuity of his insight into their motivations. See also chap. 8, n. 24.

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7. CL, 2:151. TC to JAC, 25 July 1822.

8. Froude wrote “his exercises,” but “her exercises” seems more likely.


11. CL, 2:309. TC to MAC, 22 March 1823.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid., p. 261. TC to MAC, 4 January 1823.


15. Ibid., 2:415. JBW to TC, 19 August [1823]. The house was Temp­
land, home of her maternal grandfather, Walter Welsh.

16. Ibid., pp. 427-28. JBW to TC, 16 September [1823].

17. Ibid., p. 433. TC to JBW, 18 September 1823.

18. A. Carlyle: “Ball & Socket, you born ass!”

19. See CL, 2:305; 3:352-54; 4:144. In the sentence following, by “the whole of her property” we should understand “Craigenputtoch.”

20. Ibid., 2:383. TC to JAC, 24 June 1823.

21. Published in Norton, Two Note Books. Carlyle’s “Schiller’s Life and Writings” was first published in the London Magazine (October 1823; January, July, August, and September 1824) and republished, in expanded form, by Taylor & Hessey in 1825 as the Life of Friedrich Schiller.

22. George Bell (1777-1832), celebrated Edinburgh surgeon. The “cure,” which Carlyle followed for several months, proved unsuccessful.

23. CL, 2:466. TC to JAC, 11 November 1823.

24. Carlyle’s term for the maidservants.

25. CL, 3:46. JBW to TC, [14 March 1824].

26. Ibid., p. 53. TC to JBW, [22 March 1824].

27. Ibid., p. 43. TC to JBW, 7 March 1824.

28. Ibid., pp. 69-70. JBW to TC, 20 May 1824.


Carlyle’s impetuousness continued to threaten the delicate equilibrium of his relationship with Jane. Shortly after this exchange, he and Jane met again at Haddington. A few days later [5 June 1824] he waxed ecstatic, calling her his “Herzens Liebling” (heart’s darling), his “love,” and closing: “Adieu! I press you to my bosom, and pray that God may keep for me, what is more to me than all things else. Farewell my Dearest! I am ever your own . . .” (CL, 3:75, 76). A startled Jane responded
in dismay: "Rash, headstrong Man! . . . For mercy's sake keep in mind that my peace of mind, my credit with my Mother, the continuance of our correspondence everything depends upon your appearing as my friend and not my Lover" (ibid., p. 79 [10 June 1824]). Her mother at this time usually read her letters from Carlyle, and only through a subterfuge did Jane prevent her from seeing this one.

CHAPTER SIX

2. *CL*, 3:84. TC to JBW, 23 June 1824. The "orator" was a nickname used by Carlyle and Jane Welsh for Irving.
5. *CL*, 3:103-5. TC to MAC, 6 July 1824.
6. Ibid., pp. 120-21. TC to JAC, 10 August 1824. For Carlyle's later account, see *Reminiscences*, 2:145-55. He gives a still more graphic description of the Birmingham coal- and ironworks in a letter to Alexander Carlyle of 11 August 1824:

I was one day thro the iron and coal works of this neighbourhood—a half-frightful scene! A space perhaps 30 square miles to the north of us, covered over with furnaces, rolling-mills, steam-engines and sooty men. A dense cloud of pestilential smoke hangs over it forever, blackening even the grain that grows upon it; and at night the whole region burns like a volcano spitting fire from a thousand tubes of brick. But oh the wretched hundred and fifty thousand mortals that grind out their destiny there! In the coal-mines they were literally naked, many of them, all but trowsers; black as ravens; plashing about among dripping caverns, or scrambling amid heaps of broken mineral; and thirsting unquenchably for beer. In the iron-mills it was little better: blast-furnaces were roaring like the voice of many whirlwinds all around; the fiery metal was hissing thro' its moulds, or sparkling and splitting under hammers of a monstrous size, which fell like so many little earthquakes. Here they were wheeling charred coals, breaking their iron-stone, and tumbling all into their fiery pit; there they were turning and boring cannon with a hideous shrieking noise such as the earth could hardly parallel; and thro' the whole, half-naked demons pouring with sweat and besmeared with soot were hurrying to and fro in their red night-caps and sheet-iron breeches rolling or hammering or squeezing their glowing metal as if it had been wax or dough. They also had a thirst for ale. Yet on the whole I am told they are very
happy: they make forty shillings or more per week, and few of
them will work on Mondays. It is in a spot like this that one sees
the sources of British power. The skill of man combining these
coals and that iron-ore (till forty years ago—iron was smelted with
charcoal only) has gathered three or four hundred thousand human
beings round this spot, who send the products of their industry to
all the ends of the Earth. (CL, 3:125-26).

7. CL, 3:142. TC to MAC, 29 August 1824.
10. CL, 3:186-87. TC to JAC, 7 November 1824. Cf. Carlyle's im-
pressions of Paris in 1824 with those recorded in "Excursion (Futile
Enough) to Paris; Autumn 1851 . . . ;," published in The Last Words of
11. Paraphrased from Johann Peter Eckermann's Conversations with
Conversation of 25 July 1827.
12. CL, 3:233-34. TC to JBW, 20 December 1824. Froude deleted
the names of Hook, William Maginn, and George Darley.
13. Ibid., pp. 235-36.
14. Ibid., pp. 250-51. JBW to TC, 13 January [1825]. The Bass Rock
is a large barren rock off the coast of East Lothian, now a bird
sanctuary.
15. A. Carlyle: "The function of this biographer seems to have been to
howl like a dog to the music he could not appreciate or understand."
16. Hamlet 1. 2. 141-42. Hamlet recalls his father's conduct to his
mother.
17. CL, 3:258. TC to JBW, 20 January 1825.
18. Ibid., pp. 266-67. JBW to TC, [29 January 1825].
19. Mary Aitken Carlyle: "where, to whom, to J. A. F. or Geraldine
or to herself?" Said presumably in conversation, perhaps to others as
well as to Froude. Wilson, Carlyle, 1:300 speaks of "sundry persons,"
but adds that A. Carlyle did not share this view.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Reminiscences, 2:177.
2. Ibid., pp. 177-79. The passage is further evidence that the Leith
Walk experience of 1822 (described in "The Everlasting No" of Sartor)
was not unique, but that Carlyle's spiritual regeneration extended over
several years.
3. "I have alluded to the subject only because Mrs. Carlyle said af-
ther engagement with Carlyle would probably never have been carried
out" (Froude's note). Anna Montagu, the "comparative stranger," is
not named in Froude's first volume (except once, presumably inadver-
tently). Her letters to the Carlyles are in the NLS. Selections have been published in A. Carlyle, LL, and in CL.

4. CL, 3:356–57, JBW to TC, [24 July 1825]. Carlyle wrote on this letter "don't Copy." Froude, uneasy about quoting from it directly, paraphrases it closely. I have quoted the letter.

5. Ibid., p. 359. TC to JBW, 29 July 1825.
6. Ibid., p. 375. JBW to TC, [2 September 1825].

8. Terar dum prosim: Let it be consumed, provided I be of use. See CL, 3:398, 404, 408; and (for discussion of the motto's significance) Tennyson, Sartor, pp. 89–90.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. CL, 4:142, 143, 144. TC's note, JBW to Mrs. George Welsh, 1 October [1826]. Froude includes Carlyle's note to the words "my life black and bitter": "First battle won in the Rue de l'Enfer—Leith Walk—four years before. Campaign not ended till now." Froude notes that Comely Bank was "a row of houses to the north of Edinburgh, then among open fields between the city and the sea."

2. Various compilations exist under this title, including Andrew Knapp and William Baldwin, The Newgate Calendar; comprising interesting memoirs of the most notorious characters who have been convicted of outrages on the laws of England since the commencement of the eighteenth century . . . , 4 vols. (1824–28). I have not found Carlyle's reference, but compare his observation to Leigh Hunt, "There are hardly any readable Lives in our language except those of Players. One may see the reason too" (CL, 7:31, 29 October 1833).

4. CL, 4:19. TC to JBW, [17 January 1826].
5. Ibid., p. 35. TC to JBW, [5 February 1826].
6. Ibid., pp. 38–39. JBW to TC, [21 February 1826].
7. Ibid., p. 42. TC to JBW, 26 February 1826.
8. Ibid., p. 43.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 53. TC to JBW, 7 March 1826.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., pp. 59–60. JBW to TC, [16 March 1826].
13. Ibid., p. 69. TC to JBW, 2 April 1826.
14. Ibid., p. 53. TC to JBW, 7 March 1826.
15. Ibid., p. 89. TC to JBW, 13 May 1826.
16. Ibid., p. 77. TC to JBW, 22 April 1826.
18. CL, 4:125. TC to JBW, [12 August 1826].
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19. Ibid., p. 132. TC to JBW, 19 September 1826.

20. Ibid., p. 137. TC to JBW, [27 September 1826]. Carlyle apparently never finished reading the Critique of Pure Reason.

21. Ibid., p. 150. TC to JBW, [9 October 1826]. It is Carlyle who heads his reply with these words.

22. Ibid., pp. 150, 151.

23. Actually, the Carlyles were married in Mrs. Welsh's home at Templand.

24. Froude was told by Geraldine Jewsbury that "the morning after his wedding-day he tore to pieces the flower-garden at Comeley [sic] Bank in a fit of ungovernable fury" (Froude, My Relations with Carlyle, p. 23).

The degree of intimacy within the Carlyles' marriage has intrigued all subsequent biographers. Few deny the sincerity behind the frequent expressions of tenderness in letters on both sides, but most have doubted that they corresponded to actual physical harmony. The clear implication that Froude leaves in My Relations with Carlyle (which he did not intend for publication) is that Carlyle was impotent. Underlying his narrative in the biography is his opinion that the marriage was not consummated, although he could do no more than imply this, chiefly through his portrayal of Jane Carlyle as a modern Iphigenia. For a number of reasons, Froude's opinion seems untenable to me. The chief of these is that the frequent expressions of strong emotion in Carlyle's letters to his wife and in hers to him are hard to reconcile with a platonic relationship. It is inconceivable that either partner, detesting cant and believing in honesty of self-expression, would have engaged in an elaborate hypocrisy in correspondence that neither one had cause to believe would ever be published. "The truth must remain a matter of opinion," note Lawrence and Elisabeth Hanson, Mrs. Carlyle's latest biographers, in a sensitive discussion based on much study of her correspondence that they append to their Necessary Evil: The Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle (New York: Macmillan Co., 1952). "We feel that the truth is most probably to be found in the simple fact that the parties were sexually ill-matched. We think it likely, in view of the evidence in the letters, that there were sexual relations of a kind at least until the move to London, but we think it unlikely that they were continued long, or at all, after the move" (p. 550).

