

The Letters of Harriet, Lady Ashburton, to Thomas Carlyle

PART II

The editors have maintained the editorial approach utilized in presenting the HLA Letters, Part I (see *CSA* 26: 25–107). To the furthest extent possible, the editors have remained faithful to HLA's text. Because HLA did not routinely provide a date, past editors have used the postmark on the envelopes. These dates have been written in pencil on many of the holographs. The present editors have included these postmark-dates whenever available above the address line, where readers will also find any textual insertion on the holographs in hands other than that of HLA. In these cases, and also in the case of the running commentary, insertions of the present editors are rendered in italic font, while insertions that appear on the MS are rendered in roman font. The identity of the authors is also provided when the handwriting is clearly identifiable. In the letters themselves, words and phrases underlined by HLA are denoted by italic font. HLA's style of abbreviation has been retained through the use of superscript characters. Also in the text of the letters, editorial insertions are indicated by the use of square brackets. Silent emendations have been confined to regularizing punctuation in the few instances where HLA places quotation marks on the inside of punctuation. Although the footnotes in Part II begin at number 1, they have been written as an extension of Part I.



Postmark: 5 January 1850

The Grange [5 January 1850]

Dear M^r. Carlyle—I ought to have written long ago a message from Mama to thank you very much for Cromwell duly & safely received with an intention of writing to say so herself so soon as she had anything else and more in the “imprévu” line to communicate to you—and I *should* have written but that I thought it best to let you growl on in the sulky solitude you and M^{rs}. C have judged fitting for our new year’s month of January—and to say nothing at all more to you—nevertheless here we are wishing you both a happy new year—

We are very happy here in this beautiful sunshine & bright snow, our poor Xmassing just over with a great run on our blankets, the robins on the window sills eating bread and butter, and Emily only with us. I have been in bed two days with the cold, before this snow fell, which was intense tho’ wonderfully beautiful. We are to have a large party from the 7th—on the 17th Samuel Lawrences, Eddisburys, Van der Weyers etc—Milnes and other sundries.¹ You had much better come the change will do you good and the fires do burn here. Everett writes great praise of M^r. Lawrence—Lowell belongs to him.² And if you won’t come—why then what can I say to you for are we not here “oysters on the rock of fraternity”³ as Proudhon designates Louis Blanc’s dream of his newly organized society—

¹ Samuel Laurence (1812–84; *ODNB*) m., 1836, Anastasia, b. Gliddon, cousin and adopted sister of Katherine Gliddon, wife of Thornton Leigh Hunt (1810–73; *ODNB*); Edward John Stanley, m. to Henrietta Maria, b. Dillon (1807–95), created Baron Eddisbury of Winnington, 1848; Jean Sylvain Van de Weyer (1802–74), Belgian author, lawyer, diplomat, and statesman; prime minister, 1845–46; m., 1839, Elizabeth Anne Sturgis Bates (1820–78), only daughter of Joshua Bates (1788–1865), broker in Baring Brothers since 1828; Richard Monckton Milnes, 1st Baron Houghton (1809–85; *ODNB*), author and politician, m., 1851, Annabella Hungerford, b. Crewe (1804–74).

² Edward Everett (1794–1865), American ambassador to Britain, 1841–45 (see *CL* 18: 42); James Russell Lowell (1819–91), American poet, essayist, and diplomat (see *CL* 18: 7–8; 30: xi).

³ Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Système des contradictions économiques ou philosophie de la misère* (Paris, 1850), 2: 271.

I enclose a letter from one of our of people in N. Zealand
return it please for the old mother sets great store by it.⁴

Yours ever truly H M Ashburton

Just read Southey.⁵ Pleasant, soft, twaddly reading which I liked, but wonderfully barren of what one supposes might have been in it if he was our Goethe—!—



Postmark: 8 January 1850

Alresford [8 January 1850]

It is sadly foolish of you to stay in black mud in all this wonderful beauty of sun and snow & diamond-like frost—and who knows if we shall, any of us—less all—see another winter or that winter here? Nevertheless your own way you will go, so Amen! Lawrence is here at work at us both—& very much to be liked even tho' he sees me through such huge ungenial spectacles. The drawings of you and H^y: Taylor are hanging & have succeeded wonderfully.⁶

We are not to be fixed in town till March at the earliest. There is a vision of *his* going up & down my not going to stay till after Easter—

Yours ever H M A

All good wishes to M^{rs}. C whom Annie F.⁷ gives a very good acc^t of, but that she is *never* to leave home again!! Is that the Dog?



Postmark: 20/21 January 1850

⁴ Possibly written by a relative of one of the tenants of The Grange.

⁵ *The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, ed. C. C. Southey, 6 vols. (1849, 1850).

⁶ For further discussion of Laurence's work, see David Southern, "That unhappy War of yours': Eight Letters from Samuel Laurence to Old Friends in New York City, 1861–1875," *Carlyle Studies Annual* 24 (2008): 5–8.

⁷ Annie Louisa Farrer (b. ca. 1826; see *CL* 23: 108), member of the Ashburton circle.

Alresford [20 January 1850]

One line to say we shall be quite ready for you any day, only the sooner you can come the better as on the 31st my Herr goes up for a few days to London for the meeting of Parl^t—let me know *train* etc, that you may find the brougham. and come early for it is too cold to travel late. You shall have a bedroom near my sittingroom which gives you thro' the latter libre accès to the conservatory at undue hours for smoking, disturbing no one if you like it.

Lockhart and Milnes & the Bishop of Oxford and Azeglio are to be here next week, & *my* friend Jones^s—We have been too many this week & too noisy and I am in the middle of a desperate cold—but our house is very *warm* and *comfortable*.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



TC visited The Grange for two days at the end of January. Relations remained cool between him and JWC. Writing to her on 29 January, he noted that “Lady An seems very cheerful, quieter than usual; and is busy in all directions packing today. For the establisht breaks up altogether; that is to say, we all go to Town on Thursday . . . on which day you will have me at dinner I hope. . . . Being bound for home on Thursday I need not write much, or indeed hardly at all beyond that announcement: you will get all news from me, if you like, when I return. Of your own news I hope to hear something tomorrow, if you will be so kind to me. . . . / Good be with you, my dearest little woman, tho’ you are not good to me just now, you cannot estrange me from you” (CL 25: 13–14). The death of Francis Jeffrey on 26 January may have stirred memories, but both remained silent on the subject. From JWC, TC received two letters from JWC’s dog Nero, detailing his activities in his master’s absence. Of her new dog, JWC wrote Jeannie Welsh, 4 March, “My little dog continues to be the chief comforter of my life—night and day he never leaves me, and it is something, I can tell you, to have such a bit of live cheerfulness always beside one” (CL 25: 37).

^s Vittorio Emanuele Taparelli d’Azeglio (1816–90), appointed Piedmontese envoy to England in 1850; possibly John Edward Jones (1806–62; *ODNB*), sculptor whose sitters included Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, and Lord Palmerston.



Postmark: 12/13 February 1850

The Grange [12 February 1850]

Dear Mr Carlyle—No black mud but the sun streaming in on my writing table thro' the conservatory, such is our condition here—today at least—but since Sunday I am sick and influenzaed—not on Thursday but on Monday next to the Fates drive us from light to darkness. The sky now here is the sky of spring as if a heavy blanket had been rolled away, the ground is all bursting with spring flowers, the birds & beasts bleating & singing without thought of burial clubs—& we are going away to drains & gas & poodles! Alas indeed!

I have been reading W. Irving's *Life of Mahomet*⁹ adding the said W. I. to the "18 millions"¹⁰—so wearying & sadly dull a book.

David Scott's memoir by his brother makes one wish to know the brother—who says nothing whatever of himself—It is a book well to read & his criticisms on art running counter to all Royal Academic rules I have a natural antagonistic if not artistic leaning towards. His criticism is generally just and just, too, of Jenny Lind—he does not seem to have had much available genius, probably it was wanting in depth & truth, & to have been morbid, morose and wayward beyond what that justified. Nevertheless he should not have died at 42 unknown or, if known uncared for by his generation.¹¹

⁹ Washington Irving, *The Life of Mahomet* (Leipzig, 1850).

¹⁰ In "The Present Time," the first of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, pbd. 1 February 1850, TC wrote of the United States: "They have together, with a rapidity beyond example, Eighteen Millions of the greatest *bores* ever seen in this world before" (*Works* 20: 21).

¹¹ William Bell Scott, *Memoir of David Scott R.S.A.* (Edinburgh, 1850). Scott (1811–90; *ODNB*) represented his elder brother David (1806–49; *ODNB*) as a "sensitive man" destroyed by the commercial pressures and the superficial aesthetic standards of the age. Scott regretted that "high art of an original kind, and on an adequate scale, is not required by any desire in the public mind . . . that the high art we now have is of the revival kind, and aims at foreign standards, or merely academic excellences" (188, 54). Of the Swedish opera singer Jenny Lind (1820–87), he commented, "Her voice has

Monday evening instead of Sunday if it suits you & the day I shall be at Bath House, and shall hope to see Mrs C. at Chelsea on Tuesday. To the said *Agrippina*¹² Carlyle my love.

Truly y^{rs}. ever H M Ashburton.

We have been reading “Goethe” & “Diderot” aloud of an ev^g; & “Voltaire” and “Heyne”¹³ with *fair patience* and *no great amount* of dissentient opinion!! As for Helps’ speech!¹⁴ Dieu m’a eu sa sainte garde!



Postmark: 28 February 1850

[28 February 1850]

If you are about tomorrow ev^g will you come up & have a cup of tea. Yours H M Ashburton

Why do you pull down all “Positions” including model prisons!!¹⁵

Tizzy is coming back—never can like anybody enough to marry them & cannot like Mrs Buller *at all!!!*



great modulation and compass, but it is not in itself gracious, or related to transcendental good in nature” (252).

¹² HLA refers playfully to JWC as *Agrippina*, a suitable companion for her dog Nero.

¹³ TC’s essays, “Goethe” (1828), “Diderot” (1833), “Voltaire” (1829), and “Heyne” (1828).

¹⁴ Arthur Helps (1813–75; *ODNB*), public servant and author. On 7 February he was one of the featured speakers at the opening of a new music school founded by his friend John Pyke Hullah (1812–84; *ODNB*), composer and teacher of choral singing. TC requested a ticket from Helps (see *CL* 26: 29). The London *Standard* reported, 8 February, “Mr. Helps . . . having been designated by Mr. Hullah as the person who has first come forward with the donation necessary to initiate the project, that gentleman was called upon to speak. He delivered an eloquent address, in the course of which he enabled his auditory to perceive that his benevolent enterprise had been dictated by philanthropy of a high order.”

¹⁵ “Model Prisons,” the 2nd of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, pbd. 1 March.

JWC visited Addiscombe in March and again in April, reporting to Jeannie Welsh on her second visit that “Lady A. was well this time and in ‘tearing spirits’ very kind and somehow I felt more comfortable than usual in most respects, but there was one grand drawback quite fatal to my enjoyment—in consequence of my cholera I suppose, there commenced the very day I left home an outrageous pimple on the very top of my nose, making me really ‘too ugly for anything’ and so painful that I could not get it forgotten if I had had philosophy enough to forget it for a moment. Could there be a more unsuitable position for transacting such a thing?” (CL 25: 63–64).



Postmark: 12 May 1850

Addiscombe [12 May 1850]

Dear Mr. C. I am to be away from home tomorrow evg. but that is the only one during this week when such is to be my date.

What lovely days we have had here, sun, & sunshine, & a foal & two calves added to our house—

y^{rs.} ever HMA

Sunday night



Postmark: 18 July 1850

Addiscombe, Thursday morn^g [18 July 1850]

Dear Mr. Carlyle—I cannot arrange so as to be with any certainty at home 3 o’c^l today.

Y^{rs.} ever truly H M A



Envelope addressed to “T. Carlyle, Bowerton, Cowbridge, South Wales”

Postmark: 9/10 August 1850

Bay House Friday [9 August 1850]

Dear Mr C. *Stay* where you are, & when you do go, find another Cowbridge & a duller host & then *stay there* till you know the value of what you have left and can go back to Chelsea without feeling as y^r. favourite prototype who wrote: “Mes tendres amis attentifs à me désoler sans relache ne m’ont pas laissé un moment de paix et m’ont souvent fait pleurer de douleur de n’être pas à 500 lieues d’eux”¹⁶—only you have no business with letters—or with wanting them or indeed any other link with humanity—and I dare say M^{rs}. C. writes to you daily! Don’t come to the Grange you won’t like us at all—we are all bright & gay & busy there—a human hive, making the most of all the flowers & honey we can—but quite ready to give it up when the inexorable claims his food—but I should like you very much to come to us & pay us a ten days or fortnight’s visit at Paris and see a face of things you will with better reason growl fiercely over—we are to go there, a little according to the weather then, the end of Oct? or 1st days of November—

We have been since I saw you to Nuneham near Oxford—a large party & acting—Milnes in 3 pieces: 1st as an old man, then as a lover & then as Bluebeard¹⁷ in a ballet, L^d. Dufferin¹⁸ as premiere *danseuse*, and all before the French ambassador¹⁹ who seemed to doubt “La solidité de l’esprit national” Then we came home & had a few worn out officials breathing our perfumed air for a Sat^r. and Sunday—& then there was the new school mistress, & cottages building—& the new school house at Candover nearly finished, and several illegitimate children since last Feb^r. The result of all this, and as you see many things to put in order with less time than I could have wished. When we went off on an agricultural inspection tour and I came here—and have been shut up rather

¹⁶ HLA cites a passage from a letter sent by Jean-Jacques Rousseau to Friedrich Melchior, Baron von Grimm (1723–1807), 19 October 1857: “Mes tendres amis, attentifs à m’y désoler sans relâche, ne m’ont pas laissé un moment de paix, et m’ont fait souvent pleurer de douleur de n’être pas à cinq cents lieues d’eux” (*Œuvres complètes*, ed. P. R. Auguis [Paris, 1824], 22: 407).

¹⁷ Folktale by Charles Perrault included in *Histoire ou comtes du temps passé* (Paris, 1697) about a murderous nobleman.

¹⁸ Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, 1st marquiss (1826–1902; *ODNB*), diplomat, author, and yachtsman.

¹⁹ Edmond Drouyn de Lhuys (1805–81), French ambassador to England, 1849–51, and foreign minister under Napoleon III, 1852–55.

ailing—and outside all around us winds & waves roaring and blowing to fragments all feeble attempts at regattas & such like which belong to these days, but all hands are sick starboard & larboard and there is no doing anything—

The London courts have just fined a man £3 for cutting off the tips of some sheep's ears—the way, it appears, often employed hitherto for marking them—as the worthy magistrate remarked “all the more reprehensible for that”; and £5 on the same day they fined a man for jumping on his wife's loins, stamping on her, kicking her on head and face & all but killing her!—²⁰

So farewell H M Ashburton

I am to be here for a couple of weeks—and where are you to be found?—M^{rs}. Carlyle has engaged herself to us at the end of September—you will therefore look out for y^rself at that time. It will cost you more, recollect too, than £5 to kill the wife you are not “bound to cherish”!—I am thinking of going and settling in Ashantee.²¹ Jesuitism²² just come in a hamper from the Grange—



Leaving Boverton, where he had spent three weeks with his friend Charles Redwood, TC traveled to Liverpool and then on to Scotland. Writing to HLA, 23 August, he speculated that “if I had such a Home as The Grange, I wd try to get my implements about me, and steadfastly proceed with my trade there. . . . Alas, alas, we cannot manage it. Rest is not appointed to the son of Adam; we must go our journies, we shall get to rest, and plenty of it, by and by. How often have I thot here, were I in one of the Cottages of your Park (say the Gate-keeper's cottage, with some dumb and nearly deaf old woman to look after me an hour each day), how much happier cd I be among the Hampshire trees! And then the next thot is, Thou hast already a cottage of thy own, two cottages, a Town one at Chelsea (made very habitable by a dextrous hand) and a country one among the Nithsdale moors; and in neither of them canst thou abide” (CL 25: 173–74).

²⁰ Both cases were reported in the “Police” section of the *Times*, 7 August.

²¹ In Western Africa, now a region of Ghana.

²² The last of the *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, pbd. 1 August.



Envelope addressed to T. Carlyle, Ecclefechan, Dumfrieshire [sic] N.B.

Postmark: 4 September 1850

The Grange Tuesday [3 September 1850]

Dear Mr. C. I could no more bother to tell you where I was than could a bit of Hampshire thistledom—the whose habits you *politely* made acquaintance with some two years back—now however *here* we are—fresh from our, or rather, my Alverstoke visit, bathing and some boating, much narrowed by winds & untoward weather, have done me good—& I am stronger if not wiser. There is still a little *talk* of Devonshire but meanwhile next Tuesday is to be a scene of much festivity—a large space beyond the stables, between them & the London lodge on the hill, being the largest bit of *flat* we can boast, is being rolled and levelled & mown—There is to be played a grand cricket match for which the contestants have been practising during our absence—House and Gardens against the Villages, for a purse. Then there is to be a dinner for the players in the hall and tea and currant cake for all the comers, women—bread, cheese & beer for all the comers, men, in a tent on the ground—of such as belong to *our lands*—of *parties* from Alresford or neighbouring villages. We think no further than allowing a booth for refreshments—Running in sacks, bobbing for oranges, loaves & treacle, with a band of music, fill up the measure of amusement—at dark fireworks on the bank over the water & a supper in the dining room to the tenants and the children; besides which I have Trench and Thorntons, Salmons²³ etc and their children to dine at 3 o¹. So you can see my hands are quite full till after that grand date in the world's history. My subjects are very numerous

²³ Rev. Francis Chenevix Trench (1805–86; *ODNB*), perpetual curate of St. John's, Reading since 1837, rector of Islip, Oxfordshire, 1857–75, m., 1837, Mary Caroline, b. Marsh; see *CL* 25: 235, where they are erroneously referred to as the “Frenches”; Rev. Francis Vansittart Thornton (1816–95), rector of Chilton Candover, Hampshire, near The Grange, 1848–64; m., 1847, Mary b. Cholmondeley; Rev. Henry Salmon (b. ca. 1800–74), rector of Swarraton, Hampshire, 1831–74; m., 1832, Emily Charlotte, b. Nowell.

and Mrs Evans full of anxiety. The band master has carried off my music, and if we can but have a fine day!

