It is perhaps easier to prove that a friendship existed between Sir Arthur Helps and Thomas Carlyle than to explain how it came to be. Why, one might ask, should such a self-effacing and retiring person as Helps become so friendly with the irascible and outspoken Scotsman, whose personality was sometimes too harsh for the sensitive Ruskin? An examination of the existing evidence, in the form of published volumes on the Carlyles,

1 Acknowledgement is here made of the gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen to publish materials from the Royal Archives, Windsor Castle. For permission to use unpublished materials acknowledgement is also made to the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland, Mrs Peter Thornton (a Helps descendant), the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the Beinecke Library of Yale University, the Public Record Office, the British Library, the William R. Perkins Library at Duke University, the D. M. S. Watson Library at University College, London, the National Library of Ireland, Mr George Howard, and Dr E. D. P. Helps. Thanks are also extended for assistance and information to Miss E. D. Yeo, Assistant Keeper, Department of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, Mr K. C. Harrison, Westminster City Libraries, the staff of the London Library, the staff of the Reference Department, Olin Library, Cornell University, and Dr E. D. P. Helps. For a critical reading of my manuscript, I am indebted to Mrs C. Coccio.

There has been no systematic treatment of the relationship between Carlyle and Helps save a chapter in E. A. P. Helps's unpublished 'Sir Arthur Helps and His Friends', which contains several letters not printed in The Correspondence of Sir Arthur Helps (London, 1917). The latter was edited by E. A. Helps, who, in his annotation, had the advantage both of having received information directly from his father and of his own boyhood acquaintance with Ruskin, Lewes, and Carlyle. He also edited several of his father's works for re-publication. There are extensive references to Carlyle and Helps in the volumes of D. A. Wilson's extensive biography of Carlyle. These include Carlyle on Cromwell and Others, 1837–1848 (London, 1925); Carlyle at His Zenith, 1848–1853 (London, 1927); Carlyle to Threescore-and-Ten, 1853–1865 (London, 1929); and Carlyle in Old Age, 1866–1881 (London, 1934).

2 E.g., Wedderburn and Cook (Ruskin's Works (London, 1903–13), xxxvi, 547) tell us that, while in early 1867 Ruskin saw both Carlyle and Helps, 'the gentle wisdom of the author of Friends in Council [Helps] was perhaps more helpful to his mood than the stimulus, through thunder and lightning, of Carlyle'.

references to Carlyle in Helps's printed works as well as in his letters to other persons, and in his correspondence with Carlyle himself (comprising ten letters from Helps to Carlyle and fifteen from Carlyle to Helps), suggests that temperamentally, in spite of outward differences and ideological disagreements, the two were more alike than unlike: sensitive, self-centred, self-critical, and almost morbidly obsessed with health. The differences are, of course, obvious enough. Carlyle was outwardly aggressive whereas Helps appeared to be relatively self-contained and perhaps excessively modest. Carlyle, who was idealistic, impelled by moral fervour, and intensely aware of the problems of his time, was essentially a man of letters. Helps was not only an author but an active man of business, social reform, and politics.

The differences as well as the similarities should become increasingly clear in the course of this narrative of their relationship, presented, as far as possible, in the order of events. Because the published writings of Helps are richly allusive to persons and happenings of the day, a rather wide selection of his references to Carlyle in them will be included, entirely apart from the letters which they supplement, to demonstrate even more fully than otherwise possible the insight of Helps into the character, personality, and literary qualities of his friend.

Helps wrote in the dedication of his Life of Hernando Cortes (1871) to Carlyle: ‘When you first honoured me by making me your friend, I was a mere youth, while you were in the full maturity of manhood.’ Indeed, Carlyle was born in 1795 and Helps in 1813, thus making the latter eighteen years younger. Carlyle had already published extensively (having, for instance, written his Life


1All known correspondence between Helps and Carlyle is in the National Library of Scotland. Several of the letters have been printed in The Correspondence of Sir Arthur Helps (ed. E. A. Helps), but some of these have been inaccurately transcribed.

2Although Carlyle and Helps have been considered to be valetudinarians, some might argue that Carlyle’s dyspepsia and Helps’s neuralgia were genuine. Helps wrote to Lord Granville on 19 June 1866 that he might have to resign his office as Clerk of the Privy Council because of internal bleeding (PRO/29/24).

of Schiller, which appeared in book form in 1825, had married Jane Welsh (1826), and moved to Cheyne Row, Chelsea (1834), before Helps graduated from Cambridge in 1835. But the latter soon caught up with him. In 1835 appeared Thoughts in the Cloister and the Crowd, a book of aphorisms, and in 1836 he married the Irish Elizabeth (‘Bessy’) Fuller. It is interesting to conjecture how Helps and Carlyle first met. Perhaps it was through the latter’s friend John Sterling, who was, like Helps, a member of the Cambridge Apostles, although several years earlier. The first official linking of the names of Carlyle and Helps is found in 1840 with the establishment of the London Library by the former,1 in which several of Helps’s Cambridge associates were involved, among them W. D. Christie, E. M. Fitzgerald, and R. M. Milnes.2 Any one of these might have introduced Helps to Carlyle earlier. However, Charles Buller, also a Cambridge Apostle and a contemporary of Sterling, seems to have been the most likely candidate inasmuch as Carlyle had been his tutor.3 In any event, the name of Helps is included with several of these among those nominated to be members of the committee to draw up the rules and organize the London Library. Helps had served for some years as private secretary to Thomas Spring-Rice, later Lord Monteagle, Chancellor of the Exchequer, but was now private secretary to Lord Morpeth, Secretary for Ireland, in the Melbourne government and in residence at Dublin Castle; but he sometimes made visits to London, so that opportunities to meet, and to visit, Carlyle would have been frequent enough.

Helps wrote to Stephen Spring-Rice, fellow Apostle and son of


2 Harrison, pp. 5 ff. Lord Monteagle or Henry Taylor might also have made the introduction.

3 There may be some significance in the close proximity between their places of London residence. According to information received from the Archives Department, Westminster City Libraries, based upon directories and ratebooks, Charles Buller lived at 1, Queen Square Place, Westminster, from 1835 to 1840; 12, Lower Eaton Street, 1841–2; and 2, Chester Place, 1843–8. In addition to information presented elsewhere in this article, we know that Helps was living at 3, Eaton Place, in 1839, and at 2, Chester Place, in 1841.
Lord Monteagle, his former superior, on 26 August 1840, of various persons he had invited to visit him at Dublin Castle, including Carlyle, 'who seemed not at all disinclined'. There is no evidence, however, that he actually came. At the time of the fall of the Melbourne government in July 1841, the Helpses were living at 2, Chester Place, and for several years thereafter they lived in various houses in this part of London, not very far from 5, Cheyne Row. It was during the years following the return from Ireland that the 'many happy walks and fierce, jovial rides' and 'talkings' took place that Helps later looked back upon so fondly.

