

SIR ARTHUR HELPS AND THE ROYAL CONNECTION: I

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In her Journal on 18 March 1875, exactly eleven days after the death of Sir Arthur Helps, Queen Victoria wrote: "After luncheon saw Mr. Martin, who brought me more of my letters to Sir A. Helps, most of which I shall burn, returning some to Alice Helps".¹ Similar references are found in her Journal entry of 11 March² and in a letter to Theodore Martin of 13 March.³ Alice Helps,⁴ eldest daughter of Helps, assisted him in the editing of the Queen's writings, and she is of considerable importance in this chronicle of the relationship between Helps and the Royal family, which was by no means confined to the Queen herself.⁵ Those letters from Queen Victoria that were preserved (17 to Arthur Helps and 15 to Alice) were sold at Sotheby's on 12 December 1961 and are now in the Royal Archives at Windsor.⁶ They are supplemented in this study by a large number of letters from Helps to the Queen,⁷ by copies of letters from

¹ Royal Archives [henceforward RA], Queen Victoria's Journal. There are, however, enough surviving letters from the Queen to Helps to establish a clear pattern in their relationship. E.A.P. Helps, in his unpublished manuscript "Sir Arthur Helps, and His Friends", quoted from a letter written by Alice Helps to her brother, probably E.A. Helps: "I have burnt much and restored to Lord Esher [who published the Queen's letters] only what was necessary and harmless". This suggests that additional letters from the Queen to Helps were destroyed; but there is no absolute proof.

² RA Queen Victoria's Journal: "Saw Mr. Martin who brought me boxes full of letters which poor Alice Helps & the Private Secy. Mr. Harrison had given over to him". There is a tradition in the Helps family that a man in uniform came from the Royal Palace to collect all letters written by the Queen to Sir Arthur.

³ RA Y170/49, Queen Victoria to Theodore Martin: "recd. more letters from poor Alice".

⁴ Alice Plucknett Helps, born at Eaton Place, London, on 22 November 1839.

⁵ In addition to the Prince Consort, there is evidence of Helps's friendship with the Prince of Wales.

⁶ Sotheby Catalogue, 12 December 1961, p. 47.

⁷ Acknowledgment is here made of the gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen to publish materials from the Royal Archives and Royal Library. Appreciation is also expressed to Sir Robin Mackworth-Young, the Royal

Her Majesty to Helps other than those already mentioned, and by entries in the Queen's Journal, as well as by additional correspondence in the Royal Archives and Royal Library at Windsor.⁸ Of great assistance, also, have been the Papers of General Charles Grey in the University of Durham Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic. Another valuable source has been the Helps Papers, formerly at Cregane Manor, County Cork, Ireland.⁹ Some original material is also in the possession of the present writer.

The relationship between Helps and Queen Victoria occurred during very crucial times—from June 1860, just under two years before the death of the Prince Consort, to March 1875.

Although details of the negotiations leading to the appointment of Helps to be Clerk of the Privy Council (an office which he held from June 1860 until his death on 7 March 1875) are by no means clear, he declared that he had "no reason to think that the Prince Consort had anything to do with my appointment".¹⁰ However, congeniality of tastes and temperaments—and, in particular, an interest in agriculture, workmen's housing, and a detestation of the institution of slavery—could have established compatibility.

Librarian, for his assistance. Thanks are due, too, to Miss Jane Langton, Registrar of the Royal Archives, for kind assistance on four separate visits; she has been most helpful in deciphering the difficult handwriting of Queen Victoria, although the present writer assumes full responsibility for the accuracy of quotations. Miss Bridget Wright of the Royal Library has kindly supplied information regarding the publication sequence of the Queen's writings. My thanks are also due to Dr. Peter Helps, great grandson of Sir Arthur. The Helps Papers are now in his care and he has been most generous in supplying me with materials and has placed at my disposal his father's unpublished manuscript, "Sir Arthur and His Friends". Thanks are also extended to the University of Durham Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, for permission to quote from correspondence in the papers of General Charles Grey; to the Bodleian Library for permission to quote from the Hughenden Papers of Benjamin Disraeli; and, for permission to use unpublished materials, to the British Library, to Mr. George Howard, and to the William R. Perkins Library, Duke University. For a critical reading of this manuscript I am indebted to Mrs. C. Coccio, Dr. Peter Helps, and Dr. Charles Mayo.

⁸ These include the Queen's correspondence with Theodore Martin, the German scholar who later became the author of the definitive biography of the Prince Consort.

⁹ As stated in n. 7 above, these are now in the possession of Dr. Peter Helps, Colehill, Amersham.

¹⁰ Helps to W.D. Christie, 14 October 1864. The original, formerly in the possession of the present writer, was presented by him to the Rylands.

So well was he acquainted with the Prince Consort during the last months of the latter's life that Helps was able to write, with no great difficulty, an extended appreciation of his character and to edit his speeches and addresses.¹¹

Helps had refused the opportunity to stand for a seat in Parliament for Cambridge in 1856 and 1857,¹² but he was still interested in obtaining public office to supplement the income from his books. Therefore he declined the Oxford chair of Modern History in March 1860 on the grounds that it did not offer him enough money and that he was no longer interested in the writing of history.¹³ Letters he wrote to Charles Howard, his Cambridge friend and the brother of his former employer, Lord Carlisle,¹⁴ suggest that he was anxious for Howard to negotiate with his cousin, Lord Granville, Lord President of the Council, for the post of Clerk of the Privy Council, shortly to be vacated by Mr. Bathurst. Indeed, Helps wrote to his friend W. D. Christie that "my being a friend of Chas. Howard (whom he [Granville] likes very much) had more to do with my being appointed than any other consideration".¹⁵

So anxious was Helps to receive the Clerkship, because of its satisfactory remuneration and enviable Royal contacts, that Granville wrote to the Prince Consort, with irony perhaps, on 15 May 1860: "I wrote to Mr. Twisleton, who declined to be clerk of the council, which I regret. I sent the offer to Mr. Helps, and after the letter was gone, another letter came from Mr. Twisleton, asking to be allowed to reconsider his answer—Mr. Helps is sure to accept".¹⁶

¹¹ *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, With an Introduction, Giving Some Outlines of His Character*, by Arthur Helps.

¹² His decision was based not only on an awareness that he could not win but also on his disagreement with certain of his contemporary Whig (Liberal) leaders. He had, too, a disinclination for Parliamentary life and felt that he had too much to do elsewhere.

¹³ Helps to W. Cowper, 15 May 1860. A copy is in the Helps Papers.

¹⁴ Helps to Charles Howard, 11 May and 27 May 1860, in the collection at Castle Howard. See also Helps to Williams Helps in *Correspondence of Sir Arthur Helps*, ed. E. A. Helps (London, 1917), p. 229. For family relationship between Granville and the Howards see Helps to Alice Helps, 2 January 1861, in the Helps Papers.

¹⁵ Helps to Christie. See above, n. 10.

¹⁶ RA B18/103.

Helps seems to have profited, however, in other ways from his short acquaintance with the Prince Consort. He wrote to his daughter Alice in late 1860 or early 1861 (reference is apparently made to the clay deposits recently discovered and shortly to be exploited adjacent to his estate, Vernon Hill, near Bishops Waltham, Hampshire): "Cole and Scott [the Prince Consort was interested in the project, and especially in the use of its clay in sculpture] are coming to Waltham. Their object will be three-fold: 1. To arrange about the work which the Queen has ordered for the chapel at Windsor. 2. To see what they can get for their great building [perhaps some new government building]. 3. To see what should be done for the Paris exhibition" [no doubt the one of 1862].¹⁷

The most important and long-lived Royal connection of Helps was, of course, with the Queen herself. His friendly relationship with her would have been remarkable had it not been for his natural ability to get along with people as difficult, at times, as, for example, Disraeli and Gladstone. In addition to his duties as Clerk of the Privy Council, he became the Queen's personal friend and literary adviser as well as editor of her published and unpublished writings, the latter for circulation only among members of the Royal family. As already suggested, his first direct Royal involvement, other than the duties of his Clerkship, was in preparing the Prince's speeches and addresses for publication.

Helps's unique quality of ambivalence, it should be noted, was not merely shown in his infinite tact in dealing with people. In his plays as well as in his novels he is sometimes as favourable

¹⁷ The Prince Consort's concern for art and architecture and the involvement of Henry Cole, art critic and Secretary of the Department of Practical Art, and of the celebrated architect Sir George Gilbert Scott in the construction of the new government buildings, in which the Prince Consort was known to have been interested, may well have had to do with the interview mentioned in this letter. Herbert Preston-Thomas (in "Arthur Helps", *Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1890, p. 46) writes: "I have seen a small model which he [the Prince Consort] himself had executed in Bishops Waltham clay". Concerning the public use of clay from there, Helps's Cambridge friend John Buller wrote to him in 1861: "You deserve the reprobation of your country and its future generations—to be perpetuated by a colossal terra cotta statue of yourself standing on your head on a fine brick pedestal in Palace Yard for not having discovered they might be built of your imperishable ware, if you do not at once lay hold of Scott's imagination and force him to adopt terra-cotta. Here is an opportunity for Lord Palmerston and Mr. W.G. to establish themselves as the great improvers of London buildings".

towards his villains as towards his heroes,¹⁸ and in his essays he tries to be so fair and objective in presenting both sides of a question that it is, at times, difficult to determine exactly what are his own personal convictions.