Then comes my 1st meeting of my school under new laws—in short life is short and the individual days very, and I dare not think how happy it all looks here lest it should all vanish as a puff, as many other happy times and seasons have done. L^d. A. is looking far better than last year & that makes all days sunshine—and now you know where we are resting & what are doing in detail—

I heard a day ago some more detail of poor Peel—he had been in low spirits the morn^g of that fatal ride²⁴—he and L^y. P. had been talking over old scenes & times. They had both cried. She urged him, he resisting, to go out riding—went with him to the hall door—& *on his horse*, he bent down & kissed her—after his death they found a drawer full of her notes to him which she was in the habit of often writing to him when in the H of C during long debates there. Very touching all these evidences of his deep affection—for she is not near an average of intelligence in any shape—& he must have loved her so from very high qualities of his own, and just those that everyone always denied him.

Who wrote that hard, vindictive, unreasoning book Alton Locke²⁵ which yet one reads on? It is more in Jane Eyre's style than any other I know & there is an unnatural roughness—& want of sense—that *may* be a woman!

Yours ever H M A

Paper and pens—& time and every thing has gone wrong with this which I fear you will scarcely be able to read—& no loss! *only you will get no other*



Envelope addressed to T. Carlyle, Scotsbrig Ecclefechan N.B.

²⁴ Sir Robert Peel had died after a riding accident, 29 June. In his journal TC wrote, 24 July: "Sir R. Peel *is dead*; a noticeable loss to me, and to England perhaps an incalculable one at this moment." (CL 25: 109n).

²⁵ *Alton Locke, Tailor and Poet. An Autobiography*, published anonymously 16 August, written by Charles Kingsley (1819–75; ODNB).

Dumfries.

Postmark: 16/17 September 1850

The Grange [16 September 1850]

One line dear M^r. Carlyle to say that we are alive & well—I at least; L^d. A—less so—gout—& ailing—read the enclosed magniloquent account of our festivities which, allowance made for it, is correct enough—we had about 3000 people, ab^t. 1000 of which were our own cottagers & there wasn't a disorderly sound nor any drinking in any of the villages after they went from us. The people liked it very much & their delight at the fireworks was intense 99 out of a hundred had never seen any. You can't think how pretty it looked, the portico, steps and buttresses studded with human beings, the terrace below—& the edge of the water & all lighted up by the flare of the blue and red lights from the opposite bank.

Mrs. C. comes to us the 25th—& I am in hopes of sending her back better for her country air—I wish L^d. A would mend for there is yeomanry in prospect & bad weather too I fear for latterly it has been lovely & no wet—frosty nights—cold for the time but bright sunny days—

Y^{rs}. every H M A

Send me back the enclosed scrap please as I want to send it to my mother.



From The Grange, JWC wrote to TC at the end of September [27], informing him that “Lady A is quite kind to me, every body seems to like me rather than otherwise, I have slept better than usual both nights, have been almost free of my miserable sickness during the day, I make no ‘wits’ unless they come natural to me, and am ‘altogether’ much ‘quieter’ than I was alone in the midst of botherations with bad servants in Cheyne Row” (CL 25: 235). But TC’s return to Chelsea on the night of 2 October, with JWC still at The Grange, filled her with anxiety: “It is quite out of the question my remaining here till the 20th [of October]—the day Lady A has appointed for the term of my visit—doing nothing—and thinking of you at home with that inexperienced

girl!— Who cares one doit for me here, that I should stay here; when you who still care a little for me—more anyhow than any other person living does—are again at home? and what good can ‘ornament and grandeur’ and ‘wits’ and ‘the honour of the thing’ do to my health when ‘my heart’s in the Highland’s my heart is not here!’” (CL 25: 247). Matters were resolved by TC’s decision to join JWC for ten days at The Grange on 9 October. TC returned to Chelsea as planned, but JWC remained at HLA’s request until 22 October to help her cope with another bout of illness. Plans for TC to accompany the Ashburtons to Paris were canceled. Responding to the news, 2 November, TC admitted to HLA that “I have sat silent as a stone in a kind of strange anticipation of it; and it too is away for the present. Well, well; who knows that it is not, in this world, ‘just as well’! Perhaps the time may come for breaking silence there or elsewhere; perhaps also never. Some things are known and sure to me without speaking; and I think, to you also. Thanks evermore for your continual goodness to me; and may Heaven grant that I make a wise and manful use of this great possession! I really ask for nothing more” (CL 25: 269).



Postmark: 1/2 November 1850

The Grange, Friday [1 November 1850]

Dear Mr Carlyle—Alas! So go all our plans—no chance of Paris at this season. I have been very ill, am scarcely now well. Sadler is still in her bed, and for another week or 10 days could not by possibility move—even then a rough journey to Paris w^d. be problematical for her, all this would throw our return far into December and that after such illness as I am just out of would not be a recommendable course.

L^d. A. who came back on Friday after two frantic passages had suffered so much that a kind of low fever had come on a frame of mere skin and bone. He is now better and we are all I trust on the improve—but not in a condition for anything but strict quiet—we go to Brighton for warm sea bathing and to get away from the damp of the rotting vegetation and shall return here the end of the month—we shall besides be close to Addiscombe to superintend our building there & that is become a necessity—seeing that the people appointed for special purposes seem to

me to be always the last to have any intelligence in the matter—

I hope M^{rs}. C. is no worse for her headache & railroad journey & has caught at least no cold—any news of Count Odo?²⁶—direct, please, to P. O. Brighton.

Y^{rs}. ever H Ashburton



Postmark: 4/5 November 1850

Brighton [4 November 1850]

We are to be in town tomorrow somewhere a^{bt}. 5 or 6 o'clock.

Yours truly H M Ashburton



Postmark: 7 November 1850

London [7 November 1850]

Dear Mr C. You did not say what day you w^d. come to us so I write to say you have only to write a line to say you are coming *whenever you please except from the 15th to the 18th* which three days we shall be away at Norman Court.²⁷ We dine at 6 o'clock and our house *No. 9 Eastern Terrace* is delightful.

We shall be there I hope by 6 o'clock this ev^g. & ready for you *tomorrow* if you are best suited as to time so—I am thinking Mrs. C will best like you away while the Help is training.

I hope she got carried home last night.

Y^{rs}. truly H M A

²⁶ Odo Leopold William Russell (1829–84; ODNB), son of Elizabeth Ann Russell, b. Rawdon (1794?–1874), widow of Lord George William Russell (1790–1846), brother of Lord John Russell.

²⁷ A Baring estate in West Tytherley, 7 mi. / 11.3 km. E of Salisbury, acquired by the banker and politician Thomas Baring (1799–1873; ODNB) in 1853.



Postmark: 22 November 1850

Brighton [22 November 1850]

Dear Mr C. *We* do not improve to be worth speaking about—for I see no “*well*” at the end of days. There are better nights—now and then—then cough comes again & throat & a quick pulse—in short I don’t think I shall get well till I go away—but *that* I keep quite silent for L^d. A is mending & strengthening daily—gets 3 days a week with the Harriers a good gallup over these high bare downs swept over by salt wind—eats & sleeps and is kept out of wet woods and foggy meadows till the leaf will be crisped by frost when we shall go back home again.

I too am quite unequal to society for him & here there are just enough people for him to be kept alive by with no trouble to me. Sadler has only just come from the Grange where she had been laid up for nearly a month. Milnes is here—come to look after me—the faithful old dog comes today—& they will stay I suppose till Monday. I wrote a frantic letter to the Postmaster telling him how y^r hieroglyphics were considered by Messrs Maberly & Co.²⁸ as *writing* & how I would write to the Times to have their capacity looked into, & as specimens I sent a sheeting containing



Ai ai! & other signs of similar import,²⁹ & got my book and no more claim for payment thereon, & the Postmaster himself has borrowed it to read—Suetoneus was bought & a pretty

²⁸ William Leader Maberly (1798–1885; *ODNB*), secretary of the General Post Office, 1846–54. TC had sent HLA a book, but he reported to her, 14 November, that the “Clerks at St Martin’s have confiscated it,—found pencil-marks (annotations of mine) what they call ‘writing’ in it;—and now there is a negociation, with remonstrances, going on” (*CL* 25: 278).

²⁹ Because of the impossibility of photographing or photocopying the original, HLA’s doodles here and on p. 24 have been rendered from the holograph to the best of the editors’ drawing and photoshopping abilities.

little edition of Pliny's letters & other sundries found in an old bookshop here—

Carrignan³⁰ was dining with some friends the other day and in the course of discussion on the events of the day said “Je n'ai qu'un regret—j'avais un jour le pouvoir, je pouvois chasser les 20 hommes d'Etat qui font notre ruine—et je ne l'ai pas fait”—Thiers, Guizot & Co.—we are thinking of nothing but a new culture of flax which is to replace Amerⁿ cotton & sets our farmers all up again³¹—did you read Waring's letter (Bishop of Northampton)—a jolly good fellow speaking the facts not after Wiseman's fashion.³²

Yours ever truly H M A

³⁰ Ferdinand Maria Albert Amadeus Philibert Vincenz von Savoyan-Carignan (1822–55), who became the Duke of Genoa after his father Charles Albert, Prince of Carignan (1798–1849), succeeded as King of Sardinia in 1831. In 1848 Ferdinand was urged by the British and by the Sicilian national assembly to accept the throne of Sicily in the wake of its declaration of independence, but he declined the offer following the defeat of Sardinian forces by the Austrians in 1849.

³¹ The *Times* reported, 29 November, that “the experiments now in progress at Manchester to test the advantage of the new method for bleaching flax . . . appear to afford incontestable proof that the material thus supplied will be of a nature to produce an important effect on our cotton manufactures. By this discovery the necessity for the steeping process is done away with, and the splitting and softening of the fibre is so effected as to fit it for the requirements of the machinery hitherto solely adapted to the spinning and weaving of cotton wool.”

³² On 29 September the Pope issued a rescript entitled *Universalis Ecclesiae* that recreated the Roman Catholic diocesan hierarchy in England, which had been extinguished in the Elizabethan period. England and Wales were to be divided among twelve dioceses led by bishops under canon law with the highest authority being vested in the newly announced office of “Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster,” whose first occupant was Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman (1802–65; *ODNB*). The restitution provoked widespread anti-Catholic agitation in England against what was derisively referred to as a “Papal Bull.” Led by the prime minister, Lord John Russell, the “Papal Aggression” movement sought to limit the powers of the new hierarchy by prohibiting non-Anglican clergy from assuming ecclesiastical titles. On 12 November the *Times* published a letter by William Wareing (1791–1865), the newly appointed Bishop of Northampton, who tried to defuse the controversy by arguing that the authority exercised by Roman Catholic bishops in England depended on the voluntary assent of believers, and that the titles had been selected so as not to violate the law.

Radowitz³³ comes to London tomorrow—Any tidings of Counts Odo and Arthur?³⁴ Love to Mrs C. and Nero—Kinglake³⁵ says Lord John's letter³⁶ is like an enthusiastic milliner's—



Postmark: 10/11 December 1850

Bay House, Tuesday [10 December 1850]

Dear Mr Carlyle, I have been too ill & low & miserable to inflict any letter or any account of myself on any body. I came across here on Friday had a day of such improvement on Sat^y: & was going to believe in a millennium but on Sunday, alas! I fell sicker than ever again with a violent attack of fever & irritation, had a miserable night & yesterday a miserable day—today am better again—on the whole tho' have no prospect whatever of theatricals or any such pastimes for it is clear that sound days are not to be reckoned upon, & when they do come are too valued to be wasted. At present I could not undertake to *do for* a mouse. Thursday next Emily & I go across to the Grange. L^d. A. who is now at Birmingham at an agricultural show joins us for one night and then is off to London again for Committee work. He has been away since Tuesday last from me. Saturday & Sunday were bright sunny days here, yesterday fog, today the sun is battling to get back to us but I do not venture out.

Did you get a book I sent to you long ago of Mon^s. de Romieu's

³³ Joseph Maria von Radowitz (1797–1853), Prussian statesman and general, appointed minister of foreign affairs in 1851, friend and advisor of Crown Prince Friedrich William, former foreign minister and prime minister, known for his advocacy of German unification.

³⁴ Buller.

³⁵ Alexander William Kinglake (1809–91; *ODNB*), historian and travel writer.

³⁶ Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham, published in the *Times*, 7 November, which began, "I agree with you in considering the 'late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism' as 'insolent and insidious,' and I therefore feel as indignant as you can do upon the subject." He expressed confidence that the great majority of English people would look "with contempt on the mummeries of superstition and with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

L'Ère des Césars?³⁷ Some one sent me “a letter from Carlyle (cut out of the Globe) on Popery.” It was L^d. C. on the other *Popery*.³⁸

What of Mrs C. and the sad fogs you have had? I believe the Russell men are only just returned from Scotland—at least no one knew any thing of them a day or two back—

Gov^t. is all at sixes & sevens about the answers to the Addresses which have been therefore put off a day. L^d. Grey heads the opposition to L^d. John's determination of pains and penalties ag^t. all who don't acknowledge *his* Popedom.³⁹ Exeter's Tantums and Quantums I see are refused bodily.⁴⁰

y^{rs}. ever H M A

I suppose Ashley is “giving Almighty God *no rest*”!! Did you read that?⁴¹

³⁷ François Auguste Romieu, *L'Ère des Césars*, Deuxième édition (Paris, 1850).

³⁸ Lord Clarendon's letter, “A Plea for the Pope,” was published in other papers, including the London *Standard*, 6 December. He suggested that the Pope's ambition to re-create the Catholic hierarchy in England was motivated by misunderstanding: “I believe he was deceived by the promises of Puseyism and the flattering pictures drawn by his own adherents of what might be expected from English rulers, judging of the future from the past.”

³⁹ Grey and the Whigs opposed Lord John Russell's efforts to create new No-Popery legislation, specifically the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which forbade under penal threats any ecclesiastical organization other than the Church of England from assuming ecclesiastical titles. The bill was eventually passed in August 1851, but it was never enforced and was later removed in 1871 by William Gladstone.

⁴⁰ The *Times*, 6 December, published correspondence between John Sumner (1780–1862; *ODNB*), Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Phillpotts (1778–1869), Bishop of Exeter, in which the latter explained his refusal to sign a letter of protest drafted by the Archbishop on behalf of “the Archbishops and Bishops of the church of England” against the attempts by the Church of Rome “to subject our people to a spiritual tyranny from which they were freed at the Reformation.” In a separate letter to the Queen, Phillpotts offered an elaborate series of revisions and corrections (“Tantums and Quantums,” or “Therefores and amounts”) to Sumner's letter.

⁴¹ Also on 6 December the *Times* reported the proceedings of “a public meeting of the lay members of the Church of England,” held “to protest against the insolent and insidious attempt of the Bishop of Rome, and also to invoke Her Majesty's aid to suppress the Romish innovations recently introduced in some quarters into the services of the Church of England.” The meeting was chaired by Anthony Ashley-Cooper, 7th earl of Shaftesbury



Postmark: 17/18 January 1851

Alresford [17 January 1851]

one line of thanks in a great hurry. We want you much to come to us the 27th or any time till the 3rd. Feb^y. The bustle will be quieted a little & the Bishop of St. Davids⁴² & other *human* beings will be here.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

Last night for the 1st night for 5 that I had no sleep I contrived to get a little! Judge of my condition.



Postmark: 21/22 January 1851

Alresford [21 January 1851]

one line to say that we are ordered to Windsor on Thursday and are to be in town tomorrow for one night, to get some clothes, and at Bath House in the ev^g. H M Ashburton



Postmark: 21/22 February 1851

The Grange, Friday [21 February 1851]

Are we never more to hear from Chelsea dear M^r. Carlyle? M^{rs}. C. never writes nor—even Nero now—we have prospered here, till last Saturday a rush of mighty waters in the shape of the Charteris,

(1801–85; *ODNB*), who concluded it by exhorting the participants to wage an unrelenting campaign against “Papal Aggression”: “Our enemies may go to their holy water but we will go to our prayers before the throne of grace, and we will give Almighty God no rest until he establish and make his Protestant Kingdom a praise on the earth.”

⁴² Connop Thirlwall (1797–1875; *ODNB*), bishop of St. David’s, 1840–74.

Milnes, & der alter Poodel, made their appearance & in due time when they went I took to my bed where I am still so far as that I cannot get out of doors yet—a bad cold caught from the Lady Anne and the usual upsetting of altered habits and excitement—

our weather has been too lovely—we read or rather *don't* read of y^r vain tumults afar off, nor can I truly say that the Duke of Argyll's⁴³ “flush of fleeting interests” affects our brow—Occasionally a letter from the Poodle brings Smithfields⁴⁴ vividly before us but I think that is the only “flush”—Sadler keeps excited about our plans & daily expresses her anxieties to Polly. She is getting old & losing time in the country?

We are reading [Neander's?] Hist^y of the Church and like it much.⁴⁵ Miss [Lezardière?]⁴⁶ comes in for odd moments, it is a wonderful book for a woman to have got thro', the pith of a 1000 she must have dug thro'—

Can you tell me if these are Hebrew characters and if so what they stand for

י'ג

or are they Assyrian or Arabic or Cuniac—w^d. a Hebrew alphabet help one to translate a Hebrew word or are their *letters* like the hieroglyphic models? And should one require a warm mash if one tried to do so?

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

⁴³George Douglas Campbell, 8th duke of Argyll (1823–1900; *ODNB*), politician and scientist.

⁴⁴A legal dispute between the City of London Corporation and Smithfield's Market about compensation for removing the Market to another location; see *Hansard* 118 (28 July 1851): 1562–70.

⁴⁵Possibly Johann August Wilhelm Neander, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Religion und Kirke*, 6 vols. (Hamburg, 1825–52); *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, trans. Joseph Torrey, 9 vols. (Edinburgh and Dublin, 1847–52).

⁴⁶Possibly Marie Charlotte Pauline Robert de Lézardière (1754–1835), historian, b. in Vendée of a noble family with a passion for historical erudition, author of *Théorie des lois politiques de la monarchie française* (1792).

I incline to believe from Major Rawlinson's book⁴⁷ the above must be Hebrew & shall be proud if I am right.



Postmark: No date.

London [ca. early March 1851]

Dear Mr C. We came up by a cockrow train this morn^g to be in time for the Levee! The country bright and sunny without a cloud in the sky—I am to dine out tomorrow; am to be with dentists & doctors all the morn^g but should be here in all likelihood if things go well till Monday, and will in that case come down to Chelsea. I am never out after 3 o'clock in any case—I am very vexed at my disappointment, dear M^{rs}. Carlyle, this ev^g and its cause, and w^d. stay in town but that the kitchen is full of *workmen* still & I find the love of my *friends* waxeth cold when that fire ceases! I am thinking of sending Sidille up instead of coming myself.

Y^{rs}. ever truly H M A

[HLA encloses a newspaper cutting of a satirical poem entitled "Death of Cock Robin. New Version," the first stanza of which reads]:

Who did kill John Russell?
 I, says the Pope
 With my crozier and cope,
 I gave him full scope,
 And plenty of rope,
 Within the church pale;
 And put salt on the tale
 Of good Gaffer Minto,
 Who would not look into
 The bird-lime and traps
 Which I laid for these chaps,
 Till I swept them all up
 With big cardinal's caps.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, *A Commentary on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria* (1850).