By late 1843 the Helpses had been incorporated into the growing circle of the Carlyles' friends at Cheyne Row. Jane had early taken a fancy to young Arthur and 'his beautiful little atom of a wife'. They were often there. One example may be cited to show how completely they were accepted, and with what delightful informality. Her husband, Jane wrote to her sister on 20 January 1844, 'had the fixed idea of giving a dinner—exactly at the wrong moment—and so at 10 o’clock of Saturday night Helen [the servant] was despatched with an invitation to Arthur Helps [to help entertain Erasmus Darwin]—worse and worse—for Arthur Helps does his dinners in eminent style—and the idea of dining him was rather awful to me. He accepted of course—then people came without intermission from one o’clock on Sunday until the dinner hour five—so that I could not so much as get the room cleared for the dinner table to be set out until half an hour after Darwin and

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1 The original is in the National Library of Ireland, MS 13412(9).
2 These include 65, Chester Square (1844) and 46, Chester Square (1844–66). Earlier they had lived at 3, Eaton Place.
4 'Dedication', Hernando Cortes, op. cit.
5 Letters to Her Family, p. 177. In Letters and Memorials, i. 91, Jane Carlyle writes about Helen Mitchell, her servant, having come from Edinburgh about the end of 1837, and having amused her mistress with 'her criticisms of Arthur Helps's book'. Jane (in Letters to Her Family, pp. 65 and 266) refers to Mrs Helps as resembling Titania, Queen of the Fairies, and ibid. p. 64 (25th December 1842) Jane is quoted as having written that 'Carlyle was dining at the Helps's' a short time ago.
Helps were to come to eat their dinner . . .—everybody did get
dined at last better or worse—and the novelty of the style I
daresay rather charmed [Monckton] Milnes [invited at the last
moment] and Helps, blasé on fine dinners'.

Jane Carlyle, in spite of the characteristically sharp things she
had to say about him, obviously appreciated Helps's company,
and not just as an invited guest at social gatherings. On one
occasion, for instance, he visited her during Carlyle's absence in
Wales and expressed concern about her loneliness. She reported
to her husband in a letter of 17 July 1843 that 'when I answered
that question from Arthur Helps yesterday in the negative, "Why
should I feel lonely? I have plenty to do, and can see human
beings whenever I look out at the window," he looked at me as if I
had uttered some magnanimity worthy to have a place in a
legitimate Drama; and said, "Well, really you are a model of a
wife!"'2

Both Carlyles obviously esteemed Helps greatly, but not all
remarks made behind his back in conversations or in letters were
entirely flattering. Although the passage is sometimes quoted out
of context, to Helps's too great detriment, as a kind of mid-
Victorian caricature, Jane wrote to her sister in 1845 that Arthur
Helps was a 'man of deadly sensible sort, moral to the finger-ends,
holding much by all the existing respectabilities—he is the author
of Intervals of Business3—Claims of Labour4 and two Tragedies5
remarkable for their prosaic rationality.6 In the same letter,

1Letters to Her Family, pp. 181–2.
2New Letters, p. 119. For her reference to finding Helps asleep on her sofa, see
Letters to Her Family, p. 202. Also see letter of 16 February 1845, p. 232, for
reference to Helps's saying that Jane Carlyle kept Plattnauer, 'that madman, to
frighten people away as Lord Byron used to keep a bear for that purpose'. On
25 (?) September 1845 she wrote to her husband that 'yesterday I saw Helps
who seems to me "dwindling away into an unintelligible whinnet" (Letters and
Memorials, i. 258).
3Essays Written in the Intervals of Business (London, 1841).
4The Claims of Labour (London, 1844). This appeared in a second edition with
a Supplementary Essay, On the Means of Improving the Health and Increasing
the Comfort of the Labouring Classes (1845).
5Catherine Douglas; a Tragedy (1843) and King Henry the Second; an
Historical Drama (1843).
6Letter to Babbie, 16 February 1845 (Letters to Her Family, p. 234).
however, she expressed surprise that Helps, along with Erasmus Darwin, should have commended Geraldine Jewsbury's Zoe, which she described as 'a most dangerous book shaking the foundations of all sound doctrine'. All this, of course, must be taken as typical Jane Welshian overstatement. In turn, she wrote to her husband in the same year in Helps's defence against the former's sarcasms. She explained why Carlyle did not always seem to appreciate such a man as Helps: 'One of the penalties of being “the wisest man and profoundest thinker of the age” [Carlyle] is the royal one of never hearing the plain “unornamented” truth spoken [by men such as Helps]; everyone striving to be wise and profound invitā naturā in the presence of such a one [as Carlyle] and making himself as much as possible into his likeness—and this is the reason that Arthur Helps and so many others talk nicely to me, and bore you to distraction. With me they are not afraid to stand on the little “broad basis” of their individuality, such as it is. With you they are always balancing themselves like Taglioni on the point of their moral or intellectual great toe.' In this connection, as late as 1869 C. E. Norton wrote that 'Helps, who is a very tenderhearted man, and who aims at making people pleased with themselves, complains, though he is Carlyle's warm friend, of his hard and reckless This passage suggests that, although he may not have heard directly anything unfavourable about himself, Helps knew that it had probably been spoken, because he understood the Carlyles' bad manners or mannerisms.

It is not entirely remarkable, therefore, that Helps, one of the most gifted conversationalists and letter writers of his time, should have adjusted so successfully, with equal firmness and a subtle humour, to his blunt-speaking friend and correspondent, letters to and from whom form a prime source of information concerning the development of this remarkable friendship. Helps, at least partially, accounted for his success as a letter writer when he wrote to his friend Ripon on 25 September 1872, 'I never take any trouble with letters: I have vividly before me the man to whom I am writing; and I write to him as if he were before me in the

1 Ibid. p. 233.
2 Letters and Memorials, i. 238.
flesh." This empathy appears to account for his ability to get along personally as well as correspond successfully with a wide diversity of sometimes difficult people, such as Ruskin, Disraeli, Gladstone, Queen Victoria, and, of course, Carlyle. Originally, Helps may have solicited the advice, counsel, patronage, and friendship of a well-known figure. That these goals had been fully achieved (Carlyle had responded to his overtures and any initial shyness on Helps’s part had been overcome) is indicated in the first letter surviving from Helps to Carlyle, written on 11 September [1868] [1].