Our concern here is more with politics and people than with literature, and politically Helps was essentially a Liberal. His second son, E.A. Helps, specified that he was a "Liberal-Conservative".¹⁹ Indeed, Helps's early advocate, Herbert Preston-Thomas, declared in 1890 that, "although his leanings were towards the more moderate Liberals of those days—who would be called ultra-Tories now,—[he] never gave rein to his political proclivities, and was on as good terms with Lord Derby as with Lord John Russell".²⁰ Likewise "Men of all parties came to him for counsel—not indeed as to 'private scrapes with other men's wives', but as to the weighty questions of the day". Of greater significance, perhaps, is his profession to Disraeli that "I am, as you know, a Whig: I owe my present appointment to Lord Granville, and I shall always go, as far as I can, with my party". And yet, "I care for good government more than for my party".²¹ This pragmatic faculty for suppressing his own views when essential, as well as total discretion in speech and action, was shown in his dealings with the Queen at the first meeting of the Privy Council after the death of the Prince. He carried messages to and from the Queen, who was seated in a room apart so that she would not have to appear before a large group.²² Something of his success in dealing with her is expressed in a letter to her of 22 November 1868, written in the sometimes stilted style required of Royal correspondents:

As Your Majesty says, 'Who could have thought seven years ago that he should have been admitted to partake, even in the smallest degree, in some of Your Majesty's troubles and sorrows, and to enjoy as much of Your Majesty's confidence as he has been honoured with!' [He continues:] The only way of accounting for this (for Mr. Helps has

¹⁸ For instance, in his play *Oulita, the Serf* (1858), set in nineteenth-century Russia, the essentially villainous Minister of Police, the Baron Grübner, is made to appear, at times, as sympathetic as the otherwise heroic Count Edgar von Straubenheim.

¹⁹ *Correspondence*, p. 6.

²⁰ Preston-Thomas, pp. 49-50.

²¹ Helps to Disraeli, Hughenden Papers, B/XXI/H 438, Bodleian, Disraeli, 131.

²² See Paul Emden, *Behind the Throne* (London, 1934), p. 121.

no particular merit, and he has always suspected that Your Majesty did not like him at first) is that Your Majesty knows that he has the deepest sympathy for one who has suffered so much and who is as lonely as the Queen.

Moreover, some of his views and opinions remarkably coincide with those of the Queen on certain points. This is how he accounts for the friendship with which Your Majesty has honoured him, and which he values extremely—not because Your Majesty is a Queen, but because Your Majesty's nature and character are such as to interest and attract him.²³

Without in any way doubting that Helps was sincerely interested in and concerned with the Queen and her problems, one wonders what was his complete and over-all view of her. Some idea of his personal feelings may, perhaps, be obtained from a letter which he wrote in October 1867 to his Irish friend Professor Anster: "She [the Queen] is a most mysterious little lady, and seems to possess some superhuman, and especially Scotch, knowledge of one's thoughts and wishes. I am beginning to be much afraid of her".²⁴ As her editor, however, he seems to have found her not difficult to work with. In an undated letter in this writer's possession that he wrote to Theodore Martin when the latter was about to take over the writing of the Prince Consort's biography, Helps declared: "I am sure that you will like Her, & that She will like you; & that you will find Her a most reasonable person to deal with. She is very innocent (in the best sense of the word) and very truthful, and immensely grateful for any kindness shown to Her. She is very considerate about writing people ... I never met with anybody who was more anxious not to incommode people". And on 8 February 1873 Helps confided in Gladstone (B.L. Add. MS. 44433, f. 157): "After the Prince

²³ RA L25/112.

²⁴ The original is quoted in E.A.P. Helps, "Sir Arthur Helps and His Friends". In a letter to Ripon on 17 January 1873 (B.L. Add. MS. 43540, ff. 256-9), in which he tells of his efforts to make excuses to the Queen for the Lord President of the Council's absence from a Council meeting, Helps writes: "She spoke of De Grey whom she had seen as a boy, [evidently Ripon's son] & what a good looking boy he was. And then she talked of My Lady [either Lady Ripon or Lady Helps, probably the former] in most kind terms—saying how much she had heard of her, alluding, I suppose, to her exertions for the poor. How does her Gracious Majesty manage to hear all about all of us and our doings?" For an instance of the Queen's rather sardonic humour see Helps to DeGrey (as the latter then was) of 29 May 1870 (Ripon Papers).

Consort's death, the Queen made occasion to see me very frequently and to treat me with confidence. I became, in fact, as much as one can become, a friend of the Sovereign's. My whole object has been, in that capacity, to be of use to Her, and, in a humble way, to the Government, whoever might be in power—to make things go smoothly if I could".

I

During much of 1862 Helps was at work selecting and assembling *The Principal Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort*, for which he wrote a preface described as "An Introduction, Giving Some Outlines of His Character". "I cannot thank you sufficiently for sending me another copy of your 'In Memoriam'", General Grey, the Queen's Private Secretary, wrote to Helps on 20 January 1862, stating that "he cannot suggest anything to add, but will so oblige if he can think of anything".²⁵ The Queen herself wrote in her Journal on 9 June 1862 that Grey had proposed that "Mr. Helps should bring out a 2nd edition of beloved Albert's Speeches & to be allowed to see more of the MSS. and letters".²⁶ The question arises as to whether Helps, as E. A. Helps wrote in his introduction to his father's letters in 1917, did indeed first prepare a private edition of the Prince's speeches.²⁷ Actually, there is no real evidence to support this. A letter from Grey to Helps on 21 May 1862 suggests that the latter had already proposed to the Queen that his own proceeds from the publication should go towards the founding of an infirmary at Bishops Waltham in the late Prince's honour.²⁸ Such proceeds would certainly not have been forthcoming from a private edition to be distributed without charge. A possible solution is to be found in a double review in the *London Quarterly Review* of January 1862 of *Addresses delivered on different Public Occasions by His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, 1857*, and *Prince Albert's Speeches*,

²⁵ Original in the Helps Papers. On 21 January 1862 Gladstone wrote to his wife (original in the Glynne-Gladstone MSS. in St. Deiniol's Library) of "having read this morning ... an excellent but private paper by Mr. Helps ... about the Prince Consort". See also *The Gladstone Diaries*, ed. H. C. G. Matthews (Oxford, 1978), vi. 91.

²⁶ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

²⁷ *Correspondence*, p. 10.

²⁸ Original in the Helps Papers.

the People's Edition.²⁹ Separately or together, these publications could comprise the first edition referred to by the Queen. Then, too, the tone of panegyric used by the reviewer suggests that it might indeed be the "In Memoriam" referred to above, and there is a possibility that this article was written by Helps. The enigma is reinforced by an entry in the Queen's Journal on 24 June noting that Helps "will undertake to publish a second edition of beloved Albert's Speeches. His admiration for my adored Husband is unbounded".³⁰ Another entry of 7 August indicates that the project was well under way: "Looked through Mr. Helps's papers and made some observations & additions ... The General [Grey] charmed with the sketch of Mr. Helps".³¹ Helps, in turn, wrote to the Queen on 8 August that "he had felt a kind of distress in writing the character of the Prince from a consciousness that he is unworthy to do it. But then he has comforted himself by saying to himself, 'Though I am not the least like this good and great man, and have a host of faults and errors which were not known in him, yet I can perceive his goodness and greatness, and therefore, in all humility, I may set them forth and chronicle them'".³² On 31 August the Queen, reacting favourably, wrote in her Journal that she had "read till late last night, Mr. Helps's admirable Preface about beloved Albert, which overcame me much".³³

As Clerk of the Privy Council Helps's official responsibilities were varied. For instance, on 1 November 1862 the Queen noted in her Journal: "The Ld. Palmerston & Lord Stanley, with Mr. Helps, came into dear Albert's room, & I read, with a trembling voice, the declaration of Bertie's [Prince of Wales] marriage which I annex".³⁴ But in the meantime the Queen had been following the book's progress toward publication, including the reading of the proofs. Indeed, a letter from Grey to Helps on 22 October presents some suggestions made by her concerning statements about the Prince's educational gifts and her agreement

²⁹ *London Quarterly Review*, January 1862, pp. 176-200.

³⁰ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

³¹ Ibid.

³² RA R3/42.