⁴⁸ The poem was pbd. in the *Hereford Journal*, 5 March, and also in the



Postmark: 2/3 March 1851

Alresford Sunday [2 March 1851]

On the whole, dear Mr C., it is decided that I come up tomorrow. L^d. A went on Friday for business to be done. My chief object is to see if I can get any help thro' change of air, even to worse, or in any other way, to get rid of my ailings which are getting intolerable—from *never sleeping* I now can do nothing else!! but the cough is gone again & I get out in sheltered places for the cold is severe, tho' today is lovely and bright with sun & birds. Tomorrow I am to be at B House by towards 3 oc & am to have from 4 to ½ *past* for my dinner, which eaten talking rushes to all to my head so please do not call then—Wed^y. ev^g. I purpose to keep for friends at home tomorrow & Tuesday are engaged out & Friday I hope to come back here again—

Sir C. Wood is to be a Peer—"Broughton de Gyfford" or some such hieroglyph, to which the Public answer "Lord Lignum de Budget" and "Lady Budgettina Lignum" as more appropriate.⁴⁹

6 young ladies sang a novaine to convert Thackeray to Romanism. Douglas Jerrold said I hope they will begin by his nose.⁵⁰

Johny has just ended his career by the very *nastiest* speech

Newcastle Journal and the *Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 March.

⁴⁹ HLA confuses Sir Charles Wood, 1st viscount Halifax (1800–1885; *ODNB*), chancellor of the exchequer, 1846–52, with John Cam Hobhouse (1786–1869; *ODNB*), politician, created Baron Broughton de Gyfford, 26 February.

⁵⁰ Douglas Jerrold (1803–57; *ODNB*), playwright and journalist, Thackeray's radical collaborator at *Punch*. The anecdote was repeated by Lewis Melville, *The Life of William Makepeace Thackeray* (1899), 1: 274: "A silly rumour got afloat about the period of what was called 'Papal Aggression,' that Thackeray, the staunchest of Protestant Broad Churchman, had a leaning towards the Church of Rome. 'Why, they're Romanizing old Thackeray,' said some one to Jerrold. 'I hope,' replied the caustic wit, 'they'll begin at his nose.'" Thackeray himself retained an interest in Catholicism since listening to Newman's lectures, and was introduced to Manning and other English converts by John Hungerford Pollen. Thackeray imagined that they had hopes of bringing him over to Rome, "all but my nose and that's past praying for" (Ray, *Thackeray: The Age of Wisdom* [1958], 226–27).

that man ever made in alluding to a great and mighty name and intellect gone from amongst us.⁵¹

Love to Mrs. C. I hope she will come up on Wed^y. ev^g. *If I do not see her before.*

Y^{rs}. ever truly H M A

She never writes a word Please direct the enclosed to Mr Twisleton⁵² simply altogether—Will you put the right initial on the enclosed for my Chief who doesn't know Mr T's Xian name and post it at any smoking leisure!—Pray read the appeal to the Chancellor to make Young Talbot (the heir to the Shrewsbury title and estates) a Protestant as it would be of *pecuniary* advantage to him.⁵³

⁵¹ In his speech to the House of Commons, 28 February, Lord John Russell quoted a passage from Burke, “a great statesman,” to justify his decision to resign rather than to form a new government: “Burke says—‘The only method which has ever been found effectual to preserve any man against the corruption of nature and example is a habit of life and communication of counsels with the most virtuous and public-spirited men of the age you live in. Such a society cannot be kept without advantage, or deserted without shame. For this rule of conduct I may be called in reproach a party man: but I am little affected with such aspersions. In the way which they call party, I worship the constitution of your fathers; and I shall never blush for my political company. All reverence to honour, all idea of what it is, will be lost out of the world, before it can be imputed as a fault to any man that he has been closely connected with those incomparable persons, living and dead, with whom for eleven years I have constantly thought and acted.’” Russell concluded, “Adopting these sentiments, I have to say that for far more than eleven years I have thought and acted with some of the most eminent men in this country. . . . [A]nd as long as I take part in public affairs, whatever my station may be, I shall endeavour to follow the example of such men as my best guide to the public welfare” (*Hansard* 114 [28 February 1851]: 1039–40).

⁵² Edward Turner Boyd Twisleton (1809–74; *ODNB*), civil servant, m., 1852 Ellen, b. Dwight (1819–62), daughter of a wealthy Boston merchant; JWC regarded her as one of her closest confidantes.

⁵³ A petition to the Lord Chancellor from Craven Fitzhardinge Berkeley, husband of Augusta, formerly Talbot (d. 1841), widow of George Henry Talbot (d. 1839), half-brother of John Talbot, 16th earl of Shrewsbury. The petitioner demanded that a clause be put in Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill prohibiting wards of Chancery to be placed in any seminary, convent, or educational institution run by the Roman Catholic Church. Berkeley claimed that his wife's daughter Augusta had been forced to take the veil and

Yours ever H M A



Postmark: 5/6 March 1851

Alresford [5 March 1851]

Dear Mr C. We are to be in town tomorrow & hope to see you and Mrs C. to tea if you can come up—any time you please as far as I am to be there from 5 oc till ½ pa^t 11.

Yours H M A

Don't come very late tho' *please*. Anyone you see that likes to come and see us will be welcome too.



Postmark: 11 March 1851

Bath House, Tuesday e^{vg}. [11 March 1851]

Dear Mr C. a shocking night & no going away so orders Clarke—until the weather is better—and I.—

We sh^d. like to know how you are getting on at Chelsea, both Mrs C. and y^r.self

Y^{rs}. ever truly H M A



TC wrote to HLA, 15 March: "This is very sad work! I call daily, and

enter a convent against her will, and that her lawful inheritance was being seized by the Church. Berkeley also argued that her son John Talbot "would be entitled, under the act of parliament 6th George II, to certain great advantages as possessor of the Shrewsbury estates, should he declare himself a protestant with six months after arriving at his eighteenth year—a scheme should be drawn up by the master for this future education—as it would be for the pecuniary advantage of the infant petitioner' John Talbot, that he should become a protestant at the age mentioned in the act of parliament, and should afterwards continue a protestant" (*London Daily News*, 22 March).

get little good news, none at all till yesterday;—wander, very much like a ghost, out of Bolton Street again; and have to see how well I can live on hope for the present. ‘Hope!’— Well, my wishes go free at any rate, after the manner of those ghosts; and do not fail to visit you. / So soon as there is any chance of seeing you again, give me notice; and if you can write a word without doing yourself mischief, your charity wd let me know how you are getting on in your imprisonment.— We are improving here; my Wife herself going out when there is sun; the ugly fiend of Influenza seemingly about laid again” (CL 26: 47).



Postmark: 27/28 March 1851

The Grange Thursday [27 March 1851]

A thunderbolt couldn't have surprized me more than y^r letter ab^t young Goderich!⁵⁴ I don't *know* him because it is my fate now to know only the fathers & grandfathers of the present generation—but his father is the man christened by Cobbett “Freddy Prosperity Robinson.”⁵⁵ When he was Chancellor of the Exchequer he made his first speech on finance at which all his family looked at one another saying “Can this be Frederick?” but so it was—Afterwards, as L^d. Goderich, he was Prime Minister during a six weeks government blown up by Mr Herries⁵⁶ and some letters. Then, as L^d. Ripon, under Sir R. Peel he had the India Board & they say that when Peel went out someone saying There will be L^d. Ripon's resignation also, Peel said “Ripon! Why

⁵⁴ George Frederick Samuel Robinson, 1st marquess of Ripon (1827–1909; *ODNB*), Christian Socialist, friend and follower of Charles Kingsley, F. D. Maurice, and Thomas Hughes. Through Kingsley, Robinson arranged to meet TC at 5 Cheyne Row on 25 March (see *CL* 26: 48–49).

⁵⁵ Frederick John Robinson, 1st earl of Ripon (1782–1859; *ODNB*), chancellor of the exchequer, 1813–27, prime minister, 1827; m., 1814, Lady Sarah Albinia Louisa, b. Hobart (1793–1867). Robinson was the frequent target of satires by William Cobbett (1763–1835; *ODNB*), who nicknamed him “Prosperity Robinson” following the financial crisis of 1825. He served as president of the India Board, 1843–47.

⁵⁶ John Charles Herries (1788–1855; *ODNB*), chancellor of the exchequer in Goderich's inept government, which lasted five months.

he isn't alive still is he?"

The mother, Lady R., a clever, intensely selfish, imaginary invalid, was an heiress & only child. *This creature* I always thought must be a goose—he was brought up on Calomel & doctors and looked like boiled veal. He flirted very much with L^y. D. Walpole⁵⁷ and when told he ought to propose said "I will propose as much as they like but it's of no manner of use for Mamma will never allow me to marry her"—he is going to marry his cousin, also a cousin of mine as well as himself.

Last summer one *intensely hot* day we drove from Addiscombe to spend the day with the Hardinge's near Penshurst. There we found L^d. and L^y. Ripon—we dined early & were all coming away after dinner. I said to L^d. R. "Well, one is never very hot by rail way, you go so fast." Oh, he said, "We are not going by rail. Lady R. never goes on a rail-road." "Well even an open carriage will be bearable" I said "for you meet the wind, such little as there is, in y^r. direction" and he "Oh we are not in an open carriage—L^y. R. never goes in an open carriage" to which I "Well I am not sure that a close carriage and windows down isn't cooler, there is more draft" and he "Oh we never have the windows down. Lady R. never goes with the windows down; but I shall get out and walk up the hill at Sevenoaks"!—The heat was such we were panting with all the shutters shut—Such is your pupil's pedigree!

I have never been even into the conservatory since Saturday last!

Yours ever H M A

The Crystal Palace⁵⁸ is full of sparrows that come in at the broken panes. They can't be got out or at in spite of whole regiments of Sappers and Miners constantly at work with brooms. The rain defies all mending and all umbrellas.



⁵⁷Lady Dorothy Fanny Walpole (d. 1913), daughter of Horatio Walpole, 3rd earl of Orford (1783–1858) and Mary, b. Fawkener (d. 1860). Lady Walpole m., 1847, Reginald Henry Nevill (1807–78).

⁵⁸Designed by Joseph Paxton and erected in Hyde Park to house the Great Exhibition, which opened 1 May.

Postmark: 27 April 1851

Torquay Sunday [27 April 1851]

Dear Mr C. We could not stand the murky wet that greeted us everywhere at Addiscombe & in London—my throat getting worse and worse—so Wed^y we came down here into *June*—every thing in leaf & blossom; a bright sun that brought colour into every flower such as I have not seen since I left the south, tanning even the milk—a vegetation too beautiful and luxuriant—the very posts and rails sprout. The hedges are carpeted with every variety of the most beautiful wild flowers “opening” without season tickets or flourishes of trumpets or royal commissioners.

Yesterday we went a day of 60 miles in *flies* to see some villages of *ours* & on to a little picture of a fishing village on the open sea. The little boys were throwing in lines with crooked pins at the end & fetching out shoals of fish. Clean rocks jutting out into clear blue sea rippling round them we sat out *there* in a warm and balmy air and bright sun and when we got back *here* found Sadler in hysterics because they had had a thunder storm and hail and rain which lasted from 12 till 5 o’c, ferocious beyond the memory of woman here, & truly even then, at ½ p^t 6, the *ice* was lying thick all over the beds in the garden where it has drifted agst bank or walls. Today is cold, but I was out walking before breakfast & feeling it very genial and refreshing. The country is of surpassing beauty with the richest vegetation to the water’s edge. Tomorrow our time is up & we are to go back to books—or men—neither as *good* reading in most cases as the days I have spent here doing nothing.

The next time I come here it must be with a six barrel revolver (like M^r. Smith’s) (a pretty man that for a teacher of men!!) for every house I have much admired or coveted here has always been “a private house ma’am” & my informant has always stopped then as seeming to think it is a satisfactory answer and solution of all difficulty instead of a mere incentive to a more desperate struggle, for if I want it what then? Am I to bear all these “private houses”? Pray read Mr Smith’s evidence about himself before the Coroner on Tuesday morn^g.⁵⁹

⁵⁹The *Times*, 21 April 1851, reported the death of Mr. William Armstrong, shot accidentally by the Rev. Joseph Smith outside his home in Walton,

I am likely to go to Addiscombe till after the opening of the Exhibition, and as at present stands almost well again. With love to M^{rs}. C.

Truly ever y^{rs}. H M A



Postmark: 24 July 1851

Bath House [24 July 1851]

Your letter is very interesting so gentle & sad & loving in its tone, & so much sagacity & insight and wisdom, and now and then a gentle raid over the border of the humorous. It is very curious to read a man so and then see in him only a boring prosing slow *worsted* stocking, of what *color* I know not. I am off tomorrow by ½ past 1 & he cannot come until 5 o'clock when we hope the L^{ds}. Committee will finish & Smithfield become a myth!

I am told Malines, Bonn, St Goar & Hombourg, is all the sleep we are to have & with three days at Bonn we are to reach Hombourg on Thursday but I do not believe any such thing.

The Committee on the Civil Disabilities Bill Friday is to move 1st. that all the amendments passed by the Commons be left out, 2^{dly} that Ireland be omitted! L^d. Ellenboro' does the 1st, L^d. Monteaale the 2^d.⁶⁰

Cumberland. Having heard noise at 11:30 pm, Smith "armed himself with a six-barrelled revolving pistol, which he kept loaded in a drawer in the study. . . . He then stepped outside, fired the pistol three or four times, and went back into the house, closing the door after him." The dead body of Armstrong was found the next morning in the lane adjacent to Smith's house. Smith explained to the coroner that the "reason I provided myself with the pistol was painful anxiety of mind, occasioned by the Frimley murder and other cases of that kind which have been reported; and, not being possessed of bodily strength, and being alone in the house with women and children . . . I felt it my duty to have some firearms to use in case of danger."

⁶⁰ These amendments to the Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Bill were debated in the House of Lords, 25 July; see *Hansard* 118 (25 July 1851): 1471–1530; Edward Law, 1st earl of Ellenborough (1790–1871; *ODNB*), politician, governor-general of India and Thomas Spring Rice, 1st baron Monteaale of Brandon (1790–1866; *ODNB*), politician.

With best love to Mrs Carlyle,
yours ever sincerely H M Ashburton



Postmark: 8/11 August 1851

The postscript of the letter is an endorsement: "Sir 1^s 10^d to pay with this letter if refused please to return it (O.P.) under cover to—Piper Chelsea"⁶¹

Hombourg via Ostend, Francfort am Main, Friday
[8 August 1851]

Dear Mr Carlyle, We are so far on our travels—& our waters. We spent three pleasant days at Bonn—sat all the evening with the windows open tearlessly, a thing I can scarcely do on our finest summer's day without suffering & venturing—had fine weather—and saw the eclipse of the sun from the top of the Drachenfel. All this time you were in dark mud. The day of the eclipse was gloriously bright & for one half hour the sun became lurid like a fine London March day the deficiency of light visible on all objects tho' what light it did give was bright as before. The effect was curious & very disagreeable—one hardly saw objects—& yet there was the sun that one could not look at but thro a smoked glass—

We found Muff, Sambo & the chestnut pony very happy & well—& the whole party came on here on Friday last, where our *satisfied* condition improves—mine very considerably for I was very ill at Dover & Malines & indeed at Bonn with feverish restless evenings & nights—but here I sleep as long as the tide of human life will let me that is from 10 o'clock till ½ past 5 when everybody moves, and at a quarter before 7 I am at the Brunnen—The country is high above the Francfort plain, hilly & the hills wooded, the open country richly cultivated with grain of all kinds & fine fruit trees—the Jannus mountain range within reach. The gardens and castle of the Landgrave of Hesse Hombourg are the walks of the place, the former having magnificent trees of all kinds some planted the others

⁶¹ John Piper, Chelsea postman until 1857.

the remains of old forests. His revenues are about £3000 a yr. His troops look like one sentinel & he is himself a General in the Austrian service—

The Duke of Holstein Augustenbourg⁶² with wife and family are here—he & they with pictures of the country that was theirs & such of their jewels as they could pack up in their flight to live upon. He is a mild melancholy looking man very German—she fat and smiling—the daughters eager for amusement—& getting very little. They were quite certain I was Lord Lansdowne's sister, I suppose from *likeness*⁶³—L^d. Ashburton had difficulty in rescuing me from the honour & dropping me into my proper insignificance.

I had a long letter from Tizzy with an acc^t of all their misfortunes thro' Sir E. Tennant's resignation of his appointment—so I have written to L^d. Grey to ask if he can do anything for them.⁶⁴ She says she is to have “a boy” in due course of time & seems to be doing well *domestically*—her letter is clear, distinct and rational.

We are reading Dry as Dust's Constitutional History of Eng^d.⁶⁵ which has none of the above qualities certainly in no degree the two first, & we have made a table d'hôte of our own at ½ past two oc. daily where we invite anybody we are attracted by. Altogether

⁶² Christian August II, duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Augustenburg (1798–1869), m., 1820, Louisa-Sophie Danneskjold-Samsøe (1798–1867). Following the outbreak of insurrection by German nationalists in Schleswig-Holstein in 1848, the Duke of Augustenburg appealed to Prussia to defend his claims to the territory, which were disputed by Frederic VII, king of Denmark (1808–1906). In 1850 Danish forces prevented Augustenburg from succeeding to the title, and he sold his hereditary states to Denmark in 1852.

⁶³ Henry Petty-Maurice; his only sister was Louisa Fitzmaurice (b. ca. 1789), who had died young.

⁶⁴ Sir James Emerson Tennent, 1st baronet (1804–69; *ODNB*), traveler and politician, m., 1831, Laetitia, b. Tennent; Tennent was civil secretary to the colonial government of Ceylon, 1845–50, under the inept and inexperienced George Byng, 7th viscount of Torrington (1812–84), who had been appointed to the position by the colonial secretary Lord Grey on the advice of Byng's cousin, prime minister Lord John Russell. After a rebellion broke out in 1848, both Tennent and Torrington were recalled in 1850, and Tennent was offered the governorship of St. Helena, a post from which he resigned soon after to become an M.P. for Belfast. Theresa Revis may have been employed by the Tennents as a servant.

⁶⁵ The 2nd vol. of Henry Hallam's *The Constitutional History of England: From the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of George II* was pbd. in 1850.

we are much better off than we sh^d. have been apparently in the train of the L^d. Mayor at Paris!⁶⁶ our tour is not yet made out but I suppose somewhere about the 10th of Sep^r will be our time for reaching Paris—How are you and Mrs Carlyle? My best love to her to whom this letter will tell all there is to be said about us—Pray write—We are hoping for Milnes' advent soon for a day on his way to Vienna.