Helps had doubtless entertained Carlyle several times by now at Vernon Hill, his Hampshire estate. E. A. Helps, Arthur’s second son, has listed Carlyle among the many literary friends who visited him there and suggested that the echoes of some of the discussions carried on there are to be found in *Friends in Council*. The first volume of this work appeared in 1847, and in it Helps introduced what came to be his favourite literary device of a group of congenial but often disagreeing persons listening to and commenting on an essay read by one of their number. It is clear that Leonard Milverton, the dominating and presiding figure, is based on Helps himself; and one might like to believe that something of Carlyle was suggested in the humorous and mildly satirical Ellesmere or in the sometimes cynical and often pessimistic Mauleverer. In this volume Helps makes two direct references to Carlyle. Firstly, in the discussion of Milverton’s ‘Essay on Truth’ (pp. 20–1) Ellesmere, in response to the narrator’s

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1. BL Add. MS 43,540, f. 240.
2. National Library of Scotland MS 1773, ff. 256–9; Correspondence, pp. 391–2, incorrectly dated.
4. Milverton’s estate, Worth-Ashton, is much like Vernon Hill. Likewise in his opinions, experiences, and friendships he may be clearly identified with Helps.
statement that 'sufferings and trials ... [are] good, perhaps, in their result' in that knowledge is acquired, declares, 'It is somewhat in the same vein of thought that you see in Carlyle's Works about the contempt of happiness.' And shortly thereafter, the same speaker, Milverton (pp. 39–40), in treating remorse as a principal cause of despair in the 'Essay on Despair', quotes an extensive passage from Carlyle's lecture, 'The Hero as Prophet' (Heroes and Hero Worship, Complete Works New York [n.d.], I.278). It begins with the sentence, 'What are the faults, what are the outward details of a life; if the inner secret of it, the remorse, the temptations, true, often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it, be forgotten?'

There is no direct reference by Carlyle to Friends in Council in any extant letter to Helps, however, nor in the record of any conversation; but there is a suggestion of what Carlyle thought about it and its method of presentation in an 1855 interview with Charles Cavan Duffy. The latter had asked Carlyle about Helps, several of whose works he had read, and said that 'the vivid talk of the "Friends" gives a freshness to the commonplace. Ellesmere was to me, I said, as dramatically conceived and as consistently drawn as Sir Roger de Coverly.' In his reply, Carlyle indicated that 'Helps was not at all a considerable man, but he had some truth in him, and pretty bits of fancy too'. Speaking of Helps's scrupulosity in attending to details and his fears that his works might not please his friends and his critics, 'One of his little books [Carlyle continued] reduced him to death's door in producing it, and there was a long convalescence in each case.' Moreover, 'he was rather wearisome from his little bits of theories and speculations he kept talking and talking about, and he had a bad fashion, which he learned up in London, of making a joke of everything that turned up, even when one could perceive that he was serious and anxious at bottom."

On an often-described Sunday of the July preceding the first extant letter from Helps to Carlyle, already referred to, Helps had entertained both Carlyle and Emerson at Vernon Hill. This visit, a


2 There is reason to believe that Carlyle and Emerson had stayed over the preceding night at Vernon Hill.
knowledge of which is indispensable to an understanding of the Helps–Carlyle relationship and of the first Helps letter, is best described in the words of Emerson himself in *English Traits*:

At Bishopstoke we stopped, and found Mr. H. [Arthur Helps] who received us in his carriage, and took us to his house at Bishops Waltham.

On Sunday we had much discourse on a very rainy day. In a letter from Helps to Emerson of 9 May 1853 the former reminisced about ‘that rainy day which you and Carlyle and I resolutely talked down, sitting in arm-chairs in my study, the wind & rain beating against the window, and we three disagreeing to the utmost in opinion amicably. “Yes, Sir; we had good talk,” as old Johnson would have said.’ My friends asked, whether there were any Americans?—any with an American idea,—any theory of the right future of the country? Thus challenged, I bethought myself neither of caucuses nor congress, neither of presidents nor of cabinet-ministers, nor of such as would make America another Europe. I thought only of the simplest and purest minds; I said, ‘Certainly yes; but those who hold it are fanatics of a dream which I should hardly care to relate to your English ears, to which it might be only ridiculous,—and yet it is the the only true.’ So I opened the dogma of no-government and non-resistance, and anticipated the objections and the fun, and procured a kind of hearing for it. I said, it is true that I have never seen in any country a man of sufficient valor to stand for this truth, and yet it is plain to me that no less valor than this can command my respect. I can easily see the bankruptcy of the vulgar musket-worshippers;—and ‘t is certain as God liveth, the gun that does not need another gun, the law of love and justice alone, can effect a clean revolution. I fancied that one or two of my anecdotes made some impression on Carlyle, and I insisted that the manifest absurdity of the view to English feasibility could make no difference to a gentleman; that as to our secure tenure of our mutton-chop and spinach in London or in Boston, the soul might quote Talleyrand, ‘Monsieur, je n’en vois pas la nécessité.’ As I had thus taken in the conversation the saint’s part, when dinner was announced, Carlyle refused to go out before me,—‘he was altogether too wicked.’ I planted my back against the wall, and our host wittily rescued us from the dilemma, by saying he was the wickedest and would walk out first, then Carlyle followed, and I went last.  

Helps, a good listener as well as an excellent host, would seem to have preferred to allow the two notables to dominate the proceedings at this meeting. In any event, Helps was able further to cement a friendship with Carlyle as well as with Emerson that

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1 Helps to Emerson, 9 May 1853. Printed by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.
was continued in a long correspondence. Of special interest in this relationship is the letter of 9 May 1853, mentioned above. Here Helps remarked that 'I see Carlyle but rarely, yet always with pleasure, for however much one may disagree with his views, there is a force and greatness about him which compels one's admiration. Besides I like him personally, as I dare say you do.' Indeed, Helps had been interested in Emerson for a long time, as early as January 1842, when he wrote to Lord Morpeth, later Lord Carlisle: 'If you meet Mr. Emerson [Morpeth was in America] he is a man worth knowing. I have read attentively one of his essays—that on “Compensation”—but it has great force & I think truth. I am afraid that he is a backwoodsman.' The Vernon Hill visit obviously gave Helps a better understanding of Emerson as well as of Carlyle.

In Helps's first letter to Carlyle of September 1848, we learn that the former's physician, Sir James Clark, has ordered him, because of illness, 'to go abroad forthwith: & I shall probably start on Wednesday next. I shall make for the Rhine & keep paddling about there. Railroad travelling always does me harm; but going about in these Rhine steamboats, getting plenty of air with the least possible fatigue, will be just the thing for me.' Because of his absence he must decline an invitation from the Carlyles. Details of this journey, which he took with John Hullah, the musicologist, are related at some length in the latter's biography. 