³³ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

³⁴ Ibid.

with the General concerning changes made in the Memorial prefacing the *Speeches*.³⁵

The work was at last published and copies were received by the Queen, according to her Journal, on 12 December: "The book of Albert's speeches with the sketch by Mr. Helps of his beautiful character & the 2 Mems: is published, &, strange to say has reached me this very evening [just two days before the first anniversary of the Prince's death]. I had written into many copies, for the children, Gentlemen, & c".³⁶ As one might have expected, the sales were brisk. This is shown by a letter Helps wrote to Lady Augusta Bruce on 20 December 1862 stating that according to Murray, the publisher, "The demand for the book is so great and urgent that I must go to press instanter with five thousand copies!" He then asked me whether I have any corrections to make; and I have told him, 'None'".³⁷ Helps wrote again to Lady Augusta on 30 December thanking the Queen for a copy of the book "enriched by Her Majesty's gracious and affecting words inscribed in it". With characteristic self-effacement he continues: "My labour in the work has been but too favourably appreciated. But the Queen has a right regal way of looking at any of our services, not for what they are in themselves, but for the spirit in which they are rendered".³⁸ He had earlier (25 December) written to Lady Augusta that the wording of the Preface was more the work of the Queen than even she realizes: "I closely noted the Queen's words; and, whenever I could, I adopted them. Some of the sentences are as nearly as possible Her Majesty's. Then there were the criticisms, omissions, and alterations of all kinds—suggested by Her Majesty".³⁹

II

Helps's introduction presents the various perfections of the Prince: his modesty, eloquence, ability as an organizer, and catholicity of interests. Helps's official position makes it impossible for him to suggest, even by indirection, any real shortcomings, with a resulting effect that is sometimes cloying. But the

³⁵ Original in the Helps Papers.

³⁶ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

³⁷ RA R3/395.

³⁸ RA R3/105.

³⁹ *Correspondence*, p. 253.

fact is that he did not believe that there were any shortcomings. Some of the related problems of presenting the Prince's character are stated in a letter marked "private" which he wrote to Charles Howard on 15 January 1863: "His was a beautiful character, of the utmost rarity. The chief difficulty in describing it was the absence of anything like a dark ground for the brightness & the virtue to be set upon". Indeed, he expresses some discomfort: "I have been accustomed to describe such characters—Cortes, Pizarro & the like—& when I look into myself I find such another—that it is peculiarly hard for me to paint such a mass of goodness as this excellent Prince contained & expressed in all his actions".⁴⁰

The *Speeches and Addresses* out of the way, it was inevitable that someone would attempt a biography. In the work just completed Helps had, indeed, indicated that "It is in no respect meant to anticipate the publication of the Life; and, consequently, no documents have been inserted, or even alluded to, which would be required for the illustration of that life".⁴¹ The Queen was insistent that the biography should be written, and her journals and correspondence are a prime source for the narrating of the sometimes complicated story of its evolution, a phase of her life which has previously been almost entirely neglected. She wrote to her uncle, Leopold of Belgium, on 27 January 1863 "that I am going to prepare with the kind pen of Mr. Helps A Life (in this first instance merely private) of my precious Darling for wh. I mean to collect all possible materials, & I wish to give a very short sketch of our very distinguished family & thought of having portions of dear Gd. Mamma's journal quoted and translated. It wd. show what a mind she had. And children & gd. children will else never have any thing of all this. Any assistance *you* can give me—*wd* be most precious".⁴² She noted in her Journal on 30 January: "Saw Gen: Grey & talked to him about the new book we are anxious to put together about dearest Albert. Mr Helps is to write it",⁴³ and on 3 February she saw "Mr Helps later in the evening & talked much about the Life he is going to write".⁴⁴ On

⁴⁰ Original in the collection at Castle Howard.

⁴¹ *Speeches and Addresses*, p. 63.

⁴² RA Y109/13.

⁴³ RA Queen Victoria's Journal, 30 January 1863.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

18 April 1863 she "read M. Guizot's Preface to the [French] translation of Mr Helps's book, as well as that of the introduction",⁴⁵ and on 3 February 1864 saw Helps "about the precious Life & gave him all the papers which we have at present put together".⁴⁶ On 9 July following, she described meeting with him "about the laying of the 1st stone to an Infirmary he is going to have built from the proceeds of dearest Albert's speeches".⁴⁷ On 4 August, the day on which Prince Leopold had gone to "lay the 1st stone", she declared that this infirmary was to be built "principally from the £500 I gave him as the proceeds of the book of my beloved one's Speeches".⁴⁸ On 13 November she showed "Mr Helps the mausoleum & the monument ... [and] saw him later ... about the dear Life, the early part of which he is going to superintend the printing of".⁴⁹ This is evidently a reference to the forthcoming *The Early Years of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort Compiled under the Direction of Her Majesty*, by Lt.-Gen. the Hon. Charles Grey. This book is properly described as a compilation, based on letters and memoranda, rather than an extended literary synthesis, well within the capacity of the Queen's faithful private secretary. Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, in a review, declared that Grey "has threaded well together the pearls intrusted to him; but though the threading is his, the pearls are the gift to us of a higher hand". It is, therefore, "essentially a royal work".⁵⁰

The private edition appeared in 1866 and the published edition, in "substantially the same form", in 1867.⁵¹ Although there is no

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ *Quarterly Review*, October 1867, p. 280.

⁵¹ A reprint of the "Letter to the Queen" which prefixed the private edition is found in the published edition (p. xvi) and dated March 1866. The preface to the published edition is dated June 1867. The date of acquisition of the British Library copy is 8 August 1867. The fact that there are no known extant copies of the private edition may be explained by the following letter of 15 June 1867 from Theodore Martin to General Grey in the General Grey Papers in the Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham. Martin, like Helps, was involved in the proof-reading of the work and suggested revisions: "It is necessary to keep in view that the book is going before a public that will be very critical, & some of whom will not be too good natured; so that as little opportunity as may be should be left for carping or objection. I trust H.M. will see the great importance of recalling the copies of the original volume from all

printed reference to Helps's involvement in the preparation of this work, it is evident from several letters now in the University of Durham Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic that he wrote to General Grey that he was a close reader of the manuscript and proofs and that he was very frank in his suggestions and criticisms. Grey, who had carefully read the text of Helps's own *Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort*,⁵² was less experienced as a writer.⁵³ A few representative examples of Helps's comments and corrections should suffice to make clear the extent of his involvement. Regarding the Introduction, for instance, he suggests on 22 December 1864 that Grey should make clear in it that "*this* life is for the Family—that naturally there enter into it familiar & personal details which it would not be desirable to have in the life that will hereafter be brought before the public and that will include the Prince's political career. For there was such a career, though, of course, of a reserved and peculiar character".

He also tries, through Grey, to satisfy the Queen's demands concerning the size of type used in quotations, as in the letter of 2 March 1885. The latter is of some importance for various other reasons. For one thing he commends Grey for his style and ability to put together "the various extracts and quotations" so that "I can scarcely see anything to be amended in that way". Helps believes that he can, however, be of service to Grey in three ways: to make arrangements with publisher (Smith) and printer, "to suggest whether an extract is too long or too short", and to serve

but those who can be wholly relied on not to let it pass into the hands of anyone who could by any possibility make any of the suppressed passages public. Unless this is done, I apprehend a good deal of annoyance. Unthinkingly those who have the book may feel no scruple in handing it about, after the altered volume is published, & there are people who will be only too glad to set to work to make paragraphs out of the alterations". And that there were more alterations than acknowledged in the 1867 preface is shown by another letter from Martin to Grey of 27 June: "The Preface is a very delicate and difficult affair. I have tried my hand upon it, and with, I fear, but indifferent success ... You will see that I propose to touch very lightly upon the fact that the published volume is different in any respect from the private one".

⁵² Helps's three letters to Grey in the General Grey Papers of 16 December 1862 are in response to one or more letters from the latter pointing out errors in statement or fact as well as misprints.

⁵³ He had, however, also written *Some Account of the Life and Opinions of Charles, Second Earl Grey*, London, 1861.

as "a third person coming in with a fresh eye, to look at the whole thing, and to make any prudential suggestions that may occur to me". For another reason this letter is important because of Helps's expression of his reservations regarding Chapter 12, concerning "Parliamentary proceedings respecting the marriage, and I must candidly say, I wish you would re-consider that chapter". His objections concern treatment of the Opposition at the time when the latter was seeking to lower the Prince Consort's annuity from £ 50,000 to £ 30,000. Helps declares:

I do not think the inference you draw from Lord Russell's conduct on that occasion is a just one. Again, it is always dangerous to attribute motives, as we cannot know them for certain. Looking back at that period, I remember that I, too, was a strong and ardent partisan—that I thought the Queen and Prince very shamefully used by the Opposition; and, if I had been in Parliament, I dare say I should have expressed myself a great deal too warmly—perhaps intemperately—but without any such motive as that attributed to Lord Russell.

Moreover, would it not be well, my dear Grey, to avoid as much as possible uttering anything like censure upon any prominent statesman, or any great party in the State, in a work which, it must be known, has been promoted by the Queen, and which has had Her Majesty's constant aid and supervision? You cannot suppose that such a work will remain absolutely private. It will be too interesting for that.

In view of the fact that "there is a great difference between us on the point in question, would it not be well to submit the Chapter to some third person for his judgment"? He continues that "Her Majesty would be the best judge of the person to whom this chapter might, most confidentially, be submitted".⁵⁴

When he wrote to Grey on 5 March, Helps mentioned that he was grateful for the "very kindly & encouraging way in which you have received my criticism on the 12th chapter".