My own view, also based on extensive reading of available evidence, is that the Carlyles, probably after an initial period of adjustment, did have a satisfactory physical relationship in the early years of their marriage. No other explanation accounts for the intensity of feeling in their correspondence with each other during these years. Surviving letters written when they were apart (and almost all have survived) reveal desperate longing for each other in language explicitly suggesting physical intimacy and equally desperate eagerness to be reunited. The interested reader should consult especially their correspondence in August and September 1831 and again in May 1834 (the only times they were separated for more than a few days). It may be argued that evidence in letters may lead others to interpretations different from mine and that, after all, intimacy
of tone, even a kind of sexual feverishness, is not incompatible with hysterical (e.g., psychological) impotence. I admit that the intangibles of a relationship are always difficult, sometimes virtually impossible, to recapture from documents. But marriages are based on many things besides sex. We should note that in most fundamental matters Jane and Thomas Carlyle were in accord—in the priorities of Carlyle’s career, in value judgments about people, in disposition of money, in what we may loosely call style of life, and perhaps even in their attitude toward sex. In a letter of 1833, Jane observes to her close friend from childhood Eliza Stodart that “almost the only discrepancy in our habits” is that she is invariably a little early, he invariably a little late (CL, 6:393; 24 May). And Carlyle took immense pride in his wife. To his mother he wrote from London the next year that she had, “as poor Irving said, ‘always a little bower of elegance round her be where she will’: in truth, a shifty [resourceful], true, gleg [quickly perceptive] little creature, worth any twenty Cockney wives that I have yet met with” (ibid., 7:322; 25 [October] 1834).

There is no reason to suppose that they did not, at least for a time, continue to share the same bed after their move to Chelsea in 1834. Yet Mrs. Carlyle’s insomnia made sleeping together increasingly difficult. “Jane was a bad sleeper,” writes Thea Holme in her informative The Carlyles at Home (London: Oxford University Press, 1965). “At Cheyne Row she moved from bed to bed, from room to room, in search of sleep.” Not until about 1842 did the arrangement of sleeping in separate beds become a permanent one. Even then it was adopted more because of their extreme sensitivity to noise and disturbance of any kind than because of diminution of affection, and, too, because of Mrs. Carlyle’s gradually declining health. Both Carlyles were sickly people, Jane being far more often in ill-health than Carlyle (though Carlyle complained more). Their illnesses, Mrs. Carlyle’s nervous tension especially, would have further impeded maintaining a healthy sexual relationship. Neither sensitivity to noise nor insomnia nor ill-health necessarily implies impotence, partial or total, on Carlyle’s part, and to make such an assumption seems to me unwarranted. Their later letters, if less impassioned than the earlier, continue tender, affectionate, loving to the end. Although the belief that Carlyle was impotent will probably die a hard death (it is still current in academic circles today), we should recognize that the surest evidence against it lies in the letters of the Carlyles.

25. For Froude’s conception of Jane Welsh as an Iphigenia figure, see my Introduction.


CHAPTER NINE


2. The incomplete Wotton Reinfred: A Romance, begun in January 1827 and put aside in June. Although Carlyle believed he had consigned it to the flames (CL, 4:191), the manuscript was stolen in 1856 by his amanuensis Frederick Martin and eventually published in The Last
Words of Thomas Carlyle. I have brought together Froude's discussion of the novel from several pages of the biography. Sartor Resartus duplicates, to a greater or lesser degree, a number of passages from Wotton Reinfred. For an even earlier attempt at fiction, see Marjorie P. King, "'Illudo Chartis': An Initial Study in Carlyle's Mode of Composition," Modern Language Review 49 (April 1954): 164–75.

3. The Edinburgh-Craigenputtoch contrast is a frequent one in Carlyle's letters of this time, e.g., CL, 4:337–38.


5. CL, 4:245. Jeffrey to TC, [undated, ca. July–August 1827].

6. Reminiscences, 2:252, 255. "'You are so dreadfully in earnest!' said he to me, once or oftener." Carlyle often used Jeffrey's expression in letters and published writings.


8. CL, 4:236. TC to JAC, [July? 1827]. Froude's text.

9. See ibid., 3:86–87, 226; 4:209–12, 229, 246–49. At the time that he wrote his biography, Froude had access to only a few of Goethe's letters to Carlyle; he would also have seen several of Carlyle's incomplete transcriptions in letters to other correspondents. Carlyle's admiration for the German poet, which began in 1820 with his reading of Faust, cannot be exaggerated. To Goethe he wrote on 20 August 1827: "As it is, your works have been a mirror to me; unasked and unhoped for, your wisdom has counselled me; and so peace and health of soul have visited me from afar" (ibid., 4:248). For the letters between the two men (including the German originals of Goethe's letters and much miscellaneous information), see Norton, GC.


11. CL, 4:337. Goethe to TC, 1 January 1828. In TC to Goethe, 17 April 1828 (ibid., p. 364), Carlyle identified himself as the author of "State of German Literature."


14. CL, 4:298. TC to James Carlyle, the elder, 21 December 1827. The professorship was in Moral Philosophy.

15. Ibid., p. 387. TC to JAC, 7 March 1828. The "suspense" lasted a few months, not, as Froude states, "weeks." The "someone else" appointed was an "old stager," George Cook (1772–1845).


17. Works, 26:1–257.
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18. CL, 4:325. For the German and English texts of the testimonial, see Norton, GC, pp. 71-80.

19. Actually six years.

20. See CL, 4:242, 375, 382-83, and p. 250 of this volume. Scott acknowledged the medals to Jeffrey but not to Carlyle. Here ends vol. 1 of Froude's biography.

CHAPTER TEN


2. I include only one representative passage from this essay, published in part by Froude under the title "Spiritual Optics." For a transcript of the complete essay (with discussion of Froude's interpretation and editorial methods), see Murray Baumgarten, "Carlyle's Manuscript on Optics," Victorian Studies 9 (June 1968): 508-22, where it is entitled "Manuscript on Creeds." The passage retained is on pp. 513-14. Froude valued Carlyle's intensity of vision: "His eye was a perfect optical Instrument which saw things & people as they were & not as they are supposed to be" (Froude to Ruskin, [1884?], in Viljoen, p. 31).

3. Froude's text.

4. CL, 4:142. TC's note, JBW to Mrs. George Welsh, 1 October [1826].


CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Much ink has been spilled over Froude's description of Craigenputtoch and his interpretation of the period from 1828 to 1834. Only a few years after he visited Craigenputtoch in September 1879, he described the site in his biography "as the dreariest spot in all the British dominions." At the time of his visit he had written to Carlyle that "the place in externals must be very much in the state in which you left it... The weather was characteristic and at any rate suited the scene—high wind with driving showers and brilliant gleams of sunshine on the heather now in its fullest bloom. The general aspect... not unkindly, and suited to the work which was done there" (7 September [1879] [NLS, 666.132]). Others have differed in their impressions. Not always does it seem the bleak and windy moorland farm that Froude describes. Yet even today it is a solitary spot, and in winter (the present owners inform me) the isolation can become almost unbearable.

Froude drew a picture of the Craigenputtoch years largely based on evidence that he found in the correspondence and in other papers of the Carlyles. On the whole, their references to Craigenputtoch are more unfavorable than favorable. In 1825 Jane Welsh had said that she "would not spend a month on it with an Angel" (CL, 3:250); later the same year she spoke of it as "the dreariest spot of the whole world" (ibid., p. 384)—almost exactly the same words for which critics have so berated Froude. Once living at Craigenputtoch the Carlyles valued the solitary beauty of
the spot but regretted the loneliness of their existence. "At Craigenputtoch we have always had a secret suspicion," Jane Carlyle wrote to her husband on 11 September 1831, halfway through their stay, "that we were quite wrong—removed out of the sphere of human activity fully as much through cowardice as superior wisdom." She wrote this letter to Carlyle in London, where she soon joined him for the winter. During their six months in London they met many notables, found stimulation in the currents of ideas flowing around them, and began to conceive an alternative to life at Craigenputtoch. Upon their return both Carlyles increasingly felt the isolation to which the "Dunscore Tartarus" doomed them. Thus, overpowering solitude, not the rigorous climate or the difficulty in getting servants, was the chief reason they decided to leave their moorland home. Carlyle incessantly lamented the impossibility of finding good talk. By 1834 getting out had become, for both, a necessity.

Froude's interpretation of the Craigenputtoch years is biased not so much in its overall picture as it is through his conception of Jane Carlyle as a tragic heroine. He presents her as forced to do menial tasks: some she did indeed do, such as make bread and care for poultry (e.g., ibid., 4:417), but she had nothing to do with cattle. Alexander Carlyle, not Thomas and Jane, actually farmed Craigenputtoch. Geraldine Jewsbury was the source for many of the "myths" that Froude related concerning Jane Carlyle's life at the "whinstone castle." Although a core of truth often exists in what Froude says, his emphasis is distorted, and we may dismiss as misleading his depiction of Jane Carlyle toiling away as servant-of-all-tasks "while Carlyle looked on encouragingly with his pipe" (p. 235 below). Sir James Crichton-Browne attacks Froude's interpretation of the Craigenputtoch period in his introduction to A. Carlyle, NLMJWC, 1:xli; Dunn defends it in F and C, chap. 16.

Despite Froude's implication that Jane Carlyle suffered more in health from the climate and the solitude than her husband, Carlyle was the more dissatisfied and initiated the move to London in 1834. Even his family recognized the need for a change. "Has not Craigenputtoch been the Haven of Despair all along?" his brother John wrote him on 19 April of that year. "Is there any worse place for you in your present state anywhere within the compass of the British Isles?" In later years the Carlyles occasionally talked about returning to Craigenputtoch but, like the idea of emigrating to America, they never entertained it seriously as a practical possibility. They recognized as wise the decision to move to London. A retreat from London would have been, as Carlyle realized in a letter to his brother John of 12 April 1838, "at bottom I admit . . . perhaps not good for me." He knew that although a part of his nature demanded solitude, an even more vital part demanded the company of men and women who stimulated him intellectually. Only London provided this environment.

2. CL, 4:383. TC to JAC, 10 June 1828. In the previous sentence "cosmic" expresses the emergence of order from confusion, as "chaos" becomes "cosmos." Cf., e.g., Latter-Day Pamphlets, Works, 20:7, 60, 77.


5. The NLS holds Jeffrey's extensive correspondence with both Carlyles; selections from it are quoted in the CL. Only one letter from Carlyle to Jeffrey has survived. After Carlyle's death, Jeffrey's daughter, Mrs. Empson—dismayed at the tone of Carlyle's remarks in the Reminiscences on Jeffrey, her husband, and herself—asked for the return of the letters of the Carlyles to Jeffrey and probably destroyed them. See CL, 4:259.

6. Jeffrey to TC, 23 September 1828 (NLS, 787.28).

7. Froude takes his analogy from a tale in the Arabian Nights and uses it elsewhere to describe his perseverance in continuing the biography (see Clubbe, Carlyle and His Contemporaries, p. 322).