Helps, in his absence, wanted Carlyle to 'go over to Vernon Hill for a ride [Carlyle was evidently to visit the Ashburtons, who lived nearby at the Grange, Alresford)—make them give you a luncheon—(the governess & the children remain there) and you can get back comfortably in a day'. He wants Carlyle to let him know 'how the children look'. He continues: 'I mean, please God, to come back well and strong; but if I were not, it would be a very good-natured thing in you to redeem my promise & give the

1Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York, 1939), VI, Index, contains a listing of correspondence between the two men.
2See above, p. 69, n. 1.
3The original is in the archives at Castle Howard.
4The Scottish-born physician who gained some notoriety for having diagnosed Lady Flora Hastings' fatal tumour as a pregnancy.
world a 2d volume of "The Conquerors &c." This was The
Conquerors of the New World and Their Bondsmen, the first of a
series of historical and biographical writings by Helps concerning
the Spanish conquest in America, with a special emphasis on
slavery. This was an emphasis that might not have been pleasing
to Carlyle.

'I see more than one critic detects the resemblance in our
writing,' Helps declares, '(what will they say next!) & one of them
bitterly regrets that I should have so completely adopted your
style of writing and thought.' This last, apparently, is a reference
to the review of Friends in Council, Book the First, in The Examiner of
24 June 1847. Here the critic observed that 'there is a good deal of
Mr. Carlyle's turn of style as well as of thought, but the author also
thinks for himself, and will be found worth listening to'.

The critic may, too, have had in mind the same qualities that G. H. Lewes
pointed out in his article in the British Quarterly Review on the
book, although he makes no mention of Carlyle: 'We allude to the
curtness, sometimes crabbedness, of occasional passages, where
the sentences are so short and abrupt as to sound asthmatical.'

Helps continues, 'This, however, being so, if you were to write
the 2d vol. [the first having been already published] there would be
a unity about the whole work, only the 2d vol., as being the real &
original thing, would be far better than the first, as it always ought
to be.' And finally, of some importance to Helps's later career, he
informs Carlyle that he is 'beginning to learn German. Sir James
Clark has for the present prohibited all work in the sternest
manner; but I am sure will allow a little grammar and dictionary

1p. 404. E. A. P. Helps expresses a view shared by most readers, in 'Sir Arthur
Helps and His Friends' (no pagination): 'In spite of his critics Helps could not
seriously imagine that his style resembled that of Carlyle. He could never hope
to rise to such heights of dramatic invective. Like Carlyle he saw the
disadvantages of democracy, notably the failure to take decisive actions for
fear of criticism, but in his case mild sarcasm takes the place of invective.'

2British Quarterly Review (August, 1847), p. 155. A. C. Dicey wrote in The
Nation, 16 May 1872, p. 324, that 'there was a time when he [Helps] wrote
something above the level of his readers, and strove rather to bring them up to
him than to descend to their capacities'.

3German was one of several languages Helps mastered. He was then able to
read Goethe, whom he much admired, in the original. A knowledge of German
was, of course, also helpful to him when he served the Queen.
business which cannot be very exciting & yet occupies the mind with something'. Entertaining references to an encounter by Helps with a German tutor while on this journey are related in a letter from Helps to Mrs Hullah, printed in the latter's biography of her husband.¹

In his next letter to Carlyle, 3 December 1848 [2],² Helps proposes to send a copy of the first volume of The Conquerors to Emerson. He writes, 'Not that everybody who reads the foreign intelligence in the Times (& I suppose they have a Times or something like it in Concord) can wish to be bothered with old historical affairs; but a gift is a gift, and people continue to send fruit to a man who has long been forbidden to eat any such thing, knowing he will appreciate the civility and pass on to some other friend the uncooked provocative to biliousness. Charles Lamb, as I dare say you recollect, has shown how such kind recollection & regard a brace of pheasants may indicate, circulating through a knot of friends & arriving at the last man in a most exalted & uneatable state. Well the upshot is, just tell me how to send anything to Emerson.'

Helps also wants to know 'who Mr. Norton is',³ from whom he encloses a letter: 'I suppose every American who can write so legibly has at some time or other written to you.' Evidently Norton, the noted Harvard professor of art and friend of Carlyle, Ruskin, and several of their distinguished contemporaries, was interested in furthering the publication of The Conquerors in America.⁴ Further proof of Helps's growing familiarity with Carlyle is shown in the opening of the letter, where, deliberately assuming

¹Hullah, p. 38.
³On 1 December 1848 Carlyle wrote to Emerson, 'Helps, who has been alarmingly ill, and touring on the Rhine, since we were his guests, writes to me yesterday from Hampshire about sending you a new book of his. I instructed him How,' (quoted in Joseph Slater, ed., The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle (New York, 1964), p. 446). According to Walter Harding, Emerson's Library (Charlottesville, 1967), p. 131, Emerson owned The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen, being a narrative of the principal events which led to Negro slavery in the West Indies and America . . . (London, W. Pickering, 1848–52, 2 vols.). Inscription in R.W.E.'s hand.
⁴Norton and Helps soon became good friends. They met a number of times in London, and there are several extant letters, published and unpublished, written by Helps to Norton.
some of the acidity of his correspondent, he writes: ‘I hope that you are well; that is, as ill as usual, not worse.’

Helps wrote again on 18 September 1849, inquiring ‘how your Irish journey has thriven with you’. He does not know whether this will find you at home, or still in Patland. I have not been long returned myself, [from a trip abroad] and have not profited much in health from my journey. But it is well to have any scrap of life in one these times.’ He pessimistically continues: ‘Well, there is one comfort of living in the country: one shall be decently buried at any rate; indeed one may say, one is buried already, and with some appearance of decency.’ Helps was, of course, writing from Vernon Hill.

Helps’s dark view of affairs in general could have been coloured by a matter that had been covered frequently of late in the press, the difficulties encountered by John Simon, newly appointed Medical Officer of the City of London, in his attempts to put down a raging epidemic of cholera. ‘What a fearful example of the want of administrative power these late sanitary proceedings have shown,’ Helps writes in this letter, ‘I suppose we shall be a little wiser for the future. For a long time wisdom has mostly been the shield of Fear instead of Foresight.’ He ends on an even more melancholy note: ‘I have nothing to say to you; in truth, as I get older [Helps was thirty-six years old] I have less and less to say to anybody; but I stretch out my hand (with a penny stamp in it) and say “how do you do; I am not worse than usual!”’ This last seems to be an echo of the facetious irony at the beginning of the preceding letter.