On 30 April 1865 Helps returns three proof sheets with "a few trifling suggestions". There is, in fact, only one, concerning a translation: "I hope that Her Majesty, if she sees these sheets, will not think me a presumptuous coxcomb for presuming to make any criticisms upon the translation of the German; but I have observed that the Queen is so particular about the accuracy of translation that I think H.M. will pardon even mistaken attempts

⁵⁴ The treatment of the Peel Opposition, perhaps somewhat tempered at Helps's request, is found in the *Early Life*, pp. 274 ff.

at improvement in translating". And again, on 21 May 1865, Helps shows concern that in Chapter 14 Grey attempts to show the "beautiful character" of the Prince by "contrasting it with other characters". In presenting the palm tree, he suggests, one should "speak as warmly as you can, of its loftiness, its grace, its usefulness; but it is better, perhaps, to say nothing about its being so superior to the trees & bushes that surround it". He indicates the impropriety [in a letter of 23 May 1865 and in a subsequent, undated, letter] of quoting from a "private letter" in which the Prince declared a meeting of the Privy Council to be "an empty form ... on the general ground that it is not well for Royalty to depreciate Royal forms, even if they are empty".

Helps took advantage of an apparently warm relationship with the Queen's private secretary to ask his help in finding additional subscribers for his infirmary at Bishops Waltham (14 December 1864) and to share his grief at the loss of his "almost dearest friend—Prescott the banker" (30 April 1865).

Helps wrote the Queen on 22 November 1865 (this letter is also in the Grey Papers at Durham) in response to "the Queen's letter, together with those of Dr. Macleod [the Queen's Scottish chaplain] & Gen. Grey, and Your Majesty's memoranda". Dr. Macleod had evidently suggested that the present volume might compete unfairly with a possible full-fledged biography. This criticism Helps opposed because

the work which Genl. Grey is putting together was never intended to be a life of the Prince to be given to the world; but was merely to be a well-arranged collection of materials for that life, with just enough of biographical skill thrown into it, to make it thoroughly readable for the Family and the very few intimate friends who would ever be permitted to see it.

When the Life of the Prince has to be written, if a skillful writer is employed, he will probably not present to the public one fourth of the materials contained in the present work.

Such being the case, a great part of Dr. Macleod's criticism falls to the ground.

Helps also declared enthusiastically in this letter that "in this work, or in any future life to be written of the Prince, mention should be made of the sacrifice the Prince made in accepting the position he took [as Prince Consort]".

Concerning the delicacy of certain of the materials supplied by the Queen, Helps offered a striking suggestion:

With regard to any letters or other documents showing Your Majesty's great attachment from the first to the Prince, Mr Helps cannot think they are misplaced in a Life for the Family. Of course they could be used very sparingly and reverently in any Life for the Public.

There is one point which Mr Helps has before now ventured to impress strongly upon Your Majesty; and that is, that there must always be some risk of publicity, when anything is put into print. Do what we will, there may be some traitor in the camp. This leads Mr Helps to put before Your Majesty whether it might not be advisable to keep some part of this life in manuscript. Two or three copies of this manuscript might be made; it might be of the same size as the printed part, and bound up with it.

On 24 February 1866 Helps wrote again to the Queen. This may be a reference to the forthcoming published edition:

Mr Helps thinks that the Memoir is greatly improved; & that the additions which Your Majesty has made are excellent. He thinks, also, that the new quotations are singularly appropriate. [However] He must take some little time to consider what alterations he would recommend, what omissions, if any, he would venture to suggest.⁵⁵

Concerning the continuation of the "Precious Life", the Queen declared on 16 August 1866 that Helps "will kindly undertake (with assistance) to go on with it",⁵⁶ and on 14 September she wrote that "help was to be obtained from Mr. Martin &c."⁵⁷ On 14 November she referred to Theodore Martin as "the gentleman whom Mr. Helps wishes should be entrusted with writing 'the Life', as Gen. Grey cannot continue with it, & Mr. Helps has no time. He was too ill to bring Mr. Martin, who is very pleasing, quiet & 'sympathique'. He [is] also well known to Augusta Stanley".⁵⁸

At the end of his 1867 Preface Grey speaks of the work having already been taken over by Martin, who "has for some time been engaged upon [it], for the prosecution of which he will have the same advantages as to information from authentic sources that have been enjoyed in the preparation of the present volume".⁵⁹ Needless to say, to the end of his life Helps played his part in

⁵⁵ RA C78/11.

⁵⁶ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Grey, *The Early Years of the Prince Consort* (London, 1867), p. 14.

supervising the writing by Martin, who did not hesitate to call upon him. However, Martin wrote, in *Queen Victoria as I Knew Her*, that the "memorandum giving an idea of his [Helps's] ideas how the work should be carried out" offered "assistance (which, as it turned out, I never used) in looking up and seeking materials and in furnishing political information",⁶⁰ and finally, "Reflection satisfied me that, as the event proved, Mr. Helps had not fully appreciated either the greatness of the scale on which a biography, that would in fact be a history, must be constructed, or the amount of time and labour which it would demand".⁶¹

Grey's not quite full-fledged biography, although the Queen did indeed refer to it as "The 1st Vol. of the precious life",⁶² has one more interesting sidelight, concerning a review of the book. She wrote to Helps on 1 October 1867 that she "hears it is not *Froude* [the historian] who reviewed the book in *Fraser's* [this was a mildly critical review, protesting that the Prince's virtues had been exaggerated]⁶³—Mr. [Charles] Kingsley disliked the objectionable part as much as the Queen—& therefore it clearly showed it was *not* his brother-in-law [Mr. Froude]. But who was it?"⁶⁴ Helps knew who it was. Froude had written to him on 4 August 1867: "I have reviewed the P. Consort's Life. My impulse first was to send proofs of what I have said to you and Martin—but it may perhaps be better that you know nothing about the matter. I fear I shall not have pleased 'her'—I cannot crook my knees into an attitude of palaver—and there is a stilted tone about parts of the book which make it nearly ridiculous".⁶⁵ Helps evidently kept the secret.

III

Helps's most important, and most difficult, editorial assignment was that of assembling, along with the Queen, as well as editing,

⁶⁰ Martin, *Queen Victoria as I Knew Her* (London, 1908), p. 56. In the same work (pp. 3-4) Martin indicates that Helps had consulted him in the preparation of *Speeches and Addresses* and that the Queen, whom he had not yet met, presented him with an inscribed copy of that work.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶² RA Queen Victoria's Journal, 10 July 1867.

⁶³ *Fraser's Magazine*, September 1867, pp. 269-83.

⁶⁴ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/5.

⁶⁵ Original in the Sir Arthur Helps Papers, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University.

extracts from her Journal to be published finally in 1868 as *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861*, and often referred to by her as her "little book".⁶⁶ The work deals with the various sojourns of Victoria and Albert at Balmoral and elsewhere, away from London. In addition to his general editorial responsibilities, Helps wrote a preface. The earliest available reference to this project occurs in the Queen's Journal of 7 January 1864, where she wrote: "Dictating to Augusta S. an answer to Mr. Helps, who is kindly having printed for me a few copies of our delightful expeditions in the Highlands, &c, & it is quite an interest to watch the progress".⁶⁷ All this time, it should be remembered, Helps was heavily involved not only with his responsibilities as Clerk of the Privy Council but also with his own extensive writing, as well as with the development of his soon-to-falter china-clay industry. Much of his surviving correspondence with the Queen concerns this book, particularly the published editions.

The story of the editing is both complex and interesting. In the Royal Library there is a document entitled "Supplementary Preface",⁶⁸ written by one Frederick Enoch, an editorial assistant to the publishing firm of Smith, Elder. This Preface was printed in 1880 and inserted in a copy of the illustrated edition of the Queen's book. It gives details of four accompanying proof copies. Although the information it provides is indispensable to the present study, there is a certain implied peevishness that also indicates the possibility of exaggeration because the Royal preferment suggested by Helps to Enoch (perhaps a post in the Royal Library) had never been obtained.⁶⁹ Enoch wrote: "At [the] close of 1864, as secretary-assistant to the head of the firm that produced the work, I received some printed pages to 'correct', and

⁶⁶ See, e.g., RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/2 (6 July 1867).

⁶⁷ RA Queen Victoria's Journal, p. 7.

⁶⁸ There are no Royal Library identification numbers on this document, which will henceforth be referred to as "Enoch".

⁶⁹ See p. xxi. Helps had suggested the possibility of "an appointment in Windsor Castle Library". Helps evidently retained some trust in, and liking for, Enoch, as indicated in his letter to the latter of 25 April 1871 (original in the possession of the present writer). He hopes that Enoch, who is still in the employment of Smith, Elder, will find reviewers who will understand the necessary restrictions on the subject in the recently published *Conversations on War and General Culture*. It is perhaps important to note that the letter is marked "Private and Confidential".

employed a youthful junior to 'read the copy'. The censure this evoked strengthened a surmise that this was a book printing for its author—The Queen". Enoch insists that henceforth he did his work in the strictest privacy", 'in my own time, and at my abode". He soon discovered that this assignment "was for the nominal editorship of Mr. Arthur Helps, Clerk of the Privy Council".⁷⁰ Enoch tells of two private editions of "the little book". "The first, of 63 copies, delivered at intervals from August 1865 to September 1866, contained an 'errata'".⁷¹ The second edition, with errata "carried into the text", was completed in January 1867, "after the extended work was in preparation for publication".⁷² Two signed copies of the first edition, with identical inscriptions, were presented by the Queen to Helps. One of these, recently sold at Sotheby's,⁷³ contains corrections by Helps and Alice and a few by the Queen herself. The earliest decision to make the book available to the general public, Enoch believes, was made during a visit by Helps to Balmoral in September 1866.