8. Jeffrey to TC, 3 October [1828] (NLS, 787.30).


10. Jeffrey to TC, [postmarked 13 October 1828] (NLS, 787.32).

11. CL, 4:413. TC to JAC, 10[?] October 1828.

12. Jeffrey to TC, 11 November 1828 (NLS, 787.36).


15. Ibid., p. 11. TC to JAC, 5 March 1829.


19. Teufelsdreck (or Dreck)—"devil's dung"—was Carlyle's name for Sartor until February 1833, when he not only changed the title but also emended "Teufelsdreck" to "Teufelsdröckh."

20. CL, 5:91. TC to JAC, 10 April 1830. William Fraser, editor of the Foreign Review, had offered to bring out the projected study of Luther. It was never written.

21. Reminiscences, 2:193–95. Although Froude believed that Margaret died of consumption, her disease appears to have been cancer.


CHAPTER TWELVE

1. CL, 5:202. TC to JAC, 19 December 1830.

2. Ibid., p. 175. TC to JAC, 19 October 1830.

3. See Harrold, Sartor, p. 130.
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4. Ibid. Count Zachdarm “during his sublunary existence”—so the epitaph runs—“shot five thousand partridges.” The epitaph satirizes the “Corn-law, game-preserving Aristocracy.”


7. The new tenant paid £170, £30 less than Alexander Carlyle had been paying. See Marrs, Letters of Thomas Carlyle to His Brother Alexander, p. 274; and Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, p. 66.

8. CL, 5:242–43. TC to JAC, 4 March 1831.


10. CL, 5:271. TC to JAC, 8 May 1831.

11. Actually, as A. Carlyle points out, from a horse epidemic. See A. Carlyle, NLMJWC, 1:33.

12. CL, 5:283. TC to JAC, 6 June 1831.

13. Ibid., p. 303. Carlyle paraphrases his (lost) letter to Jeffrey in TC to JAC, 12 July 1831.

14. Ibid. See also ibid., 2:412, and Harrold, Sartor, p. 140.

15. CL, 5:305. TC to JAC, 17 July 1831.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. CL, 5:354. TC to JWC, 22 August 1831. Froude lets Carlyle himself recount his journey to London and his experiences there through extracts from his Journal (published accurately and completely in Norton, Two Note Books) and through his detailed letters back to Scotland. I base this summary paragraph on them.

2. CL, 5:399. TC to JWC, 4 September 1831.

3. Ibid. Jeffrey to TC, 3 September 1831 (NLS, 787.62).

4. Ibid., p. 441. Murray to TC, 17 September 1831.

5. Harrold, Sartor, p. 320. Carlyle always believed Murray’s reader to have been John Gibson Lockhart, though it may have been someone else. See Tennyson, Sartor, p. 148. Froude, writing to John Murray III, noted that “the third [letter] from your father is the original of the communication from ‘the Bookseller’ which is printed in the Appendix to Sartor Resartus. I (as I believe the world generally) have hitherto regarded it as a work of imagination” (3 June [1881?]. MS: John Murray). Although Froude spoke of Sartor in the biography as “beautiful and brilliant,” he found it “the least readable . . . of all Carlyles writings” and could not understand why it “should have had the largest sale of them in the popular Edition” (5 June [1881?]. MS: John Murray). He told Murray that “the reception which Sartor actually met with—universal condemnation for three or four years—completely justified
NOTES TO PAGES 265–275

your father from a business point of view, and if publishers do not wish to find their way into the Gazette they are bound to consider whether a book is likely to sell.— This is what I mean to say about the matter” (22 November [1881?]. MS: John Murray).

6. Napier to TC, 9 September 1831 (NLS, 665.32). In his letter to Napier of 5 September, Carlyle had said “‘Long enough,’ the Public hereby exclaims, ‘have ye fed me on froth.’ ” Napier picked up the expression in his reply. The article on Luther mentioned in the next paragraph was never written. In 1883 Froude himself published a short study of Luther.


8. CL, 5:448. TC’s note, JWC to TC, [27 September 1831]. For other pen portraits of Lamb, see Reminiscences, 1:94; and CL, 1:xxxvi–xxxviii; 3:39; 5:375; and 6:50–51. Carlyle occasionally had second thoughts about his severe judgments of Lamb, as A. Carlyle indicated in a letter to Charles Eliot Norton: “I remember my Wife telling me that she once read to her Uncle, as they lingered over dinner, Lamb’s ‘Old Familiar Faces.’ He listened attentively, and when she had finished he asked, ‘Who wrote that Mary?’ She told him, and he replied, ‘I should not have believed Lamb could ever have written anything so touching & pretty.’ The truth is that Lamb disgusted him at that interview at Enfield and he disregarded both Lamb & his writings ever afterwards” (8 July 1898. MS: Houghton Library, Harvard). Reading B. W. Procter’s biography of Lamb (Charles Lamb: A Memoir, 1866) in the summer of 1866, Carlyle wrote to the author to tell him that he found “in your work something so touching, brave, serene, and pious, that I cannot but write you one brief word of recognition” (17 August 1866. Typescript: Free Library of Philadelphia).


10. See Reminiscences, 2:204–8, and CL, 6:33 (to JAC) and 41 (to MAC).

11. Hamlet 1. 2. 101–6. Froude reduces and paraphrases the lines. I include the full quotation.


13. CL, 6:124. TC to JAC, 16 February 1832.

14. Ibid., pp. 126–27. “Magazine Fraser” was James Fraser (d. 1841), publisher of Fraser’s Magazine. Froude omits, in Carlyle’s reference to Jeffrey, the words “to see hopping round one.” Jeffrey may have provided the model for Hofrath Heuschrecke (Councillor Grasshopper) in Sartor.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. Carlyle’s letters to Mill, unavailable to Froude, have survived. A. Carlyle published those in the NLS in CMSB. For Mill’s letters to Carlyle, see the six-volume Letters (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), edited by Francis E. Mineka (The
Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1812–1848, 2 vols., 1963) and by
Mineka and Dwight Lindley (The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill,
1849–1873, 4 vols., 1972). Carlyle first described Mill in a letter to his
wife of 29 August 1831: "Of young Mill (the Spirit of the Age
man) he [William Empson] speaks very highly, as of a converted Utilitarian,
who is studying German" (CL, 5:379). And on 4 September he wrote to
her: "This young Mill I fancy and hope is 'a baying [being] you can
love.' A slender rather tall and elegant youth, with small clear roman-
nosed face, two small earnestly-smiling eyes: modest, remarkably gifted
with precision of utterance; enthusiastic, yet lucid, calm; not a great,
yet distinctly a gifted and amiable youth. We had almost four hours of
the best talk I have mingled in for long. The youth walked home with
me almost to the door; seemed to profess almost as plainly as modesty
would allow that he had been converted by the Head of the Mystic
School, to whom personally he testified very hearty-looking regard"
(ibid., p. 398). Even before he met Carlyle, Mill had submitted to his
intellectual influence in the manner described in his Autobiography.
Their friendship was strengthened when Carlyle moved to London in
1834, remained firm for several years, but gradually waned as the two
men came to realize that their views were irreconcilable.

2. A. Carlyle: "He was no 'Cousin': it is doubtful if any relative in
even the remotest degree short of being one of Adam's posterity." Whether or not Jeffrey was related by blood to Mrs. Carlyle remains
uncertain, but it is in any case secondary to the fact that his belief that
he was made their friendship closer. See, for example, Reminiscences,
2:239.

3. CL, 6:193. TC to JAC, 31 July 1832.
4. Ibid., p. 205. TC to MAC, 21 August 1832. I have omitted the
sentence in Froude that precedes the quotation: "Her place could not be
immediately filled, and all the work fell on Mrs. Carlyle." Actually the
Carlyle household had a new maid the next day. Here, as elsewhere,
Froude overstresses the impact that the solitude of Craigenputtoch had
on Mrs. Carlyle's health and loneliness.

5. Ibid., p. 214. TC to MAC, 28 August 1832. The bracketed words
are Froude's.

6. Journal, 29 October 1832. This is the first of a number of passages
in Froude that I identify as being quoted from the Journal.

7. CL, 6:253. TC to JWC, 12 November 1832.
8. Ibid., p. 296. TC to MAC, 12 January 1833.
10. Ibid., p. 308. The Glasgow professorship—in astronomy—did not
fall vacant until 1836. Nothing came of Carlyle's half-hearted try for it.

11. Ibid., pp. 322–23. JWC's postscript, TC to JAC, 10 February 1833.
12. Ibid., pp. 344–45. TC to MAC, 16 March 1833.
13. Ibid., p. 323. TC to MAC, 13 February 1833.
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15. Ibid., p. 388.
17. Journal, 7 July 1833.
18. Ralph Waldo Emerson, English Traits, ed. Howard Mumford Jones (1856; rpt. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 8-11. The man of letters to whom Emerson refers is Mill. The Latin phrase is from Suetonius Lives of the Caesars 6. 49. As Froude points out in an omitted footnote, the letter that Emerson brought from Rome was from Gustave d'Eichthal. “Emerson does not mention the note from Mill,” Froude states. “Perhaps their mutual impressions were not dissimilar.” Mill had said of Emerson in his letter to Carlyle of 2 August 1833, “I do not think him a very hopeful subject.” Emerson stayed the night of 25 August.
19. CL, 6:480. TC to MAC, 27 August 1833. See also TC to JAC, 27 August 1833, ibid., pp. 425-26. Carlyle’s friendship with Emerson, despite increasingly divergent views, lasted until his death in 1881. See the introduction to Slater, CEC, for a full study.
20. CL, 6:124. TC to JAC, 16 February 1832 (see p. 273 above).
21. Ibid., 7:38. TC to JAC, 18 November 1833.
22. Ibid., pp. 37-38. Janet, not Jean, was the youngest child. For Carlyle’s account of Jean as a child, see ibid., 3:414-15.
23. Ibid., 7:38. TC to JAC, 18 November 1833.
24. Ibid., p. 15. TC to James Carlyle, 8 October 1833.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. Journal, 6 February 1834.
3. Jeffrey to TC, 14 January 1834 (NLS, 787.64). Carlyle referred to Jeffrey’s letter as “a kind of polite Fishwoman-shriek!” (CL, 7:79. TC to JAC, 21 January 1834).
4. Edinburgh. It went eventually to George Moir.
5. Froude may refer to Jeffrey's observation near the end of his letter to Carlyle of 14 January 1834: “I am glad that my fair cousin is better—tho' I cannot approve of her taking to nurse lunatics—and shall not feel quite easy till I hear she is out of that [perilous?] occupation.” Froude perhaps assumes that Carlyle took “lunatics” to refer to himself, but Carlyle would surely have understood that Jeffrey meant William Glen, a young man of unstable mind who was living near Craigenputtoch and whom Carlyle was caring for. D. A. Wilson purposely misses the point in his Carlyle, 2:355.
6. CL, 4:53. TC to JBW, 7 March 1826. But Carlyle refers, not to “the principle on which he guided his earlier life,” but to his oncoming marriage.
8. Loosely recalled from Jane's gay exclamation "Burn our ships!" (Reminiscences, 1:97), repeated in TC to JAC, 25 February 1834 (CL, 7:104).