The first letter from Carlyle to Helps now extant, written on 2 February 1851, suggests that because of his present despondency he cannot journey from the Ashburtons at the Grange to Vernon Hill on the following day because ‘I am so utterly set up for want of sleep, want of &c—in fact, with every “want” that figures among the chief requirements of a rational creature,—I feel the

1 National Library of Scotland MS 1766, ff. 267–8; Correspondence, pp. 392–3.
2 An account of this journey by Carlyle is in Reminiscences of My Irish Journey, published in 1882.
irresistible necessity of rushing straight homeward again, and struggling to refit myself a little there. Go in peace without me. You shall hear of me again by and by, even if you do not yourself write to me again. God helps us all,—sorry even that we are.'

Helps's Companions of My Solitude, published in 1851, is important not only because it contained one of his first printed references to Carlyle (in a statement in which the latter had said that 'a great writer ... creates a want for himself—a most artificial one. Nobody wanted him before he appeared—)'), but because it elicited a detailed comment by Carlyle himself concerning the book in his next letter, of 26 March 1851, [5]. In the book Helps had written (8th edn. p. 177): 'The same man who, with Luther, would say to his wife, "Why did we not give the silver cup to the poor man who had no money?" will haggle over an unjust or unsatisfactory payment from morning to night.' One notes here Carlyle's commendation of the accuracy of this statement.

Carlyle's letter is also interesting because of his comments on some current concerns, for example, the 'Papal Aggression'. Pius IX had in 1850 issued a Bull restoring the Catholic hierarchy of bishops to Britain, including the appointment of an Archbishop of Westminster. Lord John Russell's Protestant protest led to the passing of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in July 1851. The negative reactions of Carlyle here implied would have been favourably received by Helps, who declared his own views on the subject in a letter to Lord Monteagle on 27 July, in which he commended his old friend and patron for fighting against the injustices of the bill and stated that all the arguments were on the side of the opposition.5

2 Arthur Helps, Companions of My Solitude (8th ed., London, 1974), p. 68. Other than references in the first volume of Friends in Council (1847), one of the first printed references to Carlyle is found in Helps's A Letter from one of the Special Constables in London, on the late occasion of their being called out to keep the peace (London, 1848). Here Helps wrote: 'If you do send out a colony, as Mr. Carlyle and others have said, let it be something complete' (quoted in Correspondence, p. 64).
3 National Library of Scotland MS 3823, f. 201; Correspondence, pp. 93–4.
5 National Library of Ireland MS 13402 (4).
Also of current concern and controversy were the preparations for the opening of the Great Exhibition, scheduled to take place in May 1851. Carlyle stated elsewhere, in a letter to Neuberg of 25 July 1851, that the Crystal Palace ‘surpassed in beauty or effect and arrangement all the edifices I have ever seen or read of, except in the Arabian Tales; but there, unfortunately, the merits of the business ended’. Indeed, ‘to look once at this glass palace was (if you forgot all else) perceptibly pleasant; but to have gone to study, to think or to learn anything in it, would almost have driven a serious man mad’. The ‘chaos’ and noise were particularly disturbing to him. Carlyle also declared that it was the ‘best got-up “piece of nonsense”’ and ‘a big glass soap bubble, presided over by Prince Albert and the general assembly of prurient windbags’,\(^1\) and wrote of it as ‘the thing called “Crystal Palace”’.\(^2\)

Helps himself was rather apologetically an admirer of the Exhibition. He wrote to Christie on 1 June 1851: ‘I thought that I was the most Louis Quatorzeish man in the world—l mean what Louis was in old age, utterly unamusable; but even I was greatly interested at the said Exhibition and am very desirous to go again.’\(^3\)

Chelsea, 26 March, 1851

Dear Helps,

There is no doubt but your story concerning Luther’s Kättie [Kate] and the cup for the student,—which they either gave him or regretted that they had not given him (I forget which, but think the former),—is perfectly true, read by me in the Table-Talk, or some equally authentic Book, tho’ I cannot find the place in my German copy of the Tisch-reden, as there is no available index; nor I think could you in the English copy, for a like defect. You may consider the story abundantly well-founded, and safe to use as you have done.

England is actually “pulling the face” you talked of over that illustrious Lord

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2 The Life of John Sterling (New York, n.d.), part ii, chapter iii, 114. See also The Last Words of Thomas Carlyle (New York, 1892), p. 340. Froude commented in Thomas Carlyle, A History of His Life in London (London, 1897), ii. 152, that Carlyle ‘was less intolerant [of it] than might have been expected’.

3 Original in my possession.
John; and, I think will have to make it longer yet before she fairly gets rid of him.

Nay this morning the Postman (our substitute for the Times) reports, or seems to report hurriedly thro' the window, that the Papal Aggression is lost,—that there will be a new spectacle of the Kings of England floundering on their belly in the gutter, and with mute despair symbolically [sic] asking the mud gods, "What shall we do?" If we add to this phenomenon this other, that the Crystal Palace is letting in rain at every pore, and has sappers bailing it out, and the glaziers wringing their hands:—is it not a cheering aspect of World History? O Heavens, one could curse, and launch thunder (if one had it), rather than laugh!—

But I am busy, and my time is more than up. A rain as of Noah prevails here for the last week or more. Adieu, and tight roofs to you—

Yours ever truly
T. Carlyle

Carlyle's letter to Helps of 7 August 1851 [6] tells of the early part of his visit to Malvern during the summer, while awaiting the publication of The Life of John Sterling in October, to try the water cure of Dr James Gully. (A further account is to be found in his letter to Emerson of 25 August.) This letter to Helps has also some interest in Carlyle's apparent coinage of the word 'willa' from 'villa', referring to a style of architecture and of building material prevalent in Great Malvern. It should be noted that since late 1842 Helps had been living at 46, Chester Square, a house which he had purchased.3

[6]

Gt Malvern, 7 Augt, 1851

Dear Helps,

I was sorry to get your letter here instead of at Chelsea. For the whole week before my going off, I was kept, what with Printers just finishing off, what with

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2 Quoted in Slater, Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, pp. 472–4. Froude (ii. 86), wrote that 'with Frederick looming before him, he went to cool his fever in the Malvern waters. The disease was not in his body, loudly as he complained of it. The bathing, packing, drinking proved useless. "He found by degrees that water, taken as medicine, was the most destructive drug he had ever tried." He "had paid his tax to contemporary stupor." That was all. Gully himself, who would take no fees from him, he had not disliked, and was grateful for his hospitality. He stayed a month in all. His wife went to her friends in Manchester; he hastened to hide himself in Scotsbrig, full of gloom and heaviness, and totally out of health.'
3 Information supplied by Mr W. C. Harrison, Westminster City Libraries.
Bores to the wind-dusting of all natives, in such a toss [?] of Enemies [?] and enquiries [?] additional to those of the business itself, that I had no moment of repose, and durst not ask myself whether there was any chance to see you or not. Had your note come during the week, it might have been like a lantern kindled for a bewildered owl, and had very probably brought me, at that or some other hour, to Chester Square: but as it is . . . !