Y^{rs}. very truly H M A



Envelope addressed to Thomas Carlyle, Esq. D^r Gully's, Great Malvern
Postmark: ca. 20 August 1851

England via Ostend, Hombourg [ca. 20 August 1851]

Dear Mr Carlyle, we have made out as nearly as we can our plan of campaign—we finish here on Friday next the 22nd—sleep that night at Heidelberg—Saturday 23 and Sunday 24 Basle—Monday 25 Jasannes—26 Berne—27 Thun & Interlachen for a week, & leave Switzerland the 8th or 10th September reaching Paris in the 1st case on the 10th, in the 2nd case on the 12th, September & be home by the 27th. That seems to come in exactly with your own dates so as to make your visit to us at Paris convenient to you in point of time—our journey in Switzerland will a little depend on the kind of weather we have, hitherto it has been lovely here & we have complained of nothing but heat, but now we have storms of wind & rain and are rather hoping this will exhaust itself while we are here and leave us a fine fortnight when we go hence.

We have made much acquaintance & even friendship with the Holsteins (Augustenbourg). He is the opponent of the King of Denmark and consequently in a condition of exile and confiscation—he is a sensible well educated man—bearing his reverses with great dignity of mind and manner, to me an agreeable companion in spite of his sad & sober hue—she is amiable & simple in the extreme. The 2 sons⁶⁷ have been in 17

⁶⁶ William Hunter (d. 1856), lord mayor of London, 1851–52.

⁶⁷ Frederick Christian August, later duke of Augustenburg (1829–80), and Frederick Christian Charles Augustus (1831–1917).

battles, the eldest only 21; the youngest has broken a blood vessel in the chest & is I should fear in unsound health. 3 daughters make up the family. The sons are studying at Bonn & come over for the vacation. I shall really regret parting with them and they have taken great liking to us—

Our business in life here has been very much yours and Mrs C.'s—water in all shapes & from manifold springs taken at all hours—& *besides* I have added a peculiar occupation of my own: hunting out smokers from the Table d'Hote room. The instant I see a man established comfortably I send an array of Kellners [German: “waiters”] after him. Sometimes the resistance is like the roar of cannon whereby the smoke is much temporarily increased. But the fight has its excitement on my side too and I have had *great success*, & each time have considered a triumph of a principle over you—Best love to Mrs C.

Yrs truly H M A

Our direction Poste Restante, Interlachen, Berne, Suisse.



Enclosed in the same envelope as the previous letter of ca. 20 August 1851.

Postmark: 8 September 1851

Interlachen [8 September 1851]

Dear Mr Carlyle—one line to say that we are to be at Paris on Tuesday the 16th—at latest; possibly Monday 15th—Let me *find* a letter there, directed Hotel Meurice—Rue de Rivoli—Paris—aux soins de Mons^r. Caillet, to say if you come that you may be lodged with us—we shall certainly stay there 10 days—& so that y^r. letter gives us notice, you will find all that man requires ready for you the day after our arrival—i.e. the 17th Sept^r.—at the above direction which is one of the nicest situations in Paris—

We have enjoyed our tour much *tho'* we have had almost incessant rain (more than we had in Scotland) & cold—& inns of many smells—& food unendurable at times—but one fine day made up for many bad & my Chief is improved in health much—in flesh a little—he has *led* his chestnut poney up & down many hills, & Muff and Sambo move in our train—A

scarf with a new stitch has been knitted for M^{rs}. Carlyle in the evening to the tune of Hallam's Constitutional Hist^y and we are very sorry it is all over and never to be done again. Pray don't give up Paris.

Y^{rs}. very sincerely H M Ashburton.



TC replied from Scotsbrig, 13 September: "You shew me, very unconsciously you, the solid rocks and firm foundations again, and spectral vapours settle into what they are:—and I am much happier already, let Paris go as it will. Oh, my Lady—But you will say nothing; at present nothing, perhaps forever nothing, tho' I suppose you too can read it well enough unsaid. . . . / Today I learn from Jane that she had addressed herself to Blanche [Stanley] at Alderley for light about our four days there. . . . No answer had yet had time to come, owing to mistakes, but was hourly expected: if it be in favour of the half-day plan, it will be well for Paris and me! But I shall not know till probably Monday. . . . / Thanks for the scarf to Jane, a thousand thank[s] O noble woman. You are good and royal; and to me when I think of everything the most miraculous being (or nearly so) that has been created in these epochs" (CL 26: 172–73).



Postmark: 19/20 September 1851

Hotel Meurice (Paris), Friday [19 September 1851]

Dear M^r Carlyle we arrived last ev^g from Dijon & as we are later by some days than our original plan and shall *certainly* stay 10 days or a fortnight I write to say so hoping it may make your visit to us more within possibility—

Mamma comes from Trouville on Sunday next only, I shall certainly stay a week or 10 days from that date to see her and most likely should stay on & come over with her to England which she now talks of for the end of October. However my wish would be to bring her over earlier before the weather has got cold and days short—

So you see there w^d. be plenty of time for you. but you must

write me a line to precede you at least by *some hours* for rooms are not plentiful & a little notice w^d. enable us to make you comfortable. The Rue de Rivoli is macadamized,⁶⁸ meaning no noise but in the rain of today infinite mud. We are all very much out of sorts with our long day of yesterday and the rain today—and the looking now *back* only on all our happy tour—& sundry other hazy appearances of various kinds that come with the rush back into the *actual* life again—tho' of those indeed many more would be due to us individually & we ought to be, & are very grateful indeed for all the good given us in share

Muff & Mouse & Garratt & Sambo are all waiting for us at Add^{bc}. having arrived there from Rotterdam on Wednesday. When shall we see them?—With best love to M^{rs}. C.

Yours sincerely H M Ashburton



Postmark: 23/24 September 1851

Hotel Meurice, Rue de Rivoli, Paris [23 September 1851]

Do not trouble y^r.self ab^t. Promis de séjour—you are with us & have nothing to get but y^r. passport—for money on the journey *sovereigns* are welcome every where at fr. 25 exchange. We shall hope for you on Thursday ev^g.

Cavaignac⁶⁹ is in Paris—I am writing in the middle of the street to save the post. My mother is come—& better than I had hoped,

ever y^{rs}. H M A



In order to travel with the Brownings, TC left for Paris on Thursday, 25 September, a day later than he had planned. JWC tersely announced to Helen Welsh the day before, “Mr C starts for Paris Tomorrow for ten days or a fortnight I suppose” (CL 26: 185). Tormented by travel and

⁶⁸ This method for paving roads with layers of broken stone was devised by John Loudon Macadam (1756–1836; *ODNB*), of Dumfriesshire.

⁶⁹ Louis-Eugène Cavaignac (1802–57), French politician and general.

sleeplessness, unable to spend time with HLA because of her severe cold, or to see Cavaignac, who was not in Paris, TC returned by himself to London a week later, on 2 October.



Postmark: 9 October 1851

Addiscombe, Thursday [9 October 1851]

Dear Mr C. I recollected after I got back here yesterday that I had forgotten to take to Chelsea the enclosed which amongst a heap of letters we found on coming home—its' date is as you will see old—We referred to the person he named for some acc^t of him—The answer of that individual was of the vaguest kind—no reason whatever assigned for his quarrel with his relatives.

His present letter is much in the line of Robert Macaire⁷⁰—covert threats of one knows not, what and as for any real assistance unless one knows what he is—& why he is in his present condition, the thing is impossible—

Would you mind seeing him once more? The date of his letter prevents my writing to Greek St. as he may not be there.

Yours ever H M A



Postmark: ca. 15 October 1851

Bath House [ca. 15 October 1851]

If you can come up towards 8 do, for he has just come in with orders that I go out at 10 or thereab^{ts}.

Sincerely, H M A

⁷⁰ A letter from Dudley MacAlester, 22 Greek St., Soho, a former employee dismissed by HLA for theft, begging for a loan. The letter was included in HLA to TC, 9 December 1851; Robert Macaire is HLA's allusion to a rogue made famous in Honoré Daumier's cartoons, or to looking like the character in the play *Robert Macaire* (1834) by F. Lemaître and Benjamin Antier.

Tea will await you—and if you do not come I shall know that you could not & so say goodbye to Chelsea & my best love to M^{rs}. Carlyle.



JWC reported to Lady Airlie in mid-October, “Mr C made out his visit to the Ashburtons at Paris but it seemed to be rather a failure— Lady A confined indoors with cold all the while, and Mr C ruined in his sleep, by a beautiful Time piece in his bedroom which ‘struck even the half hours!’ . . . The Ashburtons are now at the Grange— Lady A kindly invited me there for three weeks along with the Taylors—but but—I confess to finding the Taylors too boring, for being lived in the same house with a second time!” (CL 26: 208). In a letter to HLA, 27 October, TC lamented, “We are in a very dark state here; nearly altogether silent, given up to our own thoughts, such as they may be in this decadent state of the year and of the world;—and I can write you nothing that is not worse than blank paper. . . . Under all the cataracts of Avernus, I have a kind of feeling that I am not yet drowned; a kind of notion that I shall not and will not drown, or lie dead altogether: in this humour let me strive, and silently give me your blessing,—as indeed it is almost my one blessedness at present to know that you do; Heaven reward you for that same!” (CL 26: 217).



Postmark: 31 October/ 1 November 1851

The Grange [31 October 1851]

Dear Mr C. One line of thanks—there is no rest to the wicked says or sings the old seer—& so there is none to me—16 people to feed and play for—tomorrow 18—Milnes’s, Taylors (Brookfields and Hallams just gone away)—Stafford Northcotes⁷¹—Kinglake—Thackeray, a young French painter, Poodle etc—so it has run on since Saturday last—before that we

⁷¹Stafford Henry Northcote, 1st earl of Iddesleigh (1818–87; *ODNB*), politician, m., 1843, Cecilia Frances, b. Farrer (1823–1910).

had reading aloud—Sartor, your *Sterling*⁷²—a book delighting every one—to me, caring little ab^t him, for what I knew I rather did not like—It is only a vehicle for all the deepest interest—You have overcome all the difficulties of the case with all that is strong & all that is tender—& so let the *case* of Sterling rest & your book, with so much besides live as it undoubtedly will when he and we and “the good-natured, pleasant” Mr C at Madeira⁷³ will be clean forgotten and out of the mind of man.

I am in the midst of troubles & vexations of all kinds & under, this day beside, a heavy cold which forbids all *muffing* & gives me time for these few lines—

The beginning of next week we are to be free. Lord A. goes after agents & farms westward & to his brother’s in Norfolk⁷⁴ for whose boy a tutor has to be found, you know of none such—The boy to live with him—& I go to Alverstoke during that time—where I mean to sleep without interruption but of eating.

Brookfield, they tell me, is better & sails the 4th —I like her very much—⁷⁵ Yours, with best love to M^{rs}. C.,

very sincerely H M A



Postmark: 3/4 November 1851

The Grange [3 November 1851]

⁷² *The Life of John Sterling* (1851).

⁷³ John Mitchinson Calvert (1801–42), who became a close friend of John Sterling when both were recovering from illness in Madeira in 1838. TC described Calvert as “a very human, lovable, good and nimble man” (*Life of Sterling, Works* 11: 154).

⁷⁴ Francis Baring (1800–1868), M.P. for Thetford, Norfolk 1830–31, 1832–41, and 1848–57; m., 1833, Hortense Eugenie Claire, b. Maret (ca. 1812–82), da. of Duke of Bassano, Napoleon’s first secretary of state. They had two sons: Alexander Hugh, 4th lord Ashburton (1835–89), and Denzil Hugh (1841–46).

⁷⁵ William Henry Brookfield (1809–74; *ODNB*), clergyman and school inspector, m., 1841, Jane Octavia, b. Elton (1821–96), socialite; they were leaving for Madeira from Southampton, 4 November, but on the eve of their departure the Ashburtons called and took them overnight to The Grange; see *CL* 26: 224.

Dear M^r. C. one line to say we are to sleep in town Wednesday night—We go straight to Addiscombe from this & to Alverstoke Thursday so that I can only answer for a bit of leisure in the ev^g.

Y^{rs}. truly—H M Ashburton



Postmark: ca. 5 November 1851

Bath House [ca. 5 November 1851]

Could you not come down Sunday next anytime you please—We dine *at* 6.—I have no bedroom available—but L^d. Stanley comes & I hope Mr. Twisleton & Mr Venables—possibly the man who founded La Mettrage⁷⁶ if he turns out *prosperously* and Lanjuinais (the son of the Girondin) are in the air—⁷⁷You would find luncheon at two—& have a walk after.—

Y^{rs}. ever truly *H M Ashburton*

Answer please *Addiscombe* where I am just going till Tuesday next.



Postmark: 20/21 November 1851

Alresford, Tuesday [20 November 1851]

We know you are very obstinate dear Chelsea both—but thus stands the matter—if M^r. Carlyle does not come on the 13th Dec. I am writing to Merimée collaborateur of, & great friend of, M^r de

⁷⁶ Léon Emmanuel Simon Joseph, comte de Laborde (1807–69), archivist, curator, draftsman, and engineer; “Le Métrage” refers to the science of geometrical measurement.

⁷⁷ George Stovin Venables (1810–88; *ODNB*), lawyer and politician, friend of Tennyson and of Thackeray; Jean Denis, comte Lanjuinais (1753–1827), politician, lawyer, historian, jurist, and journalist and his son, Victor Ambroise, vicomte de Lanjuinais (1802–69), politician, appointed minister of commerce and agriculture in the Odilon Barrot government of 1849.

Buloz of the *Revue des 2 Mondes*⁷⁸ to offer him three heads I have of the said M^r. C. for any purpose for which he may want them. The said Mon^s. Merimée having had expedited to him immediately on our return to England 4 vols of “the Miscellanies” by us, *without* portraiture then—*with* now if the said delineated does not come on the 13 Dec to the Grange—he chooses and decides—

We are ailing here—nervous ab^t the number of our guests—in addition to whom (the house full) announces Bunsen[,] a Prince of Nassau son of the late & heir to the present reigning Hertzog, & Cambeleau, on Monday next—he *is* in Paris where I trust he will rest over the day named & then we receive no more till the 13th—Sydneys, Cannings, Duke of Newcastle—L^d. de Mauley, Fred Leveson—today—tomorrow in addition Geo. Granville—Bruces—Monday French Ambassador & wife—Azeglio—C. Greville, (possibly our Nassau)—Tuesday Tom Baring & M^{rs}; Wed^y. Charles Villiers⁷⁹—all to clear away by Saturday we
. alas! We *hope*

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



⁷⁸ Prosper Mérimée (1803–70), novelist, short-story writer, historian, and translator; François Buloz (1803–77), editor of *Revue des deux mondes*, 1831–77.

⁷⁹ Christian Karl Josias Bunsen, baron Bunsen (1791–1860), Prussian ambassador to Britain, known in England as Chevalier Bunsen; m., 1817, Frances, b. Waddington (d. 1876); Adolphe, grand duke of Luxembourg (1817–1905), became duke of Nassau, August 1839, son of William, duke of Nassau (1792–1839) and Louise of Saxe–Hildburghausen (1794–1825); John Robert Townshend, 1st earl of Sydney (1805–90), m., 1832, Emily Caroline Paget (ca. 1810–93); John Charles Canning, earl Canning (1812–62; *ODNB*), governor-general and 1st viceroy of India, m. 1835, Charlotte, b. Stuart (1817–61; *ODNB*); Henry Pelham Fiennes Pelham-Clinton, 5th duke of Newcastle under Lyme (1811–64; *ODNB*), politician, m., 1832, Susan Harriet Catherine, b. Douglas-Hamilton (1814–89); Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper, 2nd baron de Mauley of Canford (1815–95), m., 1838, Maria Jane Elizabeth, b. Ponsonby (d. 1897); Edward Frederick Leveson-Gower (1819–1907; *ODNB*), politician and autobiographer; Madame Drouyn de Lhuys, not further identified; Thomas George Baring (1826–1904; *ODNB*), cousin of Lord Ashburton, politician and viceroy of India, m., 1848, Elizabeth Harriett, b. Sturt (1827–67).

JWC accepted HLA's invitation to join her and Lady Sandwich for Christmas at The Grange and arrived on 1 December. JWC reported to Kate Sterling, 11 December: "Here have I been living these ten days in the midst of 'a terrestrial Paradise' . . . and for any good I have been able to take of it all, I might as well have remained sitting before my own dead wall in Cheyne Row!—Not once have I crossed the threshold my Dear! . . . The cold I caught so suddenly that night became much worse on my arrival here—and has kept me so thoroughly wretched, that I really think I should have gone home ere now, to my own red bed, but for the fact that both Lady Ashburton and Lady Sandwich have fallen ill also"(CL 26: 261–62). TC arrived on the 13th, followed by "great people" including Macaulay, Lord Grey, Lord Lansdowne, and "a good portion of the Majesty ministry (with their wives)" (TC to Jean Carlyle Aitken, 20 December; CL 26: 273). On 22 December, JWC informed Kate Sterling, "This day week we go home. I shant be sorry; for living constantly in the presence of my fellow creatures gets to be dreadfully fatiguing to me, used as I am to solitude— My pleasantest hours are when I cut away by myself into the woods— A dreadful treason to utter against the brilliant company here assembled!— When one is young one thinks one could never tire of Poets and Artists and all that sort of thing!—but I am at a point . . . when I could often take more satisfaction in what the old Lady used to call 'a plain human cretur'" (CL 26: 278–79).



Envelope marked in an unknown hand, accidentally delaid, addressed to TC in HLA's hand and containing a letter from Dudley MacAlester to HLA, 22 Greek Street, Soho, 4 December 1851; TC received the letter, 10 December (see CL 26: 266).

Postmark: 9 December 1851

Alresford, Tuesday [9 December 1851]

4th Dec^r. 1851

The R^t Lady Ashburton

My lady.

I entreat y^r ladyship most humbly to pardon my boldness in once more trespassing on y^r ladyship's attention. Twice within

the last month I ventured to write to Lord Ashburton but his Lordship did not condescend to favour me with any reply.