9. A. Carlyle: "So, too, had Mrs C. under difficulties of a weak constitution." On balance, Mrs. Carlyle emerged from the Craigenputtoch years stronger in health, but Froude, ever the dramatic historian, not only exaggerates the differing response of both Carlyles to Craigenputtoch, but also in this paragraph accentuates the differences between Craigenputtoch and London.

10. Reminiscences, 1:63-67, but Carlyle qualified her anecdotes as having only "a certain mythical truth" (p. 69).

11. CL, 7:171. TC to JWC, 21 May 1834.

12. Ibid., pp. 172-74.

13. Ibid., pp. 207-8. TC to MAC, 12 June 1834.

14. The London Review, whose first number dates from April 1835. The following year it bought out the Westminster Review and became the London and Westminster Review.

15. CL, 7:270. TC to JAC, 15 August 1834.

16. Ibid., p. 289. TC's note, JWC to MAC, [1 September 1834].

17. Ibid., p. 319. TC to Alexander Carlyle, 24 October 1834.

18. Ibid.


22. Journal, 1 January 1835.

23. For Froude's change of plan for his biography, see Introduction (p. 22) and p. 325 below.


26. Reminiscences, 1:106-7. See the description of this incident below, pp. 334-36.


Journal to which Froude refers can only be this entry of 29 December 1849 (or the previous one, of 10 October 1843). Froude does not comment on either passage, but he understood them, as My Relations with Carlyle makes clear, in the light of his conversations with Geraldine Jewsbury, a close friend of Mrs. Carlyle's. "Geraldine when she heard that I was to undertake the Biography," Froude told Ruskin in 1886, "came to me & said that I ought to know that Carlyle 'was one of those persons who ought never to have married,' and that this was at the bottom of all the trouble" (Viljoen, pp. 64-65). Nothing in the Journal passages, however, implies that Carlyle's "secret" was sexual in nature. Carlyle speaks only of "elements in my little destiny" that "have all along lain deep below view or surmise." What he says of himself there would hold true for most human beings. "What are faults, what are the outward details of a life," he asks in Heroes, "if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, true, often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it, be forgotten?" (Works, 5:46). Every human being has mysteries that no biographer will fathom. They need not be sexual.

Froude himself came to have doubts about the correctness of his supposition that the Journal passages refer to sexual impotence. "I am not sure that I know now what he meant," he admits in My Relations with Carlyle (p. 20). His admission in no way denies the value of his hypotheses concerning the Carlyles' relationship, but suggests instead that, like a good historian, he continued to weigh the evidence and to consider the different interpretations it allowed. It also suggests that if in his biography he was to indicate something of the nature of their relationship (as he understood it), he would have to do so indirectly.


3. A. Carlyle puts a question mark in the margin opposite this sentence.

4. Froude elaborates on this aspect of Carlyle's character in a note (preserved in Margaret Froude's hand) now in the Beinecke Library, Yale:

Fault in Carlyle that he attended too much to his own humours & fancies—made them an object to his thoughts instead of throwing such things by, or taking them as they came. He reflected upon his glooms, upon his tenderness, or upon his imagination, as if they were something in themselves remarkable—which marked him like Owen Glendower as not upon the roll of common men[.] He was perhaps irritated when others about him treated such things less respectfully—knowing that very often "it was only potatoes." Things could have gone more smoothly with him if he had himself remembered more continuously that it might be only Potatoes.

St Teresa & her visions—she set little by them, knowing that some at least were only indigestion—& the others might be.

Carlyles imagination was feverishly active. He could not keep—he need not have tried to keep strange images, strange feelings, coming upon him—such things belonged to him, as to all men of genius—they were the outcome of the poetry of his nature, & might each take any form it pleased[.]
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But habitually to make the general character of such things a fresh subject of meditation & consideration was but another form of the disease of self consciousness, so common among young men, but recognised by the wise among them as morbid & unwholesome. It continued with Carlyle to the end of his life.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

2. The phrase, not traced to Milton, was used by Carlyle in his biography of John Sterling. See Works, 11:97.
4. "The 'First Book' was the original first volume. The arrangement was afterwards altered" (Froude’s note).
6. Froude’s reference to "a thing which they had long feared" is clarified by an unpublished passage in TC to JAC, 23 March 1835, in which the "some one" in the carriage is identified as Mrs. Harriet Taylor, "(his Platonic inamorata); with whom Jane fancied he must have at length run off, and so was come, before setting out for the Devil, to take solemn leave of us" (MS: Huntington Library).
7. Ibid., and TC to James Fraser, 7 March 1835 (MS: Mrs. Jane S. Napier). The volume was burned accidentally by Mill’s housemaid, who thought the manuscript sheets were waste paper.
8. Journal, 7 March 1835. Froude’s account of this incident, placing the blame on Mill rather than on Mrs. Taylor, is more accurate than that in Wilson, Carlyle, 2:379-80.
10. Ibid., pp. 505–6. Burns may be the “great man” Carlyle has in mind.
11. JWC’s postscript, TC to JAC, 30 April 1835 (NLS, 523.29).
13. Ibid., 26 May 1836. “A mixture of good and evil” was one of John Carlyle’s favorite expressions (see CL, 3:412).
15. A. Carlyle, CMSB, pp. 191–92. TC to John Sterling, 4 June 1835. Sterling’s extended critique of Sartor, to which Carlyle answers in the above letter, was first published by Carlyle in his life of Sterling and is reprinted, along with the greater part of Carlyle’s reply, in Harrold, Sartor, pp. 307–18.
17. Journal, 1 June 1835.
18. A. Carlyle, CMSB, pp. 192–93. TC to John Sterling, 4 June 1835. Among those who “responded” favorably were Emerson and Father

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O'Shea of Cork. See Clubbe, Two Reminiscences, pp. 74-75, and TC to JWC, 21 May 1834 (CL, 7:175).


20. TC to JAC, 2 July 1835 (NLS, 523.31).


22. Ibid.

23. An incomplete and unpublished manuscript entitled "National Education" that Carlyle wrote at this time has been preserved in the NLS (1798.xiii). It will be published in CL, vol. 8.

24. Froude mentions Mrs. Montagu by name in the third volume of his biography as he had not, except perhaps accidentally, in the first. His account of the slow cooling of the Carlyles' regard for her is substantially correct.

25. TC to JAC, 26 January 1836 (NLS, 520.50).

26. Froude was never more Carlyle's disciple than in his admiration for Germany.


30. A. Carlyle, NLMJWC, 1:54. JWC to TC, 19 July 1836.

31. A. Carlyle: "Has it? Knave!"

32. Froude, LMJWC, 1:62. JWC to Mrs. John Welsh, 4 September 1836.

33. "So Carlyle said later; but in the letter to Sterling he says ten o'clock at night. Perhaps he added a word or two" (Froude's note).

34. Froude, LMJWC, 1:70. TC's note, JWC to John Welsh, 4 March 1837. Froude's text.

35. The literal translation of the last line of Goethe's poem "Symbolum" ("Des Maurers Wandeln"), often repeated with reverence by Carlyle throughout his life.

36. A. Carlyle, NL, 1:50-52. TC to John Sterling, 17 January 1837. I have taken the text of the poem (slightly modified) from Past and Present, Works, 10: 237-38. In his letter Carlyle omits stanzas one and four. He usually entitles the poem "Mason-Lodge." The German phrases in the letter are from the poem's third and fourth stanzas.
Chapter Eighteen

2. TC to JWC, 2 November 1835 (NLS, 610.28).
4. Carlyle wrote in The French Revolution: "These are the Phenomena, or visual Appearances, of this wide-working terrestrial world: which truly is phenomenal, what they call spectral; and never rests at any moment; one never at any moment can know why" (Works, 3:159). See also p. 343 of this volume.
7. From the syllabus in the Carlyle House, Chelsea.
8. Froude, LMJWC, 1:75. TC's note, JWC to MAC, 22 September 1837.
9. TC to JAC, 30 May 1837 (NLS, 523.49). The lectures on German literature were never published. See Archibald MacMechan's account of this lecture series in his edition of Carlyle's On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History (Boston: Ginn, 1901), pp. xv–xx.
10. TC to JAC, 30 May 1837 (NLS, 523.49).
11. Ibid. It was Jeffrey who predicted that Carlyle "will be called affect[e]d." Jeffrey to TC, 18 May 1837 (NLS, 787.72).
12. TC to JAC, 30 May 1837. Jeffrey, in his letter to TC of 18 May 1837, had spoken of The French Revolution as written "by a man of Genius and originality. . . . It is no doubt a very strange piece of work, and is really, as Coleridge I think said of something else, like reading a story by flashes of lightning!" Jeffrey remembered Coleridge's remark in Table Talk on Edmund Kean's acting of Shakespeare.
13. Froude, LMJWC, 1:76. TC's note, JWC to MAC, 22 September 1837.
14. TC to JAC, 7 July 1837 (NLS, 523.50).
16. A. Carlyle, NL, 1:87. TC to JAC, 21 September 1837.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid., pp. 90–91. TC to MAC, 22 September 1837.
19. Cf. TC to MAC, 7 December 1837 (NLS, 520.63): "I felt disgusted with the task, but in some measure bound to it."
21. Ibid., 14 February 1838.
22. TC to MAC, 7 December 1837 (NLS, 520.63). James Munro of Boston published the Critical and Miscellaneous Essays in four vol-
umes in 1838; the next year they came out in England under the imprint of James Fraser. See Dyer, pp. 187–88.

23. TC to MAC, 7 December 1837 (NLS, 520.63).

24. Journal, 14 February 1838. Orson, carried off by a bear as a child and suckled with its cubs, grew up an uncouth, rough man and was called “The Wild Man of the Forest.” He became the hero of the fifteenth-century French romance Valentine and Orson, retold in English by Henry Watson about 1550.


27. Literally: he carries hay on his horns. Horace Satires 1. 4. 34. Froude might have seen the phrase in Boswell’s Life of Johnson, p. 408.


29. Odyssey 11. 489–91. I omit Froude’s Greek. A related earlier passage in the life sheds light on Froude’s attitude toward literature, his approach to Carlyle’s own works, and his biographical method:

The outward life of a man of letters is in his works. But in his works he shows only so much of himself as he considers that the world will be benefited or interested by seeing; or rather, if he is true artist he does not show his own self at all. The more excellent the thing produced, the more it resembles a work of nature in which the creation is alone perceived, while the creating hand is hidden in mystery. Homer and Shakespeare are the greatest of poets, but of the men Homer and Shakespeare we know next to nothing. “The blind old bard of Chio’s rocky isle” has been even criticised out of existence, and ingenious inquirers have been found to maintain that the Stratford player furnished but a convenient name, and that the true authors of Henry IV or Hamlet were Queen Elizabeth’s courtiers and statesmen.