We got hither last Saturday night; are lodged beautifully in the private mansion of the great Doctor himself (an honour due to Literature and Dyspepsia); and till the last day of August, here I continue, ready for any amount of splashing, steeping and macerating. I have some hope to get a real temporary benefit; and I have the tearful certainty of fairly trying this same Water-Cure, and so having done with the speculation upon it.

The place is by nature one of the pleasantest, beautiful wide blooming corn-bearing Plain of Severn, beautiful range of porphyry or granite hills (on the eastern roots of which we hang), with the finest variety of walks, and spring water anywhere such as I have not tasted out of Cumberland or Scotland. For the rest, a population of Donothings, with attendants to help: and houses building everywhere, of the villa,—or what I call the "Willa" hut, [?] and are done in the terrible [?] style of Willa architecture, Willa granite (made of plaster and paint), dirty little Willa windows (all of stone and lead), Willa everything:—surely the ugliest form of building ever fancied [?] by Adam's Portents.—Adieu dear Helps. Yr always

T. Carlyle

Helps made a mildly sceptical reference to a work of Carlyle in a letter to Lord Monteagle on 16 November 1851: 'I have not read Carlyle's Life of Sterling, but I should not have thought that there was anything in it that might not have been discovered before in some of his writings [Sterling's, apparently]. However I speak quite in ignorance.'¹

As Helps was to learn, friendship with Carlyle had its responsibilities as well as its privileges: 'The London Library is in danger!' was the explosive salutation of Carlyle to his friend in his letter of 12 May 1852.² The librarian, J. C. Cochrane, had died, and his assistant, John Edward Jones, was hopeful of receiving the post but evidently lacked the maturity or experience required. Indeed, Gladstone was determined that his Neapolitan protégé, James Lacaita, should be appointed. Lacaita, who was not a British subject, had helped Gladstone with some pamphlets, and the

¹ National Library of Ireland MS 13402 (4).
debt must be repaid. Carlyle's objections to Lacaita may have depended as much on his dislike of the methods Gladstone employed on his behalf as on his distrust of the latter's preferred candidate. Of Lacaita's qualifications, however, Frederick Harrison has observed that 'it was no fault of Carlyle's that he could not know what high qualities, both literary and administrative, Lacaita possessed'. Lacaita's being a foreigner was evidently a strong additional reason for Carlyle's opposition to his appointment. Now ill with influenza, Carlyle feared that the Committee, of which Helps was also a member, might not be able to resist Gladstone's blandishments, and mapped a strategy in which his friend was to play a part. Helps came up to London from Vernon Hill, and, with his assistance, all worked out as Carlyle had hoped. Helps's good friend, W. B. Donne, was elected on 12 June 1852, with eighteen votes to Lacaita's four. Of some interest in the letter is the problem of the identity of 'Ross' who is, according to Carlyle, the man whom Helps preferred. Two men by the name of Ross, the Revd C. W. Ross and Hugh Ross, were members of the London Library in 1852. It is also possible that 'Ross' was a name that Donne was called by his friends.

1The best account of the election is by D. A. Wilson, Carlyle at His Zenith, pp. 407–11. According to information supplied by the London Library, Helps was a member of the Committee and was present at the meeting on 12 June 1852 at which Donne was chosen.

2Harrison, p. 96.

3In a letter to Lord Lyttleton on 24 April 1852 Carlyle made a comparison between Lacaita and the librarianship of Panizzi at the British Museum: '... his proving a foreigner would prove a very heavy drawback,—heavy in appearance, and almost as heavy in reality, for the Keeper of an English Popular Library. Panizzi, as I have been obliged to estimate him in painfully traversing his dim crypts and labyrinths, is by no means an instance of the preferability of Foreigners to Natives even for such a post as his' (Catalogue of Lyttleton Papers, London, Sotheby Park Bernet and Company, 1978, p. 171.)

4Information supplied by the London Library. There were over two hundred applicants and eleven were short-listed.

5Information supplied by the London Library. E. A. Helps's reading 'Koss' (Correspondence, p. 108) is evidently erroneous. The reading 'Ross' has been confirmed by Miss E. D. Yeo, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, National Library of Scotland, and Ms Aileen Christianson, who is working on the edition of the Carlyle letters.
Chelsea, 12 May, 1852

Dear Helps,

The London Library is in Danger!—Your man Ross [?] whom I once saw long ago, and of whom I have heard authentic testimony lately, seems at present decidedly the most promising, but there are already five or six other native candidates, all of them, I fancy, superior in real fitness to the young Neapolitan Advocate just arrived on our shores, whom Gladstone has decided to lead in over the belly of both rhyme and reason, and made king over us!—I myself am struck down to the Earth with Influenza, incapable of stirring out for near a week past, and forbidden even to speak, above five words in the half hour, under penalties. I sent a message to Forster last Saturday, solemnly admonishing to delay and deliberation; Forster's answer was that he went with me to the letter; but that Gladstone, Lyttleton &c were "stirring Heaven and Earth" to bring in their man; and that, from the present composition of the Committee, there "was not a possibility" of hindering them. Forster himself is ill, and gone to the country: here in my prison I cannot even learn from anybody what the Committee did last Saturday; but only that their next meeting is to be on Saturday week, when "testimonials are to be presented," i.e., I suppose, when G. and his majority are to bring their enterprise to the penultimate, if not to the triumphant ultimate stage.

To myself all this is a thing evidently contrary to, not the London Library alone, and to its clear interests and rights, but to the Common Honesty of Every one of us to whom said interests and rights have been tacitly but most validly delegated for management and supervision; and it is my decision, for one, that I must and will resist it, and try to find or make "a possibility" of hindering them. Forster himself is ill, and gone to the country: here in my prison I cannot even learn from anybody what the Committee did last Saturday; but only that their next meeting is to be on Saturday week, when "testimonials are to be presented," i.e., I suppose, when G. and his majority are to bring their enterprise to the penultimate, if not to the triumphant ultimate stage.

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The first of all, dear Helps, is that you, quite gently and with the habitual reticence, come up to town, and lodge yourself within reach of me, the earlier the better, but at least a week before the next Comité meeting. Unless actually held as I myself am, you are actually bound to this,—somewhat as your Groom wd be if he saw one of your horses about to be stolen by a cadger, and c'd prevent it by a little running! My remaining capabilities of speech shall all be devoted to you, and before the day comes I hope myself on my feet again.