I can assure your Ladyship I am at this moment wholly unconscious of the cause of his Lordship's displeasure. I did hope to have been permitted to know it as I thought I might have been able to give a satisfactory explanation—I believe it arises from some misunderstanding on the part of his Lordship. In my last letter I said I should not again venture to trouble his Lordship & at that time I certainly did not intend trespassing on your Ladyship either. But I am driven to give myself this one hope of exciting your Ladyships generosity again.— Is it possible that your Ladyship can believe so unmanly—so complete a beggar as to urge an application thus if I were not dragged down by a necessity which it is nearly impossible for human nature to contend against—Were it not that I am now enduring all that I suffered when I first took this liberty but at how different a season of the year—under what changed circumstances—I cannot intrude on your Ladyship a description of a daily life such as since—if unfortunately your Ladyship as well as Lord Ashburton has learned to doubt or disbelieve my statements it would be entirely useless thus to attempt to create sympathy but if I were the most unworthy subject in the wide field of distress I have suffered a severe & terrible punishment. I have been reduced not from poverty to worse poverty but from comfort & prosperity to utter penury.— Oh Lady Ashburton again I ask pardon for daring to urge your Ladyship in Heaven's name & as you value the blessings so bountifully bestowed upon your Ladyship's house to have regard for the entreaties of one who leads an aimless objectless hopeless life of daily want & unhappiness who at this moment stands on the verge of a moral gulph which threatens to swallow him who has no earthly means of saving himself. Should your Ladyship refuse to listen to this last appeal I shall indeed feel deserted & desolate but oh if your Ladyship should deign to send a favourable reply it will shed one ray of light & hope upon a lot that has of late been truly unfortunate.

I have the honour to remain Your Ladyships very grateful and humble serv^t

Dudley MacAlester



Postmark: 2 February 1852

The Grange, Monday [2 February 1852]

Dear Mr C. I have found the letter from y^r. American disciple⁸⁰ and will bring it up tomorrow—today was so foggy & damp at 7 o’c that we settled, as it clearly w^d. not do for going to Add^{b^c}, we had better not adventure in it & so we go up tomorrow to be in town by ½ p 11 a.m.—& shall expect you to tea.

Y^r. friend the Trubleman⁸¹ has been outdoing himself—His poor son & daughter-in-law are both ill—wretched lodging—& this continued wet. The son with rheumatic pain from head to foot. There is in the cottage dry—and high—a room he could let his son have—reserving one for his daughter, just thro’ this season—for I trust in the spring *to punish him* by making them tolerably comfortable elsewhere—& he will not—an old brute—I should like to put you into his daughterinlaw’s skin for a month and see how you would sympathize with him then.

We are very busy. Two new cottages to build—& two bedrooms for ourselves over our present rooms—with two advantages—quiet, & a story from the ground—

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



Postmark: 8/9 February 1852

The Grange [8 February 1852]

Dear Mr C. no London again thank you for a long time!! With best love to Nero and Agrippina—Monsieur Dupin calls the President’s Decrees of Confiscation of the Orleans property

⁸⁰ Possibly Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908), Harvard professor, future editor of TC’s letters and *Reminiscences*, who had been traveling in England, June 1850 to January 1851.

⁸¹ Dudley MacAlester.

Le premier vol de l'aigle—⁸²

I have a pen that won't write—& ink that is in jelly—& luckily nothing more to say—but I wanted to give you that mot of Dupin's which I thought very neat—

The visit went off very well & I have no cold which makes me believe in “La pluie de Marly ne mouille pas.”

Y^{rs}. very sincerely *HMA*



Postmark: 28/29 March 1852

Alresford [28 March 1852]

—Dear Mr C. Many thanks for y^r. pamphlet & Fred^k.—The latter I read with great effect to my Chief while he dined—for so I am *reduced* (!! all talk having run utterly dry—and afterwards some of the said King's letters in his “Posthumes.”⁸³ Y^r. bit is very charming, matter & manner, & some of the old mans letters very sad & true & unlike the figures of 1800—

Pray go to the Derby.⁸⁴ She is very quiet & gentle and gentlewomanlike; would be clever if she could of which she hasn't the remotest chance ever but without pretentions also—

⁸² André Marie Jean Jacques Dupin (1783–1865), liberal lawyer, politician, presided over the National Legislative Assembly until Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, 2 December 1851; his *bon mot* was in regard to Napoleon III's confiscation of the Orléans family's French estates in January 1852.

⁸³ Frederick II, *Oeuvres posthumes*, 15 vols. (Berlin, 1788). TC's copy is in the Houghton Library, Harvard; see Justin Winsor, *The Carlyle Collection. Bibliographical Contributions* [Cambridge, MA] 26 (1888): 7. Winsor notes that the first two vols. are extensively annotated by TC.

⁸⁴ Emma Caroline, b. Bootle-Wilbraham (1805–76), countess of Derby, m., 1825, Edward George Geoffrey Smith Stanley, 14th earl of Derby (1799–1869). Following Lord John Russell's resignation as prime minister on 21 February, Derby formed a Conservative government. Rebuffed by Peelites, Derby's cabinet was referred to as the “Who, Who” ministry. TC wrote to his sister Jean Carlyle Aitken, 20 March: “*Lady* Derby . . . intends, it wd appear, a great turn in *her* way on the last evg of the month, and has sent me a card among others. I really am not quite sure but I shall go for a few minutes, and see what the ‘scoonerils’ are like! But I doubt that is not probable either” (*CL* 27: 72).

& an old acquaintance *quasi* friend of mine—He has no want of talent—rapid as lightening—but rough, headstrong, rash & *ungenerous*, which latter quality topping up the others makes a character for whom love, respect and trust cannot exist—This is my evidence of him in all that I have seen of him in his political and merely social (convivial) career—It is but just to add he is loved in his own family—tho' I cannot find he has any intimate *friendships* amongst his *equals*, what he is to his own dependents I do not know—et voila!

The “Georgey” you met at Mildmays⁸⁵ I take to be no less than Lady Litton Bulwer, daughter to the late, ½ sister to the present, L^d. Cowley, niece to the Duke of Wellington—that is the Bulwer plea for the marriage, for she is ugly and not pleasant.⁸⁶

We have two months of incessant sunshine round the outside of things—within has come since my poor old Capper’s death that of Garratt’s wife in childbirth leaving a boy—my “Elizabeth” of Addiscombe gone away for her confinement & to have returned after it never now to go there again—the poor man was distraught. I am in search of a careful youngish woman to be *my* chambermaid in town & Grange—one I can trust to look after me when I am sick & sorry—for which Josephine is totally inapplicable.

There has been a plan maturing for some time back—very vague still—hardly to draw into fact—that we should propose to M^{rs}. C. to *take her with us* to Hombourg from Chelsea—that you sh^d. have a room in our house if you came—that my Chief should go with you—or meet you—in Berlin, Dresden—or elsewhere—during *our* 3 weeks stay in Hombourg—that at the expiration of that time we sh^d. resign M^{rs}. C. to you at Francfort to be dealt with as you thought fit. The Rhine as you know bringing you in all convenience hence if that was y^r. plan & railways taking you any German way you liked—

What may happen with these Protection squabbles⁸⁷ I know

⁸⁵ Humphrey St. John Mildmay (1794–1853), m., 1843, Marianne Frances Mildmay, b. Harcourt-Vernon (ca. 1823–73).

⁸⁶ Georgiana Charlotte Mary, b. Wellesley (1817–78), youngest daughter of Henry Wellesley, 1st baron Cowley (1773–1847; *ODNB*) and Charlotte, b. Sloane (ca. 1781–1853). She m., 1848, William Henry Lytton Earle, baron Dalling and Bulwer (1801–72; *ODNB*), diplomat.

⁸⁷ Lord Derby’s successful effort in 1852 to realign the Conservatives by committing the party to relinquish support of economic protectionism.

not but I should purpose going away towards the latter part of July—and leaving Hombourg after 3 *weeks* water-drinking *there*.

Yours ever *HMA*



Postmark: 2 July 1852

Bath House [2 July 1852]

Dear Mr C. The utter confusion & misery of these late times have prevented my doing anything but wait and see what w^d. come of it—& this has come that we have got a German doctor⁸⁸ & start Sunday ev^g. to sleep at Dover & be ready to cross over on Monday morn^g., taking our cook also!—He has been so ill again it is quite disheartening especially when Ferguson said he had no chance of travelling without great risk of being laid up on the road & must on no acc^t. go under a fortnight's time—

We are in town for an hour to see Ferguson & going back to Addis^{be}., from which we start at 5 o c Sunday ev^g.

I wish we had any chance of seeing you tomorrow, there w^d. be a bed for you—Fichte's book⁸⁹ is the delight of our *not utterly* miserable moments but this long painful ill health knocks all the life & spirit out of one—& he is so patient & gentle it makes me cry.

Yours *HMA*

⁸⁸ Frederic Weber (1808–86), b. Trieste, doctor of medicine (Pavia, 1836), Royal College of Physicians (1848), and vice-president (1865); Weber had studied the properties of mineral waters and baths throughout Europe, and worked in hospitals in Parma, Leipzig, Berlin, and Paris before arriving in London in 1838. He served as a physician to the St. George's and St. James's Dispensary and to the Harley St. Institute for Invalid Ladies. His practice was at 44 Green St., Grosvenor Sq. TC wrote to HLA on 21 July and told her he had seen and heard from Weber, who was to join the Ashburtons for the remainder of their trip: “[W]e are truly sorry for poor Lord An,—but hope his fine prospects will reappear when Weber comes with promise of help. He looks to me one of the usefulest Doctors I have seen this good while” (CL 27: 174).

⁸⁹ The second vol. of *The Popular Works of Johann Gottlieb Fichte* (1849).



Postmark: 5/6 July 1852

Birmingham's Ship Hotel, Dover [5 July 1852]

Dear Mr C., We are so far on our way—with lovely weather—I wrote to Mrs C. the day we went to Addis^{bc}. but probably Ruddock has still the letter in his pocket—pray tell her to read “Reminiscences of thought and feeling” by the author of “Visiting my relations.”⁹⁰ I don't know who it is by nor have I ever heard any one mention it but I never laid it down till I had read it through—a thing of no frequent occurrence to me—It is not very high—not very deep perhaps—but as I don't live on drains—*nor even tobacco*—and do chiefly take toast—&—water, it has been very acceptable.

Pray write to us *Poste Restante*, Hombourg, Francfort am Maine where we hope to be on Wed^v if we reach Ghent tonight and Cologne tomorrow—Lord A is not the worse for his journey & a very limited night's sleep, which is all I could expect. After hearing every hour strike from 11 till 6 I sprung upon Josephine to her infinite disgust & insisted on getting up—but I am alive & looking forward to four more such passages of life—

Yrs. ever truly *HMA*



Renovations at Cheyne Row drove TC to visit Thomas Erskine at Linlathen on 21 July, while JWC stayed home to supervise the work. On the day of his departure to Scotland, TC wrote to HLA: “Carpenters, Plumbers, Bricklayers are holding a Walpurgis Tag in this habitation— which Jane too, I hope, will desert, at least for the nights. Some faint vestige of Germany still hovers in the distance for the end of August; but that is quite uncertain, all is uncertain” (CL 27: 174).



⁹⁰ *Reminiscences of Thought and Feeling* (1852) and *Visiting My Relations, and Its Results* (1852), by Mary Ann Kelyt (1789–1873; *ODNB*), popular author of devotional diaries.

Postmark: 12 July 1852

Hambourg, Monday [12 July 1852]

Here since Thursday night, dear Mr Carlyle—no sleep till last night of any count since I left Addiscombe Sunday week back. L^d. A improving—the heat great—air fresh and delightful. Our companion Dr Weber is just gone—he is a highly gifted and accomplished man whom you and M^{rs}. C. would both like very much he would also much like to know you & if you were a Christian you would perhaps call on him for he will not *venture* to do so on you and, as you know, I *could* not take upon myself to praise y^r. character for humanity towards strangers—but do call I should take it as a great kindness to myself and you w^d. moreover hear all about us and Hombourg and a good deal about Germany with which he is well acquainted.⁹¹

The 'Olsteins are all back here—the Duke *suddenly* called back here in fear of Denmark going back from her promised payment which is about one half the value of his property. Harcuar too is here—a puffy light yellow man with bloated features and colourless eyes, and huge white mustachios that reach the ground each side of his mouth, dressed in a spidery web of Nankeen colour.⁹² Altogether a not pleasant sight.

⁹¹ Weber was apparently not as reticent about calling as HLA presumed. JWC wrote to her brother-in-law Dr. John Aitken Carlyle, 30 September, to ask if he had heard of the physician: “Lady A talks of him with enthusiasm—nay with *tears* in her eyes!! . . . He came to see me at Lady A's desire and —*saw me!*— . . . [H]e has since called *five times!*!! without seeing me. three times I was really out and twice too dirty to be *at home*” (CL 27: 309). JWC wrote to TC, 5 October: “What Dr Weber means I am at a loss to conjecture; but that he comes here oftener than *natural* is a positive fact—after the *five* ineffectual visits he made a sixth which was successful. I was at home, and he stayed an hour and half!! looking so lovingly into my eyes that I felt more puzzled than ever. Is it to hear of Lady A he comes? I thought, and started on that topic; but he let it drop without any appearance of particular interest” (CL 27: 320).

⁹² François Eugène Gabriel, 8th duke d'Harcourt (1786–1865), French ambassador to Madrid (1830) and to Rome (1848–49), he was instrumental in Pope Pius IX's flight from Rome to Gaeta in November 1848. The ambassador thought that the pope's final destination was to be France. Instead Pius remained in Gaeta, where he organized resistance to the Roman Republic that had been established in his absence. The Republic

Garibaldi too is reported here—but whether the real one or not I do not know and have not seen him.

We are to leave this, we hope *well* both of us, on Friday the 30th for Munich & Gastein and to be home the 1st days of September—pray make up y^r. mind to go somewhere in these heats which w^d. be really advisable for I do not see how your are to leave Eng^d. when your house is in order & the winter beginning. Any tidings of M^{rs}. Milnes?⁹³ Dr Weber lives 3 Norfolk Street Park Lane. Fichte we delight in & the poor crazy governess is really worth a good deal—⁹⁴ Wed^y. is my birthday. Pray wish me well thereon.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

[Newspaper cutting is enclosed from a later letter, being an advertisement for E. Moses and son, merchant tailors]: “the appropriate form of public appreciation of the highly important services rendered to the nation by the Duke of Wellington will be a NEW SUIT OF MOURNING for the occasion. This will be required as a necessary concomitant of the visits to CHELSEA during the lying in state.”⁹⁵



fell in July 1849, when French forces entered Rome and restored Papal rule. The roles of Mazzini and Garibaldi in the creation and the defense of the Roman Republic confirmed their heroic reputations. In the summer of 1852 Garibaldi was in the midst of a year-long journey to China and the Pacific region.

⁹³ Annabella Hungerford, b. Crewe (1814–74), daughter of 2nd baron Crewe, m., 1851, Richard Monckton Milnes.

⁹⁴ Mary Anne Kelty.

⁹⁵ Arthur Wellesley, 1st duke of Wellington (1769–1852; *ODNB*), army officer and prime minister, died unexpectedly on 14 September. He lay in state in the Great Hall of Chelsea Hospital, 11–17 November. The public was allowed entry to view the body on 13 and 15–17 November, and on the first day, two women were killed in the crush of people wishing to attend the viewing. Mourning clothes were encouraged, but not required. Wellington’s massively ornate funeral procession through London and his burial at St. Paul’s Cathedral occurred on 18 November. The advertisement for E. Moses & Sons was published in the *Examiner*, 13 November.

Original address to T. Carlyle, 5 Cheyne Row, Chelsea is deleted and replaced with Scotsbrig, Ecclefechan

Postmark: 22/25 August 1852

Spa, Sunday [22 August 1852]

I write one line in great haste to say you cannot think of Silesia, cholera & typhus are raging there in the wake of famine from the failure of the potato & the wretched creatures eating the rotten ones covering the fields from last year. On our whole road from Lucerne here, in the Baden district as far as the eye could reach on either side of the railroad, the fields were black with the disease—There will be more famine and pestilence for they have no resources—& the limited grain crop from the heavy rains has in many parts failed. We do not hear good acc^{ts}. from Eng^d. either, but with us it is much less serious.

It would be impossible to start to travel thro' countries in the condition of all those you w^d. go into, apart from Berlin itself & that, all people seem to agree, would be intolerable of heat and smells before the cold weather sets in of autumn at least.

L^d. A is knocked down a little by the heat and tossing ab^t. of the rail journey & I am an old rag.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



TC's trip to Germany produced the usual aggravations, with JWC scrambling to obtain a passport for him. She wrote to his brother John Carlyle: "It is much to be wished that Mr C could learn not to leave everything to the last moment—throwing everybody about him as well as himself into the most needless flurry. I am made quite ill with that passport—had to gallop about in street cabs (by the hour) like a mad woman—and lost two whole nights sleep in consequence, the first from anxiety the second from over fatigue" (CL 27: 259). Meanwhile, HLA wrote him letters of introduction to dignitaries and scholars, and recommended archives for him to consult. In the company of his German Jewish secretary Joseph Neuberg, TC departed for Rotterdam at the end of August. From Bonn on 6 September, he wrote to HLA: "I meant to write to you deliberately yesterday; but literally couldn't:

so sickly hurried and indeed half-distracted was I,—on the road to Rolandseck, on the road to I know not where. . . . / I have been, and still am, as you predicted, dreadfully off for sleep; otherwise well, and the country and River pleasant to me, and the people all good. But for the rest—!” (CL 27: 269).



Postmark: 31 August 1852

Bath House, Tuesday [31 August 1852]

L^d. A off for Scotland this morn^g & I left here like an old hen coop afloat in a storm—turned out without plan or purpose on a sudden to shift for myself and all this when by a little foresight & management I might have gone from Calais to stay 10 days with my mother at Paris during his absence.

Meanwhile I have got the enclosed letter to our Minister at Berlin⁹⁶ who was a *very* old friend of L^d. A's tho' not seen on acc^t. of Diplomatic careering for now very many years—You will find the Embassy useful to you in y^r. wish to see things & persons possibly tho' my own belief is you will trouble to get *out* of people's way than *into* them.

I have written to Radowitz because I understand he is a great friend of Prince Radziwil's⁹⁷ who has the best and most cultivated society in Berlin *I am told*—they are the great people there, as to name, fortune etc. I know him but not enough myself to write to him—he struck *me* merely as a rough, honest, *soldierlike*, man very good natured and a gentleman—further as to *much* refinement or much cultivation I saw no signs or very few—but he is a grand seigneur—C. Bunsen w^d. be useful for all the other persons that Varnhagen cannot reach for you. Radowitz may be in Berlin if so he will be of use. Radowitz told me he was going back there, and I think would just be about

⁹⁶ John Arthur Douglas, baron Bloomfield (1802–79; *ODNB*), diplomat.