Because Helps was involved, it is important to know of the development of the private editions from the Queen's journal and then onward to the published editions. One finds throughout evidence of the intense interest and participation of the Queen herself in the proceedings. The information here detailed is based not only on Enoch's "Supplementary Preface" and "Supplementary Appendix", essentially a copy of the first private edition with revisions inserted, but also on a personal examination by the present writer of the various copies. These, according to Enoch, are as follows:

- A. — "A first proof of the book". February 1865.⁷⁴
- B. — An "Incomplete revise". No date given.⁷⁵
- C. — "A specimen of the book in cloth ... submitted in March, 1865".⁷⁶

⁷⁰ Enoch, p. xix.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. xx. Concerning the "Errata" Her Majesty had declared: "The Queen quite approves of Mr. Helps's proposal". October 23rd.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ For an annotated copy see Sotheby Catalogue, 16 February 1978, pp. 23 ff. The other copy is now in the possession of Dr. Peter Helps.

⁷⁴ Enoch, p. xix.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

D. — A copy of the first private edition with errata inserted.⁷⁷

A. Enoch declared in a prefatory annotation that this was “set up from excerpts taken, irrespective of dates, from the original Diary”.⁷⁸ Also, “The MS. notes and corrections are in the autograph of the Queen, saving a very few corrections in another hand”. Enoch has added a title page to this book “from an after print”.⁷⁹ There are no illustrations, and the work is not quite complete. In addition, there are only a few chapter headings.⁸⁰

B. “Title-page and chapter-headings are in the Queen’s handwriting”.⁸¹ Some are, however, actually in print. It contains (p. 61) perhaps the first evidence of Helps’s editorial intervention. On l. 8 the marked text reads “that she had said she feared she would not see her again”. In a marginal note Helps has written: “This to Mr. Helps is rather a puzzling bit. He supposes that the ‘*she*’s apply both to the old woman & the ‘her’ to the Princess. If so, may the words ‘The Princess’ be inserted in brackets after ‘her’?”

The Queen was dissatisfied with a wood engraving of herself and Lady Churchill with Grant in a “boat or coble”. She wrote alongside the offending drawing: “This man with the oar ought to have Trowsers & *no* kilt”. The picture referred to is in the “First Great Expedition”, p. 93. Enoch notes (p. xix) that “the Queen and Lady Churchill have veils. Those veils were removed in published editions”.

C. This has several “photographic illustrations”, one of which, “View of Craig Boestock”, was later removed at Her Majesty’s direction, and another, that of the “Castle of Invermark”, substituted.⁸²

D. This is the first private edition.⁸³ It is, however, of some special interest because “it contains a manuscript addendum to

⁷⁷ The Supplementary Appendix in the illustrated edition is a copy of the same edition as D, but with many manuscript revisions in preparation for the published edition. The four proof copies are all in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

⁷⁸ Enoch printed introductory notes at the beginning of each proof volume.

⁷⁹ Enoch’s prefatory note to A.

⁸⁰ For example, “First Great Expedition to Glen Fishie and Granton” and “Second Great Expedition to Invermark and Fettercairn”. It should be emphasized that no attempt is made in this article to present all details, but to suggest the innumerable editorial problems that concerned Helps.

⁸¹ Enoch, p. xix.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ The text is essentially that of the “Supplementary Appendix”.

the printed text, reading as follows: "Page 127 in the first line, for 'four' read 'two'".⁸⁴

The sequence of events, leading from the private editions through the first two published editions to the appearance of the illustrated edition, suggests the exacting responsibilities placed upon Helps as editor. The suggestions for publication, Helps writes in his 1868 preface, came from close Royal associates of the Queen, as well as family members and Helps himself. He overcame the Queen's reluctance for regular publication by expressing fears lest "incorrect representations" of portions of the private publication "might find their way into the public journals". It would therefore, he thought, be better at once to place the volume within reach of Her Majesty's subjects, who would, no doubt, derive from it pleasure similar to that which it had afforded to the Editor himself.⁸⁵

A crucial question in the editorial process was the Queen's grammar and style. According to a letter written by Ruskin to his cousin, Joan Agnew, Helps "wanted to put all the 'Queen's English' to rights."⁸⁶ Indeed, there was a continuous struggle between author and editor as to the making of changes. The Queen wrote to Theodore Martin on 20 October 1868 that "the simplicity of style, and the absence of all appearance of writing for effect, ... had given her book such immense and undeserved success. Besides, how could Mr. Helps expect pains to be taken when she wrote late at night, suffering from headache and exhaustion, and in dreadful haste, and not for publication"?⁸⁷

There were, perhaps, more serious objections, shared by Smith, the publisher, Theodore Martin, and General Grey, to the work's being published at the same time as the *Early Life*, or at all, for the reason of its containing sensitive Royal revelations, less justifiable than they were in Grey's book. Such objections, however, may have failed to consider the extraordinary discretionary powers of Helps. A letter of 14 August 1867 from Martin to Grey, in the General Grey Papers, states:

Any interference on my part with Mr. Helps about the Journal is a matter of no small delicacy. My first opinion, expressed when it was

⁸⁴ This was probably a necessary correction made at a later date.

⁸⁵ *Leaves from a Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* (London, 1868), pp. viii ff.

⁸⁶ Ruskin, *Works*, xxxvi. 54.

⁸⁷ *Queen Victoria as I Knew Her*, pp. 43-4.

shown to me this time last year, was so decidedly adverse to the publication, that the subject has scarcely ever been alluded to by him since. His own opinion, I know, is a very strong one, that the Journal has merits, irrespective of mere gossiping considerations, which will make its publication welcome to the public and honourable to H.M.—and therein of course lies the main difficulty. I do not think these merits outweigh the risk—but conclusions on matters of this sort are so much the result of feeling that it is hard if not useless to argue the point. Still I have written to him in terms which I am sure will make him reconsider the question, & that is all I can do. I hope he may not take my interference amiss, but I know he was hurt at my expressing the decided opinion I did that the Journal ought not to be published, as was proposed, almost simultaneously with your book. My reasons had nothing whatever to do with the merits or demerits of the Journal, and after a time Mr. Helps frankly owned I was right. Still his sensitiveness then makes me chary in dealing with the larger question, whether the Journal should be published at all. I have pressed the grave nature of his responsibility—for on him the ultimate responsibility will rest should the publication do harm. I do not suppose either the Dean of Windsor or the Dean of Canterbury consider themselves responsible in any opinions they may have expressed. Were they aware that the question of publication was still *in dubio*, or will they be of the same opinion now, when the effect of your volume, in the direction they hoped the Journal would work, may be pretty well appreciated? [For the Queen's reactions to this matter see text].

General Grey, in turn, wrote to Helps on 16 August, "Private and Confidential" (copy):

I was in town two days ago and had a long conversation with Smith, in consequence of which, tho' I run the risk of being supposed to interfere unduly in a matter on which I have not been consulted, I must write you a line.—Smith was very cautious in what he said to me, but it seemed evident to me that he had *very* grave doubts as to the expediency of publishing the Journal.—At all events at this moment. The objects for which the publication of the memoir [*Early Life*] had been recommended had been *fully* attained. And it should be most carefully considered whether the effects might not be weakened if the Public could say they had *too much* of the private thoughts of the Sovereign. For publishing the memoir there was the one all sufficient reason (I will not call it excuse) that H.M. sought to place the great character of the Prince in it's [*sic*] true light before the world—And in doing this, the *incidental* expression of H.M.'s devotion to his memory, was only natural. In short, tho' the Queen's personal sentiments came naturally in for a large portion of the memoir, the object of the book was not personal to herself, nor was it published for the purpose of giving expression to her personal feelings

and sentiments—I have not seen the *Journal* except in the smaller shape in which it was first printed—and the considerations I suggest may not apply to it.

Martin's fears of a bad press, when and if the Queen's book was published, and sarcasms privately expressed by those inimical to "monarchical institutions", in his letter to Grey of 5 August 1867, seem somewhat relieved in his letter of 30 December. Here he hopes that the reviews of the *Journal*, when published, will be kindly, thanks in no small degree to the good effect of your volume [which has received generally favourable reviews]. These recent demonstrations of Fenians and Finlans [*sic*], too, have waken'd up a strong spirit of loyalty, which will disarm, I trust, some who might otherwise have gone about dropping sarcasms about it".

Some details concerning the procedures for revision and the actual changes made between the private and public editions of the *Journal* are indispensable for a proper understanding of the relationship between Helps and the Queen and as an introduction to their correspondence, which, of course, deals with other matters as well.