These things I have written, dear Helps, to "liberate my soul". I have no candidate of my own; on the whole, no wish in the matter excepting that what is honest be done by the Committee, and especially by one poor member of it; and, sure enough, Gladstone might saddle Kossuth or King Bomba [Ferdinand II, King of the two Sicilies] on the L. Library, or put the L. Library altogether in his
pipe, and smoke it to white ashes, with entirely ruining one's prospects in this immense universe! These things I know withal and will keep in mind; and yet I have written with complete persuasion what is above, and do very much wish and advise you to come,—at once, if you can.

Yours always truly
T. Carlyle

Carlyle wrote to Helps again on 8 June 1852, even before the fateful election, to 'forget not Saturday', the day on which it was to take place. But a further demand was to be placed upon Helps, to answer an inquiry concerning a certain 'House-builder or Carpenter' at one time employed by him. Morgan had evidently assisted in the reconstruction of Vernon Hill, an already rambling structure to which additions had recently been made. Carlyle wanted the man to help in the building of a sound-proof room, so sensitive was he to noise, especially now that he was at work on his life of Frederick the Great. Carlyle's comments in Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle provide helpful background for this letter:

This was the year (only first year, alas!) of repairing our house; [Helps's] 'architect' was Mr. Morgan [the 'consultation' evidently having resulted in his being hired], a very honest man, and with workmen honest though inexpert; he himself had no talent for managing the chaos he created here, and indeed he at length fell sick, and left it to end by collapse. [There is no exact information here as to whether or when Morgan was able to return.] My own little heroine was manager, eye, inventress, commandress, guiding head and soul of everything; and made (witness this drawing-room, and compare it with the original, i.e. with every other in the street) a real triumph of what without her would have been a puddle of wasteful failure.

Jane herself wrote to her friend Mrs Russell Thornhill that she had forgotten her own birthday, her name and address, 'and everything about me, except the terrible fact that I am in a house under what is called "thorough repair". Having never had to do with London workmen, you cannot form any adequate idea of the thing. Workmen who spend three-fourths of their time in consulting how the work should be done, and in going out and in after "beer", were not, at least in my day, known in Scotland; and then a thorough repair [more extensive, evidently, than just the building of the 'room'] complicated by the altering of the

2ii. 408.
chimneys and partitions, and by the heat at least 82° in the shade, was a wild piece of work with any sort of workmen. The builder promised to have all done in six weeks, painting included; if he gets done in six months it is as much as I hope. Meanwhile I run about in the great heat, carrying my furniture in my arms from one room to another, and sleep, or rather lie about, like a dog, just where I see a cleared space. I am needed here to keep the workmen from falling into continual mistakes; but why Mr. Carlyle, who is anything rather than needed, stays on I cannot imagine.  

The 8 June letter is also notable for Carlyle's acknowledgment of the second volume of *The Conquerors*. It appears that Carlyle read Helps’s books when they were presented to him with greater thoroughness than did Ruskin. Indeed, he read them well enough to be severely critical as well as appreciative of their good qualities. This is suggested in the report of a visit by T. S. Baynes to Carlyle in the summer of 1852 in the company of G. H. Lewes, shortly after the appearance of the newly-published volume: 'After some further conversation,' Baynes writes, 'Mr. Lewes referred to Helps’s “Conquerors of the New World and Their Bondsmen,” a new edition [probably the second volume] of which had just appeared. He spoke highly of the work. Carlyle agreed in the main, but with exceptions and limitations of his own. He objected that Helps had not evinced sufficient mastery over his materials. He was too concerned to show the extent and variety of his researches, and had thus put into the text a good deal that should have been shovelled over into the universal dustbin.'

It is interesting to note in this letter that Carlyle has called upon Helps at Ebury Street rather than Chester Square. The reason is, perhaps, that he rented his town house because he was so seldom in London during the early 1850s.

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1 Ibid. p. 409.
2 Thomas S. Baynes, 'An Evening with Carlyle', *Athenaeum*, 2 April 1887, p. 450.
3 According to information supplied by the Westminster City Libraries, this house was listed in the directories as a lodging house. The ratepayer from 1851 to 1854 was James Kendall.
4 In a letter to W. D. Christie of 29 January 1851 Helps wrote (46 Chester Square) that 'I am very much occupied, & have only a few days here before my tenant, an MP, comes in' (original in my possession).
Chelsea, 8 June, 1852

Dear Helps,

Have I not heard you, oftener than once, speak of some Housebuilder or Carpenter, commonly employed by you in such work, who has the two rare properties, fidelity and good sense?—We have a vague speculation here about executing some considerable repairs on this House, adding a top storey to it (inaccessible to sound for one thing, and lighted from the sky) &c &c, a Lease of the house being offered us on these conditions. Now if I am right in my remembrance of your man, could you send him to me for a little consultation on the subject? He may find me any evening about 6, while there is still daylight enough. He ought to be warned (and you) that the whole thing is very uncertain hitherto, and that our first immediate want is only of advice that can be relied on.

I called yesterday at Ebury Street; but you were gone, it was not known for how long. You must by no means absent yourself on Saturday; attend well to that, for I believe the Neapolitan duck has still life in it! Be sure to come.

Officially, I perceive, you have no longer a call to be here,—that is to say, typographically. Last night there came gliding in to me a beautiful new volume of the Conquerors of the New World: “Ah,” said I to myself, “there is the corpus delicti!” I expect a right pleasant evening, going thro’ this new sin of yours.

Adieu: forget not Saturday; and send the Builder to me if he will come—

Yours ever truly
T. Carlyle

Carlyle’s next letter to Helps, 27 July 1852, contains the not surprising news that Morgan was, after all, a satisfactory builder. But, as Carlyle states in Letters and Memorials, ‘Meanwhile, to escape those horrors of heat and dust, I fled (or indeed was dismissed) to Linlathen, to my excellent T. Erskine’s [the theologian] where I morbidly and painfully stayed three weeks, [the] gentlest and best of hospitality able to do little for me. … Most of my leisure went in translating what is now the Appendix to Friedrich, vol vii, of 2nd edition.’ Having visited his mother for the last time before he was summoned to her deathbed, Carlyle went on alone to Germany.