⁹⁷ Prince Wilhelm Radziwill (1797–1870), Prussian general and member of the House of Lords, m. (1), 1825, Helena Radziwill (1805–27) and (2), 1832, Mathilde, b. Gräfin von Clary und Aldringen (1806–96).

doing so when you go—

I now have no further directive where to write you—M^{rs}. C. is well & if she recovers from the agitation of the passport business likely to continue sane.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

I have written these few lines thinking it best to send the letter as it is—and pray remember that what I said to you in the matter of Kossuth & Co.⁹⁸ was strictly to y^r-self alone—having no right over things told me in confidence by others—

Sincerely, H M Ashburton Tuesday night.



TC returned to London on 12 October, exhausted from his journey and distressed to learn that renovations were not yet complete at Cheyne Row. He informed his mother, 15 October, that JWC “is quite worn out with fretting and struggling, and breathing paint so long: I do not think I ever saw her thinner these seven years” (CL 27: 334). Together they visited The Grange, where they remained until the end of the month.



Postmark: 12 November 1852, the letter may be incomplete

The Grange [12 November 1852]

. . . To be in town on *Monday* and tea for you and M^{rs}. C if you can come up—such is the programme—& very sorry to go up at all, such is the fact. I am alone since yesterday morning when my Chief and his Portuguese D^r. Kinnear⁹⁹ went by the early train, & a downpour has never ceased all day & night.

⁹⁸ Lajos Kossuth (1802–94), Hungarian lawyer, journalist, and politician, and a leader of the 1848 revolution. At the head of the Committee of National Defense, he was appointed provisional governor of Hungary in 1849, but internal dissension forced him to resign, and he was obliged to flee to Turkey and then to England.

⁹⁹ Charles R. Kinnear, M.D. (d. 1869), appointed Royal Naval Surgeon, 1842; owner of Kinloch House, Auchtermuchty, Fife, m., 1862, Margaret, b. Barton.

Nevertheless I cannot get on with the novel “I s’pose” as Topsy¹⁰⁰ says I shall turn out no better than a nigger, for all “the feeling” of all the novels I hear people raving most ab^t from *Adam* of Miss Gray¹⁰¹ to this, makes me sick—or rather makes me just nothing at all, for it doesn’t seem to me to have a bit of truth in it—The little bit of biography in that old crazy governess’s Reminiscences is worth 50 novels such as one gets now. However not a word other than high praise above one’s breath of poor Thackeray for under his novel & himself lies a weight of sorrow and of humane tho’ often very idle sympathies—and I have a great affection and greater pity for him.¹⁰²

Our party was *uproarious*: Ben, Bishop of Oxford, L^{dy}. and L^d. Dufferin, J. Charteris, Azeglio, Weber, Senior, Wall,¹⁰³ Bath, & the last flight went off on Wednesday. Pollnitz is found. The other book not yet.¹⁰⁴ Thiers writes “vous n’imaginez pas avec quelle indifférence on laisse passer les criants publics qui vendent Le Sénateur cour elles en criant a tue tête ‘Retablissement de l’Empire’”—They say the Chelsea upholstery for the old Duke¹⁰⁵ is strangely interrupted in its proceedings by a certain gnarled brown wide-awake for ever wanting to know “how many more nails—at all?”—

H M A



¹⁰⁰ An impish ragamuffin slave girl in Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin; or Life Among the Lowly* (1852).

¹⁰¹ Ann Thomson Gray, *The Twin Pupils; or Education at Home*, pbd. in July.

¹⁰² Thackeray’s *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq.*, was pbd. in October.

¹⁰³ Charles Baring Wall (1795–1838), Liberal M.P. and Hampshire landowner and magistrate, son of Harriet Wall, b. Baring (1768–1838; *ODNB*), religious controversialist, m., 1790, Charles Wall (d. 1815), partner in Baring’s Bank.

¹⁰⁴ Karl Ludwig von Pöllnitz, *La Saxe Galante* (1734); Jakob Friedrich von Bielfeld, *Lettres familières et autres* (1763); see the next letter.

¹⁰⁵ HLA comically alludes to preparations for the Duke of Wellington’s lying in state at Chelsea Hospital. A relieved JWC announced to Mary Russell at the end of December, “All is quiet in London now that we have got that weary Dukes funeral over—for a while it made our neighbourhood perfectly intolerable I never saw streets so jammed with human beings in all my life” ([31 December]; *CL* 27: 390).

Postmark: 25/26 January 1853

The Grange [25 January 1853]

I am bewildered—16 guests here—& L^d. Lansdowne, Clarendon, Ben, Poodle and Chas. Greville arriving today. Mason & my footman having quarrelled in my ante room over my dinner tray—the last calling the 1st a d—d coward—had to be speeded off by the 1st train. So I have to do head-work all this ev^g & clean shoes all the morn^g: and another week of it.

The ball began with the first rake of the bow at 10 precisely and at 6 o'clock a.m. the band played God Save the Queen as it had to go back to town by the 7 o'clock train, otherwise it w^d. probably be playing now—

We have a young American here, son of Bishop Wainright's,¹⁰⁶ a kind of *filibustier*, rough & rude & positive, & Venables snubs him which is an immense help & pleasure. If you c^d. send me y^r. list of books to be sought without so much reasoning ab^t. *why* you want them & then *why* you think you can get them & then *why* you think you can't—& then why you don't know whether you can or cannot or whether you want them at all—it w^d. be a much simpler process to understand you with a possible result—that of doing it—now!

I have written to our bookseller at Paris (an old d^r. recommended for such purposes by Merimée) for *The Saxe Gallante* and Bielfeld—the two I make out I am to try for. If more of your list or others please send a line—& let it be concise & brief as to the business part—

Yours ever *HMA*

I should like the gay ravings marked if they are worth anything & authentic likenesses.



Postmark: 28/29 January 1853

¹⁰⁶Jonathan Mayhew Wainright (1792–1854), Bishop of New York, 1852, m., 1818, Amelia Maria, b. Phelps (b. 1797). They had four sons, including Jonathan Mayhew Wainright II (1821–63), John Howard Wainwright (1829–71), and Daniel Wadsworth Wainright (1833–63).

The Grange [28 January 1853]

An order for Windsor on Thursday—clothes to be looked after—Sir [C.] Clarke¹⁰⁷ to be seen for we are very sick & very sad—and are therefore to be in town on Tuesday next & stay Wednesday Pray manage to give Bath House both even^{gs}. if you can.

Y^{rs}. ever truly H M A

Can I not also see Mrs C. in the evening? Mornings are hopeless.



Postmark: 11 February 1853

The Grange [11 February 1853]

Dear M^r. C. I wrote to Van de Weyer to beg he w^d. get L^d. Malmesbury to send Bielfeld to Bath House. I wish you would any day you are passing by just look in and *open any parcel* of books that may lie there for me or for L^d. A you w^d. possibly find it in case no letter was sent to announce it—all parcels lie on the table in the entrance and you may fearlessly open and inspect.

We have read Zimmerman¹⁰⁸ with great interest.

Y^{rs}. H M A

Friday—cold and bright & snow. Sambo and Chimera well.



The stamp is torn away.

Postmark: 17 February 1853

¹⁰⁷ Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke (1782–1857; *ODNB*), gynecologist.

¹⁰⁸ Johann Georg Zimmermann (1728–95), Swiss physician and philosopher, attended Frederick in his last illness. TC had been reading *Fragmente über Friedrich den Grossen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1790); see *CL* 28: 75. Zimmermann was also the author of *Betrachtungen über die Einsamkeit* (1756) and *Ueber Friedrich den Grossen und meine Unterredungen mit ihm kurz von seinem Tode* (1788), both of which TC cited in *Frederick the Great*.

The Grange [17 February 1853]

Your slip of paper is gone to V. de Weyer for the book you want—if you think it more or *as* likely to be met with in Paris—tell me and I will write to our bookseller there. I have written to Thiers to *complete* the Pollnitz. I wrote yesterday a rough flapper to Earl Granville ab^t Clough—& at all events to *know* what prospects I had of being attended to. Otherwise that sort of things becomes like Jarndyce v. Jarndyce in *Bleak House*—¹⁰⁹

I am sadly hurt by this weather—heavy cold—can't get out—with a new footman, *The Don*, quarrelling with all I ever have—& if any one only knew the horror of a new face when one is ill!—& what is called a *smart* footman! buzzing ab^t one.

I have no chance of moving till this weather breaks clearly—& when that will be is any thing but clear. It is colder than ever the air so clear you can touch the opposite hills & everything hard and dry—4 & twenty finches & Co. live on the crumbs under my window. The fowls no longer lay & Sambo and Chimera sit side by side on the rug meditating on how they w^d. arrange things if they cl^d.

Y^{rs}. truly ever H M A

How does Mrs C. stand this cold? I will *write* for the ——— Review.



Postmark: 24 February 1853

The Grange [23 February 1853]

Dear M^r. C. *We in our wisdom* deeming it adviseable you should belong to the Athenium Club [*sic*] (the reasons w^d. be long to write & quite beyond the patience of the female mind) have made all arrangements accordingly—you of course will do as (you) please—go, or not go—with that we do not interfere, but after next Tuesday if you ever *feel Christian* and wish to see a *fellow* (from which Heaven preserve you) or if you ever want a wayfaring glass

¹⁰⁹ Dickens's novel *Bleak House* (1853) was published in nineteen monthly numbers, March 1852–September 1853.

of water or a rest in your pilgrimages to & fro from Chelsea your are free of the Club to go in and out at y^r. pleasure. Only to bear a Christian spirit to y^r. brother men whilst you are there, that is all that is needful!—¹¹⁰

I enclose you a letter I should like you to send to Clough—I sent Milnes also some time ago to Granville, and he reports that it is thought something will soon offer itself—but Milnes is too inaccurate for a man of business & words are easily thrown about in speech. The letter is however clear and explicit—& one of my happiest moments will be when I can write to him to come home—¹¹¹

We are beginning to hope there is to be a better turn in our health. The weather has turned to thaw and we suffer less; are to go up to town for two or three days the 9th and 10th (March)

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

Why does Mrs C. never write?



Postmark: 28 February/1 March 1853

¹¹⁰ TC informed his mother Margaret A. Carlyle of his Athenaeum membership, 12 March: “I do not expect I shall ever very much use my privilege; but certainly it was a kind and handsome gift to make, and ought to give me pleasure, and does, a little. Men wait for 7 years sometimes before they can be so much as balloted for (only ‘famous’ people, can be elected in this way *at once*), and then they have to pay (if they do it in a lump, and not annually), I suppose, £100 or better. ‘A good gift’ indeed!” (*CL* 28: 74).

¹¹¹ Arthur Hugh Clough (1819–61; *ODNB*), poet and admirer of TC, resigned his fellowship at Oxford because he was unable to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Between October 1852 and June 1853, Clough had been teaching in the United States. Encouraged by TC, HLA had written to Lord Granville, lord president of the council, asking whether he might be able to find a position for Clough. Granville replied 17 February: “I have as yet had no place to give away, but the Catholic Inspectorship which I mentioned to you. The National Society require a clergyman as an inspector in their schools. I will propose Mr. Clough to the British and Foreign Society, as soon as the vacancy occurs. . . . I enquired into the question of the insufficiency of British and Foreign Inspectors, but I came to the conclusion that it would not be justifiable to increase their number at present” (*Correspondence*, ed. Frederick L. Mulhauser [1957], 2: 386; see *CL* 28: 53).

The Grange [28 February 1853]

I enclose you a letter from the Bonn print man.¹¹² I have no acc^t of the arrival of the prints in London from Bath House & I can make no understanding out of the letter without such infinite head ache that all the prints in the world are not worth it—if you were passing by B. H. would you enquire and if they are there send a line to M^r. Doyle, 17 Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park¹¹³—I have told him you w^d let him know & asked him to go and look over the said and choose the best copies (as prints) for me—*he being understanding* in such matters—

When you have read will you return the enclosed and when in a little better health I will try it again. I have been ever in bed since Friday—relapse on relapses—& ferocious weather—We are to go up for a day or two, indeed for 3—on Monday next. Dentists & doctors lying at the bottom—

Tell Mrs Carlyle's Massimo d'Azeglio who is here for a month from Turin will be *here* at Easter and that is why I wanted to know whether there was a possibility of y^r. *choosing to come*—

Yours ever truly H M Ashburton

Did she get my delicate attention “The Deluge.”¹¹⁴



Postmark: ca. 16 May 1853

The Grange [ca. 16 May 1853]

Van der Weyer thinks that within a fortnight he can get the Bielfeld *if* he has not got it himself which he thinks he has—but he does not return to town till Monday to search his own books & in the meantime has written for it—& we also to [Dentu?]¹¹⁵ at Paris—That is the only one you have *ended* by

¹¹² Weber, a print dealer in Bonn; see *CL* 27: 369.

¹¹³ Richard Doyle (1824–83; *ODNB*), artist, illustrator, and caricaturist.

¹¹⁴ George James Finch-Hatton, 11th earl of Winchilsea and 6th earl of Nottingham, *The Deluge: A Poem* (1853).

¹¹⁵ Possibly Dentu, booksellers, l'Avenue de l'Opéra and Boulevard Sébastopol, Paris.

wishing procured. If you find or hear of any others will you send a line.

Weather lovely but bitterly cold & I up with a cold all over me from the change.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

We are alone on Monday so please to send us bits of Fred^k. you have promised—to read in the evenings.



Postmark: 10/11 June 1853

The Grange, Friday [10 June 1853]

Clough must arrange his own matters—nevertheless I think it w^d. be a friendly—and not an useless proceeding if you were to put on y^r. *wide-awake* & just go see M^r. Lingen¹¹⁶—I do not know him— (he must be to be found at the Council Office)—& do so *before* they decide for Clough, and just put the case before him.

I applied for an *Inspectorship* for C. L^d. Granville told me he had only one vacant a Catholic one—I c^d. not undertake to make C. a Catholic for £700 a year so had to refuse. L^d. G. then offers me in the office the 1st thing that is in his gift and with conditions applicable to Clough—Lay etc. Now the inspectorship is not more impossible than it was when I first applied only with the present arrangement he w^d. be on the spot—known in the office personally— knowing himself somewhat of its' details, and though last not least with something to give in exchange not very inferior & very acceptable to many a man—is he wise to refuse admitting as he does America opens no career to his ambition—but very little to reward him as to money—and *is* very distasteful to him.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ Ralph Robert Wheeler Lingen (1819–1905; *ODNB*), civil servant, secretary to the education office, 1849–69.

¹¹⁷ Lord Granville had written to HLA, 9 May, “I think it likely that it will be in my power to offer Mr. Clough the place of 3^d Examiner, whose salary will probably begin at 300£, and increase to 600£ a year. I cannot at present guarantee this amount.” In turn HLA wrote Clough, [10? May],

I should like Mr Lingen to *know* how this rests before he & Mr Temple¹¹⁸ finally decide—I of course can offer no advice—& have not even been consulted, so it is only as the facts.

Y^{rs}. ever H M Ashburton

On the whole perhaps this looks too vague to do anything in the matter—for if any thing it looks as if I *bound* myself to *obtain* the higher post which of course I am unable to do—& many things fall out & I might incur responsibility I c^d. not meet. Nevertheless I trust they will not force him to an uncertain career which seems so little genial to his nature—& if he refuses this it w^d. be very difficult to apply for the other.

Could Mr Lingen not see what the chances w^d. be & ask L^d. Granville—if it came to that—and magnify what Clough relinquishes only all those men have probably applications of their own.



Postmark: 3 September 1853

Achany (Bonar Bridge), Friday [2 September 1853]

Dear Mr C., I will keep the secrecy you require in the matter of

advising him to accept the offer, “for though it may be less in emolument it is I imagine somewhat more interesting as well as of a higher order than the mere School Inspector” (*Correspondence* 2: 242). Clough was engaged to Blanche, b. Smith (1829–1900), a cousin of Florence Nightingale, and her family may have been concerned by his lack of career prospects. TC wrote to HLA, 9 June: “I cannot well make out what Clough will do: I even looked into the Note for you, hoping there might be farther light there; but there is not. The poor man knows not what to do,—there being a little female Smith in the game! . . . C. cannot expect that, *again*, any goddess will take the trouble to get him a situation! And his little Damsel, if she want a clever man, must not insist on his being a rich one too: she actually is not right for that” (*CL* 28: 167). Clough eventually accepted the position of examiner, and he married Blanche Smith in 1854.

¹¹⁸ Frederick Temple (1821–1902; *ODNB*), archbishop of Canterbury, 1897–1902; between 1849 and 1855, he was principal of Kneller Hall, between Whitton and Twickenham, a training college for workhouse schoolmasters.

P. Albert and L^d. Aberdeen¹¹⁹—& in return for y^r. secrets I will tell you another that is, as far as my own *belief* is concerned—that the pension in question has been proposed purely as a recognition of y^r. claims on our country—the means of *such* recognition being very limited here, and to L^d. A. especially—for as I see him—& believe him—he is met at every turn by hampers & checks and “shakes of the head”—and has after all no *avowed* position of power to exercise his own will in—witness even this small thing—Exeter Hall—Puseyism—all prejudice—& every species of opposition ready to burst forth in newspapers—in all other ways of noise & discontent, so that the Prince as well as all others round him keep him saying, Beware—and in the high Tory aristocracy there is deep hatred of him for what he has already done within his very narrow limits—He is really deserving of all y^r. support & sympathy as I have already had the honor often to tell you—but in vain; for when a man sets up for a man of genius the 1st basis is obstinacy—so—as you may have observed, I ceased to say anything—a practice I invariably pursue with the totally irrational—every human being I have ever met being totally irrational on *some* subject, one or more as may be—generally more!—

Why don't you go to Addiscombe? Margaret can certainly roast a chicken or so—you have bread butter eggs, milk etc in any quantity at the farm fruit you w^d. still find—grapes there sh^d. be—& you cl^d. surely manage for a little change of air—which w^d. do you much good in the noise of y^r. buildings and changes—“generally more”! you see.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A

¹¹⁹ Lord A. had evidently been closely involved in trying to persuade Prince Albert to grant a state pension to TC, who wrote to his sister Jean Carlyle Aitken, 18 November 1853: “Prince Albert, as I know from a very sure hand (one Sir Jas Stephen, once an Official of weight) proposed me, at the end of this session of parliament to Lord Aberdeen for a Pension! *Canny* Aberdeen, a douce, smallheaded, sleek and feeble old gentleman, whom I have seen once, and talked a little to, getting little but smiles and commonplaces in return,—he shook slightly his canny head, and thought my ‘heterodoxy’ on some points might be objectionable. And so it stands;—and may as well stand; for I am sure I should have had to *refuse* Ld Aberdeen’s offer (in the *quantity* and in the style he would have offered); and that would not have been pleasant” (CL 28: 314).