Enoch tells us that on 22 October 1866 he received a portion of the manuscript: "Mr. Helps asked me to mark on the proofs words of too frequent occurrence, as 'beautiful', 'pretty', 'fine', &c".⁸⁸ Again, on 27 October Helps writes: "I have promised to send, set up in pages, the copy which you sent me yesterday in slips. I hope you will enable me to perform my promise".⁸⁹ Enoch "received back the 'slips', doubtless inadvertently, as they had, I found, been to the Queen, bearing this memo. in Mr. Helps's handwriting:—'This has been marked by the printers before it came into Mr. Helps's hands. They often call attention to the repetition of words, and sometimes needlessly, as in many cases here. '... Thus I discovered, under guise of 'the printers', I was 'scapegoat' for what the nominal editor was too versed a courtier to submit from himself".⁹⁰

Although one is likely to find especially interesting the changes in wording and detail between the private and published editions, it is also important to notice that some chapters have been added to and one withdrawn from the latter. To the published edition

⁸⁸ Enoch, p. xx.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

are added chapters dealing with "Earlier Visits to Scotland",⁹¹ "Tours in England and Ireland", and "Yachting Excursions".⁹² Also added were an "Account of the News of the Duke of Wellington's Death" and "The Betrothal of the Princess Royal".⁹³ Deleted is "Beat in the Corrie Buie and of Carrop Woods".⁹⁴

The changes in those sections to be retained in the published edition are indicated in what Enoch terms his "Supplementary Appendix". This, as already noted, appears to be based on one copy of the first private edition. Those passages to be deleted are doubly underlined in red.⁹⁵ Manuscript additions and corrections, for the most part, appear to be in Enoch's handwriting, but they are evidently made at the direction of Helps, Alice, and the sometimes reluctant Queen.

Enoch mentions in his "Supplementary Preface" that "Alterations were made in the orthography as 'mama' for 'mamma' ..., [and] repetition of words was avoided, such as 'lunch', 'luncheon', and 'got', which last recurred some ninety-six times in (145 pp.) *private edits*".⁹⁶ However, not all instances of "got", for example, marked for obliteration from the text were in fact removed.⁹⁷

The following are some representative instances of passages deleted. In the private edition the Queen wrote: "*Tomintoul* is the most wretched, tumbledown... place I ever saw... [with] a look of wretched disreputability about it which reminded Lady Churchill of an Irish village. Grant [John Grant, head-keeper at Balmoral] said they were chiefly Catholics—a large Catholic church there—and he afterwards told me that it was the dirtiest, poorest village in the whole of the Highlands, and that the epithet for a miserable person in this part of the world was a 'Tomintouler'".⁹⁸ In the published edition this passage read: "*Tomantoul* is the most tumbledown, poor-looking place I ever saw—a long street with

⁹¹ *Leaves*, pp. 1-95.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 247-315.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-38 and p. 154.

⁹⁴ This was restored, with some textual emendations, in the *Illustrated Edition*, published in January 1869.

⁹⁵ Enoch, p. xxi. The pages are mounted two to a sheet, and the corresponding pagination in the illustrated edition noted.

⁹⁶ Enoch, p. xxii.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., p. 107.

⁹⁸ Private edition, pp. 99-100.

three inns, miserable dirty-looking houses and people, and a sad look of wretchedness about it. Grant told me that it was the dirtiest, poorest village in the whole of the Highlands".⁹⁹ The published editions, not inclined to make slurs on nationalities or religions, also omit many of the frequent references to the Queen's obvious fondness for food and drink (whisky as well as claret).¹⁰⁰ Then, too, in the private editions there are references to Royal family affairs not considered suitable for public consumption. For instance (p. 116), Grant is asked his opinion of "Alice's young gentleman" [Prince Louis of Hesse]. He replies: "Oh, very well; he has not much English; he'll go anywhere; I hope he's good".¹⁰¹ The following was also removed: [It was on one of the Highland journeys that the Royal retinue stopped for the night at a village inn, but sought anonymity]. "A very hard bed, but very clean. We had taken the precaution of having our own sheets, which, however, told tales from the mark of the crown and VR on them".¹⁰² It is possible to suggest, therefore, that the private editions are sometimes more colourful, and, in general, give a more spontaneous, authentic portrayal of the Queen and her attitudes than do the published editions.

As preparations for full publication proceeded, the references to John Brown, one-time gillie and later the Queen's personal servant, and one footnote in particular, caused the greatest concern to Helps as editor because of the difficulty in pleasing the author.¹⁰³ The note in question introduces the devoted attendant at the beginning of the chapter on "Loch Muich" (private editions, pp. 128-9). Although it is not necessary to describe all the developments that resulted in the final form of the note, it is perhaps helpful to present the latter here in its entirety, to give a clearer impression of what took place in the process:¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Published edition, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰⁰ For example, pp. 6-7: "When we had eaten our cold beef and partridge, and drank some wine and whiskey, we gave the remainder to the men who had come with us". Gustatory reference is omitted in the published edition, p. 106.

¹⁰¹ Omitted in published edition, p. 216.

¹⁰² Omitted in published edition, pp. 196-7.

¹⁰³ Additional to this one controversial note, one might observe that Enoch notes (pp. xxi-xxii) that there was a passage in B. descriptive of the dinner at Fettercairn "marked for erasure": "Grant and Brown waited!... They came only to change the plates which Brown soon got into, but it was amusing to see the vehemence with which he put down the plates".

¹⁰⁴ The published edition (1868), pp. 129-9, reads as follows: "The same who

September 16, 1850. We reached the hut at three o'clock. At half-past four we walked down to the loch, and got into the boat with our people: Duncan, *Brown*,* [etc.]

* The same who, in 1858, became my regular attendant out of doors everywhere in the Highlands; who commenced as gillie in 1849, and was selected by Albert and me to go with my carriage. In 1851 he entered our service permanently, and began in that year leading my pony, and advanced step by step by his good conduct and intelligence. His attention, care, and faithfulness cannot be exceeded; and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable, and indeed, most needful in a constant attendant upon all occasions. He has since, most deservedly, been promoted to be an upper servant, and my permanent personal attendant. (December, 1865). He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race, and is singularly straightforward, simple-minded, kind-hearted, and disinterested; always ready to oblige; and of a discretion rarely to be met with. He is now in his fortieth year. His father was a small farmer, who lived at the Bush on the opposite side to Balmoral. He is the second of nine brothers,—three of whom have died—two are in Australia and New Zealand, two are living in the neighbourhood of Balmoral; and the youngest, Archie (Archiebald), is valet to our son Leopold, and is an excellent, trustworthy young man.

The note went through various changes from A, B, C, and D through an additionally corrected page inserted into Enoch's "Supplementary Appendix" before it reached the final form quoted above. The offending passage that later required to be eliminated from the published edition, perhaps because of the public's suspicion of the Queen's infatuation with Brown, read: "The first mention of him in my Journal, in 1850, is as follows:

since 1858, became my personal attendant out of doors, everywhere in the Highlands; who began, in 1849, as gillie, and drove behind my carriage; in 1851, entered our service as stable-man, and began in that year, leading my pony, and step by step advanced, by his good conduct and intelligence, to what he is now: and whose attention, care, and faithfulness, now that my sorrow and shattered strength have rendered me so dependent and helpless, cannot be exceeded. I have, in consequence, just appointed him as my permanent personal servant to attend me everywhere (February, 1865). The first mention of him in my Journal, in 1850, is as follows:—'Johnnie Brown (as he used to be called) is a nice, active, modest lad; very good-humoured; always ready to do whatever is asked, and always with a smile on his face. He is 23, tall and good-looking, with a profusion of fair, curly hair'".

'Johnnie' Brown (as he used to be called)¹⁰⁵ is a nice, active, modest lad; very good-humoured; always ready to do what he is asked. He is 23, tall and good-looking, with a profusion of fair, curly hair".¹⁰⁶ In A the Queen had added in her own handwriting at the bottom of the page the following, which was also retained in D: "I have in consequence just appointed him as my permanent personal servant to attend me *every* where (Feb. 1865)".¹⁰⁷ One of the duplicate private editions given by Her Majesty to Helps contains manuscript corrections of and additions to the note by either Helps or Alice.¹⁰⁸ Inserted in Enoch's "Supplementary Appendix" is a 'proof' of this footnote further along its evolution toward its final form. Enoch has written at the bottom of the page: "These are pages with the note as prepared for publication. The passages *underlined* were, however, withdrawn".¹⁰⁹ Also included is the proof of the final note: "These pages [Enoch writes] give the note as published. The *underlined* passages being those that were added".¹¹⁰

Some insight into the importance attached to this note on Brown, especially in relation to the overall intended purpose of the published edition, is to be found in a letter from Gerald Wellesley, Dean of Windsor, to Helps on 4 February 1868(?) (included in E.A.P. Helps's unpublished manuscript): "The book appeals to the nation against a clique—[which disliked the Royal Household and searched avidly for tittle-tattle] the author of these rumours [concerning the personal nature of the relationship between Brown and Her Majesty] and shows the peculiar attachment and interest taken by the Queen in her servants during the life-time of her husband, whom she adored. That this—after his death, remaining the same—should be perverted into what it has

¹⁰⁵ For reasons as to why the Queen insisted upon changing "Johnnie" to "John", see her letter to Helps of 31 August 1867 (RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/4).