Men of genius do not care to hang their hearts upon their sleeve for daws to peck at; yet if they have left anywhere their written conversations with themselves, if they have opened a door into the laboratory where the creative force can be seen in its operation, and the man himself can be made known to us as he appeared in undress and in his own eyes, the public who are interested in his writings may count it as a piece of rare good fortune. No man who has any vital force in him ever lies to himself. He may assume a disguise to others; but the first condition of success is that he be true to his own soul and has looked his own capacities and his own faults fairly in the face. (2:71–72)

30. Loosely paraphrased by Froude from Jeffrey to TC, 12 December 1837 (NLS, 1766.54).

31. A. Carlyle underscores this sentence and comments (in purple pencil), “Whow!!”

32. TC to JAC, 12 April 1838 (NLS, 523.57).

33. The lectures “On the History of Literature” were published in


35. *Journal*, 20 and 31 May 1838.

36. TC to JAC, 14 July 1838 (NLS, 523.58). Carlyle netted £264 from this lecture series but had “about £300 to front the coming year with” (ibid.).

37. JWC to TC, [ca. 18 September 1838] (NLS, 601.51).

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1. In Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), the chief adventures of the Reverend Charles Primrose and his wife, when in their prosperity, “were by the fire-side, and all his migrations from the blue bed to the brown” (chap. 1, par. 2).

2. A. Carlyle, *NL*, 1:143. TC to JWC, [6 September 1838].

3. Actually, the beginning of the Journal (published in Norton, *Two Note Books*, pp. 1–31) has many references to a projected “Essay on the Civil Wars” that Carlyle had seriously meditated writing in 1821–22. For references in letters, see the index to *CL*, vols. 1–4. Because of Carlyle’s other commitments and his lack of readiness for the project, it came to nothing. Froude had spoken of Carlyle’s early interest in Cromwell (see p. 140 above) but apparently had forgotten that he had done so.

4. John Robertson did write an essay on Cromwell.

5. A. Carlyle, *NL*, 1:147. TC to MAC, 13 January 1839. It was Douglas Heath, acting for others and described as “a promising young Barrister” (ibid., p. 149), who sent Carlyle books from Cambridge.


8. TC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 13 February 1839 (NLS, 1763.185).


14. TC to JAC, 11 March 1839 (NLS, 522.62).
15. A. Carlyle, *NL*, 1:161. TC to JAC, 26 May 1839. After the word "Harrow," Froude interpolates "like a Faust's flight thro' an ocean of green," which as A. Carlyle notes, "is transferred from C's *Journal* of 9th Oct 1839."
16. TC to JAC, 26 May 1839 (NLS, 523.64).
20. Recorded in TC to MAC, 19 June 1839 (NLS, 520.81).
21. See TC to JAC, 2 August 1839: "I am always moderately well in solitude, utterly alone; and oftenest contrive to be that way" (NLS, 523.68).
22. TC to JAC, 13 September 1839 (NLS, 523.70).
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. TC to MAC, [January 1840] (NLS, 520.88).
28. Ibid.
35. Neither a letter to Carlyle from William Bowie, the "poor Paisley weaver," nor a reply from Carlyle has been found. On Bowie, see Andrew James Symington, *Some Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle* (Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1886), pp. 41-49.
36. TC to JAC, 30 March 1840 (NLS, 523.80).
37. Froude's memory makes a minor slip here. It was not "with the
Bullers at Kinnaird” (1823–24) but in 1821 that Carlyle had “terrified” his family with reports of ill-health. See p. 120 above, and *CL, 1:*324–30.

38. A. Carlyle: “Doubtless a most sweet morsel to you!”

39. TC to MAC, 9 May 1840 (typescript: NLS, 520.92).

40. Not found, but see the account in the *Examiner, 28 June 1840, p. 408.*


42. See Froude, *LMJWC,* 1:118.

43. TC to JAC, 1 July 1840 (NLS, 523.89).


46. TC to JAC, 23 August 1840 (NLS, 523.94).

47. *Quarterly Review* 66 (September 1840): 446–503. In a letter to John Murray III, publisher of the *Quarterly,* Sir John Barrow referred to “your late abominable article on such a person as Carlyle, which every one condemns” (Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray,* 2 vols. [London: John Murray, 1891], 2:455). In 1849 Sewell burned Froude’s *Nemesis of Faith* in the hall of Exeter College, Oxford.


49. Dr. Syntax was an eccentric clergyman whose adventures were told by William Coombe (1742–1823) in three octosyllabic Tours, published 1812–21; his horse Grizzle was all skin and bones.

50. TC to JAC, 23 August 1840 (NLS, 523.94). In his text Froude changed “whores” to “improper females.”


**CHAPTER TWENTY**

1. Froude, *LMJWC,* 1:126. JWC to MAC, [27 October 1840].

2. See p. 364 above and Froude, *LMJWC,* 1:76.

3. TC to MAC, 18 February 1841 (NLS, 520.104). The lectures were published in 1841 as *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History.*

4. TC to JAC, 3 March 1841 (NLS, 524.16). Froude omitted “a most heroic-looking damsel.”

5. *Journal,* 4 June 1841. Elsewhere, Carlyle notes that “Literature of Desperation” (*Literatur der Verzweiflung*) “was Goethe’s definition of
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Victor Hugo and Co.'s new gospel" (Froude, LMJWC, 1:172). He was apparently introduced to the phrase in a letter from Mill of 2 August 1833. See also On Heroes and Hero-Worship, Works, 5:187.


8. TC to JWC, [12 April 1841] (NLS, 610.45). For the Carlyles' relationship with the Marshall family, see Reminiscences, 1:181–84.

9. TC to JAC, 3 May 1841 (NLS, 524.19).


11. A. Carlyle, NL, 1:236. TC to John Sterling, 14 July 1841.

12. A. Carlyle crosses out "usher" and substitutes "teacher": this is technically correct, though Carlyle's post was a lowly one. See p. 105 above.


14. A. Carlyle: "I never heard of one." There was none.


16. A. Carlyle: "About £150 net." The income from Craigenputtoch varied from £170 in the early 1830s to £250 in the mid-1860s.

17. See TC to JWC, 22 July 1841 (NLS, 610.51).


20. Froude, LMJWC, 1:152–82.


CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1. TC to John Sterling, 21 December 1842 (NLS, 531.59).

2. See Works, 29:353–54: "the Social Science,—not a 'gay science,' but a rueful,—which finds the secret of this Universe in 'supply and demand.' . . . what we might call, by way of eminence, the dismal science."


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6. Eccles. 2:16. I have substituted the King James translation for Froude's Greek.

7. Froude alludes thus to Knox's voice in his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, 12 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1856-70), 10:443, but changed his own copy of the biography (now in the Beinecke Library, Yale) to say: "Elizabeth's ambassador Randolph said that John Knox's voice was like the sound of 'five hundred trumpets.'"


9. A. Carlyle: "Pity but you had been saved from lying too!"

10. Cf. TC to JAC, 17 March 1840: "a brown-skinned, silent, sad-concentrated, proud old dame."

11. Not always. See Mabel Davidson, "The Record of a Broken Friendship," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 24 (July 1925): 278-92. The friendship was John's with Mrs. Carlyle. Despite A. Carlyle's arguments (*NLMJWC*, 1:240), Froude bent over backward to be fair to John, indeed glossed over his boorishness and occasional insensitivity to Mrs. Carlyle.


13. Ibid., p. 165. TC to JWC, 9 July 1843.


15. Ibid., p. 172. TC to JWC, 19 July 1843.

16. Ibid., p. 175. TC to JWC, 23 July 1843.

17. A. Carlyle: "How clever!"

18. TC to JWC, 27 July 1843 (NLS, 611.139).

19. TC to JWC, 5 August 1843 (NLS, 611.144).

20. TC to JWC, 2 September 1843 (NLS, 611.160).


22. A. Carlyle: "where yours now is, I hope."

23. Bliss, *TC*, p. 192. TC to JWC, 4 September 1843.

24. Ibid., pp. 194-95. TC to JWC, 12 September 1843.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

1. Froude, *LMJWC*, 1:264. JWC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, [early October 1843].
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2. Ibid., p. 267. JWC to Susan Hunter Stirling, [October 1843]. Froude's text. Although A. Carlyle comments, "O what a lie, or concatenation of lies!", Froude bases every statement concerning this incident on Jane Carlyle's letters.

3. A. Carlyle: "No! 2:30 is not the middle of the day."


6. TC to MAC, 31 December 1843 (NLS, 521.23).


8. A. Carlyle: "Your Gloriana was Geraldine Jewsbury!" "Mr. Baring" was William Bingham Baring (1799-1864), who became second Lord Ashburton upon the death of his father, Alexander Baring (1774-1818). Froude, in passages on pp. 365 and 406 above, has earlier prepared his readers for this characterization of Carlyle as a "rustic Red Cross Knight." See also, for a brief comment on the analogies with *The Faerie Queene*, Introduction, n. 19.

9. TC to JWC, 12 September 1844 (NLS, 611.184).


11. A. Carlyle: "No! 'Bobus' was his name, except for the first week or so."

12. The name by which Carlyle "often laughingly designated his wife" (Froude's note). See TC to JWC, 12 September 1844 (NLS, 611.84) and A. Carlyle, *NLMJWC*, 1:149.


14. Subsequent historians—among them C. H. Firth, in the introduction to his edition of Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (3 vols. [London: Methuen, 1904])—have concurred with Froude's judgment that Carlyle's history revolutionized the study of Cromwell and the Commonwealth.

15. For Carlyle's clarifying explanation of the "right vs. might" concept, frequently misunderstood by later writers, see Clubbe, *Two Reminiscences*, pp. 98-99.

16. A. Carlyle: "a 'week' Mrs C. says."


20. TC to JWC, 27 September 1845 (NLS, 612.215).


22. JWC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, [ca. April 1846] (NLS, 603.217).
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23. Ibid.
24. A. Carlyle: "No. She only promised to 'announce her arrival,' which she did in good time." See A. Carlyle, NLMJWC, 1:191 n.
25. Bliss, TC, p. 224. TC to JWC, 13 July 1846.
27. Ibid., p. 367.
28. TC to JWC, 22 July 1846 (NLS, 612.244).
29. TC to JWC, 20 August 1846 (NLS, 612.251).
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. A. Carlyle: "Some of her letters of July & August '46 were never seen by Froude,—Carlyle himself considered them too private. They are very self-accusing."