Disturbed by the noise and dust associated with the construction of the sound-proof attic study, TC and JWC retreated to Addiscombe, with JWC returning intermittently to Chelsea to supervise builders and to hire a new servant. On the evening of his return, 2 October, TC wrote to his brother John: "I staid at Addiscombe in perfect solitude . . . and in a silence equal to that of one born dumb: a curious 14 days or more I have had of it in that kind. Long walks, enormous reading, varied by tobacco at frequent intervals: one was peaceable, lonesome, pensive, mournful, as I suppose they are in the Elysian fields.— I did not sleep well; and it was as far from joyful as possible: but I believe the thing did me good, both in body and mind" (CL 28: 281).



Postmark: 1/3 October 1853

Achany, Bonar Bridge, Sunday [2 October 1853]

Dear Mr. C. I was quite glad to get a letter dated "Addiscombe Farm"—It is quite silly that you should think of going to Chelsea as long as the little Farm is in any way enjoyable to you—The railroad takes you up to town in ½ an hour for any morning's business you might want to transact there and if Margaret is unskilled in puddings and the like the farmer's wife is very tidy and cooks—was indeed a cook once herself & w^d. be happy to do anything of the kind you want.

I do not quite make out whether you are to be a Chatham or a Wallenstein or whether it is to be a fusion. also I read y^r. letter: "vile disturbances of men & dogs & cocks and other women"—only after several readings made out "vermin"—& am aware sadly aware that silence is not Margaret's chief virtue but I check her rapidly by flight for she is a really good creature and to be trusted as far as I have judged her.

We have been for a week in a bothie of our own—head of Loch Shin—two towels stuffed into the roof of my bedroom made little impression on the many cracks & crannies thro' which the daylight & high winds came—Sadler reefed up & acting maid of all work—& a kitchen maid; *The Don and co. warned off.*

The hills and heather and lake beautiful—two burns one on each side of us—a little meadow & oatfield down to our boat. Plenty of trout in the lake—& a shepherd's hut where our gillies put up, quite close, with a cow & fresh butter & cream. On the opposite side of the Shin a little inn where Garratt & our carriage were housed ab^t 2 miles across. I was quite sorry to come home again—we drove one day 18 miles to Loch Stack by Loch More the scenery quite equal to any I have ever seen—& colours of rock, & birchwood, & heather, & rowan covered with its red berries, & mosses of all hue and growth, & ferns of the same, too beautiful seen in one of these fine northern summer days—gleams of hot sunshine & soft fleecy clouds, black, white & grey, floating in the clearest atmosphere.

At Stack there is a cottage of L^d. Grosvenor's where we found Lady Constance Grosvenor (a Sutherland daughter) and the Vernons (Lady Harriet Vernon, a sister of Anne Charteris). We dined with them—L^d. Grosvenor away stalking¹²⁰—& brought home to our bothie a salmon & some oysters from their store.

On Tuesday we have a gillies' ball—our shepherds come 20 miles!—on Thursday we go for a few days to Dunrobin¹²¹—on the 6th we move for London.

Y^{rs}. ever H. M. A.



Postmark: 6/8 October 1853

Achany, Wed^y. ev^g. [5 October 1853]

Dear Mr C. we are to reach Bath House if all goes well on

¹²⁰ Richard Grosvenor, 2nd marquess of Westminster (1795–1869; *ODNB*), politician, m., 1819, Lady Elizabeth Mary, b. Leveson-Gower (1797–1891), 2nd daughter of the 1st duke of Sutherland; Lady Constance Gertrude, b. Leveson-Gower (1834–80), sister-in-law of Lady Elizabeth Mary Grosvenor, m., 1852, Hugh Lupus Grosvenor, 1st duke of Westminster (1825–99; *ODNB*), politician; and Lady Harriet Frances Maria, b. Anson (ca. 1828–98), m., 1851, Augustus Henry Vernon, 6th baron Vernon (1829–83).

¹²¹ Dunrobin castle, ca. 85 mi. / 137 km. N. of Inverness, Scottish seat of the Duke of Sutherland.

Sunday. Monday I sh^d. be in town. Tuesday & Wed^y. on business at Add^be. Thursday in town again—& The Grange on Sat^y. or Monday.

When will you and M^{rs}. C. come to the Grange or as is most probable you will not come at all!—that is the turn things generally take, but I will take a turn of my own one of these days that will astonish you both— With love to M^{rs}. C.

Y^{rs}. ever truly H M Ashburton

Monday evening would be my most likely time to see you and M^{rs}. C. as I may be out & about all day if you could come.



Envelope missing, dated contextually.

Achany, Thursday—Friday— [6 & 7 October 1853]

Dear M^r. C. We are quite sorry to hear you are going to desert the little cottage so soon—had hoped to have found you there perhaps. We hope to reach London Sunday night from Carlisle.

Dunrobin visit has passed off very well—Saccharissa¹²² was really so kind—so full of all kinds of thoughtful attention that having eaten her salt I feel bound to speak with some sugar in my mouth of her—so I beg this goes no further—all tendency to joke I mean strictly to repress—

The Duchess was beyond every thing you can conceive short of a strolling Philina¹²³—She was very anxious about you, that I should use some influence—at least that you w^d. not “prevent everybody from doing *any good*”—that you “would not always throw stones at all who try to do a little good”—I said the few things that occurred to me without too widely departing from truth to insinuate into the Ducal mind you were not so bad as you appeared—but I fear with small effect the mind being effectually oiled with gutta percha apparently, & capable of receiving nothing externally—but the real kindness that

¹²² The Duchess of Sutherland.

¹²³ Character in *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, trans. by TC, 1824.

was always shutting doors & windows & performing constant little acts of kindness of other varieties down to the beautiful bouquet in the window of my brougham this morn^g. I came away are deserving at least of forbearance.

so I am truly yr^s. H M Ashburton

You must come here next y^r. if only to see the beautiful condition of the Duke's property—it is like an English county such nice cottages—little farms—Churches—roads—stone walls—etc. and all in such beautiful order & neatness.



In ink on the envelope, in TC's handwriting: 4 jan^y 1854—Thurs.

Postmark: 1/2 January 1854

The Grange, Alresford, Sunday 1st of the New Year
[31 December 1853 and 1 January 1854]

Dear M^r. Carlyle This may find you back in Chelsea from her letter yesterday & I only write one line to meet you there & tell you, if it needed to be told which I feel well assured it does not, that you have here all our deepest and truest sympathy—more cannot be said. Comfort, as it is called, is not from without or through the agency of human tolerance.¹²⁴

That you saw her—& that she saw & knew you—& knew that you had come to see her, are things you will never forget, or think of without much softening and quieting of spirit in the long hours of thought & sorrow turned towards the past.

God bless you both at Chelsea

Ever y^{rs}. affect^{ly}. H M Ashburton

The Grange Sunday 1st of the new year, a bright sun shining

¹²⁴ TC's mother Margaret A. Carlyle died on 25 December. TC wrote to HLA from Scotsbrig the same day: "All is over here, dear Friend: the struggle ended, gently, gently at last almost as a dream. . . . / I am full of heavy inarticulate misery, as you may fancy; and will add no more except my blessings and regards. You pity me truly; and there is nothing to be said. / Adieu dear Friend. God is great; God is great" (CL 28: 350).

over all things & a ground white with thick snow. not a breath or a sound stirring. The villages all in Church—and I so far better as to be up for the first time since last Sunday tho' not yet able to leave my room. L^d. A. away at Bowood.



The stamp is torn away.

Postmark: 25 April 1854

Addiscombe, Tuesday [25 April 1854]

They brought me down here from Hancock's, Jewellers,¹²⁵ living temporarily 43 or 49 Conduit Street (shop improving which is corner of Bruton and Bond S^t) 4 miniatures yesterday—Marie Antoin^{te}, Dauphin—Princess Elizabeth, D^s. d'Angoulême—done for someone (I forget the name) a great friend of Marie Antoin^{te}. & given by her to him, left by him at his death to Bishop Luscombe at Paris, English Bishop there¹²⁶—The story seems likely. They are mentioned in some Memoirs & the D^c of Sutherland has engravings of these same—his mother was the last person who sent clean linen to the R. Family in the Temple (English Am^b. at Paris)—

I send a note which if you give to Hancock he would shew you them in any of your walks and will tell you all this and the names more correctly than I have.

The D. of Sutherland saw them & said he had the engravings.

¹²⁵ C. F. Hancock, jewelers and silversmiths, 39 Bruton St.

¹²⁶ Marie Antoinette (1755–93), queen of France and Navarre; Louis Charles, duke of Normandy (1785–95), son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, d. in Temple Prison; Élisabeth Philippine Marie Hélène de France (1764–94), youngest sister of Louis XVI; Marie Thérèse de France (1778–1851), eldest da. of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, m., 1799, Louis–Antoine of France, duke d'Angoulême (1775–1844); and Michael Henry Thornhill Luscombe (bap. 1775–1846; *ODNB*), bishop of the Episcopal Church of Scotland and chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris, son of Samuel Luscombe, physician at Exeter and Jane, a collateral descendant of Sir James Thornhill (1675/76–1734; *ODNB*), painter.



The stamp is cut away.

Postmark: 14 September 1854

Kinlochuichart, Friday [14 September 1854]

Dear Mr C. I have written to Lord Clarendon & enclosed your memorandum of dates and papers wanted. I believe there is no difficulty of access to any but such as are of quite recent date.

What a fearful time you have had in London of cholera & heat & that dreadful domestic tragedy on top of all¹²⁷—our little doctor writes fearfully of the destitution, dirt—& misery he has had to deal with in his attempts to relieve the sick.¹²⁸ They had moved the homeopathic hospital into a cholera hospital & he was night & day at work with a sharp attack of premonitory symptoms on himself.

We are enjoying to the utmost our bright sky & air—it is still very warm tho' blowing gales we take to be equinoctial, the little lake is a tornado & the frightened fish run after you on land!

We know nothing of the outside world except that the Emperor¹²⁹ in answer to some one who was dreading the possible effect of a Spanish democratic movement on France said, “Quand au trône d’Espagne point de Montpensier cela est indispensable. Quant au danger pour la France, mon cher, la France donne la peste elle ne la prend pas”—

They come for letters

¹²⁷The death of TC’s sister-in-law Phoebe Elizabeth Hough Watt, b. Fowler, a widow from Moffat with four sons, m., 1852, John Aitken Carlyle (1801–79; *ODNB*). She died in childbirth on 19 August. TC wrote to his brother Alexander, 6 September: “We all thought this coming child, and this good and prudent and cheerful Wife might prove of the most marked advantage to all parties concerned; and now it has suddenly all vanished; and our poor Brother is mournfully thrown loose, and his poor Life-partner crushed down in that overwhelming manner” (*CL* 29: 145).

¹²⁸James Rouse (1830–96), R.C.S. (1851), F.R.C.S. (1863), with a practice at 2 Wilton St., Grosvenor Sq., later senior surgeon at St. George’s hospital and consulting surgeon at Royal Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital; see *CL* 31: 257.

¹²⁹Napoleon III (1808–73), emperor of France.

Y^{rs}. H M A



Postmark: 22 September 1854

Kinlochuichart [22 September 1854]

Dear Mr. C. If you please not to be in such a hurry—as soon as I got y^r. letter I wrote to L^d. Cl^d. he made all enquiries immediately & has written to you stating the form of application, the particular period you want & probably the whole range of that time will be open to you.

The State Paper people are tenacious it appears as to forms but you will have no difficulty in complying with their requirements as I presume they will not interfere with any fundamental article of doctrine!—

Let me know if the Foreign Office letter should by any chance have miscarried as L^d. C. writing from The Grove says he is not quite sure where it was directed—we came back yesterday from Father Ellice, Glenquoich—a 2 days journey there and 2 days back again—rather a heavy duty to the old friend, but I did not like not to go and see him once more before I die, which I must do soon for I have a sick deer hound of L^d. A's given me to nurse and I am obliged to run up and down the hills after him. We have had our equinox & are now in bright warm summer weather again, with such sunsets to sit & look at too wonderfully beautiful—The Presbytery having finally inducted their brother as Meenister lunched here today and as they followed L^d. A out, they looked just like a coroner's inquest on his wife (whom he had poisoned) congratulating him on the result and having just ended their labours.

We suppose we are to go the 5th or the 6th for two days to Dunrobin but I have been ailing with the cold weather we had a week ago and if it should change again should be afraid of moving from home. We should then stay on till the 16th or 17th October and then move south. People believe in a November Session—which we should come to town for & not settle at the Grange till after it—having two or three visits to pay when we first go into southern quarters.—

Sambo desires his *hate* to Nero & I am ever yours,

H M A

We have been reading and delighting in Niebuhr's life & letters.¹³⁰ I have only dipped into it by scraps so cannot speak fairly of the man but he seems to have his eyes intently fixed on himself & to have married & cultivated his friends as complements to his own nature & faculties—which I shouldn't have liked as a wife or friend—but as I said before I have only looked into it here & there as showers & other intermittancies allowed.



Postmark: 9/10 October 1854

L. Luichart, Sunday [8 October 1854]

Dear Mr C. I enclose you the copy of a letter from a common soldier in one of the Highland Reg^{ts}. to his family in Fife—Lady S[u?]n. Hamilton¹³¹ copied it for me, *spelling* and all, correctly.—

My Chief and I are going to separate—we have held together as long as we could—but it cannot go on—He is gone to London & when he leaves it to return here I shall leave this to go there—we shall pass ½ way in express trains—there will be no harm in that—I have not settled my future but shall go abroad somewhere—probably to Russia—There is a Count Boutonieff¹³² there I know something of with a large family—I shall probably offer my services to him with a view of being generally useful—You have often said we should consume our own smoke—& I quite agree only that the smoke of others added to one's own is beyond the power of my chimney or apparatus. Any how you see London

¹³⁰ *The Life and Letters of B. G. Niebuhr*, 3 vols. (1852).

¹³¹ Possibly Susan Ephemina, b. Beckford (1786–1859), m., 1810, Alexander Douglas–Hamilton, 10th duke of Hamilton and 7th duke of Brandon (1767–1852; *ODNB*), aristocrat. The Scottish soldier is unidentified, but he may have fought at the battle of Alma, 20 September, where French and British forces defeated the Russians but lost approximately 3000 men; see *CL* 29: 175.

¹³² Possibly a reference to Count Boutenieff, Russian ambassador to Turkey in the 1840s.

in that case is impossible—don't ask Hannah any questions—or my mother—it is best not to speak till things are settled—you may possibly find L^{d.} A. still at Bath House. I, of course shall only lodge there for a night or day—

Truly y^{rs.} ever H M A

Keep the soldier's letter for me



No postmark.

Bath House, Wednesday [25 October 1854]

I think I have settled the matter of your seeing prints & also miniatures etc at Windsor—I also arranged with L^{d.} C. who got your letter (which was necessary I suppose as to form ab^{t.} the S. P. Office).¹³³

I go tomorrow away to The Grange and sh^{d.} be here this ev^{g.} at a reasonable hour but wishing to go to bed early.

Y^{rs.} truly H M A



The envelope contains General Grey's letter from Windsor Castle, dated 30 October 1854.

Postmark: 1/2 November 1854

The Grange [1 November 1854]

My dear Sir—I enclose a letter from General Grey.¹³⁴ You

¹³³ State Papers Office.

¹³⁴ Charles Grey (1804–70; *ODNB*), maj. gen., 1854, gen., 1865; private sec. to Prince Albert, 1849–61, and later Queen Victoria. TC wrote to HLA, 4 November: “It is a sad fact . . . that you wish me what I absolutely cannot get,—or rather that I cannot get what you wish me (that is the correct reading): ‘a temperate frame of mind, and good digestion’; alas, alas, you might as well wish me a pair of wings! . . . / General Grey's letter is very ample and good; & I owe a thousand thanks,—especially to your bounteous Ladyship, never wearied with helping a poor eclipsed wretch”

will only have to write a line to M^r. Glover¹³⁵ who is the librarian to say what day you wish to go down to see those said prints. The door of the entrance to you any one—sentinel—or porter, would direct you to on arriving—

Further, as to permission to see the bedrooms containing any pictures of the date interesting to you as I know they are in use when the Court is at Windsor I c^d. only get that leave when the Queen is gone to Osborne—if you care about it then.

With which I pray God keep you in a temperate frame of mind & good digestion.

I remain sincerely yours

H M Ashburton



Postmark: 14 November 1854

Alverstoke, Tuesday [14 November 1854]

Dear Sir. I am glad the expedition has prospered¹³⁶—you see now why I felt a little aggrieved at the bad digestion influencing y^r. utterance the evening I had the honour of your company in London.—

Knowing how carefully & diligently I had gone to work that not a hair sh^d. be turned the wrong way from first to last, but that all, from the sentinel up, should use the softest brush, & the needful in the way of what was likely to interest you be clearly ascertained, to be told a dozen times, “I think I can get

(*CL* 29: 187).

¹³⁵ John Hulbert Glover (ca. 1793–1860), Queen’s librarian at Windsor Castle, 1836–60.

¹³⁶ TC wrote to HLA, 9 November: “Yesterday I went to Windsor, as arranged; was met on hands by the due facilities; had in fact good success. . . . / Towards 4 o’clock there came a light footstep to the door; I still busy among a 100 Fredk Portraits did not look up; till Glover said, ‘Prince Albert’!—and there in fact was his Royal Highness, come for a sight of the monster before he went;—bowing very graciously, and not advancing till I bowed. Truly a handsome flourishing man and Prince; extremely polite . . . and with a far better pair of *eyes* than I had given him credit for in the distance” (*CL* 29: 194–95).

a Chamberlain's order—that will do much better etc etc!!” I think I bore myself with great dignity & composure only one throwing a log rather hurriedly on the fire. Et voila!—

Perhaps you may come and pick up Mrs C. when our party has grown slack towards the 2nd January & stay a little time at the Grange. We shall have a fortnight of comparative solitude after our break up then—

Y^{rs}. H M A

I go home tomorrow.

I have written to L^d. C. and told him (as far as I c^d.) what I believed he was to do about Neuberg.¹³⁷

I will return the manuscript as soon as I get to the Grange.



The stamp is torn away; TC writes on the envelope: 24 April, 1855

Postmark: 24 April 1855

Tuesday

Dear Mr Carlyle Will you come in tomorrow evening? The Duc d'Aumale¹³⁸ dines here and I think you might like to know him. He has all the Conde papers.

Yours H M Ashburton



Envelope missing, dated contextually.

Add^{be}. Wed^y. [ca. 4 July 1855]

Dear Mr C. Many thanks for Charles¹³⁹ which I dont think I

¹³⁷ Requesting an official note permitting Neuberg to research in the State Paper Office; he received the document, 10 November.

¹³⁸ Henri Eugène Philippe Louis d'Orléans, duke d'Aumale (1822–97), m., 1844, Maria Caroline Augusta, b. de Bourbon, duchess d'Aumale (1822–69).