¹⁰⁶ This is, of course, the version found in the first private edition. See above n. 104.

¹⁰⁷ As printed in A, the note runs "The same who ... exceeded ... the first mention of him ... fair, curly hair".

¹⁰⁸ Inserted in manuscript, for example, is the passage found in the final note, beginning: "His attention, care, and faithfulness", etc. (Sotheby Catalogue, 16 February 1978).

¹⁰⁹ This is definitely not the final form. Although, for example, "as stableman" is marked for excision, the note does not yet contain "He has all the independence and elevated feelings peculiar to the Highland race", &c.

¹¹⁰ This is the final form of the note.

been—is a gross absurdity which must strike every reader. On this account *especially* I was *earnest* for the side of this publication (So was I—A.H.) [a pencilled note in the handwriting of Helps] and much astounded that many of my brethren were blind to the advantage of it. The singularly close relationship with her domesticity will now be as it has never yet been understood”.

Even after the appearance of the first edition, the Queen’s “little book” continued to be of mutual interest both to her and to Helps in the preparation of subsequent published editions. Later in 1868 a second edition appeared incorporating some corrections required by the Queen,¹¹¹ followed by a *People’s Edition* in March and the *Illustrated Edition* in January 1869. With the latter the Queen was characteristically concerned, here, in particular, with the illustrations. Indeed, included in this profusely-illustrated edition were facsimiles of certain of her sketches. She had written, for example, in returning woodcut proofs for this edition on 24 October 1868: “4 are right. 2 require alterations, viz.—Brown’s and the Heather. In Brown’s the chair comes out so small and looks so awkward that PSS. Louise objects to it, and has made a scribble to show the size (naturally in proportion) which it ought to be. The Queen thinks also that the *nose* is a trifle thick and the *eye* stares a little”.¹¹²

In 1869 appeared a remarkable volume: *Mountain, Loch and Glen*, “Prepared under the Superintendence of Arthur Helps, Esq., Illustrating ‘Our Life in the Highlands’, From paintings Executed Expressly for this Work by Joseph Adams, With an Essay on the Characteristics of Scottish Scenery by the Rev. Norman Macleod D.D. [With Extracts from the Queen’s Diary Accompanying each Plate. Edited, with a Preface by A. Helps]”, London, 1869. In his preface Helps writes that “The publication of Her Majesty’s journal afforded him a fitting opportunity for bringing the fruits of his labours under public notice, and Her most gracious Majesty has kindly consented to its being dedicated to herself”. The Queen had no direct responsibility in the preparation of this work; but in describing the effectiveness of the photographs used in the paintings, Helps declared that “It shows the Queen’s keen appreciation of the beauties of natural scenery, that so many

¹¹¹ See the Queen to Alice Helps (RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/14).

¹¹² Enoch, p. xxii. It is not clear whether the letter was written to Helps or to Enoch.

exquisite pictures should have been made of the spots which had especially attracted her attention. Short extracts from Her Majesty's Diary accompany each plate, which we are sure will not be uninteresting to the reader".¹¹³

IV

The correspondence between the Queen and Helps, much of it dealing with the preparation of the 1868 *Leaves* for the press, indicates the growing friendship between them as well as illuminating problems in the editorial process and giving other important information. Even before the first letter she wrote to Helps, references in the Journal, some of them already quoted, indicate that she knew and liked him. On 19 January 1865, for instance, she writes: "Saw Mr. Helps again, who dined with us as well as the Biddulphs, & was very agreeable & original",¹¹⁴ and on 20 November 1865: "After the Council had some conversation with excellent Mr. Helps".¹¹⁵ On 24 February 1866 the letter mentioned above referring to the oncoming *Early Years* was sent. Helps also grieves here with Her Majesty over the death of Sir Charles Phipps: "Mr. Helps feels that, of late years, Death has been very busy amongst all who were most devoted to Your Majesty's service".¹¹⁶ Susan Durant, a young sculptress, wrote to her father from Osborne on 17 August 1866 that her friend Mr. Helps was there and that the latter thinks "I can bring it [china clay near Vernon Hill] into fashion and we are planning to make Terra Cottas with it of the Royal Family".¹¹⁷

Progress on the published *Leaves* is mentioned by the Queen on 22 October 1866. She writes from Balmoral: "I have been very busy extracting from my journal the accounts of our visits to Scotland in 42, 45, 47, to be printed in my 'Life in the Highlands', which Mr. Helps is going to bring out".¹¹⁸ In addition, one notes the Queen's journal entry of 3 November: "Saw Mr. Helps about the 'Life in the Highlands', the addition to be made to it, & he was

¹¹³ The pages are not numbered.

¹¹⁴ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ RA C78/11.

¹¹⁷ RA Vic. Add. MSS. X2/77 / Miss Durant.

¹¹⁸ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

so kind & so interested about it all".¹¹⁹ By 28 November Alice was entirely involved in the editorial procedure: "Saw Miss Helps, a nice gentle, little person, her father's right hand, & went with her over my book, making many little alterations. But it was such fidgetty work & took so long that I felt quite exhausted afterwards".¹²⁰

That the Queen was now engaged with the chapters to be added at the end of the book is indicated in her first surviving letter to Helps, that of 8 December. She is sending him the "concluding part of the Irish Tour; but there is *one small* part between this one & the former one sent—*still* to be sent".¹²¹ The growing congeniality with Alice as well as with her father is suggested by the following: "She [Her Majesty] cannot manage to see Miss Helps this week—but she hopes *he* cd. come *with her* for 2 or more nights to Osborne between Xmas and the New Year or *after* New Year". That the latter date was selected is indicated by an entry in her Journal on 3 January 1867 stating that the two are at Osborne and that she had talked it [the book] well over".¹²² She had found "Alice H. most amiable & reasonable", she wrote Theodore Martin on 17 January 1868, "& *all* she says is most satisfactory & gratifying".¹²³

The Queen shows concern about the deepening financial problems of Helps: "Saw Miss Helps about the Book. Her poor father's affairs are in a sad state & he will have to part with his estate, which is a dreadful grief to him".¹²⁴ These personal tragedies seem to have contributed to his illness. On 16 May 1867 he was to stay over night: "Talked to him about the Preface to the Book, &c. He has been very ill, & has had great pecuniary losses, obliging him to sell his place, which is very sad. He looks shaken and depressed".¹²⁵ "The Queen is anxious to speak to Mr. Helps on the subject of the Book [she wrote on 6 July] & therefore she asked him to come down. To save time however—she sends Mr. Helps 3 notes from the good Dean of Windsor [Wellesley] to whom she gave the *little* book to read, asking him to criticize &

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/1.

¹²² RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

¹²³ RA Y166/20.

¹²⁴ RA Queen Victoria's Journal, 28 April, 1867.

¹²⁵ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

observe upon anything *he* thought objectionable or at least wh. *shld* be altered, for he had told her how much people had liked the private copy wh. she had given him & wh. he had shown several people. She then told him he *might* show the present book to any people (privately) whose opinion he thought worth having". The sympathetic Dean had "only suggested: the Dean of Canterbury Dr. Alford (a good author and amiable man) & Mr. Gladstone. But the Queen objected to the latter, tho, & he otherwise suggested the Bishop of Oxford [Wilberforce]. She cannot at this moment lay hands on the first note of the Dean's, but will send it later. Yesterday she recd. the one dated 5 and in answer agreed about the note on p. 121 (which is of importance [to her personally]) but said that something *must* be done to denote the benefits of her having *now, always, & on all* occasions a Servant of so superior a character as Brown—to attend her & whose peculiar & universal usefulness had been tested for so many years". Then: "To this she recd. the 2d answer dated today with the proposed passage [of] which she likes the sentiment. She does not quite like the wording & thinks that Mr. Helps will be able to frame something *far better*—indeed more to the *purpose*".¹²⁶ (It is quite likely that the additions, by Alice or himself, in Help's 1865 presentation copy [the one sold at Sotheby's] were a first draft of his own proposed note). The Queen, also, in the present letter asks to have "Stableman" left out of the Brown note (retained in the 1865 draft), and also proposes "adding a note about Mackenzie,¹²⁷ who is the only one *not mentioned*". In a postscript she adds that Wellesley had "complained that too much of the 'sport' had been cut out".

She was now evidently much pleased with Helps and his note, and wrote on 10 July: "Much correspondence with good Mr. Helps, who really is most kind, & from his acquaintance with all shades of society can be of great use".¹²⁸ She expresses her gratification to him in a letter of 11 July,¹²⁹ in which she thanks him for "his kind & *most* welcome letter wh. has done her *real* good & cheered her hopes of a return of comparative peace of

¹²⁶ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/2.

¹²⁷ In the published edition (p. 135) the note reads: "One of our keepers and a very good man; he lives at Alt-na-Giuthasach".