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

1. TC to JWC, 8 September 1846 (NLS, 612.259). For Carlyle's first Irish tour, see Froude, LMJWC, 1:371–74; and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Conversations with Carlyle (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892), pp. 15–23.
2. Froude, LMJWC, 1:374–86. Opposite this paragraph A. Carlyle writes: "They had the servant (Helen) for 11 years." On Helen, see Froude, LMJWC, 1:121–22, 378.
3. TC to JAC, 8 October 1846 (NLS, 524.69).
4. Possibly Bronson Alcott.
5. Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 2 vols. (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852), 2:184–88 passim. See also her account in At Home and Abroad (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1856), pp. 183–85. Together, these narratives form one of the most successful of the many attempts to capture the brilliance of Carlyle's conversation and its effect upon others. Her letter to Emerson on Carlyle is reprinted in Ray Cecil Carter, "Margaret Fuller and the Two Sages," Colby Library Quarterly 6 (March 1963): 198–201. Emerson observed that Carlyle's conversational powers were such that fashionable Londoners "keep Carlyle as a sort of portable cathedral-bell, which they like to produce in companies where he is unknown, and set a-swinging" (Lectures and Biographical Sketches [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883], p. 456). And David Masson described the effect of Carlyle's conversation on John Robertson, by no means an unqualified admirer of Carlylean doctrines: "It was a testimony to the extraordinary depth of the impression which Carlyle had by that time [1841] made on all who were within his circle, that there had been formed in Robertson, even then, that habit of always speaking of Carlyle, always recurring to Carlyle after any range of the conversation among other things, which I was to observe for the next forty years in every person, without exception, that had come within Carlyle's influence, whether personally or through his books" (Memories of
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6. TC to JAC, 2 December 1846 (NLS, 524.72).
7. TC to JAC, 17 January 1847 (NLS, 524.74).
8. TC to MAC, 15 February 1847 (NLS, 521.46).
9. I have restored Carlyle's words (paraphrased by Froude) in TC to MAC, 8 March 1847 (NLS, 521.47). See Duffy, *Conversations with Carlyle*, pp. 24-28.

12. TC to JWC, 17 September 1847 (NLS, 612.264).
14. TC to JWC, 23 September 1847 (NLS, 612.267).
16. TC to JWC, 7 October 1847 (NLS, 612.275).
17. TC to JWC, 10 October 1847 (NLS, 612.276). Carlyle writes from "Greta Bank, Keswick," having left Scotsbrig.
18. TC to MAC, 8 November 1847 (NLS, 521.61).
19. TC to MAC, 13 December 1847 (NLS, 521.63).
20. TC to JWC, 13 January 1848 (NLS, 521.64).
22. See A. Carlyle, *NLMJWC*, 1:247; and JWC to TC, 2 April 1866: "Why on Earth did you ever get into this galley" (NLS, 609.767).

23. Journal, 9 February 1848. Carlisle Moore has described the "Exodus from Houndsditch" as "a work whose message should succeed, where that of the Everlasting Yea had not, in effecting the deliverance of England from her commercial cheapness, her atheism, and her political chaos. With complete confidence in his own faith, he felt the need of a newer truth which should be more pertinent to the newer age" ("The Persistence of Carlyle's 'Everlasting Yea,'" *Modern Philology* 54 [February 1957]: 195-96). Conceived at least as early as 1848, this projected work was still in mind while Carlyle was writing "Jesuitism," the last of the Latter-Day Pamphlets. See *Works*, 20:329-30.
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29. Journal, 27 March 1848. After Peel's death Carlyle wrote in his Journal for 24 July 1850: "I had an authentic regard for this man; and a wish to know more of him. Nearly the one man alive of whom I could say so much."
32. Cf. "'unintelligible moonshine'" in Slater, *CEC*, pp. 416-17. TC to Emerson, 2 March 1847.
33. For Emerson's account of this visit, see *English Traits*, chap. 16.
34. TC to MAC, 31 August 1848 (NLS, 521.70). Froude's paraphrase omits mention of "Marquises of Lansdown [Lansdowne]."
37. TC to MAC, 10 February 1849 (NLS, 521.77).
40. A Carlyle: "Mine Gott!" An independent observer confirms Froude here. H. Weigall, who had done a bust of Carlyle in 1837, wrote to a Mr. Leutzner on about 15 February 1882: "His Eyes were the most beautiful I think I ever saw in a man[.] At that time they were of a deep violet blue color & sorrowful observant reflective far seeing yet introspective in their expression" (MS: Beinecke Library, Yale).
41. Here ends vol. 3 of Froude's biography.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

1. "Now" is the early 1880s, when the Liberals, under Gladstone, again attempted to restore order in Ireland by passing a second land act (1881). Froude, who wrote much on Ireland, argued that a policy of conciliation was useless.
2. First in the Century Magazine, then as *Reminiscences of My Irish Journey in 1849* (London: Sampson, Low, 1882), with a preface by Froude. Carlyle had given the manuscript (now in the Huntington Library) to Joseph Neuberg, who in turn gave it to Thomas Ballantyne.


6. Forster, the chief secretary for Ireland, had been instrumental in pushing through in February 1881 a coercion bill involving the suspension of habeas corpus. It did little to quiet Ireland.


10. TC to JWC, 2 September 1849 (NLS, 612.301). "Gunner bodies" designates the members of the shooting party.

11. TC to JWC, 7 September 1849 (NLS, 613.303).


14. Juvenal Satires 1. 1. 79: "If nature refuses, indignation makes the verse."


16. Works, 29:354. The two terms are yoked elsewhere in Carlyle's essay.


19. Ibid., p. 16. I retain Froude's italics for the clause "since . . . laws." Carlyle's parable of the ship of democracy may derive from Plato Republic 6. 488A–489A.


22. Aristotle Politics 8. 6–18.


25. Cf. Slater, CEC, pp. 461-63 (Emerson to TC, 5 August 1850). I have not found evidence linking Thackeray to either of the parodies in Punch.


31. Bliss, TC, p. 261. TC to JWC, 2 August 1850.

32. Ibid., p. 266. TC to JWC, 28 August 1850.

33. Ibid., p. 267.

34. Ibid. I have slightly rearranged Froude's quotations in order to follow the sequence of events narrated by Carlyle.

35. TC to JWC, 22 September 1850 (NLS 613.334).

36. Froude, LMJWC, 2:133-36. JWC to TC, 29 September 1850.

37. TC to JWC, 24 September 1850 (NLS, 613.335).

38. A. Carlyle: "No! only 'after dark!'" TC to JWC, 29 September 1850: "in the evening a dark walk to Ecclefechan" (NLS, 613.337).

39. Bliss, TC, p. 270. TC to JWC, 1 October 1850.

40. Ibid., pp. 270-71. TC to JWC, 3 October 1850.

41. Ibid., p. 272.

42. Ibid., p. 273. TC to JWC, 4 October 1850.

43. A. Carlyle: "Carlyle came home alone and writes to his Wife still at the Grange on 21 October." This is correct.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

1. Journal, 30 October 1850.

2. TC to MAC, 26 October 1850 (NLS, 521.94).


5. Journal 8, November 1850.

6. Ibid., 10 December 1850. The "fat Pedant" is Antonio Panizzi (1797-1879), Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum and Car-

7. TC to JWC, 31 January 1851 (NLS, 613.344). Thirlwall was “the Bishop.”

8. See Euripides *Medea* 410 and p. 460 above.


10. TC to MAC, 5 April 1851 (NLS, 521.96).

11. See chap. 10 of this edition, esp. n. 2.

12. “In 1876 Gully’s name was frequently mentioned at the sensational inquiry into the death of a barrister named Charles Bravo, who, it was suspected, had been poisoned by his wife. Disclosures as to Gully’s intimacy with Mrs. Bravo greatly damaged his reputation” (DNB). See also Froude, *LMJWC*, 2:149–50, and p. 631 below.


15. Ibid., pp. 277–78. TC to JWC, 1 October 1851.

16. Carlyle wrote up his trip as “Excursion (Futile Enough) to Paris; Autumn 1851,” published in *The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle*.

17. Thomas Erskine (1788–1870), Scottish religious writer much esteemed by Carlyle, who occasionally called him “Evidence Erskine” after his most popular work, *Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion* (1820). To Jane Carlyle he was “Saint Thomas.” He lived at Linlathen.

18. TC to JWC, 30 July 1852 (NLS, 613.361).

19. Ibid.

20. At the end of the *Symposium*.

21. TC to JWC, 9 August 1852 (NLS, 613.364).


23. Ibid., p. 280. TC to JWC, 13 August 1852. Froude’s “mere traveling annoyances” Carlyle specifies in this letter as “beds without curtains, and the freaks of a diseased fancy and exasperated nerves.”

24. TC to JWC, 23 August 1852 (NLS, 613.370).

25. Bliss, *TC*, p. 284. TC to JWC, 1 September 1852.

26. Ibid., p. 287. TC to JWC, 6 September 1852.

27. Ibid., p. 290. TC to JWC, 15 September 1852.

28. Ibid., p. 291.


30. TC to MAC, 19 September 1852 (NLS, 521.98).


32. Ibid., p. 296. TC to JWC, 25 September 1852.
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33. Ibid., p. 298. TC to JWC, 27 September 1852.
34. Ibid., pp. 299–300. TC to JWC, 1 October 1852.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

2. TC to MAC, 15 October 1852 (NLS, 521.99).
3. TC to MAC, 15 November 1852 (NLS, 521.101).
4. TC to JWC, 28 March 1853 (NLS, 614.384). G. S. Venables (1810–88), barrister and writer, noted for the extraordinary force and charm of his character. He recorded his impressions of the Carlyles in two articles for the *Fortnightly Review* in 1883 and 1884.
5. TC to JWC, 31 March 1853 (NLS, 614.385). Massimo Taparelli, Marchese d’Azeglio (1798–1866), was an Italian statesman and author, Manzoni’s son-in-law, and a leader in the risorgimento who helped foment revolution in 1848.
6. TC to JWC, 8 July 1853 (NLS, 614.389). Organ-grinders never ceased to plague Carlyle. “I have seen him rush out of his house in his morning wrap, sending a torrent of words, not descriptive of the state of the blest, over two Italians who were playing an orchestration opposite. The poor men gave way at once to the general imprecations, asked his pardon, and departed; and I thought they were a shilling the better for the transaction. He really suffered from street-noises” (*Threescore Years and Ten: Reminiscences of the late Sophie Elizabeth De Morgan*, ed. May A. De Morgan [London: Richard Bentley, 1895], p. 231). This passage describes an episode after 1873, the year Mrs. De Morgan moved to Cheyne Row, three doors down from Carlyle.
7. Froude elaborated on this analogy in a letter to Lord Lytton of 4 December [1881?]: “Carlyle was like Qn Elizabeth ‘more than man and less than woman.’ He had no vices, nor the least tendency to vices—but he had humour s infinite which he let grow as they pleased and never weeded his garden. He had the grandest intellect and the grandest conscience—but his conscience though it governed absolutely the main direction of his life, yet otherwise was active only in his work and left the every day details of common duty to go as they liked. He was treated by others as an exceptional person and this was all right because it was true. But he came to think himself as an exceptional person, and that is not good for any of us. Even the most gifted.— No painter ever succeeded with his pen.— He wants a genius like his own to make an adequate biography of him” (MS: Hon. David Lytton Cobbold and Hertfordshire County Council).
9. TC to JWC, 28 July 1853 (NLS, 614.398).
10. TC to JWC, 29 July 1853 (NLS, 614.399).
13. Ibid.
15. Froude, *LMJWC*, 2:236 (TC's note, JWC to TC, 19 December 1853); ibid., p. 239 (JWC to TC, 31 December 1853). See also *Reminiscences*, 1:194–95.
17. Journal, 8 January 1854. Froude omitted after "took leave of me as usual" the words "(tho' I kissed her lips, which was not usual)." Other omissions are not indicated. See also Froude, *LMJWC*, 2:221.
19. TC to JAC, 16 May 1854 (NLS, 524.104).
21. TC to JAC, 9 May 1854 (NLS, 524.108).
24. £35 was, as A. Carlyle notes, the rent for 5 Cheyne Row.
25. MS: Bodleian.
26. Jane Carlyle's "Budget," an eleven-page folio manuscript, is also in the Bodleian. Published in Froude, *Carlyle*, 4:162–70.
28. TC to JWC, 9 August 1855 (NLS, 614.412).
29. TC to JWC, 17 August 1855 (NLS, 614.416). "The sputter of Cremorne" refers to sounds from Cremorne Gardens above Battersea Bridge, a place of public entertainment.
30. TC to JAC, 28 August 1855 (NLS, 525.8).