¹³⁹ A historical novel by C. Mitchell Charles, *Arvon: or, The Trial. A Legend*,

shall read thro' it looks so very dry—

I have *been* to go up 3 times to London, but each time have been ailing & obliged to give it up—& now he is gone up preparatory to setting off for Paris on Friday or Saturday to make a settlement for us as we are to be attached to the Exhibition & shall have to stay there till we go to Scotland—It is not pleasant, or what we either of us could have wished but it cannot be helped—and so we must get some quiet—at least comparatively quiet, place to live—

My mother is uncertain about leaving this otherwise I had meant to go up next Monday—of course tho' you won't come—so I don't even propose it—love to M^{rs}. C.

Yours ever H M A



Envelope missing, dated contextually; endorsed in an unidentified hand: July 16 1855

Hotel de la Terrasse, Sunday [15 July 1855]

Dear M^r. C. only time to say that we are to be home Wed^y. or Thursday next—You have been very shabby about writing—& the heat which is frightful here especially the nights makes doing any thing so great an exertion of body (for mind there has long been none) that “None but the Brave”¹⁴⁰ deserve the attempt—& that is not you—I rather think it is only L^d. John that has any desert left!—*there* is a little man who turns out every Gov^t. & can bring in none!

I intend if it is cool enough joining the mob and breaking windows, & so am truly yours H M A

Love to M^{rs}. C.



Letter, written from Bath House, torn lengthways making it largely unreadable.

2 vols. (1855); Charles cited passages from TC's works in several chapter headings.

¹⁴⁰ Dryden, “Alexander's Feast” (1697), l. 15.

Postmark: 30 July 1855

“Curzon St” [30 July 1855]

Glover is the



Envelope missing, dated contextually.

L. Luichart Tuesday [ca. 7 August 1855]

Dear M^r. C. I write one line to say that Mama is gone away to Hinchinbrook and Addiscombe is quite free & empty & at y^r. service most gladly if you fancy going there any time after you return to London—& for as long as you like—so pray have no scruples about going—You know what you find—a line to the housemaid whose name I forget, but under cover to Mr Wonham

Addiscombe Farm

Croydon

just that she may prepare your beds & air them is all that you need to do—If you take your horse you have beautiful downs to ride upon—Purley Down & again all the way to Epsom—is down country.

Old Bear and M^{rs}. Janie¹⁴¹ arrived unexpectedly last Saturday & we had to turn the house upside down to lodge them—Our weather has been rainy & blowy but we have got out every day for several hours—& the rest & quiet of the place and its distance from every body and every thing including a post only 3 times a week is Paradise for the time we are here—I suppose it would not do for ever. But nothing does for that—not even friends—for they get cross & quarrel—or they grow old, quite the same. Sambo only stands firm though he has a lame paw!—

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



¹⁴¹ Katherine Jane Ellis, b. Balfour (1813–64; *ODNB*), diarist, m., 1834, Edward Ellice (1810–80; *ODNB*), politician and landowner, only son of Edward “Bear” Ellice (1783–1863; *ODNB*).

Accepting an invitation from Edward FitzGerald, TC visited Woodbridge in Suffolk for ten days of bathing, riding, and touring. At the end of the month he and JWC went to Addiscombe, but she returned abruptly to Chelsea, though she subsequently visited Addiscombe twice during his stay. TC returned to London at one point briefly to return library books, and then went back to Addiscombe, spending a total of 24 days there. Writing to HLA on 23 September, he explained that "I have had 24 of the strangest beneficent Days, here in your domain, shut out from all the world. . . . I have had such rides too, most memorable and beneficial. . . . My thoughts have often been very sombre,—as what solitary creature's are not, with so many years behind him, especially if he have liver too, and a History of Fritz which no man can write, even if Vulture Panizzi were to offer pens from his own ugly person? Alas, alas—But I do believe in the absolute necessity of encountering such moods . . . and, on the whole, it is evident to me that I am in fact rather better, both in body and mind, for my Quasi-Moslem ramadhan out here" (CL 30: 71).



Envelope missing, dated contextually.

Kinloch Luichart *Thursday* [9 August 1855]

Dear M^r. C. We are sadly vexed here to hear you are not the better for your Suffolk furlough—I hope you will go to Add^{be}. I do not know what could be in the way of cooking. but surely with a little help of things the housemaid c^d. *warm up* for you the thing might be managed. She can I am sure dress a mutton chop—roast or boil. Chickens you w^d. find at the farm, good bread, butter, eggs, milk—pigeons—ducks I have no doubt, & fresh air and sleep. Would not that do something for you?—

There is always the Grange where *there is a kitchenmaid* and M^{rs}. Evans to overlook—& you would be very comfortable in L^d. A's sitting room and bedroom next to it—& as quiet as you could wish also.—

I enclose a letter to M^{rs}. Evans which posted 2 days before you started or rather *two nights*, giving that time for airing etc, would make all things ready for you even to dinner—& if that don't do you had better pack up & come down here—we are going to have a beautiful Sept^r and there is a 4 post bed for you.

I go about like a good angel healing the sick, for a doctor was never before heard of in these parts—& it is curious how much Rouse does with *soap* and *water* that is always prescribed for a week to be used constantly, or water only.

Time flies sadly here—alas!

Y^{rs.} ever H M A



To JWC, addressed to T. Carlyle, Farlingay Hall, Suffolk England;
the stamp is torn away.

Postmark: 14/15 August 1855

Kinloch Luichart, Sunday [12 August 1855]

Dear Mrs C. Perhaps you don't know the regulations of Highland posts by which we can only write, or hear, 3 times a week—The day after I read y^{r.} letter I was in bed ailing—but I wrote an *admonitory* note to the Housemaid urging upon her in a *general* way and with no reference at all to any thing you had said (which I thought w^{d.} be best under the circumstances) a *special* care to making you and M^{r.} C. as comfortable as she could by her care and exertions—& so I trust all will go right—She came to me from a small family “Lady her own Housekeeper” & seemed just on that acc^{t.} what I wanted for Add^{b^{c.}} where I profess to be my own housekeeper, & I dare say she may have been over punctilious as to what she c^{d.} do—perhaps a little frightened at Mr. C, but I do not think she seemed an intractable or unwilling nature—& at all events hope that things are right now with the additional help.

You will have found your own room all prepared shewing that I at least had never contemplated other possibility than y^{r.} and Nero's accompanying your house! I can't imagine as wise walking to Chelsea or that fuss can be wholesome for any bodily condition. I find doing things that have to be done in the quietest & staidest fashion & being altogether advisedly methodical does more for me when I get my nerves unstrung than any rushing to & fro—above & beyond all keeping out of noise and tumult—

Y^{rs.} affly. H M Ashburton

I hope we may still find you at Add^{be}. and have a week with you when we come there in October somewhere in the first week—I suppose—It w^d. be very nice—



Addressed to T. Carlyle, Ld. Ashburton's Addiscombe Farm, Croydon, Surrey; the stamp is torn away

Postmark: 15/17 September 1855

Kinloch Luichart Saturday [13 September 1855]

Dear Mr C. I hope you will stay on at Add^{be}. as long as the weather—or the quiet—or anything else tempts you.

I fear though there is no chance from your letter of y^r. being there still when we come which will now scarcely be before the 8th October—think of y^r. not mentioning Sebastopol in your list of calamitous phenomena! What are we going to fight for now? for it seems we are going to fight on—I think the D. of Newcastle had better marry Miss Nightingale out there & make an end of both their careers & it would prevent the necessity of Nightingale testimonials without end which we are going to have.

We have had a too nice time, only too short a great deal—next Tuesday all our Highland *subjects* dine to celebrate Sebastopol¹⁴² in our coach house dressed for the occasion with fern and rowan berries, and Mr Grieve plays a fiddle & we dance afterwards & go home at dark across the lake and over bog & burn & moor & hill—for with whiskey what w^d. we not face?

I live on the lake & have got to manage my boat alone—I brough[t] home the day before yesterday 13 trout some of 2^{lbs.} and ½ weight—and two jacks one weighing 14^{lbs.}, one of 10^{lbs.}—to my own rod and line—of anything else I cannot tell you—but have no doubt you will find all things besides & *Wagner* in the Crystal Palace.¹⁴³

¹⁴²The fall of the Russian fortress at Sebastopol to the allied forces of England, France, the Ottoman Empire, and the Kingdom of Sardinia, 28 August 1855.

¹⁴³The composer and director Richard Wagner (1813–83) was in London to

Y^{rs.} ever H M A



On 21 October JWC began writing a journal. In an entry dated 22 October, she wrote, "I was cut short in my Introduction last night by Mr C's return from Bath House. That eternal Bath House! I wonder how many thousand miles Mr C has walked between there and here, put it all together? setting up always another mile-stone, and another, betwixt himself and me! Oh, good grasioous! when I first noticed that heavy yellow House without knowing or caring to know who it belonged to, how far I was from dreaming that thro' years and years I should carry every stone's weight of it on my heart!" (CL 30: 200)



Postmark: 20 October 1855

Bath House Saturday [20 October 1855]

Dear Mr C. I am here for a day—waiting telegraphic orders from Paris to know my fate.

Y^{rs.} truly H M Ashburton



Written on the envelope in an unidentified hand: Rumpled and torn up by mistake but sent preferably writing another.

Postmark: 4/5 November 1855

The Grove Sunday [4 November 1855]

Dear Mr C. We are to be in town tomorrow for a day. I have to go to a dentist at 2 oc & afterwards to my mother so that I fear I cannot say I should be at home *certainly* except in the ev^g—next day to the Grange—

This damp is very bad for man & beast especially woman—

Yours H M A



Postmark: 4/5 November 1855

The Grange [4 November 1855]

We shall only be in town on Thursday, Sundry difficulties—Milnes's & guests who don't go till tomorrow—& don't like to go at 8 oc when we must if we go on to do our work at Addiscombe. So we have put off till Thursday & shall go down to Alverstoke on Friday morn^g.

Y^s. truly ever H M A

We shall only be visible on Thursday ev^g as we come up after passing the afternoon at Addiscombe.



Postmark: 7/8 December 1855

The Grange Friday [7 December 1855]

Dear Mr C. There is nothing to be said from this. One very ailing & that is me—we had been drinking water in Scotland containing on analysis the “*fearful*” proportion, so runs the report, of 1 gr. & ½ lead to the gallon—1 gr. to the gallon having produced the poisoning at Claremont of the French Princes¹⁴⁴—L^d. A. suffered at L. Luichart, our little Doctor¹⁴⁵ when we came here first & now I am under its consequences—& not in any way flourishing.

We have had the loveliest weather—sun, little wind, & sharp frosts, altogether the most genial winter weather conceivable—

I hear the King of S.¹⁴⁶ is “an unmitigated beast”—he goes

¹⁴⁴An incident in 1848 of lead-poisoning at Claremont, nr. Esher, Surrey, residence of Louis-Philippe (1773–1850), king of France between 1830 and 1848, who had fled to England with his family following his abdication.

¹⁴⁵Rouse.

¹⁴⁶Mongut, king of Siam (1804–68), who concluded trade and diplomatic

with you on “the shooting of the Priest system” & says people will sooner or later regret that that precaution has not been taken agst. them.

Milnes writes me Mrs. M. is going to have an elephant.¹⁴⁷ I have got the King of Oude’s Life¹⁴⁸ for you—we expect you the 17th and will send to Andover R^d for the arrival of the 1 o’clock from London train.

Yours ever

H M A 7 Dec The Grange.

Please direct the enclosed & post. I like Lewes’s Goethe¹⁴⁹ much, as a very readable book.



The envelope contains Bernstorff’s letter to Lord A. dated London 14 Dec 1855, about an unnamed book requested for TC.

Postmark: 16/17 December 1855

[16 December 1855]

Dear Mr C. I send the enclosed for fear of forgetting—
Besides Bernstorff¹⁵⁰ (who is the Prussian minister in London) Van der Weyer thinks he knows of the book being to be lent *here*—that someone has a copy in Eng^d.

Have my £25 never gone to Coutts? Ah! My Lord!!

Yrs. H M A



treaties with Great Britain, 18 April 1855.

¹⁴⁷ The Milnes’s daughter, Florence, named after Florence Nightingale (to whom Milnes had proposed six years earlier) was born on 7 December.

¹⁴⁸ [William Knighton], *The Private Life of an Eastern King* (1855).

¹⁴⁹ George Henry Lewes, *The Life and Works of Goethe* (1855).

¹⁵⁰ Count Albrecht von Bernstorff (1809–73), Prussian ambassador to London. TC was possibly looking for Frederick’s *Military Instructions Written for the Generals of his Army; being his own Commentaries on his Former Campaigns. Together with Short Instructions for the Use of his Light Troops*, trans. by an officer (1762); see *CL* 31: 86.

Postmark: 6/7 February 1856

The Grange, Wed^y. [6 February 1856]

Dear Mr C. I have very little to tell you—we have been a sad, sick house—L^d. A came back from Windsor worse by gout—& by excitement & fatigue when he should have been in complete rest of feet and mind—& so the 2nd state was worse by many degrees than the first & has been very difficult to throw off—he still shuffles in gouty shoes but rides & is mending—we went to Bournemouth last Wednesday for a few days change—a pothouse inn with the best rooms occupied by a lady gone mad from an accident in a tunnel by rail—The cold fearful, ice down to the wave tips, sittingroom downstairs with, besides the regular door, a large one opening into an external passage being the access & entrance to the reading rooms, library etc. The opposite wall of the room was a pannelled off big room[.] The whole making a ball and public entertainment room! Upstairs my bedroom with 3 external sides, fireplace between two windows that blew you up if you approached with any hope of warmth. It was you will say better by a degree than Rouse's as when he attempted to light his fire the wind blew *down*, the flame pursuing him into his bed—

The first two nights—I cried in bed for very cold—& such a bed! Got inflammation in my eyes & had to go about with a black bandage from the wind—we came back Monday better & talk of going up next week for a day but I daresay it is only talk.

Y^{rs}. ever H M A



TC replied on 13 February: "The sight of your handwriting, even that does me good, beyond what you imagine: I sink into such misgivings, scepticisms of the plainest truths, total (temporary) unbeliefs, in this dark element of mine. And I dare not write to you, dare not speak to you, scarcely think of you;—you must be a very dreadful creature? I myself am one! And if you do entirely forget me in this world, and I find that I have lost you, and the light of your countenance is turned away,—will it be good times with me, think you? . . . / I see nobody; I sit here, in grim task work, slaving what I can, day after day; run

out in the afternoon late for a breath of air,—of wet fog as it oftener chances” (CL 31: 29–30).



Postmark: 15 February 1856

Thursday [14 February 1856]

Dear Mr. C.

We are to be for a few days up on Sat^y and at home Saturday ev^g.

Y^{rs}. H M A

Barton will be brought¹⁵¹



Postmark: 23/24 March 1856

Easter Sunday [23 March 1856]

Dear M^r. C. Why not come here for a week? if you come by the 10 min: before 1 o'clock train on Tuesday you would find carriages at Andover Road and the Aumales who, having selected their own, two others would be free to you. They go on Thursday & omnes then exeunt & if you would go on the Monday after that w^d. do our business! Moreover Aumale may possibly have some papers in his possession that might be available to you—

I have been & am very ailing & noways fit for any exposure—have been alternately going down—& keeping up—& a great deal of bed even.

I am sorry for M^{rs}. Carlyle but who was to stand this March? above all let no man or woman face this North wind with a chest to care for—we have no gout and hope on, not wishing to boast—

¹⁵¹ Lucy Barton, *Natural History of the Holy Land and Other Places Historical in the Bible* (1856).

I am sorry to say that minutest of humanities, L^d. Stanhope¹⁵², was but too exact: “A peerage or W. Abbey”—before the battle of Alexandria Nelson’s words¹⁵³—but Nelson was a great child—

Panizzi and Hudson to be in the new Portrait Gallery & Richard Milnes and Cobden and all our great men—What a gallery that is going to be—Question now asked: “Would you admit a bad portrait of a great man preferably to a good picture (as to art) of an inferior man”—? a Raphael for instance of W^m. Harcourt!—¹⁵⁴

Y^{rs}. H M A

Poodle after struggling in the wet decides on Nice next winter!—The Aumales come Wed^y. till *Sat^e*, so if you come Tuesday I will send for any train you like.



No envelope, written in TC’s hand on letter, 30 April, 1856

Dr Mr C. You will find see by the enclosed less reason to growl at what we *try* to do—

It appears that this book is not to remain here but *whenever you have done with it*—no limit of time specified, you are to return it to Bernstorff & in the mean time you must give me a note of hand to say you will do so that *I* may send for it, for it seems voluminous 8 vols besides maps—¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² On 4 March, Philip Henry Stanhope, 5th earl (1805–75; *ODNB*), introduced a motion to the House of Lords to present an address to the queen for the formation of a National Portrait Gallery; see *CL* 31: 42.

¹⁵³ “By this time tomorrow I shall have gained a peerage, or Westminster Abbey”; Nelson’s words at the Battle of the Nile, 1 August 1797.

¹⁵⁴ Sir William George Granville Venables Vernon Harcourt (1827–1904; *ODNB*), lawyer, and later a distinguished politician in Gladstone’s government; see *CL* 34: 111.

¹⁵⁵ Possibly Johann Christoph Adelung, *Pragmatische Staatsgeschichte Europens von dem Ableben Kaiser Karl 6 an bis auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten*, 9 vols. (Gotha, 1761–70); TC had only 8 vols. and notes that “Herr Tauchnitz of Leipzig, who searched out for me the 9th vol., asserted confidently that no other had been published.” TC’s copy, at the Houghton Library, Harvard, was “[p]erhaps the only copy in England, though not a rare book” (Winsor, *The Carlyle Collection* 7).

If you will let me have the note tomorrow I will send for the book immediately and am

truly y^{rs}.

H M A



Soon after he learned of HLA's death, TC wrote in his journal: "Monday, 4th May, 4½ p.m. at Paris, died Lady Ashburton, a great and irreparable sorrow to me; yet with some beautiful consolations in it too. A thing that fills all my mind, since yesterday afternoon that Milnes came to me with the sad news,—whh I had never once anticipated, tho' warned sometimes vaguely to do so. God 'sanctify my sorrow,' as the old pious phrase went! To her I believe it is a great gain, and the exit has in it much of noble beauty as well as pure sadness,—worthy of such a woman. Adieu! Adieu! 'My work has been delayed' &c, I may say with old Johnson.¹⁵⁶ Her work, call it grand and noble Endurance of want of work, is all done" (CL 32: 142–43n).

¹⁵⁶ TC quotes the Preface to Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755).