¹²⁸ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

¹²⁹ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/3.

mind & ease—She longs to hear a little more of the most satisfactory interview”.¹³⁰ She writes this letter in the consoling confines of the Royal Mausoleum, “sitting in this lovely spot with no other sound than the humming of bees—the cooing of doves, the air scented with the perfume of the lime blossoms—near to the hallowed spot where rest the Earthly robes of the 2 most dear Beings of her heart—the 2 who loved her most in the world & both of whom have been torn from her!—” She writes to Helps to express her thanks to Theodore Martin for “the manner in wh. he has translated her darling Husband’s letters to our dear child. *What beautiful letters they are! Oh! for one hour of this pure, great, intellectual, yet simple & so loving Conversation*”.¹³¹

The problem of the note on Brown re-emerges in a letter of the Queen’s of 31 August: “She accidentally came to talk when ‘out on the Hill’ this afternoon of *names*—& in speaking of the *abbreviation* (or what should she call it?) ‘Johnnie’,—he said it was never given but to *quite little Children*, unlike ‘Jemmie’, ‘Charlie’, ‘Willie’, ‘Archie’, which people keep till they are *quite* old men. Brown then observed that he had never been called Johnnie except by one or two people (Miss Hildyard in particular) & then said that he saw *it* had been put down in the Book. As every little mistake is now being finally looked thro’ as we wish to be *perfectly exact*, the Queen has thought it best to alter ‘*Johnnie*’ in the 2 places in wh. it occurs to ‘John’. Mr. Helps will no doubt agree”. She continues: “Mr. Helps must tell Mr. Smith [the publisher] not to complain of these corrections & show all to *no one* but *Mr. or Miss Helps*”.

An incomplete and undated letter of about this time offers further corrections in the Brown note. It states: “P. 121 in the note on *Brown* in the 3rd line ‘was *selected*’ the Queen *wld.* add ‘*by Albert*’ & me enough to go. Further on, on p. 122 in the 1st line of the same note, just after ‘(December 1865)’ she *wld.* put: ‘He had all the independence & *highmindness* (or ‘high-bred Feelings’, or ‘*Elevated feelings*’); peculiar to the Highland race & is singularly &c &c.—Then where it is said: ‘He is *one* of nine brothers’, the Queen *wld.* propose saying instead: ‘He is the 2nd of nine brothers’, 3 of whom have died, 2 are in Australia & New Zealand, & 2 are living in the neighborhood of Balmoral, & the youngest,

¹³⁰ The nature of the interview and with whom are unknown.

¹³¹ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/4.

Archie (Archiebald), is valet to our son, Leopold, & is an *excellent* man".¹³²

She wishes the book to be as inexpensive as possible and considers the possibility of making further additions, according to her letter to Helps of 1 October.¹³³ She "is anxious to make it as *good* as possible, & that it *shld.* be much read, especially by the people—her *real* friends. It *shld.* not be a *dear* book, so that *every one* can buy it. Now the question arises *shld.* it be added to? The Queen has plenty of interesting material but the question is *shld.* it be added to *now* or after it has gone thro several Editions? In the same way—the Queen thinks it is a pity that the *notes* are in *such small* print—containing as they do so *much matter* will they be *enough* read"? Again she insists that Mr. Smith *shld.* be told to speak to *no one but Mr. Helps* about the *alterations* & expense, for *he* & the *Queen* are *alone* responsible".¹³⁴

She emphatically insists on 25 October that full credit be given to Helps. In a letter just sent "she does not think she [has] stated sufficiently strongly or indeed *at all* that it was *she* who suggested to Gl. Grey that Mr. Help's name *shld.* appear as editor wh. she thinks wld. be a very good thing & is very often done". And then: "She *hopes* he will agree unless he objects to be associated with the Queen in print".

On 4 November she writes in her Journal: "Mr. Helps, after the Council, gave me the Preface to the little book, which he told me would come out before Christmas, his name appearing as editor".¹³⁵ On 14 November she conferred with him¹³⁶ "& went over a few little things with him, which still remain to be altered". But more alterations were being urged upon her than she could accept. Indeed, she wrote (4 December)¹³⁷ to Alice with some trepidation: "I really feel I ought to explain a little *more fully* what *my* feelings are *about* the various *alterations* & perhaps I *ought* to yield about this '*Mama*'¹³⁸ *dreadful* as the *origin* of the word is. But as regards the '*retired to rest*' I *strongly* object—excepting perhaps *once* for the sake of avoiding *repetition*. Then, the

¹³² Ibid., 30.

¹³³ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 6.

¹³⁵ RA Queen Victoria's Journal.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/7.

¹³⁸ "Mama" is used, for instance, in the first published edition (pp. 124, 144).

anecdote upon wh. I lay *so much* stress, it shows the Prince in a *light not* treated of at all in *The Life*; there is nothing *in the way* it is spoken wh. is *not* in perfect keeping with the accts. throughout of our *Life at Balmoral*, & I am surprised at your Father taking any exception whatever to it. However I enclose here another little addition or correction (to be *altered into* better style) to set your *kind* father's mind at rest". She also defends the "description of the poor Duke of Athole" as "*peculiarly characteristic of him*".¹³⁹

"I am most grateful for your little note wh. has gtlly. relieved my mind, wh. was a good deal perturbed [she wrote to Alice on 5 December]¹⁴⁰ to the amount of giving me a headach[e], wh. however is passing away—I was not *offended* but *distressed & alarmed* at seeing *so much* changed when I had thought *all* was *settled* completely. And nothing annoys or worries me more than having *questions reopened* wh. have been thoroughly discussed & gone thro' & then looked upon as settled. I felt too that my *own* feelings & the reasons for *things* were being overlooked & much misunderstood & this alarmed me". Her trepidation may have been caused by unexpected changes in the Brown note imposed by Arthur Helps. At any rate, peeved with her father, she informs Alice that "I will *readily* consider *all* you send me & communicate solely with you".

On 7 December¹⁴¹ she expresses her gratitude to Alice: "The note [evidently the one relating to Brown] is admirable & I am *quite* pleased at it, for it gives my good, kind friend a *little* of his due—& I am very glad you adopted the *remarks* as a *note*. It is far better & is an *excellent useful* Explanation to *every* thing". She accepts in this letter several suggested corrections and ends with a statement that accounts, perhaps, for Helps's being "difficult" at this time: "I am sorry to hear your father is suffering [either from illness, financial stress or both]". A letter from the Dean of Windsor is enclosed in her letter to Alice on the following day.¹⁴² She also in her letter asks for a change in the punctuation of the Brown note.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ The only direct reference to the late Duke of Atholl on p. 52 of the first published edition is scarcely one to which anyone could take exception.

¹⁴⁰ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/8.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 9.

¹⁴² Ibid., 10.

¹⁴³ I wish a *comma* & not a *semicolon* to follow 'always ready to oblige', for the 'and' connects it with the next sentence".

That the Queen was not yet satisfied with her book, the lack of certain illustrations being her present concern, is indicated in a letter to Alice of 11 December.¹⁴⁴ These are "the engravings of *the Hse.* at Balmoral and Alt-na-Giuthasach—both of wh. however I *do* consider very important to this book (& here I must differ from you); *every one likes to see* what a place looks like, but I never understood this intended omission *meant no* photos or additional views once contemplated of Ireland—England &c". She wishes that a "future *illustrated edition*" should "appear (as is *constantly* the case with books of *all* kinds) in wh. *old* Balmoral & Alt-na-Giuthasach & *some* other things shld. be added including the 2 woodcuts you saw". These will not be "for this edition & possibly several others & for the cheap one I will not require it". She is thankful to Alice's father "for taking the trouble of getting people to review it",¹⁴⁵ and mentions that, through her old governess, Miss Lehzen, arrangements are being made for a German translation of the present book.¹⁴⁶ Then: "I must ask you again *is this* book of mine *on* the same *footing* as regards *myself* as the *Speeches* wh. your father kindly edited". And finally, she will send Alice "a smartly bound copy ... for I am sure you have worked far too hard & too kindly for such a humble production".¹⁴⁷ Concerning prospective reviews, she writes to Alice on 20 December:¹⁴⁸ "I am glad about Mr. Reeve [editor of the *Edinburgh Review*],¹⁴⁹ but I do ask that he *shld* hesitate on trying to praise the book at the *expense of the other*."¹⁵⁰ It would distress me very much".

¹⁴⁴ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/11.

¹⁴⁵ One of these reviews is by Wilberforce (*Quarterly Review*, xxiv (1868), 55-83).

¹⁴⁶ *Blätter aus dem Tagebuch Ihrer Majestät der Königin Victoria während des Aufenthaltes der königlichen Familie in den Hochlanden von 1848 bis 1861 ...* Autorisierte deutsche Ausgabe. Braunschweig, 1868.

¹⁴⁷ In a letter affixed to this copy, now in the possession of Dr. Helps, is the following inscription "To Alice Helps in grateful recollection of all the kind trouble she has taken about this little book, from Victoria R. Osborne, Feb. 22, 1868".

¹⁴⁸ RA Vic. Add. MSS. A32/12.

¹⁴⁹ Review of the work that appeared in *Edinburgh Review*, cxxvii (1868), 281-300.

¹⁵⁰ Evidently *Speeches and Addresses*.