32. "Willst du dir aber das Beste tun, / So bleib nicht auf dir selber ruhn, / Sondern folg eines Meisters Sinn; / Mit ihm zu irren ist dir Gewinn" (Goethe's "Sprichtwörtlich," ca. 1810–12).

33. Froude's twelve-volume History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada appeared between 1856 and 1870. Vol. 1 was subtitled "Henry the Eighth"; its first two chapters were "Social Condition of England in the Sixteenth Century" and "The Last Years of the Administration of Wolsey." Carlyle's comments on Froude's History have been published in Dunn, Froude, 1:208–9, 245–51. Espinasse wrote in his Literary Recollections: "Carlyle's oral criticism on the earliest volumes of Mr. Froude's history was brief and abrupt: 'Meritorious but too much raw material' " (p. 218).

34. Froude, LMJWC, 2:278. TC's note, JWC to TC, 29 July 1856. See TC to JAC, 30 December 1855 (NLS, 525.13) for Carlyle's immediate impression.

35. A. Carlyle writes: "Mrs. Carlyle's Journal was written in two little Notebooks, labelled 'No. 1' and 'No. 2' respectively; the first of these begins on the 21st of October, 1855, and ends with the entry for the 14th of April, 1856; and the second extends from April 15th to the 5th of July, 1856. Only the latter of these Note-books had been discovered when Carlyle was writing (in July, 1866) that part of the Reminiscences called 'Jane Welsh Carlyle' " (NLMJWC, 2:87). Froude published part of the first notebook in LMJWC, 2:254–75; A. Carlyle published the second (NLMJWC, 2:87–109) and part of another (ibid., pp. 109–15). The manuscript of the second notebook is NLS, 533. On Mrs. Carlyle's sensitivity regarding her notebooks, see John Tyndall, New Fragments (New York: D. Appleton, 1897), p. 370 n. See also Froude's commentary in LMJWC, 2:254–57.


37. See A. Carlyle, NLMJWC, 2:118.

38. Froude, LMJWC, 2:301. JWC to TC, 18 September 1856.

39. TC to JWC, 1 August 1856 (NLS, 614.423).


41. TC to JAC, 23 May 1857 (NLS, 525.26).

42. TC to JWC, 24 May 1857 (NLS, 614.440).


44. Bliss, TC, p. 327. TC to JWC, 25 August 1857.

45. TC to JW, 7 September 1857 (NLS, 614.464).


47. TC to JAC, 22 January 1858 (NLS, 525.34).
48. See Froude, *LMJWC*, 2:363. Indispensable to Carlyle in the menial work necessary for *Frederick*, Larkin published after Carlyle's death *Carlyle and the Open Secret of His Life* (1886). David Alec Wilson describes him accurately as "a neighbour and a friend and one of his most efficient helpers, as sort of volunteer secretary for press work with a genius for index-making" (*Carlyle*, 4:331).


50. See p. 416 above.

**CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN**

1. TC to JWC, 30 June 1858 (NLS, 615.472).
2. TC to JWC, 11 July 1858 (NLS, 615.478).
3. TC to JWC, 20 July 1858 (NLS, 615.484). A. Carlyle: "No, you ass, it was Dr. C." This is correct.
4. TC to JWC, 12 July 1858 (NLS, 615.479). The "Headstone" is his mother's tomb.
5. TC to JWC, 19 July 1858 (NLS, 615.483); TC to JWC, 21 July 1858 (NLS, 615.485). A. Carlyle: "!!!Idiot! It was a *Truss* for hernia or rupture."
6. TC to JWC, 23 July 1858 (NLS, 615.486).
7. See Bliss, *TC*, pp. 333-35.
8. TC to JWC, 21 August 1858 (NLS, 615.503).
10. Ibid., pp. 337-39. TC to JWC, 27 August 1858.
11. Ibid., pp. 340-41. TC to JWC, 5 September 1858.
12. Ibid., pp. 341-42. TC to JWC, 10 September 1858.
13. Ibid., pp. 342-43. TC to JWC, 11 September 1858.
14. Ibid., pp. 343-45. TC to JWC, 14 September 1858.
15. Ibid., p. 345. TC to JWC, 15 September 1858.
16. TC to JWC, 22 September 1858 (NLS, 1774.139).
17. R. A. E. Brooks, the editor of *Thomas Carlyle: Journal to Germany, Autumn 1858* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), affirms that the *Journal* "completely disproves Froude's statement, which is a perfectly just inference from the letters Carlyle wrote to his wife on this trip . . . but it amply corroborates his next sentence" (pp. xx–xxi). It is unlikely that Froude saw Carlyle's journal of this trip.
20. A Carlyle: "Bahl! This is arrant nonsense, put here by Froude to flatter the second Lady Ashburton." Froude's estimate is essentially correct.
21. See p. 369 above and Jeffrey to TC, 12 December 1837 (NLS, 1766.54).
22. Froude, *LMJWC*, 3:4. JWC to George Cooke, 9 September 1859. See also ibid., p. 140.
23. TC to JWC, 11 July 1858 (NLS, 615.478). See also Froude, *LMJWC*, 3:86.
24. TC to JAC, 21 June 1859 (NLS, 525.50).
25. TC to JAC, 27 June 1859 (NLS, 525.51). For "reck his own rede" in the next sentence, see *Hamlet* 1. 3. 51.
27. TC to JWC, 27 April 1860 (NLS, 615.523).
28. See Froude, *LMJWC*, 3:47–52 (JWC to TC, 2 September 1860); and TC to JWC, 5 September 1860 (NLS, 615.534).
29. TC to JWC, 18 September 1860 (NLS, 615.540).
30. TC to JWC, 21 September 1860 (NLS, 615.543).
31. A. Carlyle: "What a fine perception is yours, coquin!"
32. TC to JAC, 16 January 1861 (NLS, 525.72).
33. Carlyle's letter to Froude has not been found, but Froude speaks of it in a letter to Mrs. Clough of 27 January 1862: "I enclose you a note which I had a few days ago from Carlyle. I saw him yesterday—and he speaks as if he had lost a dear son or brother.— He has felt so acutely about it, that I think he may bye & bye be disposed to write something—if he is not pressed now. The weight of his present work makes it seem an impossibility—but when the time comes for it to be done it may appear more possible[.] I wish you had heard what he said.— A H C. had been to him like a beautiful piece of music or a picture of Raphael[']s"
Carlyle did not write on Clough. Elsewhere Froude wrote to Mrs. Clough: "Carlyle has many times told me he thought more highly of him than of any [other?—MS torn] one of our generation—and he will grieve for him as a father for his son" (undated, but late 1861 or early 1862. MS: Bodleian Eng. lett. d. 178, fol. 10).

34. W. M. Thackeray edited the *Cornhill* at this time; in 1862 Ruskin published the essays under the title of *Unto This Last*.


36. "*Macmillan's Magazine*, August 1863.—Carlyle admitted to me after the war ended that perhaps he had not seen into the bottom of the matter" (Froude's note). Other contemporaries—Moncure D. Conway, for one—noted Carlyle's change of attitude. See his *Thomas Carlyle* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1881), pp. 93-100; and also Henry J. Nicoll, *Thomas Carlyle* (Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1881), pp. 198-99.

37. Froude clarified Carlyle's statement in a letter to Ruskin of about 1884: "When he said that Newman had not the intellect of a rabbit, he meant that no intellect was worth the name which could look for truth in these days on the road back to Popery" (Viljoen, p. 31).

38. TC to JWC, 29 January 1862 (NLS, 615.550). "The Bear" is Edward Ellice (1781-1863), Whig politician, a hospitable, disinterested, and esteemed figure, universally known by this nickname because of his connection with the Northwest fur trade (see *Reminiscences*, 1:206). "The Duke" is the Duke of Argyle. Samuel Wilberforce (1805-73), at that time in the thick of the controversy over *Essays and Reviews* (written by seven concerned Anglicans in 1860), was Bishop of Oxford. The author of the immensely popular *Christian Year* (1827) was John Keble (1792-1866), Anglican divine and initiator of the Oxford Movement. Froude wrote to Ruskin (in the letter cited in the previous note): "Those words about Newman—and 'some little ape called Keble' have given fearful offense" (Viljoen, p. 31).

39. Froude's slip is unintentional: he discusses in due course Frederick's sixth volume.

40. TC to Erskine, 4 August 1862. Froude's text.

**CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT**

1. A. Carlyle underlines this sentence and marks it in the margin.
2. See Matt. 6:28-29. I have left the quotation as Froude gives it.
3. Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) was a famous naturalist and explorer. Pierre Simon, Marquis de Laplace (1749-1827), was a French mathematician and astronomer and the author of *Mécanique céleste*, 5 vols. (1799-1825), mentioned by Carlyle in early letters and in *Sartor Resartus*. Robert Chambers published *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* anonymously in 1844. A controversial precursor of Darwin's
attempt to explain the evolution of man from simpler forms of life, the book caused a great outcry.

4. For a discussion of *Essays and Reviews* and the theological views of the "seven against Christ," see Basil Willey, *More Nineteenth Century Studies: A Group of Honest Doubters* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), chap. 4. Connop Thirlwall (1797-1875), Bishop of Saint David's, joined in censuring *Essays and Reviews*, but was one of the four bishops who refused to inhibit from preaching John William Colenso (1814-83), Bishop of Natal, whose book—mentioned in the next paragraph—was *The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, 7 parts (1862-79). It brought down upon him an avalanche of criticism and was condemned in both Houses of Convocation. Froude praised Colenso's courageous behavior in Natal in *Two Lectures on South Africa* (1880; rpt. London: Longmans, Green, 1900), pp. 43-45. William Charles Macready (1793-1873) was a famous early Victorian tragic actor. Arthur Pennhryn Stanley (1815-1881) was dean of Westminster from 1868 to 1881.