He acknowledged at the very beginning of the letter the receipt of an advanced copy of Helps’s review of Uncle Tom’s Cabin, with a personal note ‘under the cover’. This review, published in

2 Letters and Memorials, ii. 408.
3 This may be the private edition, printed by G. Whittingham, London, 1852. In his 9 July note to Norton, Helps promised to send him a copy of the letter, ‘which will be printed for private circulation here’.
Fraser's (August, 1852, pp. 237–44), was presented in the form of a letter to an American (Charles Eliot Norton). The original letter, as actually written to Norton on 9 July 1852, but published in essentially unchanged form as the review, was enclosed with a personal note from Helps stating that Norton 'will be somewhat astonished at the long letter that accompanies this. If you think that any of the arguments which it contains will be useful, you can put them forward in any way you please. You may reprint the whole letter if you like.'

Helps also stated his dissatisfaction with Mrs. Stowe's equating the 'condition of the English labourer and that of the American slave. There is, however, even in our-poorest districts and in the worst of times, all the difference that exists between humanity and barbarism.' This argument would have pleased Carlyle.

[9]

Linlathen, Dundee
27 July, 1852—

Dear Helps,

If there were any hope that you w'd continue to send me such messages as that printed one to your Imaginary Yankee (and a Note to Myself in Ms under the cover) without response on my part, I sh'd be greatly tempted to take your own bent, and answer absolutely nothing: but —!— The truth is, I got the article in question a week ago at Chelsea, read it more than once,—honestly amused by the quiet irony and grave Socratic sense contained in the same;—and did intend to say so, that very day; when, behold, a flight to Scotland, per steamer to Dundee, at which I had been shuddering and procrastinating, was suddenly resolved upon (so intense was the heat, so intolerable along with the noise and dust); and accordingly here I am, announcing at this date instead of that, two small facts instead of one. My voyage was as prosperous as sea-travelling could be: nevertheless I have been in a paroxysm of biliary confusion ever since I set foot on shore, and this is the first day I have been good for anything. How long I am to stay in this country I know not; all I know is, Chelsea, with Morgan's people in it, is a place I had better avoid for some time! For the rest, my wife continues there, or in the neighbourhood, being intent to superintend; and we are both of us contented with the good Morgan—


2 Fraser's Magazine, August 1852, p. 238.
If I were to get into talking here about big smoky Dundee, and the still beautiful Firth of Tay (where I have bathed twice); about St Andrews Town, the steeples of which are visible here, and seem to invite a visit from me; about Scotch humours, fun and piety, and Scotch gentlefolk and simplefolk—all this would require several sheets, and alas today in my haste I can scarcely afford one little patch. Adieu, dear Helps: any slightest remembrance from you is always pleasant to my soul; and I rank you, with a kind of loyal satisfaction, among the few earnest labourers still known to me on this Planet; and wish you from the bottom of my heart at all times well.—I am to be still a week or 10 days here (Tho Erskine Esq), after which two weeks at Scotsbrig, Ecclefechan (my old mother's); and Chelsea always is an address if you have any further charity for me.

Yours always truly—T. Carlyle

Carlyle's letter to Helps of 15 November 1853, in which he mentions the continued household disarray, proves the accuracy of Jane's predictions that the repairs to the house would take longer than the promised six weeks. Of some interest in this letter is Carlyle's reference to the troubles of Frederick Dennison Maurice, the Christian Socialist. The latter had been editor of Politics for the People in 1848, to which Helps had been a contributor, although there are no questions concerning his religious or political orthodoxy. Croker had denounced Maurice's views in The Quarterly Review (September 1851) and attacks from other quarters were brought to a head by the appearance of Theological Essays in which he questioned the orthodox Anglican views on eternal damnation. All this resulted, on 27 October 1853, in the decision of the Council of King's College, London, that he should not be permitted to continue his lectures there. Carlyle, who was personally friendly toward Maurice, showed impatience toward the entire matter. Additional to the letter to Helps that follows, he wrote Lady Ashburton that 'The Maurice question has no interest for me'. He then quoted Frederick the Great's statement that 'if these people want to be damned for ever, why not?' Then: 'To Maurice himself, if they thrust

1 National Library of Scotland MS 3823, f. 207; Correspondence, pp. 151–3. For a detailed account of the repairs see Thea Holmes, The Carlyles at Home (London, 1965), pp. 77 ff.

him from the Church altogether, it might do good rather than harm. That is a confiscated affair altogether, and can in the long run yield only bankruptcy of spirit to the like of him. Alas, human stupidity is great; I think sometimes it is the greatest; and see with wonder and awe, how (as Schiller says) the very gods can never fight it down. Erskine, the Scottish theologian whom Carlyle had visited more than a year before, was likewise a friend of Maurice and shared many of his religious views.

George Hudson is, of course, the railway magnate who suffered financial ruin in 1847 and was later committed to York Castle for contempt of court. Carlyle dealt lengthily with him as, with characteristic irony, he denounced popular heroes in one of his Latter-Day Pamphlets.

Dear Helps,—I have been drifting about, these three days, under stress of upholsterers (with carpets &c.) and of other difficulties and hurries; could not write even a word till now.

You may believe me I am very glad to hear of you again; glad to think I sometimes accompany you, tho' as a phantasm of the mind, in your walks over the Hampshire heaths: I wish it were permitted me to be there in a more substantial manner. If one has no body, if one has only a pair of wings, and could sleep at night by merely roosting on the first good bough, it might be possible; but as yet, alas, that is not the method, our gifts are far short of that!

About Maurice and eternal damnation I hear a great deal, from the idle circles of mankind; but to say truth, I have of myself almost no thought about it at all. Like the Frenchman, tired with arguments about the being of God, I may a fortiori say, "Mons' je n'y prends aucun interet!"—Perhaps it might do Maurice good if he were turned out of the Church altogether,—which, it appears, is not likely at present. That splitting of hairs, which he has long laboriously carried on, to prove that he belongs to her, cannot ultimately turn to good for any creature. As to the Church herself—well, I should say, so long as she talks about damnation at all, she must make it "eternal"; there is no even extinct worth in any other kind. God help her, poor old Church! England believes now, and she herself at heart believes, in no "damnation" except ruin at your bankers (such damn as has now fallen on Hudson, they say): and a poor church in these circumstances is ill off.

1 Wilson, Carlyle to Threescore-and-Ten, pp. 53–4.
2 Chief sources of information for Erskine are the D.N.B.
3 Chief sources of information for Hudson are Boase’s Modern English Biography and the D.N.B.
4 Latter-day Pamphlets, no. VII, July 1850.
There is speech of our coming to the Grange next month: surely I may try to find or make some opportunity of seeing you if we stay long there. We will try! I am not very triumphantly well, this long while; rather in a caitiff humour on the contrary, doing little and suffering much. Meanwhile "Fumamos"; and don't forget me.

Yours, T. Carlyle.

The second part of this article will be published in the following number of the Bulletin.