7. TC to JAC, 29 April 1863 (NLS, 526.5).

8. A. Carlyle: "not so at all!" Opposite the next sentence he writes: "Clash [gossip]!"

9. Phrase based on TC to JWC, 18 July 1864 (NLS, 616.630).

10. David Masson provides an important corrective to Froude's narrative here:

This story Mr. Froude received, he tells us, from Mrs. Carlyle herself; and there is no doubt as to its authenticity. What I am sure of is that Mr. Froude treats it too gravely, or might lead his readers to treat it too gravely, by missing that sense of the pure fun of the thing which was present in Mrs. Carlyle's mind when she remembered it afterwards, however provoking it may have been at the moment. She used to tell the story, I believe, to others, generally with the explanation that Carlyle had been reading Catlin's book on the North American Indians, and had been struck with Catlin's observation that the good health of the red men was owing in great measure to their rule of keeping their mouths always closely shut and breathing only through their nostrils. Indeed, it was one of Mrs. Carlyle's habits, just because of her boundless respect and affection for her husband, to play in imagination with his little eccentricities, and amuse her friends and bewilder his worshippers with satirical anecdotes at his expense. (*Carlyle Personally and in His Writings* [London: Macmillan, 1885], pp. 20-21).


11. TC to JAC, 13 November 1863 (NLS, 526.490).

12. Ibid.
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13. Phrase based on TC to JAC, 28 December 1862 (NLS, 525.100).
15. TC to JAC, 29 December 1863 (NLS, 526.13A).
16. A. Carlyle crosses out "friend" and writes opposite "servant." Mrs. Blakiston was the former Bessy Barnett and had indeed been Mrs. Carlyle's servant in 1834. Froude, in the third volume of *LMJWC*, regularly deletes Mrs. Blakiston's name (which he spells "Blakeston" in the biography). See *Reminiscences*, 2:145-47.
17. TC to JWC, 4 April 1864 (NLS, 616.595). The review, which appeared in *Saturday Review* 17 (2 April 1864): 414-15, discussed only vol. 4. Merle M. Bevington (in *The Saturday Review 1855-1868* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1941], p. 385) conjectures that "internal evidence suggests the hand of Fitzjames Stephen" as reviewer of vols. 5 and 6 the next year. Perhaps Stephen also reviewed the fourth volume, for it is unlikely that G. S. Venables, the reviewer of the first three and a friend of Carlyle, would have called forth Carlyle's "dirty puppy."
22. Journal, 1 October 1865.
23. *Frederick* appeared in German translation over the years 1858-69, not quite, as Froude claims and A. Carlyle corrects, "instantly."
24. See p. 558 above.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

2. In February 1821. See p. 120 above and *CL*, 1:324-30.
4. TC to JWC, 23 July 1865 (NLS, 617.715).
5. Bliss, *TC*, p. 381. TC to JWC, 27 July 1865, Froude omitted "that Trollope," which follows "dirtyish little pug." The review (signed) appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* 1 (1865): 633-35; in it Trollope chided Ruskin for his "Carlylesque denunciations" on social issues and expressed hope that he would return to art criticism. Trollope died in 1882.

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6. TC to JAC, 7 November 1865 (NLS, 526.33).

7. See p. 196 above. Froude exaggerates slightly, presumably for dramatic effect, the reaction to "the unheard of mésalliance." Yet both Carlyles believed theirs was a marriage between social unequals. See CL, 4:140–41, 143–44; and 7:289, where Carlyle writes: "From birth upwards she had lived in opulence; and now for my sake had become poor,—so nobly poor" (TC's note, JWC to MAC, [1 September 1834]).

8. Reminiscences, 1:245. See also Froude, LMJWC, 3:312.


12. Ibid.

13. TC to JWC, 30 March 1866 (NLS, 617.753).


15. TC to JWC, 30 March 1866 (NLS, 617.753).

16. Ibid.


18. Ibid., pp. 246–47.


21. Ibid., p. 470. I have restored several lines of Carlyle's address omitted by Froude.

22. Ibid., pp. 480–81.

23. Ibid., p. 482. See also pp. 352–53 above and the accompanying notes. For a somewhat more cheerful account of the days in Edinburgh and the address, see David Masson, Carlyle Personally and in His Writings, pp. 25–30.

24. Froude, LMJWC, 3:318. JWC to TC, dated "Tuesday" (4 April) but postmarked 3 April 1866.

25. Ibid., p. 320. JWC to TC, dated "Wednesday" (5 April) but postmarked 4 April 1866. "A good joy" is coterie speech deriving from "one of Leigh Hunt's children, on the sight of flowers" (ibid., 1:104).


27. Froude, LMJWC, 3:327. JWC to Susan Hunter Stirling, 11 April 1866.


29. A. Carlyle: "and more!" Geraldine Jewsbury burned the letters Mrs. Carlyle addressed to her, but many of hers to Mrs. Carlyle were published in Selections from the Letters of Geraldine Endsor Jewsbury to Jane Welsh Carlyle, ed. Mrs. Alexander Ireland (1892).
30. Consuelo is the heroine of a novel by George Sand, a novelist admired by both Miss Jewsbury and Mrs. Carlyle, though not (as we have seen) by Carlyle.


32. Journal, 15 May 1866. John Welsh's inscription reads "Sacred to the Memory of John Welsh of Craigenputtoch Surgeon in Haddington who Died the 19th of September 1819. Aged Forty-four years." Underneath Thomas Carlyle wrote the epitaph for his wife: "Here likewise now rests JANE WELSH CARLYLE, Spouse of Thomas Carlyle, Chelsea, London. She was born at Haddington, 14th July 1801; only child of the above John Welsh, and of Grace Welsh, Caplegill, Dumfriesshire, his wife. In her bright existence she had more sorrows than are common; but also a soft invincibility, a clearness of discernment, and a noble loyalty of heart, which are rare. For forty years she was the true and everloving helpmate of her husband; and, by act and word, unweariedly forwarded him, as none else could, in all of worthy that he did or attempted. She died at London, 21st April, 1866; suddenly snatched away from him, and the light of his life as if gone out."

CHAPTER THIRTY

1. Victoria had lost Albert in 1861.


5. TC to JAC, 22 August 1866 (NLS, 526.44).

6. Carlyle's expression in TC to JAC, 5 July 1867 (NLS, 526.68).

7. TC to Miss Davenport Bromley, 30 August 1866. Froude's text. The Eyre Defence Committee was formed in August 1866 in response to the Jamaica Committee, organized in July with Mill as chairman. It provided funds for the defence of Edward John Eyre, Governor of Jamaica. Carlyle attended the first meeting of the committee on 29 August and several subsequent meetings. Throughout he gave strong support to Eyre, who was eventually acquitted and pensioned. Geoffrey Dutton, *The Hero as Murderer: The Life of Edward John Eyre, Australian Explorer and Governor of Jamaica, 1815–1901* (London: Collins, 1967) examines the evidence thoroughly and comes up with a verdict on the whole favorable to Eyre. He discusses Carlyle's involvement in chaps. 19 and 20. See also Gillian Workman, "Thomas Carlyle and the Governor Eyre Controversy: An Account with Some New Material," *Victorian Studies* 18 (September 1974): 77–102, which corrects Froude in a few details. The Eyre case was a Victorian cause célèbre.

8. TC to Miss Davenport Bromley, 15 September 1866. Froude's text.


10. Journal, 26 September 1866.
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13. Ibid., 28 January 1867.

14. See Reminiscences, 1:261–77, for the text of Carlyle’s bequest. Craigenputtoch, later sold by the University, is again in private hands.

15. I.e., in Ireland. The Reform Bill of 1884, passed in the time of a Gladstone ministry, added about two million electors; a redistribution act of 1885 made representation nearly proportional to population.

16. Works, 30:1–48. Froude forgets that Carlyle’s letters of 1870 and 1877 to the Times were also “public utterances.”


18. Gillian Workman argues that the petition was used (“Thomas Carlyle and the Governor Eyre Controversy,” pp. 98, 102).

19. Journal, 27 April 1868. Froude states in a footnote: “In his will of 1873 Carlyle says ten or seven years, and finally leaves the time of publication to me.” See pp. 618–19 below.


22. Journal, 10 September 1870 (and elsewhere).

23. Works, 20:81, 80. See also pp. 396–97 above.

24. See p. 525 above and the accompanying note.

25. Froude wrote (in a passage that I have omitted): “It will be remembered that Russia took advantage of the state of Europe and tore the article in the Treaty of Paris [1856] which limited her Black Sea fleet. When the article was drawn, the essentially temporary character of it was well understood; but England bristled up when the trophies of her Crimean glories were shattered and flung in her face so cavalierly; for a week or two there was talk of war again between us and Russia” (4:401–2).

26. Times, 18 November 1870 (letter dated 11 November). The niece was Mary Carlyle Aitken (ca. 1848–95), who married Alexander Carlyle (1843–1931) a few years later.

27. Journal, 3 June 1871.


29. A. Carlyle: “O! what a fib!”

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE


3. TC to JAC, 10 May 1873 (NLS, 527.94).
4. TC to JAC, 5 November 1873 (NLS, 527.99). Mill's *Autobiography* was first published in 1873 and first edited "without alterations or omissions from the original manuscript" by John Jacob Coss in 1924.
6. A. Carlyle: "to you! No!" Froude's statement is true.
7. A. Carlyle: "A good many of the entries in the Journal were dictated & stand in his Niece's hand!"
8. TC to JAC, 2 January 1874 (NLS, 528.2).
10. TC to Disraeli, 29 December 1874. MS: Carlyle House, Chelsea.
11. TC to JAC, 15 December 1875 (NLS, 528.46).
12. TC to JAC, 5 May 1877 (NLS, 528.67).
14. For Dr. Gully, see p. 506 above and the accompanying note.
15. See p. 409 above.
16. *Hamlet* 2. 2. 314.
19. *Faust* 2. 4619–20. The "man of ill-fortune" is Faust, who under the ministrations of the elves begins to recover from his collapse after Gretchen's death.
21. *Cymbeline*, 4. 2. 258–63. Froude's text has "lasses" for "girls."
22. TC to JAC, 16 June 1877 (NLS, 528.72). For "Mary" Froude has "many."
23. TC to JAC, 2 July 1877 (NLS, 528.75).
24. TC to JAC, 2 November 1878 (NLS, 528.91). In this letter Carlyle writes, not that he is reading the Bible (as Froude states), but that he is thinking of "going into" it again.
25. John Carlyle died 15 September 1879.
26. A. Carlyle: "that's not true."
27. Opposite the last sentences of this paragraph A. Carlyle wrote: "These are all afterthoughts of Froude's invention—not a word of truth in them." I have found no reason to question Froude's account.
28. From the Funeral Oration given by Pericles, in Thucydides *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2. 43. Froude's translation.